FILM 4 CHANGE

Communication rights and Social Change in Tanzania

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Intro: The right to communicate

The right to communicate is intransigently connected to the field of investigation of this thesis. It is so not only because film for change is a tool for democratization of communication, but even more so because the notion that this right belongs to each individual seems to pervade the communities in Tanzania where I carried out ethnographic observation. The thesis explores an international student exchange program, visual interventions, that produced three collaborate community based documentary films that aimed at social change, three so called films for change. The next chapter introduces the fieldwork more profoundly. Let’s first take a look at the terms and concepts informing the thesis.

In it’s definition of Freedom of Expression and among the basic rights to seek and receive information Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights also mentions the right to impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. Even though the article in this way includes the right to convey or pass on information, the definition has been criticized by the Right to Communication Group in UNESCO and the MacBride Report (1976) for being too narrow and excluding elemental problems concerning media concentration, the flow of news, and cultural imperialism (or relations of power between the Global North and South). For this reason and because of opposition by the media sector and governments (on fear of state censorship) attempts to place communication rights more central in the debate over international human rights have been long underway. On this basis calls for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) have increasingly been heard, especially from the developing countries in the Global South since the late 1970’ies. Communication rights or the more radical proposition of the right to communicate are still not internationally recognized rights.

According to the MacBride report NWICO bases itself on four pillars in which communication is core¹. They concern the role of communication and media in exercising democratic political

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participation in society or *communication in the Public Sphere*; the terms and means by which knowledge generated by society is communicated, or blocked, for use by different groups, termed by the MacBride report as *Communication Knowledge*; the exercise of civil rights relating to the processes of communication in society or *Civil Rights in Communication*; and finally the communication of diverse cultures, cultural forms and identities at the individual and social levels or *Cultural Rights in Communication*.

The above four pillars in combination permit for a defense of the right to self-representation or *self-communication*, defined by Castells as the *ability of us, the audience, to produce our own messages,* (that) *potentially challenges corporate control of communication and may change power relationships in the communication sphere.* (Castells: 2009, p. 422) Thus self-representation is first and foremost a cultural right because it relates to the differences in perspectives and meanings between former colonized cultures and the Western powers and media corporations in defining the scopes, means and objectives of development. But self-representation can also be understood as a civil right in the wake of the democratizing development of ICTs and the Internet (especially web 2.0) because it enables this agency while also increasing the problems associated with media concentration, the flows of information, and cultural imperialism. Likewise, and we shall see in chapter 3, the images and meanings produced through self-representation in the films produced by the *visual interventions project* point to the importance of the right to access and communicate in the public sphere as well as the right to obtain and utilize the knowledge required to navigate in the public sphere (be it from above or from below). A long list of urgent issues spring from this definition of rights, and it includes the needs for the *four Ds* of the NWICO (democratization, decolonization, demonopolization and development, Carlsson in Hemer:2005, p. 197) as well as education, technology, attention by authorities and recognition of the appropriateness and relevance of *bottom-up perspectives*.

**I.1. Revolutions and social media**

The right to communicate is a revolutionary concept and as we shall see in the discourse analysis the villagers of Konduchi, Kaole and Bagamoyo are urging this revolution to take place. Is it likely that if the villagers were able to appropriate the technology, they would set a revolutionary process in motion, just as has been the case throughout the MENA region lately?

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2 see for instance an article in the Guardian: [http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/apr/29/democracy-sub-saharan-africa-analysis](http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/apr/29/democracy-sub-saharan-africa-analysis). Richard Dowden in his brilliant account of current Africa and the changes taking place throughout poses the same question. (Dowden: 2009)
At the moment small scale demonstrations and upheavals are taking place in many countries in Africa because of rising food prices, corruption and the failure of state institutions to tackle social problems. These social problems were also instigating the very first demonstrations in Tunisia, Egypt and Yemen etc. But aided by young tech-savvy bloggers, twitters, network cruisers and political activists they quickly evolved into calls for freedom, democracy and respect for human rights. Many agree that the sudden eruption from repression and fear into mobilization and activism was a result of the rapid spread of social media and web 2.0. With the recent political transformations, social upheavals and cultural reinvigorations engulfing these countries there doesn’t seem to be a need for proving that social media has the potential for social change. For sure lack of human rights, lack of democracy and economic inequality are issues with the force to inflict anger. But whether it’s the media or social deficiencies that foster social change is beginning to appear to be a controversial question in itself.  

With the advent of ICT and the Internet the issue of the right to communicate has been put to the foreground, and in a way foreseen by the MacBride report. In the face of capitalist led globalization it is no surprise that calls for the regulation or opposition to the spread and dominance of culture are resisted. What’s interesting though is that this conflict to some extent has been rendered oblivious due to the democratizing development of ICT.

With open source software, increased availability of ICTs, the Internet (especially Web 2.0), mobile phones and the globalization of culture, language and knowledge in the network society, the democratization of communication has already taken place in terms of the advancement of technology; but democratization is still only in theory. The critical and manifold questions of accessibility and the digital divide lingers on. The general answer to the problem of the digital divide simply to bridge it, i.e. adapt poor regions to the network economy. In this understanding, the problem of the digital divide restricts the issue to a traditional ethnocentric view of developing countries as under-developed in contrast to developed economies (Granqvist in Hemer:2005). The thesis proposes that there is more to this picture.

The thesis disregards the problems and obstacles associated with ICT4D, i.e. the digital divide and the problems of practical adaptation of ICTs in poor or rural regions considered by among

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3 See for instance an article under the heading: Globalization of revolution, Revolution are caused by human agency, not telecommunication technologies, scholar argues: http://english.aljazeera.net/indepth/opinion/2011/03/2011320131934568573.html, accessed March 25, 2011


5 Curiously, as I’m writing this one of the students in Tanzania is texting me, asking for assistance to get him a Mac computer to do film editing.
other the World Summit on the Information Society in 2003 and 2005. I do not in this way want to exaggerate the potential or applicability of film for change in convergence with Web 2.0. Naturally, the question of self-communication boils down to the availability and accessibility of ICT, including knowledge and mastering of the tools of the network society. Also it is not automatically a liberating measure. As Salil Shetty, secretary general of Amnesty International points out, there is nothing magical or deterministic about the Internet and other communications technologies and goes on to warn that technology itself "neither respects nor undermines human rights... Technology will serve the purposes of those who control it – whether their goal is the promotion of rights or the undermining of rights." But based on the likely scenario that ICTs will penetrate to a larger and larger extent into the public spheres, where poverty hitherto has prevented people from exercising their right to communicate, and approached with critical theory, the question becomes one of social nature of technological design (Granqvist in Hemer:2005, p. 289). Thus I find it interesting to take a look at how ICTs are appropriated by the disadvantaged people that this thesis explore, if not as users of ICTs then as potential practitioners of the right to communicate in the network society. Into this picture belong the questions of cross cultural translation and globalization seen from below. Chapter 2 takes up the question of applying ICT4D to the film for change method under investigation in this thesis, including reflections on web 2.0 and citizen media.

I.2. The public sphere and the globalization of media

In the words of Manuel Castells the public sphere is the space of societal, meaningful interaction where ideas and values are formed, conveyed, supported, and resisted; space that ultimately becomes a training ground for action and reaction. (Castells: 2009, p. 301) For this reason the control over socialized (ibid) communication by the wealthy and by political authorities, throughout history has been a key source of social power. The resistance or opposition to the strongholds of power thus finds it primary battleground through communication in the public sphere. Communication in the public sphere in turn takes on different rationalities and discursive formations, according to their strength of agency, argument and access to the sources of discursive power, i.e. knowledge and control over and strategic ability to utilise the means of communication. Social theorists from Habermas to Amartya Sen have highlighted the evolution of (free) media in the public sphere from a fourth estate or watchdog into media that commodity news and are more interested in people as consumers than as citizens (Deane in Hemer et

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al.:2005, p 177) and as a prerequisite for economic development and control of social, environmental and other liabilities.

From the late 1980's and onwards the global media landscape in the developing world has been the object of increased liberalizations due to a wave of democratizations, spread of new communication technologies, economic globalization and increased pressure from donor countries to open up markets and invest in good governance, transparency and human rights. This development has led to widespread proliferation of media organisation (newspapers, radio, television); a transformation of media content into targeting high spending urban middle classes with engaging, popular programming; the proliferation of new communication technologies (satellite, cable, the Internet and mobile telephony) at ever lower prices and enabling increased horizontal communication; and the introduction of media interactivity, turning receivers and consumers into suppliers, watchdogs and citizen journalists (Deane in Hemer:2005, pp. 179). It is in relation to this development that power and social relations are changing.

I.3. Power and social change in the network society

Central to the right to communicate stands the notion of power. Power defines the rules of the game, so to speak: Who gets to speak, when, where and how. And to what extent will their voices be listened to and considered in policy matters that affect their life. In order to understand power I suggest that we understand it in a Foucauldian sense, as relations between actors that exercise power. According to Foucault power is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society (Foucault in The History of Sexuality, quoted in Flyvbjerg: 1992, p. 106, my emphasis) The concrete and particular manifestations of power that should interest us are located in operations and mechanisms, of which many are hidden or secret. The nature of power is to hide it’s sources and modus operandi because that is how it maintains it’s hold on the social realm as power (Flyvbjerg:1992, p 109). In chapter 3 we look into how force relations and power manifest in the discourses produced by the three films in the visual interventions project.7

7 The question remains if the concept of power as strategic relations that manifest in discourse is really appropriate for the study of communication in a developing context? I believe so for various reasons, the most obvious being the fact that globalization has it’s hold on everyone, not discriminating whether they’re living in an advanced or late modern society or in modernizing environments, where power relations may actually be even more complex and fluid than in the rationally integrated nation states of the West. I consider Tanzania a nation state in this regard
As we shall see in chapter 3 power relations are globalised and complex to the extent that they become incomprehensible for the people exercising them. As an example, the power that works through the global development and aid regimes governing much of local development in African countries inherits its rationale and logic from western society building concepts (e.g. citizenship, democracy, productive work etc). Thus the power relations that permeate social reality in Konduchi, Kaole and Bagamoyo do not only entail huge distance; they also base themselves on knowledge and rationality that are more or less detached from local reality. This mixing of local and global (or glocalization – Hemer/Tufte: 2005) often is referred to as a juxtaposition of tradition and modernity. I use the same distinction for lack of better words although I believe it is impossibly to judge cultural signifiers according to this linear scheme because their cultural embeddedness is regulated by power relations that in turn depend on multidirectional, glocalising discourses.

But what is social change actually? And how does it relate to relations of power? Or more appropriately, how can we study social change discursively to understand the hegemonic probability by which it will occur? Fairclough (2000) identifies social change as a discursive practice that takes place in processes of intertextuality and interdiscursivity (p 84). To put it shortly, (critical) discourse analysis understands texts as discourse and social practice that 1) are shaped or determined by social structures (i.e. power and other relations) in the widest sense and at the same time 2) constitute and construct how people act upon and represent the world. Social structure and discourse relate dialectically and thus constitute and construct the world in meaning (Fairclough: 2000, p. 64) that in turn contributes to transforming society (ibid. p. 65). According to Fairclough discursive elements (or discursive formations) within discourses at times come forth as contradictory in relations to others. In the analysis in chapter 3 I see these contradictory elements as subject positions in relation to dominant discourses. These are indications of social change taking place in discourse as redrawings of boundaries between old elements (ibid. p. 70). Discursive or social change takes place intertextually or interdiscursively where discourse formations adopt elements from different discourses to erect subject positions that in turn point to new discursive formations, or social change. The linguistic study of text and discourse is complex, and instead of venturing into a lengthy explanation of how texts should be analysed as signifiers of the social world I refer to the analysis in chapter 3, methodological considerations in chapter 1 and appendices A and D that contain methodological considerations.

because of the relatively stable state building that has been taking place for more than 40 years on the ideological basis of Nyerere and the dominant state-party, CCM.
Two concepts are necessary to consider though: hegemony and ideology. According to Fairclough (and later social constructivists Laclau & Mouffe), ideology interpellates subjects through discourse to constitute them as meaningful entities in systems of dominance. Thus an ideology may produce a discourse of social relations attributing advantages or superior characteristics to certain groups and subordinated traits to others (ibid. pp 87). Subject positions in discourse build on patterns of ideology and the inherent hegemonic ordering of signs but where subjects are faced with dilemmas or contradictions they apply creativity to invent new or alternative subject positions, i.e. discursive change. Change involves forms of transgression, crossing boundaries, such as putting together existing conventions in new combinations, or drawing upon conventions in situations, which usually preclude them (ibid. p 96).

These new discursive formations challenge existing hegemonies to various extents but often they become naturalised into predominant discourse to establish new hegemonies, building on social change processes. Chapter 3 identifies social change as it occurs in subject positions that reflect on dilemmas and contradictions in discourse.

I.4. Participation and social change as working tools in development interventions

The particular field of interest of the thesis is community media and alternative media as media channels that exercise the right to communicate for poor people, largely marginalised from global mainstream communication networks and thus challenging existing power relations in the public sphere. These media channels have for many years been targeted by Western development interventions, using participatory approaches, to empower and provide media access for poor people. In literature on communication for development participation is mostly referred to as the crucial dynamic element enabling dialogic communication, break up of the sender-receiver dichotomy into an horizontal relationship, and priority on locally conceptualised and culturally specific assessment of needs that frees development interventions from traditional donor imposed solutions neglecting local knowledge, cultural practices and sustainable social change (Waisbord and Huesca in Gumuchio-Dagron & Tufte: 2006, pp 561). The participatory approach in donor led development interventions in principle passes over self-determination and control of development priorities and means to the primary stakeholders. But participation in real life is, as chapter 2 briefly discusses, a contested practice that often bypasses elemental considerations in the process of empowerment.

I.5. The underprivileged network society

Poor people are people who according to official statistics live on less than 2 dollars a day. Their perspective on communication rights changes everything, the nature of poverty being captivation of people in vicious cycles of humiliation, marginalisation and unanswered needs. Caught in poverty, the question becomes one of access to and the knowledge of how to utilize
media and ICTs. That’s why this thesis takes a look from the bottom-up, starting with community media, over alternative to social media and web 2.0.

The thesis deals with the contribution by marginalised peoples and communities – generally cut off from national and global media flows – of self perceived representations of themselves, their circumstances and problems to the democratizing space of the public sphere. It asks how people’s self representation and mediation open up a potential field of social change, either through self determination, imagined options or solutions, appeals and the rallying of support, by reporting on a subject and broadening the horizons of spectators, or in other ways through community media, alternative media and many-to-many platforms of the web 2.0.

The quest is to understand how the ownership of semiotic and symbolic representation and interpretation may be shifted to the target groups, the primary stakeholders. The subject at hand is basically anthropological since the methods and practices concern how outside development workers can aide poor people in post-colonial, destitute and marginalised circumstances; it relies on intercultural translation, cultural brokerage, and other techniques of fostering understanding, cooperation, cultural and discursive negotiation to bridge the differences in power, agency, freedom, perspective, knowledge etc.
Chapter 1 The study

I never realised that my kitchen could be so beautiful!

