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Editorial

DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION AND FILM

Stephen McCloskey

Philip French, who retired as film critic for *The Observer* in 2013 after fifty years of insightful and informative reviews, described cinema as ‘the great art form of the 20th century’ and suggested that ‘this century is continuing the same way’ (4 May 2013). Cinema continues to enjoy a popular status in our cultural lives despite the multitude of digital and online access points for games, movies and television. We still enjoy the social activity of cinema-going and the opportunity to view films on the big screen. Given its capacity as a conveyor of knowledge, images, messages and issues to a large, international audience, film has immense importance to development education practitioners yet according to Lewis et al. remains an ‘under-studied medium for development knowledge’ (2013: 20). The development education sector has arguably yet to fully explore the potential of film as an educational medium with target audiences or as a mainspring for debate between practitioners. Moreover, the accessibility of digital technology has potentially brought the filmmaking process itself within the compass of development organisations as evidenced in the article by Michael Brown and Katrina Collins in this issue of *Policy and Practice*.

This issue explores some examples of good practice within the development education sector involving the development of a film-based resource and the showcasing of cinema from the global South, which rarely finds its way into our local multiplexes. It also considers the important role of film training in shaping the practice of filmmakers of the future. There are significant possibilities attached to enhanced development education inputs into the content and methodologies used in the delivery of film training, particularly the cultivation of a more challenging cinema addressing issues central to the lives of people in the global South. But, perhaps the most traditional association between film and development education is in the use of the former as an educational medium feeding ideas and perspectives on global issues that can support debate and inspire action. Like development education, the

medium of film has a flexibility that extends across education sectors, age groups and subject boundaries to enrich learning on a stand-alone basis or by complementing other activities. Monika Kruesmann considers in this issue, for example, the value of film as an educational medium in schools, but similar benefits exist in other traditional development education sectors too such as youth, third level and the community/voluntary sector.

This editorial argues that film contains significant potential for development educators in promoting cultural and development awareness but can also be a source of disquieting cultural homogenisation, particularly through the market dominance of United States' (US) films around the world (United Nations Development Programme, UNDP, 2004: 86). The challenge for development education is to champion an alternative cinema that respects diversity, protects regional and national identities and promotes cultural rights. The article cites the documentary feature film as an example of a genre that continues to thrive despite the limited cultural spaces available to showcase work outside the mainstream Hollywood fare. It concludes with an introduction to the thematic contributions to this issue of the journal, which suggest some of the possibilities that exist for aligning development education with film.

The global picture for film

Globalisation has been a mixed blessing for the film industry and consumers. It has resulted in shrinking spaces between people, cultures and ideas through the rapid development of new digital technologies that facilitate instant communication and a mushrooming of electronic access points for film, television and games that include laptops, tablets and smart phones. The number of terrestrial and cable television channels has proliferated, but has this signalled greater choice for the consumer? An infographic from *Business Insider* suggests that the level of consolidation in the media sector in the US has resulted in just six corporations controlling 90 percent of the market (Lutz, 2012). The consolidation process has seen these media giants accrue multiple interests that include news media, publishing, music, television, games and film. A total of fifty companies controlled 90 percent of the sector in 1983 but have been consolidated to the point today that '232 media executives control the information diet of 277 million Americans' (ibid). In terms of movies, the big six earned box office returns in 2010 of \$7 billion which was double the

combined income of the next 140 studios (ibid). According to the UNDP, the global share of movie box office receipts earned by US productions a decade ago was 85 percent and completely out-muscled the European film industry which it described as being ‘in decline over the past three decades’ (2004: 86).

A more recent estimation of US global market share suggested that it had dropped to 63 percent largely as a result of a 15 percent growth (\$10.4 billion) in the market share of the Asia Pacific region and, in particular, China’s overtaking of Japan to become the largest market outside the US (Hoad, 2013b). Indeed, Ernst and Young has estimated that China’s film market will surpass that of the US by 2020 based on growth of 17 percent per annum (Child, 2012). Despite this rapidly emerging challenge to US market dominance of the global film industry it appears that Hollywood films will continue to populate cinemas across the world in significant numbers. The US itself remains the world’s largest film market, earning \$10.8 billion domestically in 2012, an increase of 6 percent on 2011 (Kerowski, 2013). Moreover, China’s domestic film industry lags well behind imported movies despite the Chinese government imposing a quota of 34 foreign films per year (ibid). While the number of Chinese cinema-goers is on the rise, Chinese films are not threatening the market dominance of the US and finding it difficult to ward off competition from Hollywood.

The consequences of this dominance include the possibility of deteriorating industry standards as the high stakes of Hollywood finance demand a healthy enough return to absorb the costs of pre-production, principal photography, post-production and a hefty promotional budget. Film studios are less inclined to greenlight projects that take risks or stray too far from proven profit-making templates; hence the proliferation of movie sequels and high output of profitable genre films like those in the Marvel franchise. However, a more significant outcome of Hollywood’s output and market share for development educators is the influence of film on culture, values and lifestyles which is considered in the next section.

Film, culture and identity

Given its pervasiveness and global reach, film has a considerable influence on youth lifestyles, attitudes and values. In summarising the effect of globalisation

on culture, the UNDP suggests that, on the one hand ‘Globalisation has increased contacts between people and their values, ideas and ways of life in unprecedented ways’ but, on the other hand, the fear exists that values are being lost as ‘modern communications invade every corner of the world, displacing local culture’ (2004: 85). The UNDP argues that this fear is most pronounced in indigenous societies and suggests that:

“Indigenous people see globalization as a threat to their cultural identities, their control over territory and their centuries-old traditions of knowledge and artistic expression. They fear the cultural significance of their territories and knowledge will go unrecognized – or that they will receive inadequate compensation for these cultural assets” (2004: 91).

Film can play its part in this displacement of cultural identity and expression through the cultural hegemony that attends the dominance of a narrow set of values, attitudes and lifestyles promulgated in US output. As Lozada (2013) suggests ‘Due to liberalization of trade among countries and the ease in ability to export and import, more foreign cultures have been exposed to American film’. While the increased market share of Hollywood has been facilitated by strident globalisation since the end of the Cold War, Lozada suggests that the extent to which this represents a form of ‘cultural imperialism’ or has impacted on local cultures ‘is an issue of debate among cultural and media theorists’.

What is not in debate are what the UNDP describes as the ‘asymmetries in flows of ideas and goods’ which need to be addressed so that ‘some cultures do not dominate others because of their economic power’ (2004: 90). Measures proposed by the UNDP that could address the asymmetries in the exchanges of film include specialised taxation incentives to encourage independent filmmakers and specialised distributors to make more films; new international legal frameworks to allow better and more balanced exchanges, expanding national production capacities; and enhancing access to more digital production technologies (98). As an example of a country which has implemented longstanding protective measures to nurture its indigenous film industry, France performed quite well against US imports in 2012 with local films accounting for 40.3 percent of admissions compared to 42.7 percent for

US films, 13.3 percent for other European films and 3.7 percent in the ‘other’ category (Barnes, 2013). By contrast, UK films accounted for 32 percent of market share in their domestic market in 2012 (BFI, 2013: 10) and Mexico had just a 6.1 percent share of the local film revenues in 2010 which were dominated by Hollywood films (Hoad, 2013a). In 2010, the British government abolished the UK Film Council, which had issued grant and lottery funds to new develop new films, thus withdrawing a major arm of state support to the industry (*New Statesman*, 26 July 2010)

The advantages of having a robust, national, independent film sector include the cultivation of local films that speak to and facilitate debate on issues of national and regional concern. Consider films such as: *La Haine* (1995) which comments on social unease in Paris’s working-class suburbs; *Bamako* (2006) which puts the International Monetary Fund and World Bank on trial in Mali’s capital; *Gomorrhah* (2008) which grittily de-romanticises Italy’s mafia past and present; and *Even the Rain/También la lluvia* (2010), an exploration of contemporary and historical exploitation of indigenous communities and resources in the global South. These films have no place in Hollywood’s canon and were made possible by local/regional enterprise involving collaborators operating within independent film. Without state support in the form of grants and tax incentives, independent filmmakers in the global North and South will struggle to finance their work and create the more challenging films that are likely to support a deeper understanding of development locally and in the global South. But perhaps the film genre with the most successful take-up of development themes and issues is the documentary which is arguably in the midst of a ‘golden age’ and which I turn to next.

The golden age of documentaries

Speaking at a documentary film festival in Sheffield in 2011, the filmmaker Steve James hailed a ‘golden age of documentary film-making’. ‘The quality is incredible’, he said. ‘Before, people used to want to make narrative films, but suddenly people realised what you could do with a documentary’ (*Guardian*, 6 June 2011). James argues that there has been an attitudinal change among the public concerning documentaries; where they once felt a duty to watch a documentary or felt it was ‘good for you’ they now watch them because ‘they want to’. What perhaps raised the bar and expectations for documentaries was

Michael Moore's Academy Award winning documentary *Bowling for Columbine* (2002), which questioned the prevalence of the firearm in US society in the aftermath of the 'Columbine Massacre' in 1999 when two high school students attending Columbine High School in Jefferson County, Colorado shot dead twelve of their peers and a teacher, injuring twenty-one more. His film related a pervasive fear and anxiety that imbued so much of the US's media output to the high level of gun ownership in US society. Moore's documentary struck a chord with a public largely bereft of such critical perspectives and the film grossed \$21 million in the US alone, an extraordinary return for a film in the genre. He went on to make *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004), which excoriated the presidency of George W Bush for illegally pursuing wars in Afghanistan and Iraq in the aftermath of the attacks on New York on 9 September 2001. *Fahrenheit 9/11* won the Palme d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival and earned just short of \$120 million at the US box office.

Moore's subsequent documentaries *Sicko* (2007) on the US healthcare system and *Capitalism: A Love Story* (2009) on the 2008 financial crisis proved to be less lucrative at the box office but still yielded healthy returns. Moore's passive-aggressive style of documentary filmmaking, combining an everyman demeanour, humour and anger at the injustices examined by his films, have endeared him to the American public. The success of his movies revealed new possibilities for documentary filmmaking and raised the bar for public expectations from the genre. Documentaries could entertain as well as provoke debate, educate, challenge injustices and mobilise the public. Of course documentaries have long been associated with television output and the canon of the Australian journalist and broadcaster John Pilger for ITV in Britain is an outstanding example of investigative journalism in the area of development, human rights and social justice (<http://johnpilger.com/>). But Pilger's films had not been considered cinematic propositions and were largely confined to television; Moore's success at the box office changed this perception of the documentary.

Documentaries have persisted as a cinematic force since the success of the Michael Moore films, many of which continue to explore development issues with verve, depth, innovation and courage. For example, three of the nominees for 'best documentary feature' in the 2014 US Academy Awards, the

apex of the industry's award season, addressed historical and contemporary issues of human rights and social justice in the global North and South. *Dirty Wars* (2013: Richard Rowley and Jeremy Scahill) exposes covert US military operations in Afghanistan, Somalia and Yemen that have resulted in high civilian casualties with little to no accountability. *The Square* (2013: Jehane Noujaim and Karim Amer) documents with raw footage and, at times harrowing detail, the courageous efforts of civil society leaders in Egypt to move the country toward a democratic future. And *The Act of Killing* (2012: Joshua Oppenheimer and Signe Byrge Sørensen), in a macabre and revealing movie, has perpetrators of mass killings during the 1965 coup that overthrew Communist President Sukarno of Indonesia and kill half a million people, re-enact some of their grisly crimes in the style of their favourite movie genres. It is a rare movie that comments on human rights abuses of the past while shining a light on impunity and hidden truths in the present.

The Act of Killing has carried all before it in terms of critical acclaim in the 2013-14 awards season, winning a BAFTA award for 'Best Documentary' and being voted by *The Guardian* as the film of the year in any genre, a rare feat for a documentary (Bradshaw, 2013). The documentary form therefore appears to be in rude health and has lost none of its power to tackle the controversial or take unconventional approaches to difficult subjects that mainstream conventional narratives would not touch. The documentary is perhaps the closest ally to the development educator of all cinematic forms given its regular trawling of development issues. But there are, of course, challenging and informative movies regularly made in the conventional form that would readily strengthen development education practice. The sector could perhaps do more to bring these movies to wider audiences and offer them a showcase that they are denied in multiplex cinemas. Distribution and promotion is often the biggest challenge faced by filmmakers, particularly in the global South, and development educators could help to champion these films as part of their work. The Galway African Film Festival has managed to do just that and Heike Vornhagen's article reflects on how the festival organisers were 'driven by a conviction that feature films could be educational by themselves and contribute to the wider development debate.'

This is a conviction that has underpinned this issue of the journal which seeks to widen the development education sector's engagement with film and suggest the possibilities that exist for doing this. While corporatism and globalisation challenge cinematic exposure of development issues, the success of many documentaries and independent films in circumventing the challenges of film finance, promotion and distribution show that quality movies will find an audience when they shine a light on truth and social justice. The next section introduces the thematic contributions to this issue of the journal.

Development education and film

Young people have an innate sense of social justice and care about what is happening in the world but a survey reported in Monika Kruesmann's article suggests that a majority of teachers in British schools believe that the schools system is not helping pupils achieve that goal. This is the starting point of the article, which goes on to suggest that film can help to address this problem as 'an education medium particularly well suited to global teaching and learning'. She suggests that film has a flexibility and familiarity that makes it ideal for use in the classroom particularly when so many young people have an intimate knowledge of new digital technologies. The article argues that two additional and important qualities of film-based learning are cross-cultural connectivity and content density. Cross-cultural connectivity draws upon 'film's ability to engage the emotions by bringing together information, narrative, and visual and musical mood' which affords 'many opportunities for finding chords of resonance with existing student experience'. Content density addresses the 'complexity and instability of many global issues' which often tackle several 'interlinked components'. It does this through 'film's capacity to reference, through its multiple components, many different issues within a very compact series of images and sounds'. At the same time, film can address several components of the schools' curriculum such as Citizenship, Economics and English.

Kruesmann's article describes a piloted project 'involving eighteen schools, in which documentary film clips and accompanying lesson plans, all with explicit links to the national curriculum, were offered to teachers, along with support to implement the plans'. The project is an innovative response to the dearth of film-based resources in British schools and also aims to add 'to the

growing literature on film as a medium for development education'. Kruesmann makes a persuasive case for film as an effective resource for development education teaching and learning in formal education based on its strong curriculum relevance and capacity to engage pupils.

Rod Stoneman brings considerable experience to his article's analysis of film training as Director of the Huston School of Film and Digital Media at the National University of Ireland Galway (NUIG) and former Chief Executive of the Irish Film Board. He has commissioned and produced several movies and has been a champion of cinema in the global South as former Deputy Commissioning Editor at Channel 4 where he provided production finance for over fifty African feature films. Stoneman's appraisal of current film training methodologies regrets 'the narrower approaches of most current filmmaking courses' which 'often place their emphasis on technical training for the industry and exclude political or critical thinking'. He suggests instead a modern film pedagogy where 'critical analysis and production be continuously connected and interactive'. Invoking Freire's concept of shared investigation, Stoneman proposes training rooted in social responsibility and political consciousness that can result in 'awareness of selfhood, forms of criticism and radicalisation'. Film training that moves outside the purely technical, he suggests, 'involves nourishing and enlightening new generations, taking them towards a refreshed social and aesthetic function for the moving image'. The article suggests that development education could potentially play an important role in cultivating this new generation of more socially engaged filmmaker.

Rod Stoneman's Huston School of Film and Digital Media was one of the founding organisations involved in setting up the Galway African Film Festival in 2008 together with the Galway Film Society and Galway One World Centre (GOWC). Heike Vornhagen, Co-ordinator of the GOWC, describes the impetus behind the festival which screens around fourteen films per year focusing 'on contemporary African cinema, highlighting new and emerging talents as well as depicting different stories'. The article argues that by discussing development issues in the context of films from Africa we build a more accurate picture of life on the continent that contrasts sharply with the often skewed perspective offered by mainstream cinema.

Michael Brown and Katrina Collins offer development educators a useful exemplar of how a film-based resource can be developed from the filming process through to the writing, piloting and dissemination stages. Their article reflects the possibilities made available through digital technologies for development educators to develop their own resources tailored to the needs of their audiences. The project was led by Development Media Workshop (DMW) based in Enniskillen, County Fermanagh, which created an effective consortium of partner organisations from the disability and development sectors. The article focuses on the development of a film-centred educational learning resource linked to the post-primary school curriculum in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland with funding from the Department for International Development's (DfID) Mini Grant Scheme. The resource explored the connection between disability and development from a child's perspective in different contexts around the world. The resource pack includes films from Bolivia, Ethiopia, Haiti, Nepal, Tanzania, Vietnam and Ireland. The films were made by DMW's Michael Brown who developed the films into seven lessons addressing different aspects of development and directly linked to the schools' curriculum at post-primary level.

The article describes the writing and piloting of the lessons and extensive dissemination of the resource through teacher and student teacher training programmes. The published pack titled *Disability and Development* (2011) was very positively evaluated by teachers and pupils alike and was taken up by schools throughout the island of Ireland. The article estimates that between 10,500 and 21,000 pupils have had access to the learning resource and extracts have been used as exemplar case studies on the web site of the Northern Ireland Council for the Curriculum, Examinations and Assessment (CCEA). The article suggests that the success of the project illustrates the effectiveness of using films within educational resources, particularly films 'shot and edited with minimal narration, allowing the pictures to tell the story and the viewer to interpret things for themselves'.