Indigenous audience to a documentary from her village

In the autumn of 2010 I was invited to Tanzania to perform a field study of a pilot student exchange between the Department of Fine and Performing Arts at the University of Dar es Salaam and the Film Department and the master’s program in Communication for Development at University of Malmö. With funding from the Swedish program for ICT in developing regions (SPIDER), 3 students from Tanzania had the good fortune to go to Sweden to train film editing for 1 ½ months during September and October 2010. On location in Dar es Salaam and surroundings 6 Tanzanian and 3 Swedish film and arts students received training in documentary film and conducted the research, scripting and shooting of the three films during 3 weeks in August 2010. On the way they received supervision from 1 teacher, Mr Richard Ndunguru at the Department of Fine and Performing Arts at University of Dar es Salaam and 1 teacher, Mr Lajos Varhegyi, from the Film Department at University of Malmö. Lajos Varhegyi is a documentary filmmaker. Richard Ndunguru is a specialist in theatre and film for development and social change. One representative accompanied the project from the University of Malmö, Mr Anders Högh Hansen, who participated mainly as observer and project manager. Finally, there was me, observer and master student at Department for Communication for Development, Malmö University.

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8 The quote is from ethnographic observation by Clemencia Rodríguez in her article in Gümüció-Dagron, A. & Tufte: 2006, p. 763. As part of shooting a documentary in Columbia she was asked to screen what she had filmed before the village audience. She’s describes the incident in this way: All my readings on democratic communication and unbalanced information flows never could have prepared me to understand the profundity of this experience. I was witnessing a community looking at itself and the process, transforming its self-images.

9 My interest in communication for social change is motivated by experience I have gained through several projects that aimed at social change and awareness raising, which I have initiated and conducted in the fields of gender equality, CSR and LGBT. My inspiration also derives from involvement in democratization work in the Global South where I specialize in media. In attempting to write the thesis to complete my master’s degree at University of Malmö I have been through indigenous tourism development in Guatamala, CSR and ICTs in East Africa, a variety of projects in Bolivia (including human rights, environmental issues, ICT, productive sector, participation, indigenous population etc), language conservation and preservation in Western Ethiopia. When I was offered the possibility to go to Tanzania and share the experience
The design of the exchange program and consequently the filmmaking itself was very much conditioned by the objective of exploring possible future collaboration and student exchange between the universities, along with time and money constraints, considerations of safety, levels of proficiency of the students, etc. Possible stories and themes had been investigated beforehand in a fact-finding mission conducted by Lajos Varhegyi and Richard Ndunguru. And agreement had been reached about the approaches to community film and development that were going to be applied. These relied in great part on the resources and professional profiles of these two trainers and did not include follow up activities or subsequent interventions or community based social change initiatives. Other agreements between film crews and interlocutors were made that have influenced the results of the representational analysis; this I will get back to in chapter 3.

My research interest on the other hand was different. Initially, not intending to concern myself with the exchange program and organisational aspects, I had expected to be introduced to the methods and dynamics of participatory community involvement through filmmaking. But for reasons of organization, the professional interest of the participants and lack of time and preparation the project’s filmmakers largely left out the participatory elements and focused on the visual and narrative tools of documentary film instead. From the beginning of fieldwork I thus found myself embedded in a conflict of opposing interests and interpretations that was to frame all subsequent research.

One of the problems in the visual interventions project that I identified early on was the fact that a communication strategy wasn’t conceived or explicated from the start. But it constantly appeared as a genre code in the internal considerations of the filmmakers. It’s basic features were that the films: (Field diary entry 2, lines 68-107) were meant to be instrumental in creating social change by way of a conventional documentary approach (i.e. reflect the filmmakers personal intentions on an emotional level and according to the norms of the documentary genre, see also field diary entry 3, lines 63-77);

• should function with a multicultural audience (target group not specified);

with other people I naturally jumped in. The project in many ways spoke to me because it offered an opportunity to work with and understand visual media and collaborative / participatory approaches to the production of representations of other cultures and issues associated with development and social change. Among the many insights I have gained through the study I want to emphasize the representational and discourse analysis that have brought out new perspectives for me. Also fieldwork was a truly thought provoking and mind boggling experience that has made me realize new perspectives.
• should concern themselves with the topics of current social problems that the students researched in the field;
• should be visually effective and creative, and possibly incorporate re-enacted or fictive elements, along a progressive linear model of storytelling (this notion to some extent also reflects the artistic ambitions of the Department of Fine Arts and Performance);
• should be conceptualized, enacted and produced within the context of the project, i.e. intercultural communication, international exchange, learning, North2South development collaboration, and the genre conventions of participatory observation and ethnographic documentary film, see below (field diary entry 5, lines 118-119)

1.1. Film for change

The concept of Film for Change has been conceived by Richard Ndunguru and Lajos Varhegyi as a cross disciplinary combination of the disciplines of Theatre for Development, participatory approaches in communication for development and ethnographic documentary filmmaking (visual anthropology). Chapter 2 locates where the methods converge and draw inspiration from each other. Film for change like theatre for development and the much larger field of communication for development involves first and foremost a concern for community issues and endogenous development needs as perceived by marginalised people, i.e. needs for social change, new solutions, improvements, different approaches to problems or otherwise; needs that seldom get attended to in conventional top-down development approaches, as numerous examples point out (Hemer/Tufte:2005, Easterly: 2008, Howley: 2010, Baaz: 2005, Pieterse: 2006 etc).

But theatre for development and communication for developments focus’ on community concerns and media is not sufficient to explain the many applications and implications of film for change which potentially reaches beyond the community and through convergence with Web 2.0 into the much larger public sphere, nationally as well as internationally. This wider application off course depends on the still emerging field of ICT4D that have interesting implications for film for change as a tool for human rights advocacy and cultural indigenous representation on a wider scale. This thesis does not address the issues of the digital divide though.

1.2. Research objective, structure of thesis and research questions

The objective of the thesis is to present a view of film for change set against the manifold approaches, practices or ideologies influencing it and to understand the way it operates as a tool for the self-representation, self-determination and mediation of marginalised people in the face of globalization and the democratization of communication. It seeks to find answer to the
question (which was not possible from pure field research) how film for change works as a method to empower the disadvantaged inhabitants of the three villages in Tanzania, where the project, visual interventions was carried out.

The basic research interest is the question: what takes place in the process of film for change that may explain how the use of media is connected to power and social change? I assume that there are two ways to explain this. I explore those in chapters 2 on the film for change method, participation and social change and 3 on representational strategy and discourse in the three films for change:

In chapter 2 the text takes an ethnographic approach to the question by imposing a methodological theory building concept, the sensitizing concept (see chapter 1.5. for considerations of ethnographic methodology and sensitizing concepts) while it also explains genealogical relations between film for change and the theory of participatory methods in communication for development, theatre for development, applied visual anthropology and social / citizens' media.

Ethnographic exploration also leads to an idea about the meanings, discourses and codes that the films communicate to the target audience, i.e. the people inhabiting the villages where the films were shot. Chapter 3 uses narratological and semiotic as well as discourse analysis to explore these and to ask the very open question, what messages, meanings and discourses do the films bring up and how do they relate to power and social change in the network society? (see chapter 1.6 for methodological considerations on the application of critical discourse analysis).

The focus of the study which evaluates the importance of context is visualised below:

**Objects of study:**
- filmmakers (including trainers, institutional set up, norms of filmmaking etc)
- films
- screening of films
- communication environment (discourse)

**Context:**
- communities
- protagonists
- audiences (locally, nationally, internationally etc)
- social, economic, cultural, judicial, health conditions and structures (i.e. poverty)
- the state of affairs of communication and access to the public sphere
- power relations and means of self determination locally

Thus following along the exploratory process of thick exploration chapter 2 starts out with the ethnographic ‘discovery’ of theory built on field observations, the imaginative leeway from media to social change. It then moves on to evaluate film for change against the other methods in the field of communication for social change and with increased comprehension of the ‘clash’
of approaches that the field brings up. Chapter 3 on the other hand presents a more synthesised view of the discourses produced in the films. See chapter 1.5 for a discussion of methodology.

1.3. Theory and processing the observations

The text uses a wealth of theories, which naturally calls for delimitations. In it’s interdisciplinarity it touches only lightly on some of the theories. It’s depth lies in the ethnographic exploration of the concept of film for change and discourse analysis. Delimitations are therefore accounted for in the ethnographic method and methodology (and not necessarily in discourse theory). What concerns the meta level of discussion admittedly my use of theory is leaning towards social constructionist, and I do not allow for many ontologically opposing views. But choice of theory is conditioned by the research interest with its emphasis on social change. What concerns empirical sources and the organization of field observations, refer to the reference list at the back.

1.4. Constraints, validity and further investigation

I haven’t allowed for sufficient time after the screenings to properly observe reactions and the results of the process. Ideally speaking, I should have returned or even stayed on for a much longer period to really understand the social processes and the results of the visual intervention project. Pink (2008) reflects on the time use of applied visual anthropologists and notes that they spend considerably less time in the field compared to the norms of classical anthropological methodology. Does this invalidate my research? It seriously limits the ability to generalize about the impact of the project. Some hypothesis about potential outcome and other time related issues are necessarily taking for granted since they’re impossibly to foresee.

If I had allowed myself more time in the field I would (probably attributable to my presence) maybe have witnessed more screenings. But I would for sure have been able to include the

10 In the area of communication for development I have skipped models along the lines of the persuasion, behaviourist, dependency and top-down approaches in general because the research interest did not allow for it, although they could be regarded as effective approaches to social change as well. Likewise in regards to visual anthropology, where I have looked at only applied visual anthropology (applied visual anthropology). The field of communication for development is vast; I have only looked in the areas of community and alternative media, advocacy, the paradigm of participation, ICTs, and practical applications.

11 See for instance Clemencia Rodríguez (2001) for a compelling argument for applying a social constructivist approach along with terms and concepts deriving from critical and grounded theory, discourse theory and critical ethnography (Stenersen:2009)
progression of negotiations between Mr Ndunguru and the network TV provider, SIBUKA TV, which hit the air end November 2010 with a test programming. Spring 2011 they have been starting regular broadcasting and the three films from this project have been invited to air free of charge.\textsuperscript{12} I initiated the contact early on in the project but later revised my observer role and let go of control. I likewise attempted to step back from the scene in regards to the question of contributing the three films to the Zanzibar International Film Festival, Sembene Ousmane Films for development competition\textsuperscript{13}. Collaboratively, we have taken up this idea again though, as I’m writing this. If we manage to provide funding and if the films are accepted into the competition we might participate with a seminar or similar on film for change. This potential outcome, although it belongs to the picture, I have not included in the analysis.

All this ‘I missed’ because of the time constraint. It doesn’t affect much the validity of the study since I haven’t asked any questions in this regard. Other issues are more likely to have affected the study. One of these is the chosen media focus of the study and the project itself. No attention has been paid to the expectations that may have been raised with the people in the communities and participants in general. No planning on how to deal with eventual outcomes. To some extent it can be said that the project intended to abandon the primary stakeholders to realize their goals themselves. This problem attributes to the difference in project (or research) interest of my study and the student exchange project. I would like to be able to analyse the whole picture

\textsuperscript{12} The mission statement of SIBUKA TV states that it aims to provide quality media empowering contents for the enterprising world and to become a leading empowering media in East Africa by 2020. (SIBUKA TV mission statement) It is partly financed by the collaborations with NGOs and business partners, as well as paid advertising (which is low). The TV provider is linked to Star Times Media Multiplex that provides digital TV contents for viewers in Dar es Salaam, Arusha and Dodoma regions in Tanzania. It can also be viewed in other East African countries through satellite. At the time of writing 60,000 Tanzanians have bought decoders to watch programs offered by the conglomerate (\url{http://sibukafm.com/index.php?option=com_contact&view=contact&id=1&Itemid=116}, retrieved April 16, 2011 and SIBUKA TV). Star Times Media Multiplex is a joint venture between Chinese Star Software Technology Co, Ltd and national and regional TV providers, and for this reason it seems most likely to be aiming at entertaining and commercial content (\url{http://www.startimes.com.cn/xw_nei.asp?id=470&treeid=67}). This fact to some extent explains why the Tanzanian counterparts in the visual interventions project were initially reluctant to cooperate with SIBUKA TV (field diary entry 7, lines 53-96) Contrary to this, SIBUKA TV’s general manager, Charles Nangari, told me that it is a daytime community platform devoted to citizen media, entertainment, current affairs and infotainment. Their long term aim is to include 60-80% locally produced programming and have a substantial part of it deal with social issues and other development concerns, i.e. as infotainment, edutainment etc. (Field diary entry 7, lines 71-74)

\textsuperscript{13} \url{http://www.ziff.or.tz/}
whereas the project in it's conceptualization was limited to the exchange of students and nothing more. What's beyond the time and space of the student exchange is based on theory. Other methodologically constraints that may affect validity and which I mention throughout the thesis are:

- The fact that the filmmakers paid the interlocutors or participants in the filming can have influenced their statements and sense of loyalty to the film crew

- Language translation and the subtitling of the films which was done by the Tanzanian counterparts in the project may have distorted meaning. I rely completely on translations made ad hoc by bilingual counterparts. In principle my lack of understanding Swahili invalidates my attempt at analysing the contents of the project. There is no reason to suspect though that translations of the films are necessarily bad.

- I wasn't able to get hold of film maker's notes on dramaturgy which would have been interesting and could have shed some light on questions of direction and editing.

- Ideally I should have talked to officials and others in the villages to reflect the context but because of the sensitive nature of some of the themes brought up in the films and a weariness to confront authorities by the filmmakers themselves, I refrained from this.

- More screenings would have benefited the validity of the observations

In general terms the field study maybe should be described as a sample of a communication for social change process, or simply a pilot. The extension of the student exchange project is what defines it.

1.5. Applied ethnography

The central epistemological tenet that I apply in this thesis is critical and social constructivist in the sense that the phenomenological or grounded approach forces me to reflect on observations and to some extent turn my attention towards my own preconceptions of the empirical and scrutinize their cultural and political embeddedness from my point of view. Various authors

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14 See field diary entry 3, lines 78-86 and entry 5, lines 71-77, where I use the term 'bribery' and reflect upon the problems that may arise from introducing an incentive like money into the agreement

15 I did though attempt to invite local commissioners and authorities to the screening but they refused the invitation. I happened to know these people because I had been working in the area prior to the project.
have referred to this reflective methodology as *thick descriptions*.\(^{16}\) Thick descriptions are deductive and in the post-modern approach that I have used also narrative.\(^{17}\) In this sense the ethnographic observations speak for themselves and to some extent they could have been used ‘raw’ as chapters in the thesis. See chapter 1.5. for more in depth considerations of the methodologies of ethnography and discourse analysis.

### 1.5.1. Observer role

As ethnographer it is necessary to be aware of how one’s interaction with the subjects of study influences research outcomes. That’s obvious. But the ways in which the ethnographer influences are mostly ambiguous, evasive and complex. During fieldwork I often had a strange feeling that I was misinterpreting things or that my presence affected the situation, sometimes in unintended ways. I discussed my role with the project leaders beforehand, and we agreed that I should participate as a ‘third eye’ in the film-scripting, shooting, and editing phases.\(^{18}\)

Confronted with the priorities on the ground I maintained a sense of responsibility for the participatory approach, which can be read from the field diary notes as well the interviews (Field Diary entry 1, attached letter to supervisor, August 18, 2010)

I have attempted to be sensitive towards postcolonial and feminist issues in an attempt to locate the hybrid ‘truth’ between different cultural perspectives and in challenging the paradigm of cultural difference. What I found in most instances though was myself questioning along the line of postcolonial criticism, and not really sensing that my Tanzanian counterparts were agreeing or seeing the same differences.\(^{19}\) Notions of cultural difference, status and the sorts of confusion, misinterpretations and bewilderments that arise from intercultural translations are constantly blurring the observations and making it difficult to adjust and coordinate ambitions, expectations and actions. But it’s part of the field exercise, and an exiting one! (see field diary entry 6 for some personal reflections, especially lines 34-52) The thesis reflects on the issues of

\(^{16}\) The term ‘thick’ (and ‘thin’) descriptions or theory is attributed to the anthropologist C. Geerts in his book ‘Interpretation of Cultures’ from 1973. Here I refer to Faulkner and Puddenphatt in Puddenphatt (2009), as well as Schweizer in Bernard: 1998.

\(^{17}\) The field diary in appendix B exemplifies the narrative account, which Puddephatt et al rightly portrays as attempting to provide ‘entertaining and provocative imagery to challenge and awaken the reader out of routine arguments’ (Puddephatt et al in Puddephatt: 2009, p 6)

\(^{18}\) Email from Lajos Varhegyi, August 17, 2010, attached to Field Diary entry 1, August 18, 2010

\(^{19}\) In an interesting entry into the field diary where I made guesses about one of the important participants in the project, I try to settle the ambiguity by reaching a sort of compromise. (see Field Diary entry 7, November 11, 2010, lines 28-40)
cultural translation and ways of reading cultural codes in the treatment of cultural brokerage and representational analysis.

1.5.2. Building theory - on the use of sensitizing concepts

R. R. Faulkner (in Puddephatt (2009)) elaborates on the ethnographic method with the terms exploration/exploitation that again can be either thick or thin. In my fieldwork I started out on the basis of a thin exploitation, i.e. from a theory (or hypothesis), which I called ‘confrontation’ (referring to the essential participatory element in the project researched in the field). This notion became thick exploitation during conversations and observations in the field, and turned into various terms like ‘follow up’, ‘screening’ etc. I could then explore the concept further and turn it into thick exploration that enabled me to investigate the participatory aspects I was researching. Ultimately, the use of thick exploration allowed me to explore more fully the social dynamics of the ‘imaginative leeway’, which then became the sensitizing concept guiding the exploratory process (see about imaginative leeway in chapter 4). The deductive method and critical ethnography interplay in an interesting way in chapter 4 which centres around the ‘discovery’ of the originality of the method of film for change which I have found using the ethnographic notion of sensitizing concepts.

The narrative, empiricist/‘thick’ method I have been applying during field work aims at developing sensitizing concepts that can guide the theorizing and ultimately become original contributions to theory. The sensitizing concept has allowed me in a bottom-up way to explore the details of the phenomena and develop coherent conceptual thesis that can be explored and applied by others; while also managing to avoid the pitfalls of hypothetico-deductive assumptions (I was close to concluding for a long time that the film for change methodology was worthless because (or so I thought at the time) it did not involve participation by local stakeholders).

Harry Collins distinguishes three phases of concept development in ethnography, ‘conceptual heritage – what one has been taught, or read or learned through academic socialization; what one learns from the field – at least when one is being an empirical sociologist; and the page – the process of organising, talking about and writing down the argument.’ (H. Collins in Puddephatt (2009) p 289). I have developed concepts using all three phases and have thus managed to maintain ethnographic observation as the foundation of the thesis. Still, I have had to – especially in mapping of visual technologies for change and development – to resort to referring to the history and theory of the field. Puddephatt refers to this process as ‘mutually dependent phases of ‘exploration’ and ‘inspection’ in which sensitizing concepts (...) take form and undergo testing against the ‘obdurate’ nature of the (empirical).’ (Puddephatt (2009) p 19) The theory building thus can be described as structuralist because it entails a theory-net of explanations.
and interpretations on different levels, ranging from theory to the empirical (Bernard: 1998, p 71, 74). I do not attempt to either create or cover a theory-net as such. It suffices to say that the theory or generalizations of the imaginative leeway belongs to the field of either communication for development or applied visual anthropology (or applied visual anthropology). See the discussion about this in chapter 4.

It is also worth noting that a sensitising concept is not necessarily the same as research focus or interest. Although sensitising concepts are central to the analysis and play prominent roles in the understanding of the field they function as mere instruments to help the investigation along towards its realization in an illumination of the research question.

1.5.3. Doing anthropology / ethics

In the controversial documentary Secrets of the Tribe The anthropologist Napoleon Chagnon reflects on what he considers to be a myth among anthropologists that science needs to be deeply tied to the empirical, or as R. R. Faulkner presents it based on thick exploration of the empirical. Chagnon was involved in early anthropological study missions of the largely unknown and very isolated Yanomamö tribe on the south-western border of Venezuela with Brazil. The film – which bases it’s plot on the 2000 book Darkness in El Dorado – strongly alleges that Chagnon and counterparts in collaboration with the US research institute NASA purposefully infected the indigenous population with measles as a scientific experiment to test the effects of deceases on ‘pure’ genes; and that they fabricated and manipulated results by ignoring empirical evidence and basing conclusions on biological genetic-determinist interpretations. This allegedly led Chagnon to overemphasise the fierce or violent nature of the Yanomamö. When asked about his response to this criticism Chagnon replied, somewhat condescendingly, that anthropologists were too concerned with empiricism, and therefore had to resort to too rigid methodological imperatives that only served to limit the scopes of their work. 20

His critical comments about the ‘empiricism’ of anthropologists and ethnographers and their lack of interdisciplinary understanding and willingness to inform research on theory parallels a criticism that may be raised against the notion of anthropology as thick exploration, and as the researcher of visual anthropology coins it anthropology ‘put to use’ (Pink (2004) p 6). It runs the risk of becoming particularistic and tedious in description and lack of analysis if it doesn’t reach out to more generalising theory, and enable comparison to other subjects of study. On the other

hand, it seems to me that Chagnon was himself guilty of utilising anthropology for other ends.\textsuperscript{21} Multiple ethical and critical considerations are required in dealing with the field of applied ethnography / anthropology. This thesis is also an attempt at covering some of these issues in regard to empowerment through development communication and representational strategies to speak on behalf of other cultures.

The ethical considerations also come to the fore where critical ethnography is concerned. The constructivist hermeneutic approach to reality which implies an ideological democratic, bottom-up, liberating/empowering understanding of subjects (Stenersen: 2009) is constantly in danger of transgressing into the political. As Pink puts it, ‘It is the approach of the researcher, not the application of the method, that makes research ethnographic. ... the goal of research should be to produce a loyal and reflexive account of other people’s experiences, an account based on collaboration and recognition of the intersubjectivity of the research encounter.’ (Pink: 2004 p 10). This idea of empathetic interpretation can be likened to constructivist notions of cultural translation. Which talks about translating the culture of others in a charitable and sympathetic way (Bernard: 1998). See more about cultural translations and brokerage in chapter 4.

The methodological struggle over whose interests to serve, those of objective science, those of the subjects, or others, comes to the fore as an ethical conflict over ethnographic interpretation and scientific practice. Judging in this particular conflict and needless to say I believe the revelation of sympathies in contrast to covert agendas is preferable. It moves me to reassert that the component of social intervention in applied anthropology (which was also what Chagnon was pursuing but with another intend) is evidence that the methodology that I apply certainly is a way of seeing and interpreting the empirical; and in this sense it is both serving the subjects (ideally) and runs the risk of becoming utilitarian or instrumental in the attempt to induce social change. It runs the risk of becoming ideological or politicized. In reflecting upon the empirical the truth will have to be found somewhere on the continuum of this ethical spectre. The same goes for the subjects of my study, the film makers, who quite overtly on many occasions express a preference for the politicized ‘way of seeing’. I will get back to this in chapter 5.

\textsuperscript{21} The risk that the Yanomamö could be viewed as an accessible resource to be utilised to gain recognition and prestige among scientists as well as popular appeal is palpable. That obviously was the journalistic and human rights viewpoint of the filmmakers and the authors of the book; a perspective that critical ethnography could easily resort to as well. Most of the allegations against Chagnon have since been refuted by investigative panels at the American Anthropology Association and the University of Michigan, see also: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Darkness_in_El_Dorado, accessed March 25, 2011
1.6. Analysis of representation and discourse

In chapter 3 I utilise a triangulation of approaches to get to the meanings and understandings that permeate the three films that were produced by the students in the exchange program. I do this, not only on recommendation (Gripsrud: 2002, p145), but also because I believe that parallel symptomatic and sympathetic readings do most justice to the intentions of the original producers of the films. My aim has been to distil a set of concepts that enabled me to discuss the meanings intertextually by reference to theory and context, although refraining from trying to understand the media use and knowledge of the audiences in the villages in Tanzania where the films were screened (see chapter 1).

The eclectic nature of the analysis breaks into three parts:

• In the first reading I analyse the narrative structure of the films to identify dramaturgy, roles and functions on the latent plane (formalistic and structuralist approaches). This analysis enables me to identify themes, plots, genres and uncover some of the meanings of the films.

• In the second reading I interpret the systems of meaning by looking for metaphors, connotations and binary opposites in the langue, on the hidden plane (symptomatic reading). This interpretation enables me to talk about cultural codes and meaning in the Tanzanian rural context of the villages.

• In the third reading I identify discourses from the occurrence of binary opposites and metaphors, and drawing on literature on African film, development, post colonial readings etc. The ultimate goal of this rather formalistic approach is to systematically extract the motives behind meaning and those that may influence the social change potential of the films.

Ultimately, I want to connect the conclusions of the discourse analysis to the idea that communication can lead to social change through the interdiscursive establishment of subject positions, countering and challenging hegemonic discourses through representational strategies that allow for more or less participation and more or less empowerment.

I understand representation as ‘the embodying of concepts, ideas and emotions in a symbolic form which can be transmitted and meaningfully interpreted’ (Hall: 2003, p 10) as signifiers in the context of cultural circuits that involve processes of power and discourse. In the representational analysis I have been inspired by Foucault’s understanding of discourse as

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22 The sequence indicated above in practice became a much more intuitive process, flipping between the various approaches to analysis as seemed appropriate.
relations of power and knowledge\textsuperscript{23} to identify competing discourses in the various communities in Tanzania. (Jørgensen & Phillips: 1999, Hall: 2003, Laclau & Mouffe: 2001, Fairclough: 2000) The picture of discursive hegemony that I end up with is modified in comparison because of two factors that are opposed to the structuralism of Saussure (Jørgensen & Phillips: 1999, p20) and that relate to each other dialectically:

The first is the emphasis on the contextual which in critical discourse theory is complicit in determining and changing discourse. (Jørgensen & Phillips: 1999, pp15 discussing Norman Fairclough) Since the research interest of this thesis is the potentiality of social change it seems relevant to try to understand how change can take place socially-discursively.

The second factor is the focus on processes of meaning and less on structures. In this sense my approach allows for a personal free will of subjects. In the films concerned, it doesn't really make sense to apply a rigorous structuralism since the individualism of the protagonists seem to stand out. At the same time they supposedly speak on behalf of their fellow Tanzanians and thus enable an interesting discussion between poststructuralist ontologies and epistemologies on the one hand and a more social-psychological or historical approach to discourse. The discussion does not attempt to give a comprehensive picture of discourses. I let the research interest frame the discussion instead, using the ethnographic material that speaks very clearly about some aspects of these issues (i.e. interviews with the filmmakers).

The analysis of power and knowledge is central to critical discourse analysis. Apart from the definitions of terms presented in the introduction, chapter 3 touches on how to use the concepts to identify discourses and their functions as \textit{tactically productive and strategically integrative notions} (Flyvbjerg: 1992, p 122).

\textsuperscript{23} The semiotic meaning I extract from the films point at discourse, knowledge and power. But a full fledged discourse analysis is not within reach. I have not been able to conduct an analysis of media knowledge and use. And my local knowledge is pretty insufficient.
Chapter 2 Film for Change as method

Recently, I’ve felt increasingly that the most important audience for a film is the people in it. But of course you make a film for other people too. And you make it for itself, to bring it into being.’ (David Macdougall: 1996)

David MacDougall is among the leading ethnographic filmmakers, originator of the concept of Transcultural Cinema and influential in the definition of observational cinema. Film for change is indebted to his and the works of others visual anthropologists but the method also derives it’s characteristics as a tool for strategic communication from other sources, among them theatre for development, participatory practices of communication for development, and as I suggest in this chapter social media and web 2.0. Four instruments stand out as crucial for strategic social change in the method of film for change:

• The imaginative leeway from the media to social change
• The fictionalization of change and options
• The handling of participatory approaches and
• The screening

This thesis adds a fifth element, that of an application of a many-to-many or web 2.0 media approach, which may further enhance the capability of the above four elements to facilitate social change. The chapter analyses the method of film for change against the background of these indicators in an attempt to address strengths and weaknesses of the method. But lets first start out in the field, during the screening of the finished film, Konduchi Fishing Village in the village of the same name.
2.1 Screening and the imaginative leeway from the media to social change

What a success! And what a relief! Anxiousness and a bit of irritation had been building up with me ... and everybody else for some days as continuous problems seemed to prevent or delay the screenings. But finally it happened and when it did it fulfilled enormously expectations and assured everyone that the films for change actually have potential and that the methods of Richard can work. ...

The film created vibrant response. It was so funny watching on as the villagers shouted with recognition and gave remarks to the various familiar faces and locations portrayed in the film. Omar the protagonist) off cause was very proud and kept smiling. He’s got a lot of charisma that man and as I told (the filmmakers) I believe the team has been very successful in choosing him for the lead part because he obviously is very engaged and you can feel his will and stamina to address the issues in the film. ...

After the film, Richard immediately took the stage by shouting Konduchi!! It made the crowd roar. He then told them about the purpose, that the films intends to set things in motion and asked the spectators to speak. A teacher from a primary school in Konduchi (an immigrant to the community, Mr Kinyato) took the word and started saying that what the villagers need is education and awareness about their rights as citizens. They had a discussion about this for about 15 minutes and then they agreed with Richard that he should return with the film and some trainer (possibly a volunteer from University of Dar es Salaam) to give them education in civil rights. In other words, the community itself expressed it’s need for development and sat about forming a group (a task force of 2-5 people) that can identify needs and plan for the civil rights education program.