The final Perspectives article is an interview with Rod Stoneman in which he 'speaks about his experience of filmmaking in the global South and efforts towards challenging the Western ideological and theoretical conceptions that have historically underpinned the medium of film and the discipline of film

studies'. The interview reflects Stoneman's passion for film and challenge to geographical, ideological and political configurations of film that assert the domination of one perspective over all others. This means rejecting dominant Western modes of thinking, production, criticism and film practice to create a much more complex and broad model that creates change by doing rather than just talking.

This issue's Viewpoint article is by broadcaster Peadar King, a producer of documentaries on human rights, poverty and social justice issues including the RTÉ series *What in the World?* From such an experienced vantage point, King reflects on the decline of public broadcasting, particularly in news coverage which has largely fallen victim to an increasing corporatisation of the media sector. The article offers examples of Chomsky's assertion that most journalists are conforming to 'dominant and increasingly right-wing ideological pressures'. In the first Iraq War, for instance, journalists embedded with US armed forces performed what Philip Seib describes as their 'minuet with the Pentagon'. King draws upon recent research from the Tindall Institute on the news output by the dominant US broadcasters ABC, CBS and NBC which found that 'key international events and developments have become increasingly marginalised in their coverage'.

Britain and Ireland are not 'immune to this downward trend in news coverage' which is diminishing the coverage of the global South as part of television news output. This assessment of television journalism should set alarm bells ringing for development educators as surveys quoted by King indicate that the majority of people in Ireland (and most likely in other countries too) 'find out what is happening in developing countries through television'. The decline in public broadcasting standards needs to be arrested if the public are to receive a more rounded, in-depth and accurate picture of life in the global South.

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Focus

NOW SHOWING: USING FILM AS AN EDUCATIONAL MEDIUM IN BRITISH SCHOOLS

Monika Kruesmann

School students care about what is happening in the world. They know that there is life beyond their own communities and countries, and they know, even if they cannot explain or systematically understand, that there are powerful forces operating in those other parts of the globe that they might know only from television or second-hand anecdote. What they often do not know is how those forces interact with their own lives and concerns, and what they can do to help make sure those interactions are positive.

Students want to understand these things. A large scale survey of British school pupils showed that over three quarters (78 percent) think it is important for schools to help pupils understand what people can do to make the world a better place (Think Global & Ipsos MORI, 2008: 7). Teachers too believe that this is important; but more worryingly, a large majority do not believe that the current school system is succeeding in achieving this goal (Think Global, 2013: 4-7). There are various factors contributing to this problem. The current national curriculum focuses closely on 'the basics' of English, Maths and Science, with global issues appearing only incidentally as part of these core subjects. Many schools are under considerable funding pressure, and perhaps most pertinently, there has been a sharp drop in teachers' confidence to teach about complex global issues such as immigration, climate change and global interdependence (ibid).

There are, however, ways to address this problem, and to put UK school students back on the right path to becoming informed and thoughtful citizens of a globalising world. Appropriate resources, and teacher training in ways to make use of these resources, are amongst the most powerful solutions. This article examines film as an education medium particularly well suited to global teaching and learning. Although, as the first section below describes,

there are plenty of teaching and learning resources available to British educators, this paper begins by explaining the special strengths of film, touching on its familiarity and flexibility, as well as its capacity to deal with complex and sometimes emotive global issues. The latter parts of the article consider how this matches up with what is happening in British schools today, and a new project currently under development by Think Global and Doc Academy is introduced. Concluding comments follow, putting the arguments for film in global learning into larger perspective, and considering the best way forward in helping school students towards a future where they are informed and confident about their own and others' roles in international affairs.

Global Learning Resources: Keeping up with change

There is no shortage of teaching and learning resources available to school teachers in Britain. Primary and secondary teachers; teachers in central London and in small rural towns; teachers of Maths and English and Music; new teachers and experienced teachers – for all educators a rich variety of resources and learning aids is often only a click away.

As this suggests, access to the internet has revolutionised access to teaching and learning resources. Online resources are readily available, often free of charge, and neatly categorised according to subject area and learning stage. The websites of subject associations are particularly well-stocked repositories. The Geographical Association, for example, provides both activity suggestions and background resources for topics ranging from floods, cyclones and earthquakes to human geography, census taking and environmental sustainability. Similarly, the Personal Social Health and Economic Education (PSHE) Association provides resources dealing with topics from road safety to personal health, while the National Association for the Teaching of English provides resources on a diverse collection of specific texts, as well as guidance for teachers on how to teach particular literary forms, such as ballads.

More generally, the BBC provides a contemporary and diverse collection of teaching and learning resources on topics from curricula across the UK, again conveniently listed by both subject and learning stage. Think Global, specialists in global learning and development education, maintain the UK's premier web-based collection of school resources for global learning,

relevant across subjects and learning stages (<http://globaldimension.org.uk/>); while for-profit corporations such as Pearson and TES Connect provide sizeable collections of resources available to buy.

Naturally, more traditional, non-virtual resources also continue to play an important part in British classrooms. Teachers of modern foreign languages still find value in flash cards for simple vocabulary building; teachers of the physical sciences can only go so far before practical laboratory activity comes to the fore; and teachers of music do not get far without instruments and sound equipment. Like internet-based resources, however, these more practical, hands-on learning aids are also more readily available than ever before and, the (often significant) constraints of limited school budgets aside, resources of every shape and form abound for UK school teachers.

However, development education, or global learning as it is referred to here, presents unique resource imperatives for schools and teachers. Most obviously, global learning *per se* is not a discrete curriculum subject in any part of the UK. The latter stages of citizenship studies do touch on some matters of relevance to global learning,¹ as do different stages of the Geography, Religious Studies, English, and History curricula, among others. A coherent global learning ‘offer’ is not, however, part of current curriculum or syllabus design, and thus it also lacks its own programme or associated subject body.

This is not necessarily a bad thing. The essential nature of global learning and global issues is cross-disciplinary and interconnected. A student-oriented development text by the World Bank illustrated this neatly, explaining that:

¹ The terms ‘development education’ and ‘global learning’ are often used interchangeably, and indeed the distinctions are subtle. The former term is often more popular in European continental work and scholarship, whereas the latter is gaining popularity in the UK. For this reason, and because the focus on ‘global’ matters can be understood more broadly than a focus on ‘development’, the term ‘global learning’ is used here.

“...for some people, development means primarily higher incomes, for others, a cleaner environment. Some are more interested in personal security, others in personal freedom. Note that these goals and values are not always easily compatible – faster economic growth may be more damaging to the natural environment and a strengthening of personal security may require limiting some personal freedoms. The abundance of such tradeoffs in development is one of the reasons there are so many open questions...” (Soubotina, 2004: 2).

It begs the question, though, what kinds of teaching and learning resources are most suitable for this complex and interconnected subject matter? Further, globalisation means that developments or changes in any one or more of the interlinked factors that comprise global issues flow rapidly into others, fundamentally altering the parameters of entire debates in the blink of an eye. Teaching and learning resources need thus to be flexible and responsive to change, as well as to communicate complexity in a simple way. Resources for global learning do certainly exist but (as with resources for other subjects) some are more successful than others. Film, with its unique dynamic capacity, is one of the more successful; the next section explores how this is so.

Right Here, Right Now: Why film works as a Global Learning Resource

The use of film as a global education resource is possible because of radical and wide-reaching developments in technology. While film as a medium has been in existence since the development in the late nineteenth century of cameras for moving pictures, it is only much more recently that films have been available for personal and formal educative use. This has been in large part due to the advent of computer-based visual and audio equipment, which allows teachers and learners, as well as other professional and private individuals, to view, copy, edit and otherwise manipulate film materials in ways that were unimaginable a few decades ago:

“In the 1970s, film buffs organized their lives around repertory-house schedules, and might travel 50 miles to catch a screening of a rare film. Today, even the most out-of-the-way town has a video store with four or five thousand titles in stock, ready of viewing at a moment’s notice, and if you can’t find it there, you can get it on the Internet. Twenty

years ago, very few of us actually owned movies; today, even fewer do not” (Monaco, 2000: 13).

Accessibility alone, however, is not the reason why film makes such a good resource for global teaching and learning. Rather, the strength of film lies in four interconnected factors: familiarity, flexibility, cross-cultural connectivity, and content density.

Familiarity

One of the greatest challenges for educators of adapting to the spread of new technologies has been the difficulty of keeping up with students’ own knowledge of, and familiarity with, those technologies. Whereas in the past teachers could generally rely on superior expertise to help manage volatile classes, research shows that the use of digital resources ‘can become a source of anxiety for teachers who feel they are no longer in charge of their classes, and that the students know more than they do’ (Vickers & Smalley, 1997).

The flip side of this, however, is that where students are ‘digital natives’ (Greenhow & Robiela, 2009: 1130), film and other technology-based resources make sense and appear immediately relevant. As Kuzma and Haney put it:

“We teach and live in a culture dominated by film, television, and other visual media. Our students...spend a major proportion of their time in front of the television, at the computer, or in a movie theatre. Consequently, they are geared to audiovisual rather than written forms of expression and communication” (2001: 34).

So film-based teaching and learning resources speak clearly to students who are already accustomed to audiovisual media, and moreover are engaged and enthusiastic about it; a core criterion for successful learning.

Flexibility

Film-based resources are also notably flexible, engaging and accommodating learners at a range of stages and with diverse learning preferences. Pointing to studies on memory and recall, Kuzma and Haney argue that traditional classroom tools such as books, blackboards and notes do serve a purpose, but

that information presented simultaneously visually and verbally engages more and different senses, leading to that information being more readily imprinted, retained for longer, and being recalled more easily (ibid).

This means that film can reach students with visual, aural and sometimes even kinetic learning preferences, all at the same time; and can be equally attractive to more advanced students and those who are struggling. Practical experience in the UK context has borne this out. Work by the UK Film Council and others recorded teachers who had used film education explaining that:

“...starting with film, all children regardless of ability, have been able to discuss narrative in a sophisticated manner. The use of film has allowed children to learn using a medium with which they feel comfortable and able to take risks” (2008: 4).

Flexibility of this kind also means that film resources can be made readily accessible for students of many different ages, from Key Stage (KS)1 through to KS5 and beyond.

It is worthwhile acknowledging that audiovisual resources in the form of television material have been available to teachers for much longer than the new generation of film-based resources. Two important distinctions are: first, that there is now much greater capacity for teachers (and indeed students themselves) to adapt, edit and manipulate film-based resources to highlight certain issues and to present learning in an original and dynamic way; and second, whereas the older generation of audiovisual television resources were often fact-oriented documentaries, the creative and emotive potential of modern film is a distinguishing factor in its power to engage.

Cross-cultural connectivity

The two factors so far mentioned are both important contributors to the strength of film as a global learning resource; but they are arguably not the most critical, as they may equally apply to the use of film in other subject areas. There are, however, two other factors that relate distinctly to global learning: cross-cultural connectivity and content density. Global learning by its nature

concerns matters that cross national borders and which indeed may often be wholly located in regions or countries far removed from British schools. This means that concepts and aspects of global learning will often (in common with many social science subjects) appear highly abstract, and difficult to make ‘real’ in the lives of UK school students.

Here, film’s ability to engage the emotions by bringing together information, narrative, and visual and musical mood, means that there are many opportunities for finding chords of resonance with existing student experience. Following pedagogical thought on cognitive development, which suggests that effective learning happens when students are supported to fit new stimuli into an existing framework, expanding that framework as they do so,² this suggests that film provides a strong vehicle for eliminating perceived distance between the geographically removed issues of global learning, and the real lived experience of British students:

“I usually do not like films where you have to read subtitles. However I think *Tsotsi* changed my mind completely. After a while I forgot I was reading the subtitles and got hooked in the story. It was moving, watching how people in the third world lived. I thought the acting and the scenery was good, and the film got me intrigued. A good film” (ibid).

In light of the stated aims of the new national curriculum in England, which includes that every state-funded school must prepare pupils for the ‘opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of later life’ (Department for Education, 2013), it must be evident that in a globalised world, this means students should be prepared to engage with the world beyond English borders.

² One of the early and most influential of theses on this matter was proposed by Russian scholar Lev Vygotsky. After his work was translated into English in the early 1960s, aspects of his thinking such as the ‘zone of proximal development’ became very popular as a pedagogic model. In decades since, the idea of ‘scaffolded learning’ has been considerably refined and recast; but the fundamental concept retains value, and Vygotskian thought continues to be highly influential. See Vygotsky, L. S. (2012 edition) *Thought and Language* (Massachusetts: MIT Press).

In this context, learning resources which make that international world real and understandable, as film does, can have a prominent role in school-based learning.

Content density

Finally, the complexity and instability of many global issues means that effective resources for global learning must be able to address adequately and lucidly problems with many interlinked components, and which often reach across multiple subject areas. Further, the underlying purpose of much global learning, namely to equip learners to actively pursue solutions to global problems, relies for its integrity and conceptual consistency on the understanding that change and progress are possible.

Film is uniquely placed to deal with both these challenges, due to its capacity for content density. By this is meant film's capacity to reference, through its multiple components, many different issues within a very compact series of images and sounds. For example, a brief filmic sequence showing an altercation between multi-ethnic gang members in an inner city street might simultaneously touch on issues relevant across the curriculum, including: language (English, or modern foreign languages); racism (Citizenship, or History); poverty (principles of basic Economics); religion; and immigration (Geography).

Similarly, film is well-equipped to demonstrate concepts of change and progress, by seamlessly integrating 'real' historical information with contemporary material. In this sense, film can act as something of a time machine, and in a way that other educational media are not able to:

“Film enjoys enormous advantages over textual history in this domain; its reality effect resides not only in the ability to show viewers the ‘look’ of the past but to trigger emotions” (Berenson, quoted in Kuzma & Haney, 2001: 35).

In this sense, film can effectively but discretely demonstrate the reality of change and progress; thereby validating the possibility of remedial action against global problems. Conversely, the use of film can also have a negative effect, in that

students perceive the persistent recurrence of unhappy events such as war, and conclude that such problems are insoluble. The role of the teacher in guiding learning, and highlighting examples of positive progress, is paramount here.

In the classroom: What's happening in British schools?

Filmic resources do have a presence in British classrooms. Over the last two decades in particular, as access to audiovisual teaching and learning resources has increased, the British Film Institute (BFI) has had an active role in developing and supporting the implementation of film projects in schools across the UK. For example, Story Shorts was introduced in a number of schools with the aim of using short films as whole texts in the context of the National Literacy Strategy. Similar initiatives, also led by the BFI included *Show us a Story!*, a primary teaching resource based on growing understanding of the significant role of moving image media in modern culture, and 'Edit: Play', which was a research-based project investigating how young people use 'edutainment' software to tell stories and understand concepts of narrative (Parker, 2002: 39-40).

Most recently, Doc Academy, an education-focused initiative of BRITDOC (a non-profit organisation that funds and facilitates the distribution of independent documentary films), piloted an innovative project involving eighteen schools, in which documentary film clips and accompanying lesson plans, all with explicit links to the national curriculum, were offered to teachers, along with support to implement the plans. Feedback from the pilot was strong, mirroring many of the strengths of film as a resource mentioned above:

“Particularly for the less able and less engaged, Doc Academy allows instant connection. Most pupils are into their media in various ways so they understand and use it regularly, it engages them easily and with pace, allows engagement to start from the moment they walk in” (Doc Academy, 2012).

Nevertheless, the use of film as a teaching and learning resource is still not as common as the use of other resources, and many teachers and schools lack both the expertise and the material resources to engage with the opportunities that film offers, particularly for global learning. Not all constraints (particularly

those of funding) can be easily addressed; but Think Global and Doc Academy are currently working on a new programme of intensive teacher training and support for using film to achieve curriculum outcomes and improve student achievement standards. It is hoped that as well as delivering attainment improvements in participating schools, evaluation and assessment of the project will make an important contribution to the growing literature on film as a medium for development education.

Opening windows on the world: New Think Global and Doc Academy project in London schools

The project which is currently under development aims to support innovative collaboration between KS3 teachers in London schools, using film to help them engage creatively with global issues, and within the parameters of the 2014 English national curriculum. It builds on research which finds that despite the centrality of English to everyday life, too many pupils see it as passive, school-based and academic (Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills, 2012). Making English 'real' uses the engaging and accessible medium of film to build teachers' knowledge of, and ability to critically analyse global issues for the purpose of improving students' attainment in language and literacy.

The focus of the project on teacher support highlights a key element in any effort to use film effectively in the classroom, which is the ultimate centrality of the teacher. As previously noted, some teachers lack confidence in the use of audiovisual resources, particularly where their students are already 'digital natives'; so given the teacher role as leader and guide, effective training in how to use film is vital. Further, the project focus recognises that even the best learning resources will never and should never take the place of good teaching.

The project follows a constructivist participatory approach, in which teachers build their own understandings and related scheme of work. With training days, review points, regular feedback and participant sharing opportunities, this approach maximises the opportunities for subject knowledge to become personalised and deeply embedded. Teachers can learn from each other, sharing the latest in practical experience. They can also gain expert training from experienced teams at Think Global and Doc Academy in effective

teaching of global issues, and use of film clips in the classroom teaching of English. This in turn opens the way for project outcomes and outputs to become transferable across classes and schools: the unit of work would be developed into a publishable teaching resource, congruent with broader school learning strategies, and sustainable into the future.

Evaluation of the project is critical, not only in terms of judging its success, but also in terms of contributing to the growing body of evidence for the efficacy of film as a learning resource; and moreover one that can effectively support global learning. A comprehensive evaluation strategy including teacher observations, analysis of student attainment, qualitative analysis of teacher and student experience, and analysis of resource dissemination and uptake, all add to collective understanding of how these types of projects can work.

Next steps

Development and implementation of individual projects like this one can go some way to increasing the effective use of film as a medium for global learning in schools; but there is potential for much more comprehensive and wide-reaching action. This will require creating a positive policy environment, not only within schools, but within the school education establishment more generally. This would mean not only increasing capacity and willingness to use filmic resources, but increasing understanding of, and explicit support for, global learning at both formal and informal levels.

In relation to the former, it has already been mentioned that global learning is not a stand-alone feature of the 2014 UK national curriculum; and it is not likely to become one at least in the short-term. Nevertheless it is possible to increase focus on global learning within the formal curriculum by exploiting the flexibility of international issues to resonate with the content and objectives of other curriculum subjects, and to deepen learning by reinforcing that content from multiple angles. Effective teacher professional development and school leaders' encouragement of global awareness are critical to successfully leveraging this opportunity.

Film will not always be the most effective or appropriate resource for global learning because of the tendency of films to 'leave details and events out,

make too much of other things, and often take license' (Gregg, quoted in Kuzma & Haney, 2001: 37). Films thus risk twisting already complex and emotive issues, like poverty and war, into even more fraught and emotionally charged phenomena. Further, even though the film industries of developing countries such as India and Nigeria (Sacchi, 2013) are booming, on a global level the film industries of (English speaking) developed nations, and particularly the US, retain overwhelming dominance. Despite the many original and astute films touching on global issues that emerge from Western studios, the risk of films depicting and perpetuating Western biases must never be under-estimated. Finally, the flip-side of film's ability to increase learning by engaging students' emotions is that, where that emotion is negative or becomes too extreme, learning can in fact be hindered. Teachers can never be fully aware of what emotional histories their students bring to the classroom, and even with the most careful preparation lessons can go awry where students become so involved in complex plots and emotive story-lines that their ability to retain a critical viewpoint is compromised.

For these reasons, the ability to think critically, to maintain appropriate distance, to choose resources carefully, and to help students always understand not only overt messages but sub-messages and artistic license, must always be a key feature of global teaching and learning where film is used.

Conclusion

The world around us, and in which today's school learners are growing up, is changing rapidly and becoming ever more complex. It is also, through the forces of globalisation, becoming more interconnected and interdependent. To act with wisdom while ignoring the global contexts of issues as diverse as farming, genetic research, political organisation and education, is impossible. Preparing school students to live and act in this world requires a prominent role for development education. The fact that in Britain at least, this remains largely outside the formal confines of the national curriculum, does not mean that its presence in schools is impossible. It does mean, however, that there is a critical role for effective global learning resources, and for training and support for teachers to access and use these resources.

This article has considered why film can be a very effective resource for development teaching and learning. Its familiarity to students accustomed to audiovisual media; its flexibility to be meaningful to learners at varied ages and stages; its capacity for cross-cultural connectivity; and for content density, all combine to provide a resource which can be adapted for diverse topics, and applied across curriculum subjects and objectives. There will sometimes be circumstances in which other resource types are more suitable for the issue or learners at hand; and in these cases it makes perfect sense to put film aside. However, it is to be hoped that in the future, there will be a place for filmic resources in every school that takes global affairs seriously.

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Think Global: <http://globaldimension.org.uk/>.

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THE FUTURE OF FILM TRAINING

Rod Stoneman

Fiat Lux/Let light be made

Any approach to the future of film training must be framed by the dynamic of the changing technological and institutional circumstances of the moment. Considerations should also commence with a rigorous and fresh examination of the formation of the culture industry at present, analysing its determinations and effects, its mechanisms and methods.

Inevitably my perspectives were formed by the specific experience of carrying the unwieldy intellectual framework of 1970s French structural theory into the institutions of British television and Irish cinema. I was involved in commissioning for Channel 4 television in Britain during its most radical phase in the 1980s – working inside a television station for a decade one could observe the operations of the machinery of the media in close proximity. This was followed by a further ten years directing a national film agency, Bord Scannán na hÉireann/the Irish Film Board, which was focused on cinema although inevitably this involved television partnerships and, increasingly, transmedia connections through digital formats.

This article is also part of a longer term reflection on the developing institutions and structures of the film and television industries, their policies and practices, in various parts of the world. Moving images are part of a pervasive image system which crosses the globe, reiterating authorised narratives that disclose events deceptively. Training young people to enter that system involves the development of critical practitioners who have developed an emancipatory intelligence themselves (Petrie & Stoneman, 2014).

The French magazine *Trafic* (2004) was not overstating the crisis when suggesting that contemporary cinema ‘neither apprehends our reality honestly nor does it aid in imagining a different kind of future. It is suffocated by a set of anachronistic conventions dictated by the agents of commerce.’ The domination of the US model can be challenged and relativised by different

forms of filmmaking from outside, but diverse cinemas from other countries and cultures are already situated as marginal and subordinate. Other cinemas are excluded by a dominant American cinema, commercial and confident, which contributes to the contemporary world's image of itself and is embedded in a resilient ideology which interacts with the economic order.

There is a continuity in the assumed relations between the different parts of the world in both the academy and the wider public sphere. This is exemplified by the relatively recent introduction of terms like 'World Art' and 'World Music' for the study of history of art and musicology in the West. Any belated attempt to broaden the inclusivity of scholarly disciplines is to be welcomed, although there never was any reason why visual culture in Mexico or literary traditions in China or music in Mozambique should not have been an integral part of any substantial exploration of cultural genres. The Western academy imports frames of reference and angles of approach formulated within its own insular assumptions - which determine how we look at Western and therefore all other art forms.

For clear historical and political reasons it is not surprising that some of the most dynamic new filmmaking comes from the cultures of the global South - where the very act of making cinema is both more difficult and more urgent. Alongside helping to set up the Huston School of Film & Digital Media (part of the National University of Ireland, Galway) for the last ten years I have also been involved in peripatetic workshops in West Africa, and several EU funded training initiatives in the Maghreb and the Middle East (see Stoneman, 2012, 2013). These short-term schemes bring new filmmakers from the global South together for a short series of workshops to develop and strengthen their potential projects. Inevitably they begin by negotiating existent structures and dominant ideas of film production both within their cultures and outside of them.

The circulation of ideas should take place alongside training to make films; theoretical considerations can also have a vital role. The encouragement of thinking about and through film must be radical and pluralist - the openness to the free movement of speculation should release curiosity, challenge supposition, develop dissent. My initiation to theory took place when the

interface between structural approaches, centred on psychoanalysis, semiology and Marxism, constituted in the 1970s and 1980s. This encounter was founded on the notion that all these ideas were reflexive – not fixed dogmas – configurations which would change and evolve in new historical conjunctions and they would continue to develop.

We should also look at how institutions currently configure creative and academic activities in film training – what interception and interaction between these categories is possible or productive? The theory and practice divide which bedevils European higher education needs to be challenged in all its institutional versions, we must re-invent the ways that the activities of making and thinking interact. The artistic mode of thought permeates and dissolves the edges of both academic discourse and craft-based training. Hannah Arendt described Benjamin's 'poetic thinking' (1973: 50), in the unfinished *Arcades Project* he had begun applying collage techniques to literature, deploying fragments and quotations in an inventive attempt to understand everyday life historically. This, like Godard's equivalent work in film, *Histoire(s) du Cinema* (Switzerland, 1988-1998), encourages curiosity about issues to which no verifiable knowledge is possible. As Arendt put it, 'Meaning and truth are not the same' (Quoted in Wesseling, 2011: 9). Artistic knowledge is consonant with Julia Kristeva's description of abjection: 'What disturbs identity, system, order. What does not respect borders, positions, rules. The in-between, the ambiguous, the composite' (1984: 4).

The relationship between ethics and aesthetics is rarely referred to in the understanding of filmmaking. But in a 1959 article for *Cahiers du Cinema* Luc Moullet suggested that 'Morality is a question of tracking shots', a phrase which was repeated and inverted shortly afterwards by Jean-Luc Godard: 'Travelling shots are a question of morality' or 'Politics is a travelling shot' (Ebert, 1969). This is exemplified in the virtuosic sequences in *Soy Cuba* (Mikhail Kalatozov, USSR/Cuba, 1964) which, like *Que Viva Mexico* (Sergei Eisenstein, USSR, 1930) before it, engaged Soviet filmmaking with Latin American politics. These unexpected formulations indicate the movement between formal and ethical considerations emerging from the debates taking place around the French New Wave; an intensity of ideas was shaped in relation to a fresh constellation of filmmaking as freewheeling low budget fiction

features were realised alongside new variations of documentary form such as cinema *vérité*. Regrettably the narrower approaches of most current filmmaking courses often place their emphasis on technical training for the industry and exclude political or critical thinking. It is an instrumental, craft-based approach which does not create space for the necessary imaginative engagement and understanding of the broader social importance of film and television. A modern pedagogy should propose that critical analysis and production be continuously connected and interactive.

The ethics that need to be embedded in training lead to questions such as: what role can filmmaking have in the repair of the condition of humanity? What behaviour helps or harms sentient creatures? How should filmmakers conceive of ethics and their responsibility for the other? Do we need to remind ourselves that there is a point to making the moving image? Radical approaches to the reformation of filmmaking and systems of communication are crucial if we avoid the dangers inherent in neglecting a moral human compass with respect to our engagement with each other, the natural world and potential technological ‘progress’.

The industrial approach leads some film schools to feel that it is appropriate to propose the production of imitation commercials as a training exercise. This is consonant with the growing sector of film schools which are commercially operated and privately owned. A relentless opportunism pushes aggressive and commercial forces forward in sectors which were previously protected (like education and health) as they were understood as central to communal interests. Rather than replicating the culture of advertisements, we should work to encourage critical and independent thought. The spaces of education should offer opportunities to assess the impact and implications of consumer culture, not reinforce it. A modest initiative at the Huston School of Film & Digital Media involves teams of students on the MA in Public Advocacy and Activism preparing briefings for those on the Production and Direction programme, setting out ideas that can be treated imaginatively in their realisation by the filmmakers. Thus the two groups of students collaborate and focus on changing public opinion through short films.

The political dimensions to education involve the explicit assumption of social responsibility. We should always think of the audience and ask ‘What do we make films for?’ Suggested designs for working in film connect with living and effecting the outside world – the point is to change it! As Paulo Freire (1996) indicated in his seminal book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, a continued shared investigation between teachers and students can lead to new awareness of selfhood, forms of criticism and radicalisation that set in motion engagement in the effort to objectively transform concrete aspects of the social formation.

It is important for students to develop a sense of wide-ranging formal possibilities and choices, including familiarity with film from the past and from other cultures, creative documentaries and experimental, visually-based work. There is a centripetal pull towards dominant forms of filmmaking which must be countered if there is to be the possibility of a diversity sustaining and celebrating strong indigenous cultures around the world.

The urgency of ethical issues may depend on the place from which you speak. Whatever the differences between Africa, Asia or Latin America, they are connected to critical and insubordinate perspectives outside the West. In Africa, Latin America and Asia films from other continents and cultures in the South may be especially relevant; I remember showing *Battle of Algiers* (Gillo Pontecorvo, Algeria/Italy, 1965) at the Hanoi Academy of Theatre and Cinema in Vietnam in 2005 and the students responded to the film with exclamations of “But that’s our story!”

The use of the phrase ‘developing world’ is a euphemistic shadow of the non-Politically Correct (PC) term ‘underdevelopment’ – contact with the global South should lead to self-examination in ‘the overdeveloped world’, and lead to serious consideration of the perilous situation to which Western societies have brought the Earth as a whole. In the long term an economic system predicated on growth and accumulation cannot continue on a planet of limited resources. We have created a scale of prosperity and a consumerist lifestyle which makes disparity and injustice inescapable. Thus aspects of the ‘underdeveloped’ may in fact be ahead of facets of societies that are

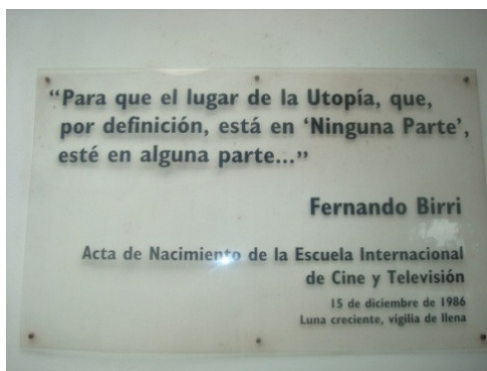
‘overdeveloped’ and which will soon need to retract from the economy of perpetual growth.

The development of digital technologies provides fast changing possibilities for film students to develop their own work, in the way it is made and also in the way it is distributed. New forms of rapid access to information and other audio-visual material open stimulating new perspectives and an abundance of alternative forms. This may have especial emancipatory potential in places where expensive capital equipment is limited. In various subject areas of the academic domain creativity is increasingly combined with criticism, production with analysis; supporting the development of audio visual and critical practitioners in many different disciplines.

However we should not overestimate the role of technology or the potential of new digital implements. The use of the internet and social media builds networks quickly but, as activist tools, they function more for participation than motivation (Gladwell, 2010). The politics of representation leads to the re-presentation of politics – the confidence of the self-centred West assumes that its own technology must have led to social change in other places; Silicon Valley in California somehow unconsciously assumes that it had a key role in initiating social change in Tunis or Cairo. Although young people using social media played a leading role it is not accurate to describe the Arab Spring as a ‘Facebook revolution’ or twitter-led phenomena (Bergen, 2012: 260). Electronic communications facilitated by portable digital media do not determine social action, they support it and indicate potential for interaction through the internet and social networking tools. In the post-war period the AK47 played a role in many social upheavals that it neither initiated nor led.

Cultivating filmmakers, as the agricultural term suggests, involves nourishing and enlightening new generations, taking them towards a refreshed social and aesthetic function for the moving image. Enabling them to think flexibly and strategically outside of the acquisition of technical skills is crucial – technique is a tool and not a goal. There can be a displacement of attention, which makes a fetish of new equipment; it is important to remember that a much better film can be made with intelligent and imaginative ideas on basic equipment than many a specious short shot on an expensive camera and edited

with sophisticated software. The catalytic function of art for curiosity, intelligence and emotion moves it towards the possibilities of invention, dissent and social intervention. Invoking Nietzsche, Barthes argues that imagining new ways of teaching film is part of the attempt to find new ways of thinking and new ways of living (1985: 93). Argentinean filmmaker Fernando Birri's graceful formulation is inscribed on a plaque in the entrance to the Cuban Film School in Havana: 'So that the place of utopia, which by definition has no place, has a place...'



Note: This short article originated from a talk originally given as part of the symposium 'Imagine quel future pour l'enseignement du cinema?' at the Imagine Institute in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso on 26 February 2013. Photo courtesy of Nicholas Balaisis.

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Rod Stoneman is the Director of the Huston School of Film & Digital Media at the National University of Ireland Galway (NUIG). He was Chief Executive of Bord Scannán na hÉireann/the Irish Film Board until September 2003 and previously a Deputy Commissioning Editor in the Independent Film and Video Department at Channel 4 Television in the United Kingdom. In this role he commissioned, bought and provided production finance for over fifty African feature films. His 1993 article 'African Cinema: Addressee Unknown', has been published in six journals and three books.

He has made a number of documentaries, including *Ireland: The Silent Voices*, *Italy: the Image Business*, *12,000 Years of Blindness* and *The Spindle*, and has written extensively on film and television. He is the author of *Chávez: The Revolution Will Not Be Televised; A Case Study of Politics and the Media* (2008); and *Seeing is Believing: The Politics of the Visual* (2013).

Perspectives

DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION THROUGH FILM

Heike Vornhagen

“Neocolonialism is passed on culturally, through the cinema. And that’s why African cinema is being controlled from Paris, London, Lisbon, Rome, and even America. And that’s why we see almost exclusively the worst French, American, and Italian films. Cinema from the beginning has worked to destroy the native African culture and the myths of our heroes. A lot of films have been made about Africa, but they are stories of European and American invaders with Africa serving as a decor. Instead of being taught our ancestry, the only thing we know is Tarzan. And when we do look on our past, there are many among us who are not flattered, who perceive Africa with a certain alienation learned from the cinema. Movies have infused a European style of walking, a European style of doing. Even African gangsters are inspired by the cinema” (Ousmane Sembène, Senegalese filmmaker, in Busch & Annas, 2008: 43).

Introduction

The Galway One World Centre together with the Huston School of Film and Digital Media and the Galway Film Society set up the Galway African Film Festival in 2008. This was due to a number of factors including the desire to see African-made movies in Galway and the belief that films made by African directors could contribute to challenging stereotypical perspectives about Africa and its people. The festival partners were also driven by a conviction that feature films could be educational by themselves and contribute to the wider development debate. The festival organisers were aided by the availability of funding from Irish Aid’s Africa Day Initiative which specifically highlights the cultural contribution of African countries.