Judging from this response it was clear that what made the biggest impression of all the themes that the film touches upon was the police abuse and corruption that the villagers endure. There’s obviously drug dealing, use and transport going in the area and it affects everybody because the police doesn’t discriminate when they perform razzias. When individuals are taken into custody by the police they often end up paying bribery – a vicious circle that teaches the police that they can make money this way – instead of relying on the established legal and appeals system. The idea expressed by Mr Kinyato and Omar was that if awareness of legal rights was higher, the villagers wouldn’t have to succumb to bribes and would find ways to defend their rights and in the longer run reduce their vulnerability to abuse from authorities. (Field Diary entry 10)

The visual interventions project included a profound participatory element in the screening. With participation I refer not only to the fact that the protagonists, Omar, participated as actor in the film (we will get back to his role in chapter three) but more so to the collective invitation of the community to enter into dialogue on current issues at the screening. The screening event can be described as inter-textual in the sense that it requires a participatory framework to be set up in a public presentation, involving local subjects of the film, their immediate community,
i.e. local *stakeholders*, and preferably *gatekeepers* relevant to the problems raised and to the community. In this way the screening frames a potential dialogue and/or discussion that is open ended; and in the best of cases solution oriented. During the screening event audiences will have the opportunity to come up with ideas, suggestions, criticism etc, as did Mr Kinyato in this instance, as we shall see later.

By inter-textuality I mean to say that the open-endedness of the film enables a prolonged collective authorship during the screening event and thus ‘outside’ the film itself, and similar to the technique used in theatre for development and fictionalizations in documentary (see below). The ideas and/or solutions that may come up during the screening event will not necessarily refer to the issues represented in the film but to other similar situations, problems or conflicts outside the film. In this way the method enables participants to follow an imaginative leeway by connecting to the lived world of the community, and thus imagining solutions to the problems presented I the film.24 By *imaginative leeway* I understand an imaginary passageway to change of perspective, and a brokering between real, ideal and intersubjective truths. A joker plays a crucial part as facilitator in the process leading to the imaginative leeway by guiding participants from the agenda of the film to ideas and action (C1: 13:10). The joker will take the scene after the screening and guide audiences through to the imaginative leeway.

Richard Ndunguru explained what he believes takes place in this way:

Richard: *Community based films usually end up without a defined solution. So the joker can jump in and start provoking people into a discussion. ... (he will ask, ed:) ’can anyone of you within the community tell us what he or she have seen?, and then people will start raising their hands, ... and talk of what they have seen. Then the joker will come in again and seek for solutions: ’what do we have to do? - We have seen such and such a problem in the society. Do we really have problems like these? Do we have orphans around? Do we have kids that are vulnerable? How do we support them? So people will come up with their own solutions. And then another thing; what they can do now in order to have a follow up. ... Now, through such a film we can provoke the people, and they can support the orphanage ... like sending in food, ... money ... something like that.*

24 Richard Ndunguru used the term ‘spark’ or ‘nucleus’ to describe the creative process from film to action and social change. I find the term ‘leeway’ descriptive of the process in the sense that leeway follows an unanticipated course, open to interpretation and possibly out of the hands of the ‘owners’ or ‘instigators’ of the process in the first place (i.e. the donors or filmmakers). (Encarta World English Dictionary defines lee-way as 1) *the permissible margin for variation or deviation from something* and 2) *the sideways movement of a ship or aircraft from its course, caused by strong winds*)
Me: So, will this idea about taking some kind of initiative like Yusuf has done, and actually intervening socially and changing things around him in his community. Will this idea spread?

Richard: This is going to be like a nucleus, like a spark, which can start up a bigger fire and spread (C1: 04:30)

To realize reach out during the screening event it is crucial to invite *gatekeepers* (C1: 05:00), i.e. local decision makers (in the case of Tanzania; commissioners, i.e. representatives of local government, village chairmen, police chiefs etc) NGOs or other power holders that guard the paths to money, institutions and legal permits. Similarly, *task forces* (C1:06:30) of local stakeholders can be set up to take charge of follow up to proposals and ideas that may arise during the event. This notion of follow up instruments is a bit weak as it relies completely on the willingness and initiative of the participants to take action. On the other hand, the fact that the creative process takes place collectively makes it likely that the community will hold *gatekeepers* and *task forces* accountable by for the promises they make. Additionally the method may include workshops featuring the task force, NGOs and local government officials that could be established after the screening, as well as continued dialogues in screenings or other follow up activities (C1: 16:50). In the ideal situation community stakeholders should participate in the creation of script and in decisions on plot, narration and visual tricks as well. Likewise they should be cast for acting parts in the movie itself. (C1: 20:30)

2.1.1. Cultural Brokerage and empathetic listening

During a research seminar at the University of Lund in Sweden in March 2011 I personally asked Sarah Pink how she would define the dynamics leading from visual representation to social action or change, or the imaginative leeway described above. Her suggestion was to consult the medical anthropologist Richard Chalfen who since the end of the 1960’ies has used visual technologies to broker illness narratives, documenting the experiences, perceptions, issues, and needs of people with medical diagnoses to doctors and other medical personnel. Chalfen (and others) have been successful in introducing what they call VIA (Video Intervention / Prevention Assessments) to medical anthropology. The method encompasses handing over cameras to subjects and encouraging them to ‘be behind camera rather than on camera’, thus turning their own lived experiences into video diaries, and in this way ‘re-positioning the seat of symbolic power’ (Chafen: 2004 p 19). The point here obviously is the fact that the subjects are being put in charge of representing themselves and thus give out an insider’s perspective rather than an outside.

The notion of cultural brokerage as I understand it is based on Bakhtin’s dialogic definition of meaning as negotiated difference (Hall: 2003) between representatives of different cultures. Cultural brokerage is an intentional activity and defined through common usage as a person
who facilitates the border crossing of another person or group of people from one culture to another culture. Michie defines it as ‘the act of bridging, linking or mediating between groups or persons of differing cultural backgrounds for the purpose of reducing conflict or producing change.’ (Michie: 2003)

The ontological and epistemological point of view of the ethnographic-poststructuralist approach is that we must deploy charity and sympathy to interpret and translate the expressions of the culturally other. (Schweizer in Bernard: 1998, p 56) This I understand as strategies of openness and empathetic understandings (in all of it’s myriad senses, i.e. understanding of meanings, determinative, causal, rational, intentional, functional and genetic), as well as ethnographic falsification and continuous ‘thick’ exploration.

As in the concept of cultural brokerage the imaginative leeway brokers between different versions of the truth (and fiction), between different regimes and discourses of power, interpretation and meaning. But where cultural brokerage is a technical term to describe the use of media as a repository for intercultural dialogue or negotiation of meaning, the imaginative leeway describes how a participatory strategy enables participants to broker between different versions of their own lived reality. The imaginative leeway takes away the focus from the film itself and onto the here and now perceived reality, mediated by the fictitious universe of the film. Thus the film is not the voice expressing needs, assessments or viewpoints: The impression left by the film in conjunction with ensuing debate is. And it is by listening to this voice that social change becomes possible. The imaginative leeway in itself is an educative process that opens up new possibilities and solutions for the people involved. Chapter three explores how a strategy of empathetic listening can be applied with discourse theory.

2.2. Fictionalizing the change

As implied in the field diary quote introducing the chapter the theme of police abuse and corruption was only one in many themes brought up in the film (see chapter three). It was a theme in connection to which rapport had been established between the filmmakers and the villagers. The theme refers to an incident of the police conducting a razzia in the village looking for drugs, arresting people on pure suspicion, or just randomly it seemed, releasing them later after having taken bribes. It took place before the filmmakers had brought cameras into the location. In the film these prior incidents are fictionalised using the metaphor of a broken hand and in a juxtaposition of honesty and corruption. It had to be done so because there was no footage of the incidents. See also chapter 3.

In documentary film creators are bound to the visual present at hand since it is beyond the capacity of the camera to record the past and future. Because of these limitations documentary is disadvantaged in comparison to other mixed or fictitious genres as well as theatre for
development which enjoys the capacity to envision the way of enactments of future solutions/outcomes or past events and thoughts. In creative documentaries or docudrama this can be done in re-enactments but in the case of documentary this invariably becomes fictionalizations challenging the documentary genre (e.g. ‘neutral’ observational cinema as MacDougall used it) and to some extent de-legitimizing it’s claims to truth.

In one of my field interviews with film director and teacher, Lajos Varhegyi (F2), he explained the perceived need to fictionalize certain elements in documentary as a prerequisite for maintaining the attention of spectators. But as he stressed, ‘you have to make it very clear that you’re fictionalizing certain parts of (a film, ed), because your credibility always depends on where you set the level.’ (F2: 08:01) Fictionalization is a creative tool that enables filmmakers to assert narrative and emotional control over the media and guide the audience towards the intended impressions and emotions. Lajos Varhegyi saw no ethical objections to this. On the contrary, the intended emotional effects of the media, in his view, outweighs the ethical objections that may be raised against fictionalization. Additionally and as other participants in the Dar-Malmö F4D project pointed out, fictionalized elements can - depending on the quality of the re-enactments - elaborate on reality or at times have the capacity to appear more real than reality itself (C1: 32:00). In the words of Lajos Varhegyi the sheer fact that a film when screened will always be post the event turns a film into a ‘fictionalization in itself’ (F2: 13:50) because of it’s time/space distance and the possibility that emotions, interpretations and circumstances may have changed.

2.2.1. **Applied visual anthropology and observational cinema**

The visual documentary method used in the visual interventions project owes its visual methodology to applied visual anthropology and observational cinema (MacDougall). It is a visual practice that orients itself towards broader and less academic audiences, as anthropology ‘put to use’ (Pink:2006). The visual production must enlighten itself in a reflexive way based on the methods of ethnographic observation and anthropological theory, i.e. include elements of participation, critical thinking, awareness of the social constructions of plural realities or strategies of empowerment through communication and media as well as some kind of promotion of ‘self-awareness by representing individuals and groups to others and to themselves’ (Pink (2004) p 8), above referred to as cultural brokerage.

Film and video are especially good at representing aspects of human experience. Through their use of visual and verbal metaphor they encourage the audiences’ empathetic interpretation of emotions, sensations and other dimensions of experience (Pink (2006) p 88). According to Pink, ‘anthropologists have a public responsibility to account for context, because ’it is through contexts that sense is made’; without it we would produce ‘nonsense’ (Pink (2006) p 138) This evidently
means that anthropologists of the applied and the visual should practice, ‘an anthropology that has criticised its colonial origins and the scientific agenda by which it was driven throughout much of the twentieth century, has questioned its methods of research and representation to (for example) incorporate subjectivity, has become more reflexive and acknowledges that other cultures (while they are to some degree territorialized) are not necessarily circumscribed within localities, but might be ‘multi-sited’. (Pink (2006) p 135)

2.2.3. Fictionalising the change

The idea of screening before a live audience comes from forum theatre or theatre for development, developed by the Brazilian theatre director, writer and politician Augusto Boal. At the University of Dar es Salaam this methodology has been adapted to film, and since 1998 developed into what Senior Studio Instructor Richard Ndunguru from the Department of Fine and Performing Arts calls film for change or community film. What interested Augusto Boal was a form of theatre that would liberate spectators instead of repressing them in the sense he had derived from in depth studies of western theatre (the Aristotelian theatre). He conducted his studies in the spirit of political economy and neo-Marxism. In his book, the theatre of the oppressed, he described how by including spectators as actors in the live improvised performance and letting them determine actions, events, reactions and storyline they became protagonists in their own stories and started to question the status quo of things. In the words of Boal, the method helped to demolish the wall that separates actors from spectators. .... The action ceases to be presented in a deterministic manner, as something inevitable, as Fate. (Boal: 2005 p 111) Thus the strength of the method is its ability to convey hidden meanings and bring to the fore solutions. In moving between scenes of the actual state of things, to the ideal state, and then visualizing the intermediary or the transformation from actual to ideal, the method enables the participants to engage in processes of change and reflections on how they themselves situate in these processes. As Boal reasserts: ‘The important thing is always to analyse the feasibility of the change’. (Boal: 2005 p 117)

Fictionalization on the basis of theatre for development can thus be defined as a method to include primary stakeholders in decisions on narration, dramaturgy, presentation etc in order to encourage them to actively involve themselves in the fictionalized transformations of self perceptions from passive spectator to active protagonists, and from oppressed to liberated. The fictionalization involves visualizing and embodying scenes and transformations, without using spoken or written language, a focus on solutions, as well as criticisms and emotions associated

25 Email correspondence March 19, 2011
with the states of repression, rehearsing resistance, countering statist images and allowing unforeseeable change to happen.

2.3. Participation and community media

Taking a look at the quote from the field diary that introduces the chapter it becomes clear that the one stage throughout the whole process of applying film for change that generated some attempt at social change was where participation played it’s biggest part, i.e. the screening. Let’s now consider the point of participation into more depth to understand how the strategy enables empowerment and possibly social change among people struggling with economic, social and political problems in the non-Western world. (Waisbord:2002, p 561) Methods range from top-down, sender-receiver based behaviourist models to horizontal and dialogical ‘communication as process’ models; and in between the two a number of context specific models informed by common sense and applicability.26

The World Bank defines participation through the eyes of the development intervention as a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them27. Different levels of participation span the specter from pure monologic top-down communication (passive participation), over consultative participation, where outside experts seek answers to specific issues but maintain control over decision making; and collaborative participation, in which primary stakeholders have a part in discussions, decisions and gain some form of capacity building through horizontal communication. Finally, empowerment participation, where primary stakeholders are primus inter pares, i.e. equal partners with a significant say in decisions and ownership and control of the process.28 In figure 1, which is an adaptation of the World Bank four levels of participation, it stands out quite clearly how the first two levels of participation range very low in the spectre. Collaborative participation comprises the two levels of functional participation and for material incentives, whereas empowerment participation is comparable to interactive participation. On the level of self-mobilization, empowerment strategies have relevance but true self-mobilization only comes through true ownership and identification by primary stakeholders. The level of self-mobilization shed a critical light on the practice of North2South development or aid


28 Mefalopulos & Tufte: 2009, p 6-7
interventions that in principle disable true horizontal power relations, ownership and agency of the primary stakeholders.

Figure 1, Source: Muniz, S. (2010)

Silvio Waisbord (2002/2006) in a paper commissioned by the Rockefeller Foundation (that initiated a groundbreaking white paper on Communication for Social Change in 1999) identifies points of convergence among the multiple approaches to participation. He emphasises the need for political will to changes, which may imply redistribution of power and behaviour changes and may encompass short term or long term strategies with very different means, expected outcomes and ways of measuring. This perspective incorporates the idea that institutional, environmental and administrative-legal changes should accompany changes in individual behaviour and attitudes. Thus interventions need to be more comprehensive and address actively the contextual factors that condition behaviour (Waisbord terms it integration of personal and environmental approaches).

Where behaviour change is concerned communication for development practitioners use a broad array of tools (or tools kits, film for change is such a tool kit), appropriate for different diagnosis, interventions and contexts, including educational programmes, social marketing, social mobilisation, media advocacy, interpersonal communication, edutainment, stakeholder inclusion and participatory communication and more along these lines. Tools can be combined and best practice prescriptions exist in most areas. There seems to be a growing consensus that
approaches combining top-down and bottom-up communication is advisable. According to Rico Lie (2008) for instance, the focus on social change to combat a complex problem like the spread of HIV/AIDS calls for a complex communicative development approach. Such a trans-disciplinary approach should first of all accommodate stakeholders beyond the primary ones and a multi-sectoral inclusion of contextual factors that condition social realities. Lie also stresses the need to maintain culturally sensitivity to counter stigmatization and discrimination and the use of community media. As he polemically puts it: ‘An edutainment programme—even if it uses folk media such as story-telling, theatre or puppetry (...) – will not change any individual behaviour directly, but it will address the climate; set a frame for discussion. It is here that social change takes place, not at the individual level, but in circulated culture; in shared beliefs.’ (Lie in Servaes (2008) p 283)

Like Lie and Pink (2006), Waisbord also recommends the integration of multimedia, many-to-many and interpersonal communication, like peer conversations and counselling and community programmes to disseminate information (Waisbord: 2006, p 565). As we shall see below the advent of the networks society (especially web 2.0. and social media) enables these forms of interpersonal, horizontal, dialogical communication. Film for change incorporates this primarily in the screening event and in the cultural brokerage that takes place throughout the process of applying film for change. After taking a look at the screening we will look into the outcome produced during this participatory stage, the suggestions for social change so to say.

2.4. Screening

Ideally – and following the methods of theatre for development prescribed by Boal – the screening event must be framed as a workshop or seminar style of event and a specific cast of characters / facilitators be established, i.e.

- the joker
- task force(s)
- gatekeepers
- the community group itself.

Follow up measures must be agreed during the screening event and in subsequent screenings. During the screening phase in Tanzania we didn’t manage to set up this framework (see field diary entry 11, lines 70-81): Important gatekeepers were not invited, and only in the one instance in Konduchi was there discussion on establishing a task force to work on the idea, produced by the screening and the imaginative leeway. The visual intervention project was not conducted under normal circumstances. We were under time pressure, constrained by legal
barriers and had different didactic goals towards the students. But does the lack of participation and inclusion of crucial factors like the above account for the relative meagre outcome?

Richard: Actually, in this project we skipped (the participatory collective script phase, ed) because we did not involve the community members in research. We went there as researchers observing them and then we came up with this story. So we a little bit changed the Augosto Boal (methodology) ... (The community) was supposed to be involved earlier. But then we went there and stayed with the community. We just observed what they do, and we came up with the story, and we went and followed that story. Now, we want to tell them ‘this is what you are’

Me: At least, how WE see it.

Richard: Yes, this is what we saw ... Then it is up to the community to either accept or say ‘no, you’re wrong’. So it’s a little bit different, off course.

Me: Is our approach just as effective then?

Richard: It’s going to be effective. Because ... we’re going to involve the community later (in the screening, ed.). If they see what we’ve done is right, and we’ve shown what we are, then they’ll start coming up with solutions. You know, we have the pressure of time, that’s why we had to change (the methodology).

Me: (Taking the circumstances into consideration), how can we stay true to the intentions of the stakeholders and their initial understanding of the story, and how they see things, their reality?

Richard: That is not a big problem. Although to some, they will say ‘oh why this way’. But I think we’re going to manage, because the image that comes out from the film is not very contrary to (the perceptions of the community).

Me: During the screening, should the joker ask ... ‘do you think this is the right portrayal?’

Richard: Yes, we can ask such a question. Because the first question which brings (the local members of the community) in is, ‘is what you see really what’s happening in our community?’ If they agree to that, then you’re there! ... But if the portrayal is not (recognised) in that community, if it’s perceived as ‘this is wrong’, then you’ll (have a problem) (C1: 22:20-25:00)

I think the above quote gives a pretty good picture of the screening and how it works to establish an imaginary leeway to social change. 2 principles for this dynamics to take place can be extracted from my analysis of the practice: The screening event is the participatory element that hands over ownership to the primary stakeholders and potentially empowers them. Secondly, the screening’s ability to produce results depends on the representational strategy (i.e. how images and representations of the primary stakeholders are depicted in the film). In other words, how the documentary filmmaker makes use of basic narrative and semantic tools
is crucial the success of the film in producing the imaginative leeway to social change. Chapter 3 looks into this strategy as it was applied in the visual interventions project.

2.5. The imaginative leeway in Konduchi and Bagamoyo

In the video recordings from the screening in Konduchi the excitement is evident, not least among the filmmakers and project observers that witnessed the immediate success of the exercise. In an interview with Mr. Kinyato, the teacher who brought up the idea of the civil rights education program explained why there's a need for civil rights education in the village. The reason is a bad cycle of bribery that the police apparently manipulates from the villagers by threatening them with prison and violence. Mr. Kinyato addresses the need for awareness of civil rights in order for the villagers to resist the intimidations and abuse by the police:

Mr. Kinyato: *That is the need of education, because if you're educated then you can't give out that money. You have better go there to the court and talk the truth, you see, a lot of people here are not educated. So if a policeman catch you there, you see, if he takes you (to prison, ed), you take out the money and give him... (With education, ed) we can talk the truth in front of the judge, you see. ... The way you give money to police, the way you plant more problems. Because if you give the policeman 30,000 ... then he comes here and arrests another one. ... that is the problem of going there before (and bribing the police, ed). ... but the problem of giving the money to the police station, we're planting the problem ourselves.*

Me: *how would you like the education to be ... ?*

Mr. Kinyato: *I think that if the teacher will come here ... so all the villagers will go there and learn this and this ... it will be easy for the villagers to go there and learn.*

(*H4: 04:30-08:20*)

It seems that the imaginative leeway responded to an immediate need (for civil rights education) and less to the need perceived by the authors of the film (i.e. poverty and lack of options for work, as we shall see in chapter 3). It is clear that in this case the intertextuality of the screening situation gained in importance in Mr Kinyato’s interpretation of the meaning of the film. In the field diary I recorded how the thematic had changed from the topics of the film to the current needs for human rights and self-determination by the villagers (see Field Diary entry 10, lines 92-101).

In another screening of the film, *Faith, Love and Hope* in the village of Bagamoyo the output was less suggestive of ideas for direct action: Sharif Yusuph, the protagonist whom I interviewed after the screening event, said that he thought the film would be useful as a tool for fundraising and awareness raising in the community about orphans, street children and their need for education and care. (*A2 and field diary entry 11, lines 58-68,* Richard Ndunguru also pointed out this option during an interview at an earlier stage, C1). The screening also produced another
very interesting result, which was the idea among the other spectators of Bagamoyo village that we (the filmmakers and two observers from Europe) were taken advantage of the villagers by using them in films and that we would take the films to Europe and make money from them. (Field diary entry 11, lines 31-33) This perspective is a testimony to the exploitation that poor communities risk because they have no means to control how the images of them are being used. The perspective offered by this particular villager reveals a basic idea about justice and communication rights: Who controls the image of me? Without access to the public sphere and without basic means to influence my environment, how can I make sure that the representation of me fits with the image I want to give?29

2.6. Film for change and ICT4D

The screening events described above more than anything showcased the ideas about ways and means to appropriate communication technology by the primary stakeholders. I stands out that media has a cultural-social significance in the sense that the behaviour, social attitudes and practical concepts associated with new media use are circulating. I’m here referring to the ideas put forward by the villagers in Konduchi and Bagamoyo: They were pointing to their right to communicate and human rights (see page 18). Even though we did not utilize ICTs in the project the participants (in the framework of the film for change participatory method) were informing their statements on the idea of democratizing many-to-many or web 2.0 communication technology. An exploration of this idea will shed some light on the proposition that film for change will benefit from an adaptation of ICT.

Following along the lines of thought of Castells in the introduction, self-communication, which is the feature of the network society based on many-to-many communication, provides access for social movements to practice everyday quotidian politics (to use a concept developed by Laclau & Mouffe which we will get back to in chapter 3). Thus it seems fair to propose that with an increased level of participation (i.e. empowerment participation) the likelihood that the

29 Comparing the two screenings and the very different responses they received I tend to think that the differences in approach (positive and portraying a role model in Bagamoyo and the critical, currently relevant political light shedding in Konduchi) and the differences in level of appeal (mixed ethos / pathos in both, but open ended and on level with the audience in Konduchi and from a moral high ground in Bagamoyo) sparked the different reactions. Whereas the audiences felt encouraged by the honesty and daringness of Omar, the protagonist in Konduchi Fishing Village, the spectators to Faith, Love and Hope resented being talked down to by a saintly narrator-God as was the case. With other audiences the film would probably fare better; for instance with a European or North American audience that cherish the idea of the self made, self relying African entrepreneur (that they can support). In this sense the film will work better as a fundraising tool.
messages will concern issues of human rights increases as well. Many scholars seem to agree on this point. Often the concerns voiced from the application of participatory methods point at the need to apply a human rights perspective to development interventions. (Tuft and Mefalopulos: 2009; Servaes: 2008; Boal: 2005) Thus participation is understood as ‘...the means to a larger end and that larger end is often linked to the achievement of justice, human rights, equitable development.’ (Thomas in Servaes (2008) p 38).

Take a look at web 2.0 platforms targeting disadvantaged regions; topics of human rights and communication stand out: Just to mention a few, www.globalvoicesonline.org, which aggregates various social media channels and blogs, hosts a dedicated service for marginalised and poor people called rising voices; the citizens journalism site www.witness.org is dedicated to visuals and youtube format video clips of people themselves documenting human rights abuses etc; www.ushahidi.com builds visual web 2.0 based tools for democratizing information, increasing transparency and lowering the barriers for individuals to share their stories’ to change the traditional way that information flows. The site has contributed to the relief efforts in Haiti after the earthquake and to contain the violence that broke out in Kenya after the elections in 2008. Also in Swahili, the Tanzanian regional social website www.bongonline.com offers a similar possibility as Facebook or Twitter in terms of serving specific language groups. There are numerous other blogrolls and crowdsurfing sites to include.

An adaptation of the film for change method to ICT4D would imply that the method focus on existing ideas about how to culturally and socially appropriate technology. The format of film for change could easily be adapted to the format of citizens’ media, i.e. short video clips to be distributed in social media sites, potentially opening up a new space for visual self-communication.

Clemencia Rodríguez, building on Laclaus & Mouffes concept of radical democracy, proposes a definition of citizens’ media that implies, first that a collective is enacting its citizenship by actively intervening and transforming the established mediascape; second that these media are contesting social codes, legitimized identities and institutionalized social relations; and third, that these communication practices are empowering the community involved, to the point where these transformations and changes are possible (Rodríguez:2001, p. 774). Although Rodriguez wrote the above before web 2.0 was invented her definition fits well with the citizens’ media that thrive on the Internet. As we shall see in the following chapter, the notions of citizenship, transformations of the established mediascape, the contestation of legitimized identities and institutionalised social relations were on a agenda in the films and in the heads of the filmmakers. Citizens’ media thus seems an appropriate term to describe the prospects of film for change on web 2.0.
Chapter 3 Representations, discourse and social change in three films for change

When you see an African film you can find yourself in it
(spactator to Gaston Kaboré’s film Buud Yam)

This chapter explores how a deep symptomatic reading of three films for change brings out meanings and discourses that point at areas in social life where change is or could be occurring (see intro for definition of social change in discourse). The chapter parallels chapter 2 in seeking to explain how the use of media (film for change) is connected to social change through the imaginary leeway. But instead of looking at methods it looks at meanings and discourses and how they are related to power and knowledge. See chapter 1.6. for methodology. The narratological, semiotic and discourse analyses lead to identification of three areas of meaning that address social change; media, development and identity. Other areas could possibly have been pursued and the methods applied could probably have brought up other, maybe contradictory material. But the nature of the film for change method and the research question, which focuses on social change, have helped delimit the analyses and lead it in this direction.

3.1. Genre and narrative structure

The three films are similar and yet very different. In terms of themes they all address poverty and development while plots and use of metaphors point in very different directions. They likewise give voice to the primary stakeholders to greater and lesser extents. These diverging interests / topics and yet a general concord over discourses or values make the films interesting testimonies to the social realities and aspirations of communities of Konduchi, Bagamoyo and Kaole.

When it comes to identifying roles and their functions in the films the most appropriate scheme or genre convention to apply, as a frame, is the fairy tale with it’s clearly identifiable roles and formalised although diverse structures. But the conventional scheme is twisted and abridged in the three films; instead of overcoming threats and challenges in act three the hero becomes the defeated part.

An example of this is Konduchi Fishing Village. The story goes like this: Omar the protagonist and to a large extent auto-biographer in his own movie leaves on a tour of his village. In the second act he showcases, combats, and reflects on the poverty, injustices and failed development characteristic of his neighbourhood. The plot does not develop here though; defeated he returns home and settles among his family. The ambivalent ending where Omar
dines and gets rewarded with food and family, surrounded by his children, leads to a sequence of visual poetry (theme song by the local Bagamoyo based artist Vitalis Maembe). The end scene is a radical shift in narration and aesthetics that clearly demarcates against the prior part of the film. What has until now been a rather dull series of shots with talking heads, 95% monologue, and very little visuals to back up some of the narration of Omar now transforms into a much more personal account of Omar’s life and joy, happening realtime. In Steps in the Path this failure to overcome challenges comes out much stronger although the film does not have a clear 3-act structure. In Faith, Love and Hope the third act is a fictive re-enactment of prior history, in which the protagonist triumphantly overcomes the obstacles to happiness. The genre is obvious: it’s the fight between good and evil we are witnessing here. And the question is whether our heroes are able to deliver on their promises of or advocacies for change.

The films are atypical from a dramaturgical point of view. There’s no release of suspense or fulfillment of equilibrium (apart from in Faith, Love and Hope). It sort of leaves the spectator disillusioned and sad with a feeling of ‘nowhere out of the misery’, or no resolution. This could be the result of the film for change method that leaves it up to the spectators to finish the plot and find solutions (see chapter 4). In an interview just before going to Konduchi for the screening, Shaha hinted that maybe today, we’re gonna see it, what the people say after viewing the movie (E2: 34:30) He was referring to the screening. Thus the dramaturgy of the movie can be said to have been decided as a compromise between pragmatic options in the field, the film for change method (which leaves out the solution, or the return to equilibrium) and the narrative ideal of documentary film, which was identified by Lajos Varhegyi as a traditional linear movement from equilibrium, over disequilibrium to a new equilibrium (Field Diary entry 2, August 20, 2010 and own notes with a transcript of blackboard).