Since 2008, the festival has become a feature on the Galway cultural calendar, screening an average of 14 films each year including documentaries, shorts and feature films covering a variety of genres. About 100 films are reviewed by a small team which proposes a shortlist to an advisory board

consisting of the aforementioned partners, interested individuals, and representatives of National University Ireland (NUI) Galway's Community Knowledge Initiative, developmenteducation.ie and the Galway Film Centre.

African cinema

“African cinema isn't an also-ran in film history, a marginal thing, something to be patronised or accommodated. It's splendidly central to the movies: luminous, inventive, revealing and unpredictable” (Mark Cousins, Irish director and film critic).

African cinema developed alongside many of the independence movements in Africa. Despite some exceptions (there was a movie studio in Egypt from the 1930s), Africans were prohibited from producing movies by colonial powers. The man considered by many to be the 'founding father' of African cinema, Ousmane Sembène from Senegal, was a novelist concerned with social change who realised that his written works would reach only small cultural elites, but that films could reach wider African audiences. Other notable filmmakers of the 1970s and 1980s included Djibril Diop Mambéty (Senegal), Souleymane Cissé (Mali) and Gaston Kaboré (Burkina Faso). In the 1990s, funding stalled, but video brought new ways of making and showing African films. Nollywood took off in the 1990s partly due to a reduction in production costs and digitalisation. It is now the second largest film industry in the world after India's Bollywood.

The first African film festivals were set up in the 1960s (for example Burkina Faso's Panafrican Film and Television Festival [FESPACO], the largest African film festival on the continent, was set up in 1969) with aims that included to 'contribute to the expansion and development of African cinema as means of expression, education and awareness-raising'. This statement recognises that film can be a powerful medium to inform and educate. However, who has actually made the film and what agenda is being pursued are important factors that influence the eventual impact of the film as much as its quality or story. Furthermore, when it comes to education, documentaries are often preferred, as they are more factual and real than feature films. The issues covered tend to be negative, as the educational impact of positive documentaries is somewhat limited – there is no action that needs to be taken. In the context

of development it is perhaps unsurprising that documentaries deal with, for example, horrific human rights abuses (for example female genital mutilation, genocide, etc.). Unfortunately, very often this supports a negative picture of the people concerned (especially if the perpetrators are black or Moslem), or, at a dubious best, a patronising attitude towards the victims: 'Oh those poor people...' This is not to discourage the use of documentaries in educational settings, but serves as a reminder that documentaries can often contribute to rather than challenge stereotypes.

Feature films can provide a broader picture though not necessarily a factual one. In feature films, the story arc is all, and facts are somewhat secondary. However, they can shine a spotlight on a myriad of human situations that – while sometimes specific to locations – are dealt with similarly irrespective of culture or social background. Emotions such as grief, anger and love are universal and can serve as connecting points to other people. But still, both who made the film and who are the active agents in it (including complexities of central characters) frame the way we as an audience see it. Too often, Africa serves as a kind of exotic backdrop to a narrative featuring white heroes (or white villains). Looking at the presentation of African countries or peoples in mainstream cinema highlights this issue very well. Films such as *The Constant Gardener* (2005) or *Blood Diamond* (2006) focus more on the redemption of their white characters than on deeper engagement with the complexities of issues raised. Or, as the blog 'Africa is a Country' states: 'Africa: helping white people who're a wee bit down-in-the-dumps feel better about themselves since 1884.'

In Ireland, Ade Oke set up the first African Film Festival in Carlow in 2005 while the Galway African Film Festival (GAFF) was set up in 2008. Similar to FESPACO, GAFF sees educational value in screening African films in that we see African films as a means of providing different perspectives on Africa and thereby countering stereotypes about Africa and its peoples. At the same time, there is a danger of elevating African cinema to a truer vision of African reality without at least acknowledging that there are many different 'African' viewpoints – or as Piers Armstrong (2009: 85) says: 'American and European perception of creative art from the developing world is usually framed by the assumption that it has testimonial value and points to a collective

condition.’ Equally dangerous is the idea that African directors can only comment on African stories – or, to be more precise, on those stories we see as African:

“I do sometimes feel that there is an expectation that, as an African director, I must focus on certain social issues deemed as ‘African’, and that other content beyond this scope is seen as not ‘African enough’. I can understand why this pressure would exist, but I feel it limits our creativity and even our own understanding of ourselves as citizens in this urbanizing and multifaceted context we call Africa” (Mukii, 2013).

The tendency to group African cinema into world or art house cinema raises further interesting issues. For a start, one could argue that all cinema is world cinema though this broad viewpoint would miss the fact that power and perceptions play a role in how we view films and, maybe more importantly, what choice of films we are offered. Films with a predominantly black cast (never mind an exclusively black cast) are seen as not reflecting mainstream society and therefore not worth screening to European audiences (which already presumes an all-white Europe). Equally, foreign language films are rarely considered for wide distribution unless they come with some sort of international recognition (for example the Best Foreign Language Oscar), are made by a celebrated director (for example Ang Lee) or from countries currently considered cinematically fashionable (Denmark – *The Killing*, Brazil – *City of God*, etc.). However, it is worth pointing out that the foreign language film market is dominated by European countries (fifty-two of the sixty-five awards handed out since 1947 went to European Countries). So, for example only three African countries have ever received a Best Foreign Language Film Oscar: Algeria for *Z* (1969); Ivory Coast for *Black and White in Color* (1976); and South Africa for *Tsotsi* (2005).

Another problem with classifying African cinema as either world cinema or art house cinema is related to a different type of stereotyping – it points out that these films are ‘different’, are ‘other’. And of course they are different, just as any film (or rather most films) are different from any other film – but they are not ‘other’. They deal with human emotions, societal changes

and global issues. They may be thrillers, rom-coms or hard-hitting documentaries. They may even feature white actors.

The main aims of the Galway African Film Festival have been, since its inception, to introduce audiences in Ireland to the brilliance and variety of African cinema and to overcome the under-representation and marginalisation of African film in Irish film-going culture. As organisers, we believe that one of the best ways to learn about Africa is to listen to African voices and to view representations created by Africans themselves, as these often counter the stereotypical representations seen in the Western mainstream media. This has an effect on how people from Africa are treated within Irish society and can contribute to a more diverse outlook through the festival. At the same time, the festival is aware of its own power regarding the films it chooses to screen; censorship, however well meaning it may be, does support a more simplistic view of very complex realities. Since 2008, the festival has included all genres of films (comedy, sci-fi, horror, etc.), and while stereotyping is something the festival aims to challenge, the quality and ‘buzz’ of films are equally important. For example, in 2012 the festival screened *Viva Riva*, a violent thriller set in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) which centres on one character’s attempts to become rich through criminal means. It all goes horribly wrong of course. The film received good reviews within Africa but was accused of focusing too much on the criminal and violent behaviour of the black characters. Countering this, the director of *Viva Riva*, Djo Tunda Wa Munga, said:

“The film dives into its depiction of tough situations so forthrightly that we hope it will help sweep away some of the old school perceptions of Africa and African art. Our aim was simply to work without fear or shame of who we are and the issues we face today” (2011).

Equally, people having seen this movie told us that they loved it as it connected them with home through language and seeing Kinshasa again.

The festival very much focuses on contemporary African Cinema, highlighting new and emerging talents as well as depicting different stories. Be it

a transvestite in a Kenyan railway station, a husband-to-be's roadtrip, or a woman's search for water to plant a tree – African cinema has it all.

The festival vindicates the view that feature films from the global South can add to the development debate by providing a broader as well as alternative perspectives on Africa and its peoples. By discussing development issues using films from Africa, the subliminal messages of diversity and capabilities of African countries will go somewhat towards righting our skewed picture of the African continent.

Note

It is difficult to draw up a list of 'suitable' African films for use in development education, especially in a once-off context (it is much easier to include a horror movie from Nigeria in a festival with other films than to show it on its own and exclusively to debate development). So below are personal recommendations that could usefully inform development education practice.

- *Pumzi*, by Wanuri Kahiu – a film on environmental sustainability, especially around water and forests.
- *Bamako*, by Abderrahame Sissako – on the issue of debt.
- *Microphone*, by Ahmed Abdullah – on displacement, youth disempowerment, and Egypt before the Arab Spring.
- *Kinyarwanda*, by Alrick Brown – on genocide, resilience, religion.
- *This is my Africa*, by Zina Saro-Wiwa – different perspectives on Africa.
- *Yellow Fever*, by Ng'endo Mukii – globalisation of beauty and its impact on black women.
- *The Lion's Point of View*, by Didier Awadi – different perspectives on Africa.

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Blood Diamond, 2006, Edward Zwick.

City of God, 2002, Fernando Mereilles.

Fluorescent Sin, 2011, Amirah Tajdin.

Pumzi, 2009, Wanuri Kahiu.

The Constant Gardener, 2005, Fernando Mereilles.

The Killing, 2007-12, influential Danish television drama.

Tsotsi, 2005, Gavin Hood.

Viva Riva!, 2011, Djo Tunda Wa Munga.

White Wedding, 2009, Jann Turner.

Z, 1969, Costa-Gavras.

Heike Vornhagen is Co-ordinator of the Galway One World Centre, a development education centre based in the West of Ireland. The Galway African Film Festival is a flagship event of the GOWC and Heike is involved in all aspects of organising the annual event.

DISABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT: THE EVOLUTION OF A FILM-BASED LEARNING RESOURCE

Michael Brown and Katrina Collins

Disability and Development is a film-centred educational learning resource linked to the post-primary school curriculum in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. The project concept came about through discussions involving Development Media Workshop, a not-for-profit organisation focused on social development and environment issues based in Enniskillen, and five members of Dóchas (The Irish Association of Non-Governmental Development Organisations). These organisations were Livability (the Disability and International Development Working Group), Children in Crossfire, War on Want (Northern Ireland), Christian Blind Mission, and Disability Aid Abroad. All of these organisations shared the view that disability issues were largely neglected in development education on the island of Ireland and agreed to become partners in a new initiative to address this gap in practice.

The partners decided to work together to produce a collective learning resource, rather than develop their own individual organisational resources. They chose to follow the format and structure set by a curriculum-linked, film-centred learning resource called *Experiences of Childhood* (2007). To produce the resource, the consortia successfully secured three years' funding support from the Department for International Development (DfID)'s Development Education Mini Grants Scheme for Northern Ireland starting in April 2010. The partners established three aims for the project: first, to develop the capacity of post-primary Key Stage 3 and 4 teachers in Northern Ireland to engage their students in discussion on disability and development issues; second, to create opportunities and provide support for Key Stage 3 and 4 pupils in Northern Ireland to explore disability and development issues, and make informed responses; and third, to build the capacity of the partner organisations to deliver effective development awareness activities by working as a team and enabling partners with development awareness experience to share good practice with less experienced partners. This article describes the evolution of the project from

concept to implementation, and concludes with lessons learned that might be useful for others working in similar fields.

The learning resource concept and structure

To develop the resource the project partners focused on the learning needs of young people and asked the question: ‘What do we want pupils to do when using this learning resource?’ Through drafting and refinement it was agreed that the learning resource should facilitate young people to: explore different forms of disability; consider why disability and poverty are often interconnected; discuss the concept of development, including understanding the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs); reflect on whether disability is a barrier to participation in development, and how this may affect the attainment of the MDGs; discuss human rights in relation to disability; explore attitudes within society to disability; gain insight into the lives of disability-affected young people in the world; and develop and implement a range of action responses and the impact their actions may have on others, both locally and globally.

Taking advice from Anne-Marie Poyner of the Northern Ireland Curriculum Advisory and Support Service (CASS) the project partners also recognised that the learning resource should promote cross-curricular learning where issues can be explored across a range of subject areas. For example, it became clear that the resource supported the ‘Thinking Skills and Personal Capabilities’ dimension of the post-primary curriculum which encourages students to: manage information; work with others; think, problem solve and make decisions; manage themselves; and be creative. To make the learning resource relevant to, and engaging for, young people the project partners felt it was important to build the learning resource around children living with different types of disability caused by their life situation. The range of disabilities covered included: physical – relating to the physical body and limbs; sensory – relating especially to sight and hearing; and intellectual – relating to mental and emotional abilities.

To explore the interconnection of disability and development it was clear that children's stories needed to be drawn from a range of situations around the world. Through discussion and drawing on the project partners' own overseas programmes and experience, the following films were conceived.

The first concerned spinal injuries in Nepal resulting from falls either from trees while collecting fodder/firewood, or steep rice terraces. The second examined birth defects in Vietnam caused by the intergenerational effects of Agent Orange (a chemical used in the Vietnam war). The third looked at physical injury and limb amputation in Haiti connected with the 2010 earthquake. The fourth considered brain damage at birth caused by poor health care in Bolivia. The fifth was set in Ethiopia and discussed disability caused by malnutrition-related bone disease. The sixth film centred on brain damage at birth caused by poor health care in Tanzania. And the seventh was set in Ireland focusing on visual impairment caused by glaucoma and cataracts from birth. Using international networking amongst overseas programmes and partners, contacts were established in each of the seven countries. These contacts were field-workers with existing relationships within communities who were able to discuss the idea of filming in advance and give people time to think through their contributions. The field workers also had an ongoing role within the communities after the filming, which helped to frame the films within an overall community programme rather than being a one off event with a filmmaker flying in and out without any real regard for the children in the films.

The making of the films

The seven films were made over a three-month period in 2010 by Michael Brown, Director of the Development Media Workshop, who used a consistent methodology to make the films. The key components of the methodology included meeting initially with the assigned local contact and carefully explaining the filming intentions while taking their advice. The next stage involved meeting with the parents/guardians and children who had expressed willingness in participating in the film and discussing it with them in detail. The methodology underpinning the films was to facilitate families and children in becoming the directors of their own films, so that the films could be made *with* them and not *about* them. This aspect of filming was greatly expedited by field workers discussing the filming within their communities, explaining how and where the films would be used and giving time for families and children to think over the idea of making a film. Families and children who were enthusiastic about telling their story on film were then invited to participate in filming. Once agreement had been reached with parents and children to

participate in the films they were asked to sign a simple and clear permission form which was followed up with agreement on filming dates and times. With these stages completed, it was then possible to commence filming.

All filming was undertaken with a Sony HVR-Z7E camera in Widescreen HD mode, and a radio microphone. This is a small camera that is unobtrusive and non-threatening or overpowering, making it ideal for use within everyday community settings. Using a radio microphone removed the need for a separate sound person, allowing the filmmaker to work quietly and sensitively. Children and families were told that logistics meant that they would not be able to see a rough cut of their film before it was finalised and produced in the learning resource. However, because the filmmaker had spent a number of days within each community getting to know the families and children well, trust had been established. All the children and families involved were content for the filmmaker to edit their films in a manner best suited to the stories they told. As well as filming, Michael Brown edited all the films personally, ensuring integrity and authenticity in the final cut.

Development of the learning resource

The Development Media Workshop created a draft learning resource bringing together the seven films, and writing them into a series of seven sessions: 1. Exploring Disabilities; 2. Life Situations and Disabilities; 3. Poverty and Disabilities; 4. Exploring Attitudes towards Disabilities; 5. The Rights of Persons with Disabilities; 6. Disabilities and the Millennium Development Goals; and 7. Making Action Responses. Each session consisted of two clear learning intentions written around one film. The sessions gave easy to follow instructions for teachers and incorporated a range of active learning methods enabling pupils to explore the issues and films relevant for each session. Each session was planned for delivery in a forty-minute lesson but also allowed for expansion into longer sessions and for homework assignments. The learning resource was piloted by four post-primary schools in Northern Ireland and the piloting teachers were brought together for an induction workshop delivered by Anne-Marie Poynor from CASS and the project evaluator Katrina Collins.

The teachers then spent six weeks using the resource with a range of mixed ability classes within their respective schools. Evaluation of the pilot

testing consisted of pupil feedback through a short survey about the sessions they participated in, pilot teacher interviews and direct observations of teaching sessions including photographic documentation of activities in the classroom. Pupils responded with positive and constructive comments about how interesting, informative and creative the sessions had been. Some suggestions centred on providing more detail about the lives of children presented in the films but overall, there were repeated references to new knowledge and awareness on disability and poverty. Teachers noted how responsive pupils were and their positive engagement with the films and subject matter. Clarity around some details in the films was raised and some teachers said that extra background information would help them to answer pupils' questions.

Teachers also requested more background information on the children in the films as many pupils wanted to know what had happened to the children in the longer term. Lessons learned from pilot testing were then incorporated into the final learning resource along with the following additions: an introduction – stating aims and learning intentions; curriculum rationale – showing explicitly how the learning resource linked to the NI and RoI curricula; overview of learning activities – a table laying out each session, the learning intentions, the suggested activities, and the resources provided; evaluating session – a suggested active learning methodology allowing pupils to give feedback and evaluate their own learning; organisational contacts – a list of the project partners with their contact details, along with the offer of partners coming into schools free of cost to support delivery of the learning resource; a DVD – containing all seven films; a CD – containing all the necessary resources to deliver each respective session, provided in PDFs ready for teachers to print out.

Teacher training and learning resource dissemination

Training workshops for teachers to introduce the learning resource and promote its effective use were planned in partnership with CASS. Sessions were delivered across the five Northern Ireland Education and Library Boards (ELBs) in 2012 and 2013. In addition, training was also provided to Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) newly qualifying post-primary teachers graduating from Queen's University Belfast in 2012. In total 180 teachers were trained and all provided with a learning resource for their school. Teacher

training was evaluated by Katrina Collins using specifically developed tools with a sample group of 35 percent of the teachers trained. Teachers who participated included Learning for Life and Work coordinators, Citizenship coordinator/teachers, principals, vice principals, and History/English/Geography/Religion teachers. Before the training, teachers were asked to complete a questionnaire focusing on their *knowledge* of disability and development issues, their *confidence* to teach this subject area, and the practical *skills* they have to deliver this subject area in the classroom. This provided a baseline of knowledge, confidence and skills. Teachers then completed the questionnaire at the end of the training. Their levels of knowledge, confidence and skills were revisited at this point with additional questions about the resource: the application of the resource in a classroom setting; its usefulness in actively engaging pupils in discussion and action planning around disability and development issues; its ability to be a cross-curricular resource to explore disability and development issues; its role in teacher skill development when teaching issues linked to disability and development; and the impact of the resource on teacher attitudes to disability and development issues. Teachers' pre- and post-training scores for knowledge and confidence are illustrated in Figures 1-4 set out below. The comparison in scores is shown on the figures and reinforced by statistical analysis of mean scores.

Figure 1: Level of teacher knowledge on teaching issues related to disability and development BEFORE receiving training on the resource

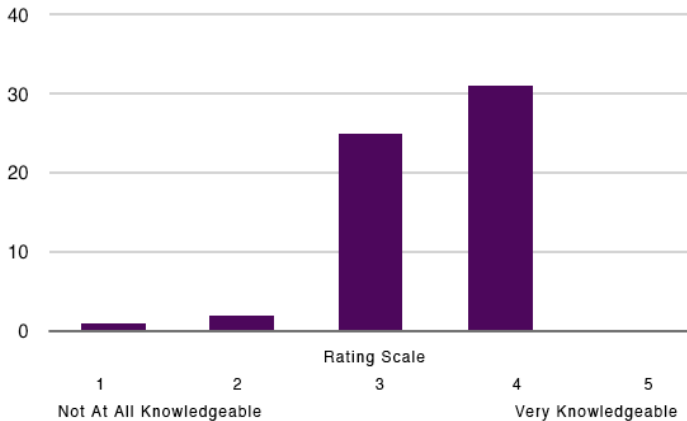


Figure 2: Level of teacher knowledge on teaching issues related to disability and development AFTER receiving training on the resource

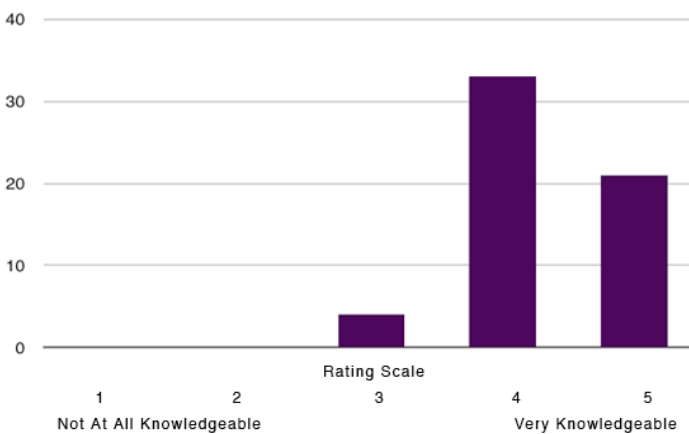


Figure 3: Level of teacher confidence on teaching issues related to disability and development BEFORE receiving training on the resource

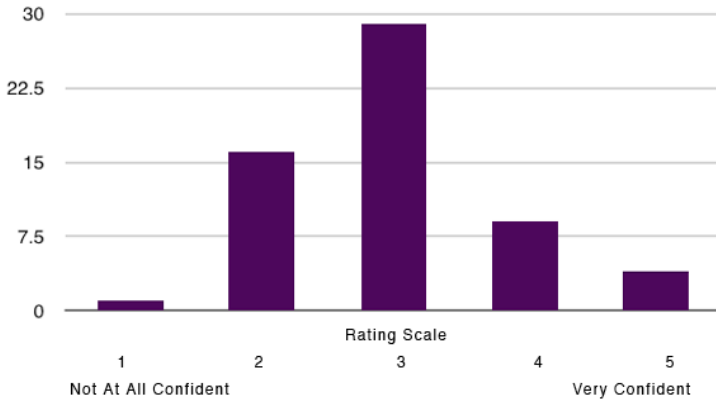
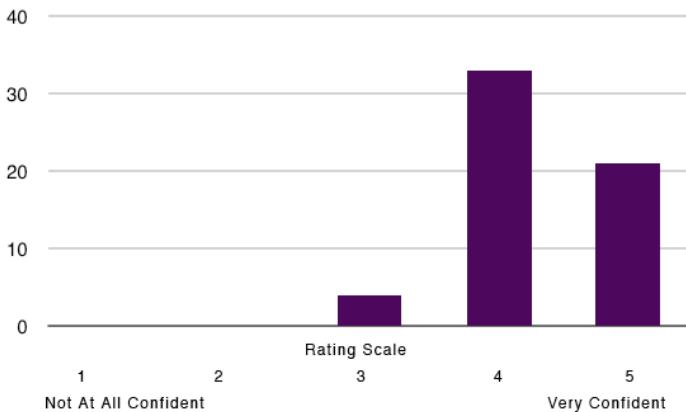


Figure 4: Level of teacher confidence on teaching issues related to disability and development AFTER receiving training on the resource



Tables 1 and 2 indicate the positive shift in participant ratings following the training based on their self-rated level of knowledge and confidence around disability and development issues. The shift was statistically significant ($p < .000$) for both the indicators of knowledge and confidence.

Table 1: Mean scores and difference in knowledge levels before and after training

Indicator	n	Mean	SD
Current level of knowledge	59	2.5	0.7
After training level of knowledge	59	1.7	0.6
Difference (current level of knowledge - after training level of knowledge)	59	0.598	0.9

Table 2: Mean scores and difference in confidence levels before and after training

Indicator	n	Mean	SD
Current level of confidence	59	3.0	0.9
After training level of confidence	59	1.7	0.6
Difference (current level of confidence - after training level of confidence)	59	1.3	1.0

Table 3 details the response of the sampled teachers to questions about the application of the resource.

Table 3: Application of the resource to the classroom

Statement	Completely Agree	Partly Agree	Unsure
This resource will actively engage pupils in discussion and action planning around disability and development issues	59%	34%	7%
This resource will be used across the curriculum to explore disability and development issues	54%	29%	17%
This resource will increase my skills in teaching issues linked to disability and development	61%	29%	10%

In addition, qualitative feedback was gathered from participants. The comments put forward suggest teachers viewed the resource as beneficial both

on a personal and professional level. It was apparent from comments received that the resource helped put the issue of disability and development into perspective for them and that the active learning methods communicated through the resource would enhance their delivery of this topic in a classroom setting. Comments included: ‘really opened my eyes to issues and raised awareness’; ‘showed me how disability affects the whole world’; ‘made me realise how to tackle sensitive issues’; ‘more interactive ways to approach the issue than I thought’; ‘I can see how diverse disability can be’; ‘a reminder that disability is a worldwide issue’; ‘a great resource to enable me to transfer this information’; ‘puts things into perspective, takes into consideration the families too’; ‘a great resource that has already made me confident’; ‘given me wider knowledge and understanding’.

Pupil responses

Qualitative evaluations were carried out with 210 pupils across seven schools in two ELBs following delivery of sessions using the resource. Results indicated there had been an attitudinal change in relation to disability. Pupils discussed stereotypes they held with respect to persons with disabilities and acknowledged their lack of awareness of issues linked to the root causes of poverty. Session facilitators and teachers reported that the active learning tools offered in the session plans encouraged explorations of attitudes that had been formed about disability.

A difference in pupils’ levels of knowledge and awareness about disability and development was observed. This was noted in changes in knowledge about root causes of poverty through discussions about interdependence and connectedness to the rest of the world. Pupils’ role as global citizens and the responsibilities of countries in their contribution to key issues affecting development were examined in sessions. It was apparent from the evaluation of these sessions that pupils’ understanding about their role in promoting equality and social justice had been deepened and widened through their engagement. Comments made by pupils suggest they found the resource engaging, informative and interesting. Comments from pupils included: ‘I looked at how what we do here affects people in the rest of the world’; ‘it really made me think about things in a different way’; ‘great films that speak a

thousand words'; 'helped us talk about issues which people don't really want to talk about'; 'loved the activities, very different and fun'.

In addition to single schools, a partnership between a Special Educational Needs (SEN) school and a mainstream school was formed to explore issues of disability under the Community Relations, Equality and Diversity Policy (CRED) programme, an educational initiative within Northern Ireland seeking to support schools to become more inclusive of difference. The resource was used to facilitate eight sessions with the two schools. Through creative methods, students acquired new skills, challenged existing attitudes and learned to think creatively about disability and development. The partners reported that:

“[T]his work is ongoing and relationships are being built between the schools and more importantly between the young people. In the different sessions students developed knowledge, skills and confidence through creative methods including drama, story-telling, and interactive tasks to explore, understand and address development and disability. Students grasped issues in ways that are engaging and relevant to their lives. They learned by doing and came to understand how development and disability impacts upon children’s rights. The Disability and Development resource provided the backdrop for exploring real life stories” (Collins, 2013).

Wider project impacts

The *Disability and Development* learning resource has now been created online where teachers can download all lesson plans and supporting resources, and view all films. A total of 1,500 copies of the resource have been produced for distribution to schools through teacher training and project partner school visits. Based on feedback from teachers and curriculum advisors, a conservative estimate would suggest that between thirty and sixty teachers per annum are using this resource within mainstream schools. Taking an average year group of seventy pupils, over a five-year period the estimated exposure to this learning resource is between 10,500 and 21,000 pupils. The project partners held a half-day film screening followed by a panel discussion at Queen’s University Film Theatre on 7 December 2012. The key speakers at this event were pupils from

Collegiate Grammar School in Enniskillen and their teacher Mervyn Hall, the Chairperson of the Northern Ireland Legislative Assembly All Party Working Group on International Development, and Alan McMurray from the Council for the Curriculum, Examinations and Assessment (CCEA). The panel discussion focused on the learning resource and its important role in educating the young people of Northern Ireland about international development and disability issues.

Following this event CCEA requested project partners' permission to make links to the resource on its web site under 'Local and Global Citizenship' at Key Stages 3 and 4, and to use *Disability and Development* to develop assessment tasks at Key Stage 3 for talking and listening. Moreover, the Western ELB actively used the *Disability and Development* resource within CRED's training to teachers, as an example of a high quality learning experience that allows pupils to explore issues of equality and diversity. These are just two examples of the many learning outcomes resulting from the development of this resource and its dissemination into the education system in Northern Ireland.

Conclusion

The project partners identified five main lessons to be shared from this project. The first concerns the *collaboration* of the six partners in pooling their experiences and perspectives which influenced the films made around the world, and the content areas of the resource. The breadth and quality of the resource would not have been possible if based on the work of just one organisation. Collaboration adds value to a project and allows for the sharing of experience and knowledge that builds the individual capacity of each partner organisation as well as producing more effective development education for external target audiences. A second key lesson was *school engagement* which succeeded because of the strong links and support developed with the CASS service which facilitated cluster trainings for teachers and offered credibility to the training content and methodology. Clearly, developing strong links with the educational services that support teachers and schools is vital in rolling out effective teacher training and gaining effective access to schools and teachers.

The third key lesson was in the area of *evaluation* and, in particular, engaging an external evaluator from the outset which enabled the partners to

put in place a mechanism for measuring the impact of the project against the established criteria. Establishing a baseline of knowledge, confidence and skills of teachers' pre-training exposure enabled partners to draw out clear evidence of impact within schools. Embedding evaluation strategies from the outset is essential to providing clear evidence-base of effectiveness of impact. Fourthly, *online interactivity* was crucial to the success of the project. Providing the learning resource online, as well as in hard copy, proved very effective because it allowed for greater distribution and mitigated against teachers losing the DVDs or resource pack, which commonly happens within schools. However, in order to develop interactivity through an online blog the partners recognised that a dedicated staff member is needed to regularly manage and monitor the blog site to ensure it is not misused and to ensure child protection issues are addressed.

Finally the project illustrated the effectiveness of *using films within educational resources*. The films of children living with disabilities around the world were shot and edited in a style with minimal narration, allowing the pictures to tell the story and the viewer to interpret things for themselves. This has proved very effective with the eleven to sixteen year old age group, and goes against much-voiced opinions that young people today have very short attention spans and need screen images to be fast moving and flashy. In terms of embedding films into a resource, it proved very effective to embed one film into each learning session, and to build activities around each respective film. Young people can be engaged with documentary style films that allow pupils to watch a story unfolding and to make their own observations rather than being overly narrated, and that building short films into each learning session promotes engagement and interest with pupils.

Disability and Development: A DVD-based learning resource for Key Stage 3 and 4 (2011), Enniskillen: Development Media Workshop, available: www.disabilityanddevelopment.ie.

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Michael Brown trained in design and communication in the United Kingdom, before applying these skills to international development work. He spent six years living in Nepal, where his work developed into participatory approaches using communication as a methodology for social change, influenced by the principles of Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. In 2005, Michael Brown founded the Development Media Workshop in Northern Ireland, a not-for-profit organisation using media and communication to focus on development issues both locally and globally. The Workshop produces documentary films, educational resources and facilitates participatory processes in which individuals and groups can address issues that directly affect them. Email: d.m.workshop@btinternet.com.

Katrina Collins worked as a Research Fellow in the School of Education at the University of Ulster at Jordanstown, before founding her own consultancy company in 2003. Since that time she has been involved in a wide variety of research and evaluation activities for Government, NGOs and INGOs based in the North and South of Ireland. She has worked on development projects in Nepal and Romania supporting the evaluation activities of organisations, funders and community members. Katrina Collins has worked alongside Michael Brown over the past number of years combining their skill, expertise and enthusiasm for

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DE-WESTERNISING FILM STUDIES: AN INTERVIEW WITH ROD STONEMAN

This issue of *Policy & Practice* carries an interview with Rod Stoneman, Director of the Huston School of Film & Digital Media at the National University of Ireland Galway (NUIG), formerly Chief Executive of Bord Scannán na hÉireann/the Irish Film Board and previously a Deputy Commissioning Editor in the Independent Film and Video Department at Channel 4 Television. He speaks about his experience of filmmaking in the global South and efforts towards challenging the Western ideological and theoretical conceptions that have historically underpinned the medium of film and the discipline of film studies.

Do you see film as a universal medium/art form?

Well the intellectual framework in which I was trained at university was structural theory, new French theory, and that of course means that the moment I hear the word ‘universal’ I reach for my revolver because universal is, exactly, a naturalising ideological delusion. While I do, of course, accept that film is relatively accessible across cultures, nothing is ‘universal’ or ‘natural’. It brings to mind something I read in *Scientific American* once when I was younger. There were some anthropologists in New Guinea and they were talking to a group of New Guinea islanders who had never had access to Western media in any form. So the anthropologists used a Polaroid instant camera to take a photograph of the tribal chieftain – his head and shoulders – then they passed him the photograph and asked: “What do you think of that?” The chief replied: “I don’t know; it looks like a coloured leaf to me.” One of the anthropologists said: “Actually it’s an image of you. It’s a picture of you that I’ve just taken on this machine”, and explains “look, there it is, it’s taken from the side: that’s your nose, your ear, your chin.” But the tribal chieftain insists: “That’s not me. I’ve got two eyes, there is only one eye on that thing you’ve done. It isn’t a picture of me.” And that story for me was a kind of crucial epiphany enabling us to imagine ourselves outside of a frame which has been entirely naturalised and universalised by the [Western] media.

And trying to think about cultural specificity all these years later, I'm sitting down in Paris at the rough cut of *Tin Pis Run* (Pengau Nengo, 1991) which is the first feature film coming out of New Guinea. Seeing this rough cut ... and in all these things, whether it be Papuans or Brits or Americans, whoever, you'd always be trying to feed stuff into the understanding of how the film's going to work, as a premonition for the audience, without playing Miramax and wearing jackboots and saying: 'We want the opening re-cut or the ending changed'. There's this sequence where, as I recall, some people from the village are outside and they're arguing and fighting - it was a mess. And then I said: "I have completely lost the narrative here; I can't see what's happening." And they said: "Well you know the first argument takes place in his village, and then they go to the other person's village and that's where they have the fight". And I said: "Well how am I going to know that? It just looks like the same village." And they said: "Well of course anyone can see they are two different villages because the huts in that village, which are near the sea, are all two-foot off the ground on breeze blocks, and the huts in that village, which are up on the mountain, are sitting on the ground because they're not near the sea." And I said: "Well, thank you for pointing this out to me, but, frankly, that detail is not visible to a Western audience and we need this film to work for British television. However, I don't want you to introduce completely extraneous distortions to your filmmaking just for us." They said they would think about it and they came back with a brilliant solution. They just added two shots of the two guys in a pickup truck going from one village into the hills to the other village! You see, they knew that it doesn't destroy the rhythm of the film, it doesn't harm the language of the film and mere Brits, who are not used to the huts on stilts or whatever, understand the important narrative points. So that's a small but typical example of how, when we were involved in the making of the film, and not just buying a finished film, we would have some effect on it but with a care and (I hope) respect to ensure that we weren't saying: 'Oh, we want an action scene here or a sexy ending there', or some such. So that, for me, is an example of film working as a universal medium.