30 In Konduchi Fishing Village there’s a remarkable shot where Omar’s son, watching TV, exclaims: All the fighters have green clothes. All of them!. The fighters in their green clothes can be interpreted as metaphors for the ruling party in Tanzania Chama Cha Mapinduzi (or CCM) that has been in power since the independence of Tanganyika in 1962. CCM associates with the color green. What’s important is that green power connote the image of corrupt officials in the pockets of the ruling party. It’s a metaphorically exiting scene, but it’s pure coincidence. The filmmakers had put the child there to signal a reward for the hard day’s work and some sort of repairs for the hardship and injustice that Omar had suffered during the day. Corruption by the ruling party is well known in Tanzania but the question is whether the subconscious use of the metaphor has any relevance.

31 Originally the film crew intended to convey emotions (Field Diary entry 2, August 20, 2010).
3.2. An African genre?

The last frame in *Steps in the Path*, which could be interpreted as a second act, is a midshot of Jalala reading a book, a strong metaphor for the desire for education and a link to modernity, below a tree shifting to long shot of the sun, using a filter to create a postcard or advertisement appeal. The sun is the power over Jalala’s life that does not belong to himself. It connotes to a second order discourse about providence and disempowerment. The use of the metaphor of the sun in the end of *Steps in the Path* is a clear indicator that there is no resolution to the story, apart from religious consolation. Jalala has to trust in fate; only from the non-explicable can he hope for something to interfere in this depressing image.

In Diawara’s exploration of the genre of African film he writes about several representational analyses that give a genealogical account of the discourse of African produced film (although mainly French speaking region). The general picture of African films from the 1960’ies and 1970’ies is that they reflect upon a discursive regime of nationalism and social realism (ethnocentrism). Home territory is safe ground and a place where the protagonist is in control of the situation. At the other end of the linearized plot is a world where he must cede control and become a fool. But it is also the potential source of aid and universal human rights. This world is inaccessible and the gulf that separates also presents an unbridgeable obstacle to development. In *Steps in the Path* Zembwela reveals an Africa where people are still waiting for others to come to provide solutions to their problems, instead of rising up to find their own solutions. (Diawara: 2010, p 57) Happy expressed the same attitude to social change in an interview: We need an external force to make you conscious, to make you realize the situation ... their living is a 100 years back ... they have to be told. (about the protagonists in her film) (E3: 16:50)

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32 This metaphor makes me associate summer vacation and relaxation. But unless it’s meant as an irony, it’s not very likely that the directors of the film had the same sort of image in mind (Happiness Mang’ondi was the cutter and editor). It's obvious that the sun, as it appears along the coastline of Tanzania, is fierce, unrelenting and dangerous. Off cause it’s also the source of light and life. But if compared to the use of the metaphor of the sea in *Konduchi Fishing Village* (it symbolised danger, problems, uncertainty, swindling resources) the resemblance between how they connote to the determinism of nature become apparent. The natural environment, the weather and their degradation are hegemonic processes. Nature obviously is a close fact when you’re living in a hut made of branches, mud and palm leaves (see front cover for Jambwela’s house).

33 I do not know whether Jalala or Zembwela had any say in the application of this religious metaphor but it does portray them as very passive and almost as if soliciting help.
Diaware’s characterization of African film resonates with it’s depiction in the Canadian documentary *Nollywood Babylon*, which talks about the mixture of religion and realist genre in Nollywood films as a struggle between modernity and tradition to create a future vision amidst intense suffering in the wake of the structural adjustment programs of the 1980’ies, civil war, rampant capitalism and overcrowding. The scholar, actor and filmmaker, Zacho Mata, father of one of the most popular Nollywood directors Jeta Amata, who I had the good luck to meet in Copenhagen during a screening of two of his biggest movies, also talked about the mass produced African market oriented films as visions of *a break from tradition to modernity that has not happened yet*. The films themselves do not connote to modernity though. On the contrary, many of the purely commercial Nollywood films oppose modern society building concepts and celebrate tradition because it’s popular. Religion plays a major role in popular culture and it is mixed with traditional and hybrid variations of belief in among other witchcraft and magic. The hopelessness of everyday life is contrasted in the refuge of heaven, reflecting an acknowledgement that control of life is beyond you (*juju* in Yuruba). Taking the risk that I from lack of knowledge about the subject overemphasize the influence of the *African genre* on the aesthetics and narrative of the three film productions I suggest that they fall within the genre of the emerging African ethnocentric *spiritual social realism* that is part and parcel of a growing movement to define African cultural identity and modernity/development.

In this sense the films are contributions to the greater narrative of de-colonization because they reflect on the notion of development and intervention by European, American and UN aid organisations while exhibiting an *Africanism* in style and sign language. The narrative structures and aesthetic tricks of the three films resemble some of the biggest names in African cinema, Sembene Ousmane and Gaston Kaboré for instance (Diawara: 2010), i.e. the slowness, camera angles, attention to detail, the unfinishedness of the narrative and the use of African images.

Sembene Ousmane is largely regarded the Father of social realist African cinema and it seems his influence is stretching. I find it interesting that the films are social realist since the trainers did not especially condone this genre (see chapter 1). But it’s hold on the filmmakers made it shine through.

### 3.3. Who’s speaking in the films?

The three film crews ‘allowed’ the subjects to speak in different ways and on different agreements. In *Faith, Love and Hope* they didn’t include Sharif Yusuph in decisions on the movie:

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34 Personal notes from a debate at the Danish Film Institute May 15, 2011

35 Gaston Kaboré’s film *Buud Yam* can be viewed at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5UWbg6twe-w&feature=related
John said, *he is the subject, he doesn’t have ideas about to do it.* (E1: 13:00 + B1:43:00) The movie consequently *speaks about* Sharif, under the supervision of the audible narrator God who stamps out Sharif’s good qualities. In *Steps in the Path* the crew lent the microphone to Mr. Zembwela but didn’t include him in the intermingling of the stories of the two protagonists which was a purely fictitious trick to make it look like Jalala was Zembwela’s son. The film *speaks for* the protagonist, Jalala, but lends the microphone uncensored to Zembwela. According to the editor of *Konduchi Fishing Village* the protagonist Omar adopted the feelings of the film crew. He was angry and deliberately said things to provoke, using the microphone which was entirely his. (E1: 17:30) I had the impression that Omar almost took the filmmakers by the hand and directed the movie himself. (Field diary entry 10, lines 76-79) Here the film *speaks with* Omar in an exchange of criticisms and references with the media. In other words, the films use different levels of participation, from functional to interactive, and with different results as reflected in the screening outcomes. In the case of *Steps in the Path* and building on statements by the editor there’s good reason to raise the question of *who chose who* for the film production? In this sense the project has been extremely mobilising in a participatory framework. The same goes for *Konduchi Fishing Village.* (E1:38:00)

*Omar at the hairdresser’s, discussing failed development projects and corrupt officials while enacting their honest work, from Konduchi Fishing Village*
3.4. **Semiotic and narratological analysis of three films for change**

The three films were as referred to earlier made by one crew each consisting in 2 Tanzanian students and 1 Swedish:

- John Mwakilama, Helena Bernard and Henrik Hallberg shot a film in Bagamoyo, *Faith, Love and Happiness*
- Happiness Mengondi, Nicholaus Ngowi and Alex Wolf shot a film in Kaole, *Steps in the Path*

Researched over a week, shot over another and edited for about a month in Sweden, primarily or only by one Tanzanian student from each crew: John Mwakilama, Happiness Mengondi and Shahà ‘Biggie’ Mohamed as collective processes but with definite editorial control by the aforementioned. That’s why I chose to perform a focus group interview with a very open structure with John, Happiness and Shaha during the screening period. We had a very interesting discussion on education, participation by actors and participants, the films, social change, dissemination, outreach etc. A transcript in note form is attached to the thesis (appendix C).

### 3.4.1. **Kunduchi Fishing Village**

Based on the roles and functions of the film the theme is easily identifiable as being the *unjust nature of Omar’s poor situation although he is a morally righteous person.* Despite his integrity and high morale he lacks money earning opportunities to provide for his family (due to pollution, illegal fishing, harassments by authorities, development in the area and lack of training). The enigmas played out during the film are much more varied though and touches upon other topics like the corruption of police and public officers, negative effects of industrial and service sector (tourism) development, police arbitrary abuse and violence, drugs, failed NGO projects etc. Omar engages in criticism and is straightforward in his opinions. In this way he fights the battle against the forces of his opponent. He receives support from friends who have also been through unjust treatments (the hairdresser = helper). But the object of their battle is difficult to discern. At one point Omar mentions what he considers should be the moral obligation of the hotel management that is developing a resort in the area, i.e. to construct jetties or piers to protect against high tides and waves (increasing sea levels). Others along the lines of better justice and improved aid interventions by NGOs are mentioned but receive no follow up.

The most clearly identifiable reference to the objective is at the beginning of the film, where Omar uses the film itself to send out an appeal for help. He says *If God helps, someone to come and help me, I will be very grateful.* Apart from the reference to religious belief, the realization of
the film itself becomes the plot to overcome the hardship, injustice and poverty. In light of this, the end scene where Omar’s son watches TV and comments about the green fighters (see below on media) can be seen as a metaphor for the realization of his objective; his son watches the film, i.e. a kind of remediated version of the film itself that portrays the overwhelming injustice against the Konduchi community. More on this below.

The film implies an understanding of globalised media and the global outreach media gives access to; and uncovers the fact that Omar is very aware of the power of the media and the fact that this is his chance to reach out. To paraphrase the 60’ies media sociologist, Marshall McLuhan, the media is the message for Omar. He expects it to eventually help him achieve what he wants. The film thus tells a story about how to get attention in a mediated world.

### Metaphors at work in Konduchi Fishing Village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The sea</th>
<th>Danger, problems, uncertainty, swindling resources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Omar’s son and family</td>
<td>Reliable and safe (Omar’s in charge, love, children)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buildings (graffiti)</td>
<td>Unjust development, corrupt government (Red Cross failed hospital, history of corruption, rich-poor contrasts, suppressive rules)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>The catch, the win, rightful property?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needle</td>
<td>Drug-abuse (casting doubt over Omar’s moral stance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mosque</td>
<td>Moral high ground (have you done your prayers?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV / the film</td>
<td>Empowerment through media (access to voice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broken hand</td>
<td>Police, injustice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various work tools</td>
<td>Poverty (bad state, being repaired, not his own)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food, women</td>
<td>Rewards (gender roles very visible, women eat apart and work households)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.4.2. Steps in the Path

The title says it all: It’s a story about a boy, Jalala, who is doomed to become like the men in his village, among the poorer segments of this part of Tanzania. He follows in their footsteps; a reoccurring metaphor throughout the film. He has no options and no will. He goes to school in the village of Kaole, just South of Bagamoye town, on the sandy beach coast facing the Indian Ocean and 4 hours drive north of Dar es Salaam. His mother is making him work to provide for the family, and sometimes she makes him stay away from school to work (attend cattle and fetch water). She’s Jalala’s opponent.
Parallel to this runs a story about Mohamed P. Zembwela, a family head of household, father of 5 and more children. He’s dead poor and cannot provide for his family’s needs. The children do not go to school. And their father predicts a gloomy future without education for them. Zembwela is an ambiguous figure in the static relationship between actants. He comes through much stronger than the protagonist as a character and as narrator of the film. In the first quality he encompasses Diawara’s account of the male protagonists in Sembénes social realist films: They leave from the traditional status as heads of households of the home; on a provoked journey to face obstacles and get ridiculed in their encounters with modernism, where they come through inadequate and naïve: they then get transformed and return to the home in control of the situation. Sembénes way of enacting social critique is influenced by Charlie Chaplin. (Diawara: 2010) In the second quality, Zembwela controls the entire speak of the film as he outlines the dangers that await Jalala. In this capacity he is Jalala’s providence, predicting his destiny. Opposite Zembwela is Jalala’s aide and helper, his teacher. She represents Jalala’s (to be already missed) opportunity in life. The quest for education to make a better life for oneself is the overarching theme in this film and the object of Jalala’s endurances. The tragic plot that follows from it is a melodramatic and poetic still of a boy in distress and completely paralysed, with no future. Happy referred to this state of being as a a dull mind, lack of future. (E3) Melodrama has a tendency to exaggerate the real into binary opposites of black and white. And it can rarely be understood in an adequate way if one only distinguishes sharply between the all-good and the all-bad (Gripsrud: 2002, p 148) The limited insight we get into the lives of Jalala and Zembuela is composed in only one act and although we get great illustrations and visually exiting angles and details, there’s no development. It’s an illustration of the dichotomy between good and bad development that we will look into in further detail below.36

36 Interestingly the film does not talk about Jalala. It might seem contradictory since the film is about Jalala. But the film mostly mentions Jalala from the outside, from an objective generalised stance, not Jalala’s own history. He never speaks himself and we are left with the impression that he doesn’t have a voice at all. It’s as if the film is rejecting the concept of the subject and thus social change...? But according to the editor this was not the intention. It was to juxtapose Jalala and Zembwela to give an idea about the path ahead for Jalala: In the village of Kaole where is the hope; how do people support change; (we) made a character represent hope and change to overcome the life of Zembwela ... (in turn saying:) I have to move forward (E2: 26:20) In other words, Jalala is a symbol of hope and change that is repressed and denied.
Metaphors at work in Steps in the Path

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feet, walking, journey</th>
<th>Path to destiny</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jalala</td>
<td>Hope in disguise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School + book + Jalala’s teacher</td>
<td>Education, better future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clean water</td>
<td>(Human) rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dirty water</td>
<td>Injustice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing tools</td>
<td>Poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardship of work</td>
<td>Lack of education (indexical)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>Unrelenting, power over Jalala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritual</td>
<td>Tradition, safety, control</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4.3 Faith, Love and Hope

The world portrayed by the film, *Faith, Love and Hope*, revolves around the issue of children’s needs, as suggested in the title: It takes place in an orphanage in the township Bagamoyo, former capitol (during German colonization) and slave trade centre of Tanganyika, on the coast, 4 hours north of Dar es Salaam. But the theme of story is very different, it’s about the social entrepreneurship of the young man Sharif. In the past he used to run a video cinema where audiences would pay a small entry fee to watch various entertainment programmes on DVD. During the day he screened children’s films and was very popular among the orphans and street children who used the cinema as a resting place. The first scene in the film shows Sharif talking to a group of street children about their meagre means of income (they sell second hand plastic bags); the fact that he was taking money for entertainment from orphans and street children, and in effect was keeping them away from school is the defining metaphor of the social enigma he tries to resolve throughout the film. This knowledge makes him convert the video cinema into a school for street children and orphans and begin to operate the charity organisation *Imuma*.