Do you consider the West as a category that is always shifting, in motion, and therefore unstable? Should this West or even the Western be perceived solely as or through geographical frameworks?

I don't really have clear answers to these questions. I think that, as we know from Heraclitus, a long and pre-Socratic time ago, everything is shifting and in motion. Nothing stops, it is all changing; North and South, and the interactions between North and South, so any illusion that it is stable and fixed is dubious and should be examined. In terms of geographical frameworks, I mean, it's based on geography because most of Africa, Asia and Latin America is in the South and most of the North is in the North! But obviously we are now living within a globalised monoculture which interpolates around the world and exceeds its geographical provenance.

But it's complex: you've got music from Africa, which through slavery goes to America and then makes blues, and then it's incorporated into white American music, and then white Brits start imitating the blues in the sixties. John Mayall and many others are playing the blues here; that supports the black people who were already making this music in America. So that's an example from the sixties of a zig-zagging motion: music that came from Africa goes to America, crosses back over to Britain, goes back to America stronger, and then the West discovers Ali Farka Touré [from Mali] and a version of this music happens in Africa as though it has never really left that continent! And then he works well with Ry Cooder in Los Angeles. It's great, isn't it?

I think one of the things we are getting at is that the West or the Western, beyond being a sort of geographical location, may evoke a certain kind of cultural or ideological way of thinking and perceiving film. Does that have a kind of resonance for you?

Antonioni made a film called *The Passenger* (1975) and there's a scene where the journalist, played by Jack Nicholson, says to a guerrilla leader in the Sahel something like "Can I do an interview with you?" And the guerrilla leader says: "Mr Locke, there are satisfactory answers to all your questions, but I don't think you understand how little you can learn from them. Your questions are much more revealing about yourself than my answers will be about me." So that's the

difficult thing: how we understand that even our questions are predicated on habits, perspectives, ways of thinking.

One other little recent example which is fresh in my memory – which happened by a sort of accident – is when Larry Sider, who organises the School of Sound every two years in the South Bank in London, asked me to be the interlocutor for Gaston Kaboré [Burkinabé filmmaker]; to do a session talking specifically about his use of sound and the deployment of music in his films. So because I have known Gaston for a long time – we put some Channel 4 money into some of his films in the 1980s and 1990s – I was happy to do this. Gaston was very articulate and clear in the session, and I thought it seemed to have gone down well. I didn't realise until I got an email afterwards from Larry that unconsciously it had had exactly the de-Westernising effect we are talking about.

Apparently over the years there's been an interesting mixture of people who go to the School of Sound: it's a productive combination actually – filmmakers, composers, technicians, academics, students, musicians. But this whole particular mixture of people has, in the end, tended towards the Walter Murch approach to sound design in a certain way. And so therefore, without much forethought or anticipation, without any careful planning, bringing Gaston to the School offered a radically different perspective.

West African filmmaking has a very divergent starting point in terms of culture, politics, financing as well as its use of sound and music. Gaston said things like: “Well, I tend to make films every four to five years because finances are so difficult that every film has to count; it has to be something that I mean, it has to come from a particularly close and interactive relationship with the culture and history that I grew up in. And even if you think it's kind of outside of historical time you know actually for us it's functioning in our epoch and referring to the time it came from. Although I'm not a musician, this is what I'm trying to do when I use music and this is how it relates to our musical tradition and how it works.” And all of that stuff is, of course, so different from what most School of Sound attendees expect because they come from a culture where people say: “What's your next project?” “Well, you tell me!” – someone will pay you to make a commercial project. Gaston couldn't think of being

given a project to make; he is not a filmmaker looking for a career or money when he's making film. His approach is, frankly, a much more simple and integral recording of direct sound, and, I'm not saying he only uses two soundtracks, but he's not playing at a kind of level of accumulated naturalised codes that someone like Murch works with – who is a brilliant editor, for sure. By contrast, unwittingly, all the differences that decentre and displace Western modes came into focus at the School of Sound by talking to Gaston.

Authenticity and identity – that is what Gaston brought to the debate. Authenticity, which I know is a tricky term because we should say the 'rhetoric of authenticity' but it is, in relative terms, something very important for a filmmaker from West Africa like Gaston who has always and inevitably been very involved in a broader picture – cultural politics. Which isn't true of many Western filmmakers. I think it's only healthy because, apart from suggesting that there are other ways to make films, it also says: 'Take a simple camera, take a simple means of recording sound and see how these sounds and images can go together.' It's not about some kind of techno fetish of expensive and sophisticated equipment. Actually, an imaginative image with an intelligent sound is much more effective than a kind of Red Cam and then digital effects, CGI, etc. etc.

I think that anecdote leads us quite well into our next question. What do you understand by non-Western modes of thinking, theorising and making film?

It is good that you mention modes (in the plural) because it is clear to me – taking African cinema alone – that there's considerable diversity and difference in the domain. There was a lot more coming out of West Africa and Francophone Africa than the Anglophone or Lusophone spheres of influence. Obviously South Africa was in a sort of isolation in that epoch – it hadn't quite returned to civilisation – and the Maghreb, I mean, there's unevenness even with that. Tunisian cinema was in a very productive phase then; maybe now Morocco has come forward...

These things come and go in constellations, which are always changing as your question suggests. There's also some curiosity about the layers of determinations. Maybe it's to do with some interaction in the colonial epoch?

Why is there not more coming from Anglophone Africa in relative terms? I mean, obviously Nigeria and Nollywood is now an example of autonomous indigenous cinema, although a lot of it is rough stuff in terms of quality!

I would say actually that there is a sort of possessiveness in Western attitudes and much support for African cinema that is totally self-serving. A few years ago, like 2005, I went to a conference, plus exhibition, plus season in San Salvador in Brazil, which was about the relationship of Brazilian and African cinemas. And when I went into the room to present my paper, there were the French cultural attaché and his assistant giving out photocopies of articles written in French to the people coming in through the door. They had been somehow offended that the Brazilians had asked an *Anglophone* to talk about African cinema.

In fact the French had said to the Brazilians: “We will build the bridge between Brazil and Africa,” and the Brazilians apparently replied: “We don’t need you to build a bridge, we’ll do it ourselves!”

Robert B. Ray has asked: “What could be a more exact definition of the cinema than the crossroads of magic and positivism for a more succinct definition of film theory’s traditional project and to break the spell?” Do you see your work as located at some form of crossroads? Do you think your work breaks any spells, be they theoretical or practical?

I’ve got problems with this question. This may be my limitation, but for cultural reasons the word ‘magic’ signifies something very problematic for me. It’s often used in dubious ways in our society – you know, most people who talk about magic, they can’t form a sentence without the word ‘energy’ in it. I support film theory’s traditional analytical project of breaking the spell. I think it was Coleridge who said: ‘Do we pull the petals off to count them and see how a flower works, or do we stand back and just appreciate it?’ I’m very much of the former mindset that says let’s see how it works; let’s de-naturalise the invisible systems we live within, if we can. Finding new forms of analysis and creativity to break up the specious and mystificatory... Of course positivism is preposterous, but magic is just as difficult for me to relate to.

Why is that? Why is it difficult to relate to?

Well because magic is an unstable term that's been so misused by reactionaries and mystics, in our culture anyway. Positivism is problematic for other reasons, like empiricism in film studies it seems to me to be often, if not exclusively, a uniform of displacement and resistance to theory. As Adorno once wrote, 'They offer the shamelessly modest assertion that they do not understand - this eliminates even opposition, their last negative relationship with truth', which is a way of kind of blocking progressive analysis, not trying to come to terms with it. I'm just saying that from where I'm coming from, magic can be a dubious domain.

That's fair enough. Let's take the idea of the crossroads. What is there? It's a space. But what is *within* the crossroads? What is to be negotiated at the crossroads? What is to be found there? Does it function as an entity? Or as a framework? Would you relate to a crossroads?

As you know, I live in Ireland where there has been dancing at the crossroads for many a century! I suppose this goes back to one of the first things I was saying: we are in a situation where the one-way transmission of one form of industrialised culture from the USA is pervasive. So the small area that I have focused on, whether it was for the wider public in Channel 4 or in courses taught in the Huston School of Film & Digital Media, has really been about trying to provide a critique that points towards some degree of reciprocal exchange: films, television, music, even games should celebrate the diversity of the world. Although, frankly, the hegemony of the bottom left-hand corner of the United States, almost entirely out of Los Angeles, is very difficult to shift in a situation where the global audience is one hundred times more likely to view a Hollywood product than any other form of film.

Like my strange example of African-American and British music, it's more complex and messy as soon as you look closely at the specific interrelations. But there has to be a better exchange that can relativise and undermine dominant industrialised culture, and that's where I put my efforts. I think when our students see *Wild Field* (Nguyen Hong Sen, 1979), where two Vietcong guerrillas hide from American helicopters by taking their baby under

the water in the air bubble of a plastic bag in the Mekong Delta ... that's already a shock to the system, and very different to the exhilarating aggression of helicopters going down on the village in Coppola's *Apocalypse Now* with Wagner blaring. It gives people something to think about. It's a commutation test because it's such a different spatial and political perspective. Then maybe at some point they travel to Asia, maybe encounter Vietnamese culture directly, and it all begins to get more interesting. I mean, my eldest son just spent eighteen months teaching English in Oaxaca in Mexico. I don't even have to hear it from him, I know it will have changed him completely, changed his perspective for the rest of his life. And if that's what you mean by crossroads, then great.

Do you think of de-Westernising film as primarily a political or ideological artistic process? For example, does it extend from early cinema movements such as Third Cinema? If so, what is it doing differently?

I think that Third Cinema was a particularly sharp-edged instance of challenge to Western film and my first encounter with that would have been seeing *Hour of the Furnaces* (Solanas and Getino, 1970) when I was at the Slade. It is an extraordinary film though slightly distorted because it's some sort of strange version of left-Peronism, if I remember rightly. We need a much more complex and broad model because, as your question suggests, it is actually a complex interaction of economic, political, institutional and ideological processes, and that is what keeps academics in work - trying to see the interrelationship between these various determinations! And all these dimensions are in movement.

What is it doing differently? I would say it is precisely that decentering or re-centring of seeing from another place, which means that what it has to say and how it has to say it is bound to be different, inevitably. And that difference relativises something, which gains its power through saying: 'This is the thing. This is how it is for us. This is how *we* do things'. So as soon as Gaston [Kaboré] says, in a modest way, "I do things like this", and because that's different at some level, it reminds me of how I've always felt about the avant-garde for example. Makers of experimental forms of film don't see themselves

as making a political incision but, at some level, they are also questioning the way that dominant forms of film work on us.

There's one last Gaston Kaboré example. There is a moment in *ZanBoko* (Kaboré, 1988) where two women sit down outside their huts in a village and one woman has a baby and she hands the baby to an elder daughter to look after and they chat – “How's the baby?” “How are things going with your husband?” As they talk there is a lilt, I can't even describe it, each of them makes a gentle background hum under the other's words, when one is talking, the other is going “mmmm ... aahh”. For me it's a perfect instance of an everyday tenderness that is possible between people. I mean what they're doing is perfectly recognisable ‘universally’, to use that dangerous term. Everywhere around the world women talk about how the homes are going, how their babies are doing and how their domestic space interfaces with other domestic spaces. Whether it's in Manhattan or Mali, forms of those exchanges and conversations go on. But the actual texture of it in Moré, outside in the countryside somewhere near Bobo-Dioulasso, is completely specific and different, so in that double movement is something that can be recognised in other cultures but is also, clearly, a different form and version of it. It's the same, but different – actually a very gentle and affectionate version of it. That's probably *not* quite how it sounds in busy New York or Paris or any other speedy metropolis. For me that double movement is exemplary and that's the effort: to try and open questioning and curiosity in different places. But it's uphill work because I think all these years later, the South is basically still a source of commodities and a repository for tourism, and, as we all know, tourists never talk to anyone; they get shown round the Mosque on the way to the beach, but that's about it.

Interesting. So we come to de-Westernising film studies. Does it mean rejecting entirely dominant Western modes of thinking, production, criticism and film practice? And is this even possible?

Well we've certainly got to try. After all, there's no alternative. I wouldn't want to sneer or be cynical about that. I think that early encounter with theory always made me say: ‘What is this discourse for? Who does it serve? How does it function?’ I read something from Žižek about black rape after the New

Orleans flood where he argues that, even if it's factually true, raising it is racist, because picking up on that fact has a different effect in the world: firing a black rape and a white rape into discourse is no longer equal because they are feeding on very severe inequalities and very severe imbalances of power.³

Coming back to film studies and film theory ... it's great that as it proliferates it is finally beginning to think about films from other parts of the planet. But there is always the danger that it just becomes an enclosed and self-sufficient academic exercise rather than having any effect. 'The point is to change it' as someone said in a famous manifesto. I mean someone described academic life to me recently as 'playing air guitar' [Laughs] and that points precisely to the weakness of the academy. Where's the public? Where's the interaction? How enclosed and institutional are our discourses, our ways of thinking?

Another thing we have to think about in addition to languages are our institutional agendas: we have to try to find new ways of thinking and new ways of living, as Nietzsche suggested. In order to do that we need to relativise and show what's at stake. I think it's interesting that in, say, the history of art and, say, musicology, you have the (relatively new) terms 'world art' and 'world music' introduced. And I'm still wrestling with this because, clearly, it seems to me that looking at, say, visual or musical culture in China or in Mozambique, should of course already be part of any substantial exploration of these cultural genres. But is there a problem because you are importing a frame of reference or an angle of approach which is a Western thing, how we look at Western art. And so I'm not sure: is it *still* a problem to just widen the frame and now suddenly call it 'world art'? Isn't it strange that the term 'world' actually means everything *outside* the West, as if we are looking at it through Western eyes, or try to find western meanings in it, we're trying to see how it fits?

³ <http://www.lacan.com/zizfrance3.htm>.

So do the same binaries stay in place?

Yes. One of the best challenges to the binary thinking we all live within was Roland Barthes's last lectures which were called 'The Neutral'. He was trying to find a way out of the structural limits of binary thinking.

And there's a space, a liminal space, between these binary positions...

Absolutely. In the dialect of south Devon the word 'dimpsey' means dusk or *crepuscule* in French. I heard my parents using this word as a child growing up in Torquay, but now it is in danger of being lost as regional patois is swept away.

To come back to the original question, does de-Westernising film studies mean a disengagement with Western modes of theorising and representation? And if so, is that even possible, given what you have said about your example of Blues music?

I think in a way you're probably right because one can try to introduce a more reflexive mode into one's forms of thought by thinking about thinking, and if anything keeps Marx and Freud's agendas still going it's because the spaces that they opened continue to be reflexive. This reflexivity is a kind of feedback loop, which at least keeps us from falling naïvely into the unconscious assumptions that keep the world the way it is. But having said that, there's nowhere else to go, there's no dry land on which to stand. As Wittgenstein said about the philosophy of language, it is like rebuilding a ship at sea. There's no dry dock to take the boat into to examine it, so we just need to develop better forms of exchange, of sensitivity and respect to be able to understand the world with adequate complexity.

The possibility to have ideas in the public space is long overdue to return. I mean, Phil Wickham down in the museum [the Bill Douglas Centre, University of Exeter] organised this event at the NFT on the twenty-fifth anniversary of Channel 4. I gave a talk and showed eight or ten extracts from the range of material our department was supporting, including *South* and *Cinema from Three Continents*, and the *Screen* article by Hannah Andrews reviewing this conference, which described what I'd said as 'nostalgia'. And, I have to say, that irritated me, not because it is any problem to have someone

criticising my position, but clearly I'd not managed to convince listeners that our experience of Channel 4 has to be fired forward into the media we have at the moment rather than putting it in some museum case for a twenty-fifth anniversary conference. I mean, I think our work should have been surpassed by new generations doing more and doing better. At the time, it wasn't like 'Hey, we've achieved it all'. *Au contraire*, our feeling was great frustration that we couldn't do more. But, you know, there are occasional moments of optimism that fragments from the past can help change the future.

This interview is adapted from "‘Isn't it strange that ‘world’ means everything outside the West?’ An interview with Rod Stoneman" which was carried out on 14 June 2011 and originally appeared in Saër Maty Bâ and Will Higbee (eds.) (2012) *De-Westernizing Film Studies*, London: Routledge.

Rod Stoneman is the Director of the Huston School of Film & Digital Media at the National University of Ireland Galway (NUIG). He was Chief Executive of Bord Scannán na hÉireann/the Irish Film Board until September 2003 and previously a Deputy Commissioning Editor in the Independent Film and Video Department at Channel 4 Television in the United Kingdom. In this role he commissioned, bought and provided production finance for over fifty African feature films. His 1993 article 'African Cinema: Addressee Unknown', has been published in six journals and three books.

He has made a number of documentaries, including *Ireland: The Silent Voices*, *Italy: the Image Business*, *12,000 Years of Blindness* and *The Spindle*, and has written extensively on film and television. He is the author of *Chávez: The Revolution Will Not Be Televised; A Case Study of Politics and the Media* (2008); and *Seeing is Believing: The Politics of the Visual* (2013).

Viewpoint

SQUEEZED: TELEVISION AND THE GLOBAL SOUTH

Peadar King

The power of telling

In a speech to the United States (US) Radio and Television News Directors Conference in 1958, the late and revered broadcaster Edward R. Murrow (to whom a plaque bearing the inscription ‘he set standards of excellence that remain unsurpassed’ is still on display in the CBS headquarters in New York City) declared:

“I do not advocate that we turn television into a 27-inch wailing wall, where longhairs constantly moan about the state of our culture and our defence. But I would like to see it reflect occasionally the hard, unyielding realities of the world in which we live. I would like to see it done inside the existing framework, and I would like to see the doing of it redound to the credit of those who finance and program it. This instrument can teach, it can illuminate: yes, and it can even inspire. But it can do so only to the extent that humans are determined to use it to those ends” (Murrow, 1958).

Edward Murrow need not have worried. There is very little danger of television turning into a wailing wall – unless one counts the copious tears that flow on programmes like *The X Factor*, the plethora of awards ceremonies that television and its sister industry film has spawned, or indeed the theatrics of overpaid professional footballers who end up on the losing side of major transnational tournaments. This is all a far cry from the hard unyielding realities in which very many people are living across the globe. Teach, illuminate and inspire? Not any more it would appear. The celebrated but now retired CBS (Columbia Broadcasting System), NBC (National Broadcasting Company) and PBS (Public Broadcasting Service) anchor Roger Mudd (2008) argues that the glory days of television (the 1960s and early 1970s) are now long gone. According to intellectual and activist Noam Chomsky, they have been

lost to the corporate interests that now hold the medium in their vice-like grip. Journalists entering the system, Chomsky claims, are unlikely to make their way unless they conform to the dominant and increasingly right-wing ideological pressures. Those who fail to conform are simply weeded out, (1989: 19), a view echoed by Julien Mercille's (2013: 9) study of the way in which major Irish print newspapers have endorsed Ireland's austerity programme.

Those who stay the course are left to graze on the margins and, along with some very committed colleagues, I have been privileged to do just that for the past decade-and-a-half. Despite the supposed democratisation of the media with instant texting/twittering, few people have even that level of access. Access, does not of course confer greater wisdom, insight or understanding any more than one might hear over a beer in a bar. 'The acquisition of knowledge', cautions Wendell Barry (1983: 65), 'always involves the revelation of ignorance - almost is the revelation of ignorance. Our knowledge of the world instructs us first of all that the world is greater than our knowledge of it.' Knowledge, however it is constructed, does not equate with sensitivity towards the people whose lives have been brutalised by the oppressive forces of the military-industrial complex and by a virulent and predatory form of capitalism. The opposite might even apply. There is in fact the very real danger that sensitivity gets sacrificed under pressure to bring the story home.

In his superb book *Poisoned Wells, The Dirty Politics of African Oil*, Nicholas Shaxson (2007) warns us that Westerners who tread on African soil should do so with care. This maxim certainly pertains to those who report from Africa or the so-called 'developing world'. The reality is that not all journalists/reporters have acquitted themselves with distinction in their coverage of the global South. The subservience of journalists, most notably from the US, to Washington's dominant political narrative has been well documented. Many who reported from the first (1990-1991) and second (2003-2010) Iraq wars and the conflict in Afghanistan were often lazy conduits of the dominant political view of the occupier who were content to rely on press releases from army command and other 'official' government sources. Philip Seib (2006: 14) describes these journalists in *Beyond the Front Lines* 'as [happy] simply to be a conveyor delivering whatever is dumped on it'.

Commenting on how news was reported during the first Iraq war, most journalists, Seib argues, were content to perform ‘their minuet with the Pentagon’ (ix). The embedded journalist with the US armed forces became a defining feature of the reporting of those wars. The reports were designed to justify the decision to go to war and their jingoistic ‘bring ‘em on’ exhortations were, at least in the early days, barely disguised propaganda that in no way challenged people’s deeply ingrained taken-for-granted ideas of Western superiority over recalcitrant Arabs.

Those reports fed into a larger drift in journalism that favours reductionism and dumbing down of content with a culture of the personality of the news reporter which links a celebrity figure to the story. Allied to the political shortcomings of many of these reporters are the pressures of deadlines and to be ‘first with the news’ which has become the norm in many media organisations. In a conflict or disaster situation news coverage rarely delves beneath the headlines or revisits the affected area after its Western newsworthiness has evaporated. While it was always the case, at least to some extent, news has become more of a commodified product than ever before. The commodification of people in the global South and their subservience to Western needs is nothing new: whether it be in the mines, the fields or the homes of the coloniser, African, Asian and South American people have for centuries suffered from Western paternalism, greed and a ‘West-knows-best’ mindset. One of the real challenges, if not dilemmas, for Northern-based news agencies is how can they presume to tell the stories of people in the global South when the gaze of the camera is held for the most part by white, Northern Hemisphere, middle-aged males?

While the dilemma is real I believe that it ought not to inhibit one from trying to tell these stories. There is a power in storytelling even if those stories are not one’s own story. That reality was very much brought home to me in 1984 when a broad coalition of people and movements including returned missionaries, the trade union movement, women’s groups and an assortment of left-wing political parties and concerned individuals came together to protest against US President Ronald Reagan’s visit to the Republic of Ireland and his policies in Central America. Street protests, public meetings, workshops and publications marked the period before and during his visit. At

one particularly memorable event, a nun recently returned from Guatemala talked in the most graphic and heart-rending way of the thirty-six year genocide that was at that time in full flow and continues to haunt many people (and resulted in the former President Efraín Ríos Montt being sentenced to eighty years in prison having been found guilty of genocide and crimes against humanity in 2013). Her talk exposed ‘the hard, unyielding realities of the world in which we live’ and her telling of that story was instrumental in my producing a documentary series for Irish state broadcaster RTÉ titled *What in the World?* on global development and human rights issues.

The space to tell

Finding space to address such issues has become increasingly difficult given the paradoxical situation where the growth of globalisation has resulted in a narrowing of television coverage in the Western world: the retreat into introspection and insularity has gone global. Philip Seib argues that media across the Western world has taken refuge in parochialism and the ever increasing infatuation with the foibles and idiosyncrasies of so-called celebrities and close-to-home scandals (2006:2). According to the prestigious Tyndall Institute (2013), which has been monitoring nightly news network broadcasts by US broadcasters ABC (American Broadcasting Company), NBC and CBS since 1988, key international events and developments have become increasingly marginalised in their coverage.

On average twenty-one million people watch these networks every night and virtually absent from their broadcasts is coverage of neighbouring Latin America, most of Europe and sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia (Afghanistan apart), and virtually all of East Asia with Syria being the only country to feature in any meaningful way. Out of nearly 15,000 minutes of Monday-through-Friday evening news coverage by the three networks, the Syrian civil war and the debate over possible US intervention claimed 519 minutes, or about 3.5 percent of total air time, according to the report (*ibid*). The issues that received most air time were: Nelson Mandela (186 minutes); Pope Francis I (157 minutes, not including an additional 121 minutes devoted to Pope Benedict’s retirement and the Cardinals’ conclave that resulted in Francis’ succession); and the birth of Briton George Windsor (131 minutes), which scored higher than the ongoing war in Afghanistan (121 minutes) and the

election of Iranian President Hassan Rouhani and negotiations over Iran's nuclear programme (104 minutes). The trial of South African athlete Oscar Pistorius at fifty-one minutes absorbed more time than all of the coverage of sub-Saharan Africa.

US residents, it would appear, are as preoccupied with the weather as are their Irish counterparts. Weather related stories were ranked fifth (tornadoes) and sixth (winter weather) in the newsrooms' top ten with a combined score of 576 minutes which collectively outscored all other stories. However these stories are featured as local phenomena and are rarely discussed in the context of accelerating climate change. Reviewing the Tyndall Report, Jim Lobe (2014) quotes the Tyndall director as follows:

“A major flaw in the television news journalism is its inability to translate anecdotes of extreme weather into the overarching concept of climate change. As long as these events are presented as meteorological and not climatic, then they will be covered as local and domestic, not global”.

News without context

Britain is not immune to this downward trend in news coverage. In a review of global affairs on British terrestrial television in the decade 1989 to 1999, Jennie Stone (2000) argues that the total output of non-news factual programmes on developing countries by the four UK terrestrial channels dropped by almost 50 percent. This downward trend continued into the new millennium. According to Dover and Barnett (2004: 11), between 2001 and 2003 there was a decline of 1,026 hours – a fourteen-year low – in combined factual international programming on BBC1, BBC2, ITV1 and Channel 4. Nor is Ireland immune to this trend with television schedules filling up with so-called reality programmes and talent competitions such as *The X Factor*, *Britain's got Talent* and *Strictly Come Dancing* together with a plethora of home improvement programmes. Reversing this decline in serious broadcasting about the lives of the poor requires finance but above all editorial commitment and some broadcasters are more committed to that work than others. The BBC, for example, has 200 foreign correspondents and approximately 400 part-time correspondents throughout the world. Leaving the latter aside, the BBC has

one full-time correspondent for every 305,556 persons within Great Britain and Northern Ireland. In an Irish context, TV3 has no foreign correspondents so audiences rely exclusively on RTÉ for Irish correspondent-generated news coverage. RTÉ has three full time overseas correspondents, two based in Brussels and one in Washington. In 2009, RTÉ decided to close down its Beijing office and closed its London office in 2012.

As it currently stands, RTÉ has a ratio of one foreign correspondent per 1,529,666 citizens, and even before the current financial crisis, the broadcaster did not have an African correspondent, despite 54,419 people living in Ireland listing their nationality within the African continent in the 2011 census. In addition to this significant number, 17,856 people listed their nationality as Indian, 13,833 as Filipino, 11,458 as Chinese and 9,298 as Brazilian. In total 766,770 people (17 percent of the total population) living in Ireland were born outside the country.

News in confined spaces: Ideological space

The absence of the global South from our television screens is the result of editorial decisions taken by people in powerful positions and is not accidental. These decisions are often informed by ideologies and political agendas like the Fox channel's unabashed support for the political right in the US (Greenwald, 2004). Although the public will often assume that all broadcasters are politically and ideologically neutral and that in some way the foreign correspondent gives us a balanced neutral account of what is happening, this view is often wide of the mark. Political neutrality is not the same as ideological neutrality. The former is relatively straightforward – each political side is given equal billing and the viewer decides. Ideology, however, is much more subtle and nuanced and we all carry some level of ideological baggage. 'The informed decision', Barry (1983: 66) reminds us, is 'as fantastical a creature as the disinterested third party and the objective observer'. In a very amusing anecdote in the opening chapter of his book, *Ideology: an Introduction*, Terry Eagleton states: 'nobody would claim that their own thinking was ideological, just as nobody would habitually refer to themselves as Fatso. Ideology, like halitosis (or bad breath), is what the other person has' (2007: 2).

Some editors are very upfront about their position. In an insightful interview with broadcaster Jeremy Paxman, Kelvin MacKenzie, the former editor of *The Sun* newspaper railed against foreign news reporting. ‘Does anybody care anymore?’ he asked rhetorically going on to describe foreign news reporting as ‘TV dross’ (BBC *Newsnight*, 2014). He added:

“Look at the Middle East. Look at the battle between the Sunnis and the Shias. They have been fighting for a thousand years. What is the point of covering this stuff? Why don't we look at Channel Four's fantastic reality show *Benefit Street*? What on earth has the Central African Republic got to do with our lives? What are you going to reveal that people from different tribes hate each other, that they are trying to kill each other and in some cases bizarrely are trying to eat each other.”

MacKenzie may inhabit one extreme of the ideological continuum but as Julien Mercille argues most political commentary in the media is informed by a right-wing ideology that favours austerity and opposes socially beneficial government interventions. In short, he argues that most journalists are apologists for the neoliberal agenda which opposes the role of the state in providing social protections and welfare programmes for the poor. The positioning of the media on the right of the ideological spectrum is not surprising, he argues, given that mainstream news organisations are part of the corporate world and thus have similar vested interests to the economic and political elites.

In an interview with the *This Week* radio programme on RTÉ in December 2013, Mercille extended this analysis to two Irish newspapers – *The Irish Independent* and *The Irish Times* – in which he argued that right-wing views dominate and the newspapers give overwhelming support for fiscal consolidation with only about 10-12 percent of articles opposing austerity and government policy (Mercille, 29 December 2013). If Mercille is correct in his analysis of print media then it is likely that an analysis of Irish television would draw similar conclusions.

Mercille's analysis was echoed by academic and HIV/AIDS activist Father Michael Kelly whom I interviewed in Zambia in 2011. During that interview he said:

“A couple of years ago one of the British medical journals in an editorial used the very striking phrase ‘people who are dying of AIDS don't matter in this world’. My concern is that that is still the position. Just take us here in Zambia, and Zambia is not as bad as South Africa or some of the other countries around us, where about a hundred people are dying every day of HIV and we hear nothing about it. We don't hear anything about this. There's no sense of outrage, there's no sense of urgency. If this were a bus accident and ten people were killed, it would hit the headlines and if the next day there's another bus accident and twelve people were killed, it would hit the headlines and if, on the third day, there was another bus accident people would be up in arms. What is the government doing they would demand. Why can't we stop the needless death of our people? We have the needless death of over 100 people a day and we are carrying on as if it didn't matter” (KMF Productions, 2011).

Shanta Shina, Professor of Political Science in Hyderabad University in India and children's rights activist, made a similar point about the West's indifference when I interviewed her in 2004. ‘The West doesn't care’, she simply stated. ‘Child labour exists because people find it acceptable’ (KMF Productions, 2004).

But perhaps more than any other story, the ongoing conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has been squeezed into invisibility. According to studies by US-based aid agency the International Rescue Committee (IRC) some 5.4 million people died in the DRC between August 1998 and April 2007 from violence and war-related hunger and illness in what many commentators have claimed is Africa's First World War. The IRC estimated that as many as 45,000 people died every month in 2007 in what is the deadliest conflict since World War Two. The reality is that very few in the Western world are familiar with this conflict and its consequences. By contrast there were reports in all Western media of a plane crash in the DRC on 8 July 2011 in which forty-eight people were killed. This reflects how the media can

ignore the protracted crises and issues that beset many of the world's poorest countries. That is not to downplay a tragedy like a plane crash but to highlight the scant attention paid to the 5.4 million victims of Congo's conflict.

The reality is that when it comes to the media there is no such thing as an independent commentator. We all bring some subjectivity to our discussions and reporting. During an interview for the *What in the World?* series I was asked if it was polemical (i.e. ideological). I replied by suggesting that if 'polemical' was arguing for a more equal distribution of the world's resources and drawing attention to the plight of the world's poor then yes it was polemical. The question was pertinent to the practice of journalists and broadcasters but how often had other reporters from around the world been asked the same question? And if others were asked what would their reaction be? It is a question that goes to heart of journalistic practice.

Time and money

Increasingly those reporting from the global South are under significant pressure to produce in neoliberal parlance 'a marketable product' within very tight budgetary constraints and within very tight timeframes. These constraints are not without their consequences and one of those consequences is the absence of context in reporting. Paddy Coulter, a specialist in media and development, has long commented on the 'frequent absence of proper context for developing country news stories' (2002: 50).

Context is key to understanding global issues and without it we are far from the truth however that is constructed. We are increasingly receiving news reporting without context and in its place, stereotypes and caricature provide quick fixes for easy consumption. Some commentators (Griehhaber, 1997; Opoku-Owusu, 2003) claim that the prevalent discourse on television points towards a widely accepted, dominant perspective that views the majority world as inferior, dependent and thus colonised. Television is not unique in that respect and it is not just a recent phenomenon. The great Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe was a longstanding critic of Western writers, most notably Joseph Conrad, author of *Heart of Darkness*, for the way in which he portrayed Africa as 'the other world', the antithesis of Europe and therefore of civilisation;

a place where man's 'vaunted intelligence and refinement are finally mocked by triumphant bestiality' (1977: 251).

In television as in other media, as Wendy Quarry and Ricardo Ramírez (2009) remind us, the North and South are represented using a range of enduring dichotomies: donor/recipient; developed/underdeveloped; knowledge/ignorant. Not only are these dominant images limiting people's understanding of global issues, they also create damaging and stereotypical perceptions of Africa and Africans, not least for first and second generation Africans living in the West. As a consequence many tend to disassociate themselves from their place of heritage.

Quarry and Ramírez further argue that if we are serious about our work in representing people in the global South we must move from presenting people as objects to presenting them as subjects. They challenge the objectification of people where the nearly always white television presenter covers a heartbreaking story from Africa – the camera is close up on the reporter and then gradually goes wide revealing the reporter surrounded by anonymous passive black people. The emphasis in reporting should be on the personality rather than just the issue and people should have some control over how they are portrayed. Ideally, Quarry and Ramírez argue for self-representation in the media and self-representation is very different from representation by others. Because of the way Western broadcast media is currently constructed that is well nigh impossible. All of which poses profound challenges for us in the field, challenges with which we struggle in our highly pressurised world. The reality is we are far away from self-representation squeezed as we are by time and money.