The major problem with this story, as I discussed with the film crew, was the fact that it took place in the past. The film crew therefore decided to fictionalize or re-enact the scene where the conscience of Sharif makes him decide to convert the cinema. This re-enactment takes place at the end of the film and adds to the otherwise traditional objectifying reportage of everyday life in Imuma an unusual and optimistic social change plot perspective. The social entrepreneurship of Sharif and how he does it is the overarching interest of the film; It becomes almost a recipe for how to establish social services in a place where state institutions are inadequate. And the
speak of the very audible narrator (off screen) makes it clear that here’s a moral example to be followed: At the beginning of the film he says:

You and I, as members of this community; What do we do in helping the orphans and vulnerable children so that they too may feel that they’re part of this society without caring about our status and our power in terms of income. And again towards the end: Sharifu has changed the life of these children.

It’s the self made entrepreneur that this film celebrates. Although the speak is obviously intended for an endogenous audience it appeal better to a western audience that cherish the idea of the self-made African entrepreneur that channels aid money into productive social projects.

The film is interesting because of what it doesn’t talk about, but only connotes or points to. In this film it’s HIV/AIDS and the environmental and social ills that have produced the street children. This theme is completely repressed by the image of the social entrepreneur. Another aspect it also represses although not silencing it completely is the question of social relations. They come through as hierarchical and non-modern: An anonymous man in the film talks about the need to obey and act on orders if one wants to succeed. His monologue reveals an image of dependency and clientalism where the individual better refrain from taking the initiative or control of things, in case he/she wants to do better for himself.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metaphors at work in Faith, Love and Hope</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tanzanian flag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mzungu women, the brick machine, crafts and arts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharif – as community role model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharif – empathetic businessman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

37 Sharif talked about those after the screening, i.e. cultural practices of rejecting orphans and take over their family possessions
3.4. Discourses in three films for change

The analysis of discourse leads to an idea about the prospects and possibilities for social change, conditioned by self-determined and self-perceived needs of the villagers. Locations of subject positions within discourse as well as cultural appropriations or hybridizations are indications that social change is taking place or is called for. The only piece of outcome we can really measure it by are the screening events in Konduchi and Bagamoyo (see chapter 2). The first produced a discourse of justice, the second one of social entrepreneurship; both of them spoke of communication rights. In table 3.4 the discourses I have extracted from the representational

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Development</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Modernity</th>
<th>Justice</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Silenced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bad, failure, benefiting others, controlled by Planners</td>
<td>Bad, authorities, power against the village/home</td>
<td>Dangerous but palpable (media)</td>
<td>Binary b/w home= traditional order; public= corrupt</td>
<td>Omar reaches out to the media and becomes a subject through telling his story</td>
<td>Traditional hierarchy, constraints and problems of the home Only hints at religiousness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good, transcendental question of education, but out or reach</td>
<td>Ritual and faith combine in identity – is it Africanism or religious?</td>
<td>Dangerous, impalpable, out of reach</td>
<td>Marginalised cut off from education, lack of rights, no social justice</td>
<td>Does not exist, is silent. Fate and erasure of individuality prevails</td>
<td>Jalala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good, when it comes from below, from searchers</td>
<td>Good, patriotism, entrepreneurship the myth of traditional Africa.</td>
<td>Good, possibility through endogenous leadership and acceptance of social systems of dominance</td>
<td>Social justice is in your own hands / communication rights do not extend to villagers (screening)</td>
<td>The subject is an entrepreneur and enjoys respect from community</td>
<td>AIDS – although orphans are indexical signifiers (suppressed by prioritizing focus of the story, social entrepreneurshi p)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4 DISCOURSES AT WORK
analysis are shown. I refer to these basic meanings and understandings as well as requests by the people of Konduchi, Bagamoyo and Kaole villages in the following.

3.5. *Contested identities*

In *Faith, Love and Hope* metaphors of nationality, citizenship and community play prominent parts. Tanzania (the flag), the cohesion of the community and the future of the children are main concerns and they pose questions of social conscience and accountability. The future of society is at stake and the film overtly proposes that now it’s time to organise and act in strategically sound ways to improve social conditions and make the path to a better future viable for the new generations. The social entrepreneur, Yusuph Sharif, has the answer. He is a home grown role model, a saviour from below, and someone who understand the needs of the community and how to lead the way. He is a role citizen. Sharif embodies an appropriate metaphor for the social changes envisaged by the films. His quest in life is to bring *education to the orphans* and he does it by relying on his own means and actions instead of waiting for others to do it. *Faith, Love and Hope* is the only film that overtly suggests a way out of poverty (through the fictionalization of change). I believe it speaks for all of the films.

![The re-enactment of the beginnings of Imuma school and orphanage, Faith, Love and Hope](image)

The concept of education as an *individually liberating and society building metaphor* plays a crucial role in defining the identity as citizen like Sharif. Let’s see how this works in the discourse in and surrounding the films. The editors of the three films whom I interviewed during the editing phase in Sweden and again during screening in Tanzania, all suggested that
they had privileged access to the minds of the protagonists because they had grown up in similar circumstances in other Tanzanian villages. (E4: 32:20, see also Lajos’ proposition along the same lines, field diary entries 5, lines 120-122, and 10, lines 109-130). This feeling of proximity, John translated into patriotism and contrasted it to European nationalism: *In my film I was crying about one thing, patriotism. But nationalism is the desire to love your country; We don’t have that thing ... In African countries nationalism is the desire to get rid of colonialism. ... We’re the ones who should change the system. You are the one who can create the opportunity*’ (E4: 28:50). In this way he introduced a discourse of identity and cultural belonging, based on notions of post-colonialism and cultural differences in power. And again the cultural stereotypes played out in the image of the powerless, dependent African against the European/western ‘who holds the leashes of material wealth and power’.

While the students were stating this it also became clear that they were stereotyping themselves in what I interpret to have been an ethnocentric attempt at placing themselves centre in the regime of explanations used to make sense of the films, and somehow claim discursive legitimacy, arguing for their representation of the truth about the villagers (Hall: 2005 p 258 and field diary entry 5, lines 201-212). As Sandor Gilman suggests stereotyping about oneself functions on a deeper structural level as reassurance of oneself and attempts at integrating differences (Hall p 284). Stereotypes pre-define certain characteristics and make them generalise a group or field or topic. Likewise they exclude elements that may be visible to others.

In an interview the three editors in charge elaborated on this process of identification by translating their solidarity with the villagers into patriotism: I had suggested that the one common theme that seems to run through all the films is education; as an unanswered need (in Kaole), and as an opportunity and road of action (in Bagamoyo). But not all the editors agreed to

38 But even more so he succeeded in demarcating a fundamental difference between European and Tanzanian cultures, and bringing in the dilemma of the colonial legacy. And thus he also demarcated a fundamental difference between himself and I, in a sense disqualifying me from interpreting Tanzanian culture.

39 Shaha Mohamed took care of cutting the film and thus had the last say, although the team had agreed on the story. The team was multicultural.

40 Many of the observations from representational and discursive analysis would probably not provoke recognition with the students, protagonists and others involved, not at first look at least. As outside observer I enjoy less hermeneutic restraints but I also risk over analysing things or over emphasising certain characteristics over others because I don’t have the whole picture. Ideally, the below observations below should be discussed with the filmmakers and actors to get a fuller picture.
this idea: John seemed to think that I was enforcing my interpretation, although he agreed that education is the answer to the development needs of Tanzania. Shaha on the other hand disagreed in stating that the educational system in Tanzania is inappropriate and not geared towards the real needs of the young. John said:

_The system is what is poor, but the importance of education is still there, no matter what ... Most people in developing countries are thinking that education gives us money instead of thinking that education gives us awareness of something. ... Instead of thinking a new way of making my life. ... the system of education is not education._ (E4: 17:44) And Happy elaborated by referring to the costs of primary schools in Kaole village; _the problem is that you cannot have education without money._ (E4: 19:10).

In the quote, concepts of education of ideal and pragmatic nature are mixing (and makes it hard to judge exactly what the students were intending to say): John was embracing the concept of citizenship, as self-awareness and access tools that citizens gain through education, which again informs them as participants in democracy. This notion of citizenship is European Enlightenment of origin but in his statements he also reflected the post-colonial ideology of Mwalimu Nyerere, Tanzanian president 1961-1985 and by many considered 'the Father of the nation'. In one of his speeches Nyerere said that, _I sometimes suspect that, for us in Africa, the underlying purpose of education is to turn us into Black Europeans – or Black Americans._ (Alloo:2007). Understandably, when viewed from this perspective education becomes a shifty, almost treacherous notion. But Nyerere also stressed the importance of education as a patriotic liberating action:

_Education has to liberate the African from the mentality of slavery and colonialism by making him aware of himself as an equal member of the human race, with the rights and duties of his humanity. It has to liberate him from the habit of submitting to circumstances which reduce his dignity as if they were immutable. And it has to liberate him from the shackles of technical ignorance so that he can make and use the tools of organisation and creation for the development of himself and his fellow men._ (quoted in Alloo:2007, p. 1)

The ideas of education thus inform the discourse on identity as citizens of Tanzania in a double edge way: it is both liberating and restraining (colonialising), for some it is empowering but for most it entraps people in poverty and the ties of traditional culture because it doesn’t give access to development, or rather only gives access to bad development, i.e. development decided by outsiders (Shahas and Happy’s points of view). John’s idea about awareness through education and possible _new ways of making life_ in this way and to some extent become entangled into the discourse of bad development, i.e. material progress that yields to the interests of others and to the colonial subordination of the black African to the white European. Citizenship in this way becomes a contested notion, something that implies taking a personal stance on how to identify; as independent liberated African or dependent _Black European_ (to paraphrase Nyerere above). The identity as citizen therefore entails patriotism but also
dependency and in this fluid and chaotic capacity it confuses values and questions the basis of endogenous development and empowerment.

Citizenship implies seeing citizenship not as a legal status but as a form of identification, a type of political identity, something to be constructed, not empirically given. Citizenship happens on an everyday basis; it is about the capacity to generate power and share in it to establish things in the world and sustain institutions and practices. By enacting citizenship one also take part in the relational flows of power, increasing or diminishing one’s hold on it. By deepening one’s comprehension of citizenship, one also begins to grasp how power works. Therefore education leads to power, as it is popularly understood. The overarching theme of education, that all the films advocate, therefore connotes to power, or rather the power to come if they succeed in appropriating education. But the notion also implies contesting identities, and it is treacherous because as a black Tanzanian you will have to question basic notions of patriotism, culture and liberation if you are to proceed along the road to education and self-awareness. Education can lead to power only if you subordinate your identity to globalised notions that aren’t necessarily empowering.

As we shall see below the means to power are conceived as the media and communication.

3.6. The media as a right to communicate

In the end scene in Konduchi Fishing Village Omar’s son gazes at the TV as if pointing to the media. His gaze works as a substitution of Omar’s gaze, when he appeals for help earlier in the film (see chapter 3.4.). The two scenes connect into an understanding of the media as a metaphor for access to voice and the right to communicate. The discourse here builds on ideas about modernity and the media. Omar wants to access the mediated world and get his message about inadequate and failed development through (see below), and it is to some extent what he achieves (Hall:2003, p 60). And in achieving this he also achieves to establish a subject-position for himself in relation to the discourse. This subject position can be interpreted as liberating for the audience because it signifies the possibility of the individual to make change. At the same time he establishes a relation between the media and the home (the child, hope) and signals the knowledge that media has the potential to reach into people’s lives, into their homes. He acts confident that his voice will be heard this way and that he is able to decide his own representation. The substitution works to signify a myth through meta language, or some sort of contractual understanding underlying the film as an ideology (hall:2005). This point corresponds well with part of the actual agreement behind the film, i.e. that he would be

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granted uncensored control on deciding the theme and the message of the film. (E1: 17:50) As well as receiving payment. (E1)

Omar’s son watches TV and reminds us about the power of media and the right to communicate, from Konduchi Fishing Village

In *Steps in the Path*, Zembwela also speaks directly to the camera about the injustice that has befallen him and to the idea that his condition of poverty and inadequateness is the responsibility of someone else, someone outside, someone who can help if they choose to. In the monologue he is pointing out, where he meant that his rights as a human being were being infringed. And that gave him confidence. In this way he was pointing to modernity and universalism (the good version of development) or the other end of the linearized plot (a juxtaposition between tradition and modernism) (Diaware: 2010, p 46).

As Zembwela and Omar point it out when presented with a camera - a channel to this place they’re trying to reach - they have a right to speak and represent themselves in the public sphere. Media now takes on liberating function, a place to look for social change; and a place to advocate one’s human rights and transgressions. It’s also a sort of new equilibrium in the plots of the films. Not a clear idea about what’s after accessing the media as contributor and participant but media has a positive connotation to freedom and rights. This certainly was the case when Konduchi Fishing Village was presented to it’s audience in Konduchi (see chapter 2)
3.7. **Good and bad development**

The disagreement about education referred to above (under 3.4.1.) is a clear indication that development can be perceived as both good and bad. Shaha presented himself a critic of bad development or the uselessness of education that didn’t meet the needs of people, didn’t give them applicable knowledge, tools and access. After education many find themselves in unemployment and many will have to return to their villages of origin to help out providing for their families. The tools presented by the educational system in Tanzania are inadequate in the face of the real challenges economically, environmentally, culturally etc. John on the other hand recognised the role of education in creating individual self awareness in the community (citizenship), and condemned the decline of the educational system.

This image of development as both good and bad we also find in the films: Towards the end of *Konduchi Fishing Village* – what could be interpreted as the third act - the scene starts with an upwards tilted close up of the Mosque minaret while we hear the late afternoon prayer. The scene continues into the home of Omar where his wife has prepared dinner and the whole family is sitting down to eat. The act combines the virtues of religious observance with the rewards that Omar receives (the dinner and the family surrounding him) into an image of the sacred, safe and clean home.

During the prior second act, which is a journey where Omar presents the viewer with various locations, testimonials, and stories along the theme of the plot, we have witnessed how immoral, corrupt and distressed the public space is.\(^{42}\) The use of metaphors during this act connotes to development as a negative concept (Hall (2003) p 232). Seemingly, corruption rules the sectors of health aid and justice/security to the extent that the villagers can not expect fair treatment by authorities and are cut off from influencing the state of affairs. They receive little medical attention and their working conditions are dangerous (fishing from boats in bad shape). In this way the film has set up a clear distinction between public and private, between virtuous and immoral, between equilibrium and disequilibrium, made them interrelated, and into a dichotomy that frames his world, his understanding and judgement: Religion and the home are attributed with a sort of conservative sanctity, which points to the rest of the world as the

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\(^{42}\) I.e. the Red Cross development aid scandal on the beach of Konduchi along with the representation (speech – no images) of police brutality and unfairness and a failed bee keeping project aiming at improving self employment and alternative means of income.
source of injustice, economic and environmental pressure, changes, exploitation and abuse.\textsuperscript{43}

Similarly in \textit{Steps in the Path} as we have seen above.

\begin{center}
\textit{Jalala is struggling to educate himself while under severe oppression by outside forces (the sun) that prevent him from pursuing his dreams, from Steps in the Path} \end{center}

In contrast to the picture of the immoral outside world and failed development Omar and his family, along with friends and family in Konduchi present an image of honest work, modesty and solidarity.\textsuperscript{44} The binary relation between failed development and honest work points towards an understanding of development imposed from the outside that takes on a bureaucratic and nonchalant stupidity, underlined by facial expressions and intonation of Omar.

\textsuperscript{43} Most of Omar’s version of the truth is probably much the case, but it also appears somehow un-reflected and biased since there’s no one else to speak on behalf of the accused, i.e. a representative of the government or the police. We only hear the voice of Omar.

\textsuperscript{44} We see villagers working while the rich world fly by as leisure tourists: In a long shot half way during the film an indigenous fishing boat shares the frame with a fast catamaran ferry. The camera jumps to telephoto, focusing on the catamaran speeding past, out of reach, an all together different world: Development seems to pass the village by while more well offs are flashing their wealth in close proximity. In another scene with Omar at the hairdresser’s he is re-enacting his honesty, paying appropriately for honest work and a truthful account to an honest man. I’m leaving aside the question whether the note itself was provided by Omar himself or someone from the film crew. See section about payment of interlocutors in chapter 2.
(during the film). Omar uses the media to convey this message and he does so deliberately and strong. The function of this binary opposite also serves to emphasise the equilibrium of the conservative state of social relations in the village: It is contra-development and social change. On top of this it is hiding other important elements that belong to the picture.

Diawara (2010) talks about the European humanitarian discourse as a regime that supports the status quo of neo-colonialism in meaning production, because it is supported partly by European, American and United Nations funds (Diawara: 2010, pp 70). In both *Konduchi Fishing Village and Faith, Love and Hope* bad, inefficient and superfluous development gets juxtaposed to a much more healthy image of social entrepreneurship and home grown patriotism through honest work. The development economics professor, William Easterly, makes use of a similar dichotomy in his sharp criticism of the development sector. He refrains it Planners and Searchers:

> **In foreign aid, Planners announce good intentions but don’t motivate anyone to carry them out; Searchers find things that work and get some reward. Planners raise expectations but take no responsibility for meeting them; Searchers accept responsibility for their actions. Planners determine what to supply; Searchers adapt to local conditions. Planners at the top lack knowledge of the bottom; Searchers find out what the reality is at the bottom. Planners never hear whether the planned got what it needed; Searchers find out if the customer is satisfied.** (Easterly: 2006, pp5)

The Searchers that Easterly talks about, are local community entrepreneurs, local NGOs to some extent, service providers etc. They are the answers to the needs of the community and the ones to bring about social change. In *Faith, Love and Hope* Sharif Yusuph is a Searcher. He’s the embodiment of the discourse about how people will have to take social change into their own hands (Field diary entry 3, lines 8-14). Interestingly, this explanation of locally conceived solutions points to power relations on the ground: To what extend are Planners preventing Searchers from realising their projects of social change? Sharif Yusuph on several occasions during an interview mentioned the fact that authorities are not willing to grant him a permit to run the orphanage because it does not comply with basic physical and didactic regulations (or could it be resistance from the bureaucracy?). It seems that more attention should be given to the projects that people, defined as Searchers, undertake themselves.

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45 Ylva Eström has also detected this binary opposite in her PhD on the global mediascape, gender identification and social change in Dar es Salaam (Ekström: 2011)
3.8. Power and social change

The discourses identified in the above point in many directions;

• Towards both resistance to and embracement of development and social change, depending on whether it’s imposed from the outside/above or is endogenously conceived.

• Towards an emphasis on the community, the home and patriotic identity as the basis for healthy social change (may be a identity as Tanzanian or just the community)

• Towards a wish for appropriation of modern means of asserting power and representation and public voice through media to influence on context and decisions that concern their life

• Towards a culture of individualism that positions the subject centrally to social change against a background of cultural embeddedness that bind people to ritual, family, religion, fate, nature, social relations, poverty, repression as well as deprivation from a positive identity as subjects in control of their situations

But opposing trends can also be observed, i.e. resignation in the face of overwhelming development that passes the villagers by, faith and denunciation of modernity, just to mention some. The picture thus is multi-modal and complex and it builds on both traditional, modern and hybrid forms of culturally embedded notions of power. According to Foucault, and adapted by many cultural and sociological researchers (here I use Flyvbjerg: 1992, pp 112 and Rodríguez:2001), power should be understood relationally, as process and movement, and as a productive diversity of force relations in relation to which strategies are struggling, evolving, dying and forging changes. Power mostly works in opposites, separation and secrecy.

In the context of the marginalised communities of Bagamoyo, Kaole and konduchi, power is seen as a negative concept, from below, from the standpoint of the oppressed. According to Rodríguez (2001, p. 770, referring to Downing) the nature of oppression produces a fragmented and heterogeneous reality where liberation is an everyday process that disrupts immediate realities. The discourses in the three films should be understood in this scheme, ranging from oppression to liberation, and as quotidian politics that address everyday struggles and strategies with getting by and surviving in harsh and poor conditions (Rodriguez:2001, p. 775). They are reflections on the processes and relations of power, seeking out strategies for liberation and social change. In this way the discourses contain within them snapshots of the local micro processes of power relations, and give out an image of communities that struggle with finding their identity, purpose, tactics and place in the constant flux of forces.

It is pretty hard to say anything specific about the situation and prospects of social change on the ground though, but I believe there’s a generational disparity building up in Tanzania between the discourses of the old generations that support liberationist, patriotic ideologies mixed with African strategies and customs and the younger generations that ask: what is it all for? Globalisation and new opportunities (i.e. education, the media, ICTs etc) present new ways
out, that are in turn coloured by indigenous ideologies that view them as negative and oppressive. It seems handy to conclude that the three films are inscribing themselves in an African decolonizing and nationalist discourse on self-determination and human rights. I do think that is the case but we need to remind ourselves that the ideas of the likes of Sembené and Nyerere are increasingly contested: New ideas, values, identities and not least possibilities and knowledge have contributed to change the picture, especially with young people in Tanzania. As I have shown, they lack trust in established institutions and development. They ask questions about injustices, established cultural conventions, status, social relations etc and reach out to modernity. In this sense they are still posing questions about neo-colonialism and identity, but they do it in a setting that has undergone profound changes through globalisation and technology.
Conclusion

Power happens in the realm of the quotidian, and what makes citizens’ media fascinating is how they stir power in kaleidoscopic movements that fade soon after they emerge, like movements in a dance toward empowerment.
Clemencia Rodríguez, 2001

A reference to Clemencia Rodríguez great article from 2001, From Alternative Media to Citizens’ Media, would almost suffice as conclusion to this thesis. In many ways her adaptation of concepts is similar to the theories informing this text and it’s findings also echo her findings about the participatory nature of citizens’ media and its ability to interrelate with people in ways that may liberate them. But such a conclusion would exclude the ethnographic distinctiveness of the visual interventions project, not to mention the experience of a first hand account. Similar to the banality of the fact that my findings are neither new nor original stands the conclusion which likewise and modestly could be deducted from pure listening to the people involved in the visual interventions project (although with an open mind and with cultural sensitivity). They were asserting their right to communicate and they were testifying to injustices, deprivations and disparities while suggesting endogenously conceptualised solutions and respect for human rights. But at the same time they were questioning notions of citizenship, development and aid policies, reminding the audience that they themselves have a hold on the means and ways to change and improve things. In the face of failed development policies, a questionable state of nation building, a complex and disadvantageous process of glocalization and marginalization from important power structures what is required is more attention to endogenously conceptualised suggestions, solutions and strategies, along the line of Sharif’s social entrepreneurism or Omar’s appropriation of the camera.

Chapter 2 has uncovered the specific method of film for change and the element of self representation, or as Manuel Castells frames it in the face of the emerging network society; self communication (Castells: 2009). They have sought to explain how film for change can encourage bottom-up perspectives attributable to the real lived perceptions of the people in front of the camera (as opposed to the people controlling the camera). This is true although the project involved a low level of participation in the making of the films. Where the level of participation did rise to the level of functional interactive participation was in the screening when spontaneous comments by the villagers were heard. In both the screenings, the perspectives that came forward concerned the rights of citizens; In Konduchi they were of a civil rights nature and in Bagamoyo participant were asking along the lines of the villagers’ right to control the dissemination of images and communication about them. The project did not however entail
any follow up or responsibility for the ensuing processes that may potentially lead to social change. The proposals remain as mere suggestions and hypotheses that film for change and the imaginative leeway have something to offer.

So social change did not take place. And as noted by Lajos Varhegyi, it was always *highly unlikely that the films would have an impact on the communities where they were shot.*

During the screening phase it had become clear that lack of pre-established goals and impact parameters would make it very difficult to measure social change anyway. It remains a paradox that the films were produced without audiences, effects and social impact in mind; especially since communication for development was always the framework that we were working within. Because of this improbability the thesis has been looking for alternatives in theory and grounded theory to be able to follow up on the research interest.

By *imaginative leeway* I understand an *imaginary passageway to change of perspective, and a brokering between real, ideal and intersubjective truths.* I have refined the sensitizing concept of the imaginative leeway through thick ethnographic exploration and it has led me to an understanding of the way that the particular application of a participatory approach in film for change leads to a strategy of self-representation partly mediated by the imaginative leeway, as well as the core parameters of film for change, i.e. fictionalization, the importance of intertextuality and the screening. As with cultural brokerage, the imaginative leeway brokers between different versions of the truth and fiction, between different regimes of power, interpretation and meaning.

Fictionalization is a channel through which power relations and discourse changes because it encourages new subject positions and shuffling of the borders of discourse. That is why the screenings in Konduchi and Bagamoyo produced imaginative leeways from the films to human rights and communication rights. Even though I do not believe the imaginative leeway is dependent on fictionalization I suggest that it adds to the experience and to creativity.

The field project investigated here did not reach participation above the level of participation by consultation, or for material incentives, if one approaches it technically as measurable participation in core decisions and actions of the project. Thus it did not include a contextual approach where inclusion of secondary stakeholders and gatekeepers could have been achieved. But in the approach to media (i.e. community media) and the intermingling of

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46 *field diary entry 5, lines 117-126 and interview with Lajos, (F2: 51:45)*

47 *field diary entry 7, lines 101-111*

48 *field diary entry 5, lines 128-131*
filmmakers, local to the communities to some extent, and representatives of the primary stakeholders, the project managed to ‘climb up’ the ladder of participation levels and become interactive to some extent. A strong feature of the successful participatory aspect was the fact that the protagonists in the films were extremely motivated to be part of the project, even though not all of them used the opportunity to speak as freely as Omar and Zambwela. This raising of the bar owes to the representational strategy and testifies to the empowering nature of community media, or as I suggest to re-conceptualize it; citizens’ media.

In this sense parts of the global conflict over communication rights have outlived themselves, as suggested in the intro (page 3). Although the definition of citizens’ media that I use here is not up to date and not adapted to the web 2.0 and social media it describes well how the use of visual media in small formats and based on principles of interpersonal communication, interaction, self-communication etc can be empowering for the suppliers (primary stakeholders). My suggestion is that if the format be adapted to ICT4D, the method of film for change would evolve into citizens’ media as a web 2.0 feature. That’s the most obvious route to follow although film for change should also continue as community media, as well as other configurations. As the examples mentioned throughout this thesis the uses of visual technology are manifold and are adjustable to many needs.

In the treatment of ICT4D the thesis has approached it as a question of the social nature of technological design. In this sense it has located mental images of web 2.0 and social media in the heads of the protagonists, and these images or metaphors for liberation have influenced the play of signs in the films. Even if the means of social media are out of reach for many, or only accessible in limited amounts, the fact that social media is setting conservative dictatorships ablaze should be an inspiring notion. Even though the villagers in Konduchi, Kaole and Bagamoyo could not have known of the changes throughout the MENA region beforehand, the significance of social media was known to them. That showed in the quotidian politics that they expressed in the films.

The discourses point out that power relations are shifting when it comes to notions of development (the social entrepreneur as the good example and interventions by foreign NGO’s and governments as the bad example), the media (the right to communicate versus distance, subjection and providence) and identity (as an ambiguous concept somewhere between traditional community and a modern liberalising and enlightening concept of citizenship, including notions of justice, rights and education). I think the fact that the films discuss these themes show that these ideas are prevailing on the agenda in Tanzania.

But we need to remind ourselves of the power of the media itself to influence ideas and attitudes. It is through the use of the media (intermittently conceptualised as community media,
alternative media or citizens’ media) that these notions come alive, as shown by the example of Zembwela, Omar and his son appropriating television and the camera. I agree with Rodríguez’ assessment, that alternative media function as environments that facilitate the fermentation of identities and power positions. In other words, alternative media spin transformative processes that alter people’s sense of self, their subjective positioning, and therefore their access to power. (Rodríguez:2001, p. 773). The films gave both the protagonists and the filmmakers occasion to claim power through the camera. In this way the visual interventions project allowed the participants to become suppliers of information, liberated them from the everyday reign of power and made them question the state of affairs.

Film for change is a toolbox for practising citizens’ media and providing for self-communication. But what’s required to make social change as such is a more complex matter. It involves political will and a contextual approach. But a start could be film for change.
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BOOKS; MONOGRAPHS AND ANTHOLOGIES


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ARTICLES


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**VIDEO DOCUMENTATION FROM FIELD WORK**

During fieldwork I submitted about 42 pages of field diary entries and almost filled out a notebook with observations. The field diary entries are appended to this thesis as appendix B. I shot a total of 40 video clips, close to 25 hours of film; 22 of them were interviews with the film crews, teachers and actors / participants in the films (of an average of 1 hour per interview); 3 of them were of the screening events, when the films were shown in front of a village audience; 7 of them were observations of scripting and shooting activities; and 4 were observer notes made to remind myself of various details. I have chosen not to transcribe the video interviews on the grounds that visual material qualify as source material in it’s own right and because the footage may reveal other indicators that need to taken into account. I have made a comprehensive archive of notes from the films though, appended as appendix C. Where references to the video material is used in the text, times are indicated making it easy to locate the exact sources of quotes and references.

**Video clip numbering and reference:**

- A: Screenings in Bagamoyo, observation and interviews
- B: Shooting in Bagamoyo, interviews and subject observation
- C: Editing in Sweden, interviews
- D: Classes in Tanzania, observations
- E: Group interviews, post production
- F: Individual interviews with Lajos Varhegyi
- G: Shooting in Kaole, interviews and subject observation
- H: Screening in Konduchi, interviews and subject observation
- I: Shooting in Konduchi, interviews and subject observation

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The videos that I refer to in this thesis are appended as video files and can be accessed at: [http://gallery.me.com/ssonderstrup#gallery](http://gallery.me.com/ssonderstrup#gallery).

Appendices can be requested at ssonderstrup@gmail.com

**FIELD DIARY ENTRIES**

Field work diary entries 1-12 are attached with the thesis as appendix B