We in the media are in control of representation. We hold the camera, we are the editors and we even select the mood music. While we always strive to send back the edited version to all those who participated in our films for contractual reasons we can only do that after broadcast. Our hope is that in doing that we at least offer some kind of acknowledgement to the people featured in the documentaries.

Conclusion

For all its limitations, television still holds the gaze of the public. Survey after survey indicates that television remains by far the most influential medium in shaping people's understanding of the world. A British survey commissioned by the Department for International Development identified mainstream media 'as the single most powerful force shaping the climate for public awareness-raising on issues of sustainable development' with television outscoring all other media (Stone, 2000). In Weafer's 2002 study conducted in Ireland, 92 percent of respondents reported that they find out what is happening in developing countries through television.

These findings are supported by a study of post-primary students' knowledge of development issues in which I was involved with researchers from the University of Limerick and the Shannon Curriculum Development Centre (Gleeson et al, 2007). Eight out of every ten teachers identified television as one of their main sources of information on the 'Third World'. Television is also the primary source of information for students. Seven out of ten students stated that television was influential in informing their view of the world. Interestingly, we also found that television also plays an important part in school pedagogy. After textbooks, DVDs constituted the second most important teaching resource.

In T.S. Elliot's epic poem *The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock* (2007) he uses the image of the universe squeezed into a ball and perhaps that's as good as any metaphor for the way in which the global world is represented on television. Squeezed in by producers and directors as they seek to give visual expression to quite complex issues for what is essentially a reductive medium. Squeezed out by corporate interests who would rather not know and would rather the rest of us did not know either. And just in case the awkward and unpalatable get through the net, they are further squeezed into margins of the broadcast schedule where only the brave graze. Rather than accept this as an inevitable outcome of the world in which we live, perhaps it's time for television and those who dictate its content to return to the wailing wall, at least occasionally.

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Resource reviews

THE EDUCATION OF THE FILMMAKER IN AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE AMERICAS

Hjort, Mette (ed.) (2013) *The Education of the Filmmaker in Africa, the Middle East and the Americas (Global Cinema series)*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Review by Marion Campbell

The *Global Cinema* series promotes projects that re-think film studies and this publication presents twelve case studies of a wide range of innovative film school curricula and film education projects. It demonstrates how filmmakers globally can become a particular 'kind' of filmmaker that brings an informed integrity to the filmmaking process. The twelve case studies focus on film training in Nigeria, Palestine, Qatar, the United States (US), West Indies and South America and examine film schools in these countries/regions. The case studies highlight the importance of collaboration and potential benefits for students from both the global North and South. They provide specific examples of how this collaboration can develop valuable film education projects for children and marginalised groups such as street children in Brazil and unemployed youth in Nigeria.

The introduction to the book, written by the editor Mette Hjort, emphasises the important decisions that filmmakers need to make not just in terms of film production, but also in terms of whether the film is really worth making in the first place. Hjort suggests that the value of film schools and practice-based film education needs to be researched and his publication sets out to examine which institutions demonstrate examples of innovation, good practice and sources of learning. He also stresses the need for more financial support for film education and research which aims to 'constitute networks and bodies of knowledge that can be mobilised in conversation with policy makers and government representatives'. As a practitioner based in Northern Ireland, I

have used film as a tool for many successful outreach projects which have seen marginalised groups with deep religious and cultural differences work together as a team. Filmmaking as a process, if done well, is of great socio-economic benefit.

This book is structured into three parts: Part One on Africa; Part Two on the Middle East; and Part Three on The Americas. The first chapter, by Anton Basson, Keyan Tomaselli and Gerda Dullaart, looks at the history of film education in South Africa. It considers the values of the South African School of Motion Picture Medium and Live Performance (AFDA), established in 1994 and unlike many other private film schools uses a collective filmmaking approach so that each crew member of a student production has a creative voice. There is also a brief analysis of the post-apartheid changes in television production and the boom in international feature film production which uses local crews, but has not greatly benefited the South African film industry.

The training which students receive at AFDA includes a work integrated curriculum, which is very beneficial given the high unemployment rate (25.2 percent) in South Africa and which demonstrates how the real life filmmaking experience and new contacts made in the field provide vital employability skills such as ‘positive work values and ethics and greater knowledge and skills’. The ultimate goal of the integrated learning process at AFDA is for students to showcase their films at a graduation festival that they organise themselves, at which their films are rated by an audience.

The second chapter titled ‘Bridging a Gap: Answering the Questions of Crime, Youth Unemployment, and Poverty through Film Training in Benin, Nigeria’ is written by Osakue Stevenson Omoera. The first paragraph of this chapter sets out the serious issue of high unemployment in Nigeria, and states that ‘several intelligence reports on Nigeria indicate that if the country is unable to create about 24 million jobs by 2015, it could become a failed state’. It adds that after fifty years of independence unemployment has risen from 15 percent to over 60 percent. This chapter goes on to explore how film education can encourage young people to channel their energy into productive ventures and focuses in particular on Nollywood, the Nigerian film industry. It argues that there is a greater need in Nigeria for practice-based film education in production

centres than for formal universities and film schools. From my experience of training and working with young people who are trying to get into the film industry, I would suggest that this is a global problem facing graduates who would like to pursue a career in the creative industries after graduation.

Chapter Three, by Rod Stoneman, discusses three personal examples to illustrate aspects of the global dynamic between cultures. Stoneman highlights the importance of critical reflection and wider viewing of films as a key component in learning how meaning is derived, and how students can bring their ideas to practical filmmaking. He draws upon his experience while working on an EU project in Marrakech and on the Med Film Factory, which offered training expertise from the West to support indigenous forms of filmmaking.

Part Two on the Middle-East focuses on three research papers on film education from three countries, each with a very different story to tell. The first chapter in this section, by Hamid Naficy, is set against the background of the ‘internationalisation’ of higher education in the Persian Gulf, which has seen many American and European universities establish campuses there over in recent years. The chapter particularly focuses on Northwestern University’s third campus in Doha, Qatar (NU-Q), with the other two located in Evanston and Chicago. Naficy begins by discussing two forms of internationalisation: students who go North to study in American and European universities; and the transplanting of western universities to the oil-rich Persian Gulf. For example, the multi-billion dollar Education City, funded by the Qatar Foundation, has transported specific courses from the top universities in America to Qatar.

The education programme for film and media production was seen by Persian Gulf autocrats as a way ‘to construct both new and national narratives of modernity and to create a modern imagined nation’. Naficy goes on to outline his own personal experience of teaching at NU-Q, which posed challenges for the faculty due to the diverse cultural orientation of a conservative and quote tribal society. There were also issues with censorship which impacted on the film viewing sessions. However, the course that he taught included Middle-

Eastern and African cinema and incorporated visits from local filmmakers based in Qatar.

In sharp contrast to the very well resourced education programme in Qatar, though with the common theme of film education for women, is the situation in Palestine by Alia Arasoughly which is set in the post-Oslo years, after the formation of the Palestinian National Authority in 1994 in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Arasoughly outlines the history of film education in Palestine, and focuses on the non-governmental organisation Shashat, licensed by the Palestinian Ministry of the Interior and Ministry of Culture, in which she played a central role. There are many challenges to film education in Palestine, especially personal safety issues while delivering in a region in conflict. Shashat focuses on women's cinema and the social and cultural implications of the representation of women, and aims to build the capacity of Palestinian women filmmakers. Its other aim is to reach under-represented communities and established partnerships with nine Palestinian universities. Shashat's work includes: an annual women's film festival which is the largest of its kind in the Arab world; a screening and discussion programme; and cultural outreach programmes. The areas of capacity-building such as professional workshops, panel discussions, promotion of Palestinian film and networking with the regional and international film community, are good examples of the benefits resulting from collaboration with film festivals. Shashat has also offered practical film training to university students, as women students were more hesitant about using film equipment than their male counterparts.

Chapter Six by Mette Hjort focuses in more detail on the benefits of networks and collaboration based on the work of the National Film School of Denmark's Middle-East Project, which is a transnational documentary filmmaking training initiative that began in 2006. Danish students were sent to film in the Middle East, and this then extended to inviting students from the Middle East to collaborate on film projects in Denmark. The students gained invaluable life experience from filmmaking abroad and Hjort concludes that 'this kind of film pedagogy is liberating, engaging and enabling', and can help develop networks for future filmmaking activities. Parts One and Two make repeated reference to the problem of the 'brain drain' of film studies graduates from the global South. Many film graduates from the South are forced to move

abroad to find work in the more prosperous film industry in the North. This will continue unless more is done to support indigenous film industries which could provide employment opportunities in the future.

Part Three is dedicated to the Americas and begins with Chapter Seven, written by Toby Miller under the interesting title 'Goodbye to Film School' in which he discusses the reasons why film schools are not suitable in their current form. He suggests that media and cultural studies (or critical studies/cinema and media studies) should replace these courses. He poses the question of 'how film schools can be transformed to counter sexism, militarism, and exploitation ... a new humanities field contra business studies?' Chapter Eight, written by Scott MacKenzie, moves further north to Canada, and describes a film training process at the 'Independent Imaging Retreat' founded by experimental filmmaker Philip Hoffman, whose work is inspired by the Beats. The background to the Canadian film industry is explained, and the important role that the National Film Board of Canada (NFBC) has played in supporting filmmaking for over the last forty years, especially in the area of documentary, experimental and animation. The NFBC has also given support in filmmaking and production funds to marginalised groups, and so gives everyone opportunities to engage with filmmaking. He goes on then to outline a fascinating initiative called 'The Imaging Retreat' created as a response to the cutbacks in film education for filmmakers regionally, and the increasing commercialisation of film production. Miller goes on to outline the programme which has a 'Film Farm' manifesto, enabling students and professional filmmakers to collaborate and go back to basics, using 16mm and Super 8 film stock, even developing their own film in dark rooms.

Chapter Ten, written by Christopher Meir, goes on to look at film education at the University of the West Indies (UWI) and begins his paper by stating that the Anglophone Caribbean is very much behind in terms of cinema development, as compared with the rest of the Caribbean. UWI has three campuses, the flagship University is in Jamaica, a second in Barbados, as well as St. Augustine in Trinidad and Tobago. The curricula is as wide as possible for the BA Hons course, as the students will receive training in as many aspects of filmmaking as possible, thereby improving their prospects of working in the industry after graduating. Again we see a very successful example of filmmaking

collaboration resulting from the Trinidad and Tobago Film Festival. The St. Augustine campus provides space for workshops and screenings, giving students a greater opportunity to attend events with an international focus, such as visiting filmmaker master-classes and screenings that they would normally not have access to. Meir also outlines the importance of keeping up with new technologies and how this is achieved.

Chapter Eleven is the only paper that focuses entirely on younger learners inside and outside the classroom, an area that I have worked in as a practitioner for many years. This paper by Armida de la Garza sets out the background and aims of the *Comunicacion Comunitaria* in Mexico city which teaches video production to disadvantaged children aged 8-13 years, with the aim of promoting human rights and preserving cultural identity. The paper details an initiative called Magical Little Hands, a series of videos using cut-out animation, and goes on to explain in detail how animation was used effectively on a number of youth film projects. It also describes an initiative called Matatena AC, which was inspired by a trip to Montreal by its founder, who was introduced to the International Centre of Films for Children and Youth, again showing the importance of international collaboration and sharing of good practice. The aim was to broaden children's access to a wider range of films other than the dominant cinema of Hollywood. There had up to this point been no film policy for young people in Mexico City.

The chapter describes the content and structure of film workshops with detailed lesson plans which would be useful for teachers across many areas of the curriculum. This type of filmmaking project with young people, in my own experience, has considerably increased participants' self confidence and self esteem. It also instils invaluable life skills of working together as a team by allowing participants to share the ultimate goal of finishing a good short film that they can be proud of. This chapter ends with details of another innovative called *Juguemos a Grabar*, open to 8-15 year olds, which is more vocational and covers all roles needed for both animation and documentary films and are trained in a wide range of skills which would be useful in the world of work. This section demonstrates how filmmaking and film production skills can contribute to the local economy.

The final chapter, by George Yudice, highlights two project areas. The first concerns the *favelas* (often translated in English as ‘ghettos’), marginalised groups that do not have state provided services and the middle-class youth who produce what Yudice refers to as ‘fringe’ cinema. Yudice explores new Latin American cinema and uses the film *City of God* as an example of cinema that does not glamorise violence in the *favelas*, unlike some of the more mainstream Brazilian productions. He then goes on to outline the educational project of the Free Cinema School, where students have normal school lessons in the morning and film production classes in the afternoon. The process includes going on visits outside the classroom to explore the city, which have been found to enrich their filmmaking output. Yudice demonstrates how there has been a shift from formal film schools due to new digital technologies which have created different ways of learning about filmmaking, and even distributing film, with the poorest now having access to a wide range of audio visual technologies.

The case studies in this publication highlight the importance of critical skills development and experiences abroad for film students, which ultimately contributed to their personal development, as well as to the quality of their work. The case studies also demonstrate how partnerships are beneficial for film schools and their students, and of course their partner organisations such as film festivals, community groups and funders. This volume includes examples of collaboration such as working with local communities, the national and international creative industries, and film festivals; all of which impact positively on the wider community and, ultimately, on the socio-economic development of the countries in question. This is a very useful publication for course designers of film schools, teachers of primary and post primary schools, outreach programme film project co-ordinators and film festivals, as well as policy-makers, who will be able to gain an insight into global organisations working in film education that demonstrate good practice.

It would be useful and interesting to monitor the progress and work of former students and project participants. Such studies would be very useful in further demonstrating the positive impact and tangible outcomes of the training that students have received. If, in the long term, these projects improve employment prospects due to the new technical skills that film students acquire, policy-makers may be more inclined to offer more funding to develop this area

of training. This in turn should be accessible to everyone and provide financial support or incentives for more film production apprenticeships to be made available to the filmmaking talents of the future.

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SOCIAL ENGINEERING OR ENLIGHTENMENT? A CONTROVERSIAL VIEW OF THE PRESENCE OF THE NGO SECTOR IN SCHOOLS

Alex Standish (2012) *The False Promise of Global Learning: Why education needs boundaries*, London: Continuum.

Review by Rachel Tallon

For many non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that raise funds in the North for work in the South and have a presence in schools through campaigning or resource production, it can feel like they are on the margins of formal education. Thus, Alex Standish's second book (his first, *Global perspectives in the Geography Curriculum*, was published in 2009) might come as a surprise to many, as he argues that NGOs have too much power and are in danger of negatively affecting learning about the developing world in UK and the US. On the dust jacket of this book, David Lambert notes that the book is controversial and people should avoid 'running for the barricades' and instead, engage with Standish's critique of global education.

A key audience for this book are global and development education practitioners and Standish does not see either as politically benign. He sees the NGO sector as contesting the core subject-based curriculum and, in this respect, he is also writing for teachers; indeed, the book could be regarded as a warning to teachers about the formal sector influence of the NGO sector, specifically those involved in trying to raise awareness about global and development issues with young people. Standish is challenging both teachers and NGOs about the content and methodology used to teach development issues in the classroom and why they are taught. For NGOs who struggle over the divide between campaigning and education this book underscores the fact that there is a difference between the two, but that many grey areas exist. For campaigning NGOs that enter the formal classroom setting of Northern countries in some capacity, this book will alert (and perhaps surprise) them to some of the critiques surrounding global education.

Since the cultural turn in the social sciences in the late 1970s, the curriculum in many countries has undergone significant change – some would

call it a dilution, others an expansion, to adjust to our modern times. Into natural vacuums created by change and uncertainty, Standish argues that the global education movement with its emphasis on soft skills and an agenda for societal change has elbowed in. Standish argues that the branches of global citizenship, such as sustainable education, global issues, peace studies and human rights, have staked a very important claim on the curriculum and a significant presence in many schools. While some NGOs might disagree and consider themselves on the margins, fighting to get in, Standish does not see it that way.

Over six chapters, Standish explores the nature of global education in terms of its core knowledge base, skills and ethics and makes the contentious case that global education is 'anti-knowledge' at its heart. Drawing examples from global education resources published by Oxfam and the Department for International Development (DfID), Standish argues that global education has replaced or devalued subject-based knowledge (such as History or Geography) with a stress on skills and attitudes concerning global issues. By citing the work of DfID, Standish is also claiming that governments too are affecting the core subjects. As an example, he argues (on p. 58) that DfID's 'Developing the Global Dimension in the School Curriculum' (2005) gives as the core of learning about global issues concepts such as citizenship, sustainable development, social justice, values and perceptions, diversity, interdependence, conflict resolution and human rights. Standish argues that these skills and attitudes are not objective education – rather, they are a form of character development and social engineering. However, others might argue that good global education has a strong critical element that encourages analysis, reflection and action outcomes.

At the end of Chapter Three, Standish makes a bold claim that global education is a 'flight from knowledge' because there is the emphasis in global education on reflexive learning – changing, or at least acknowledging the self first, before trying to change the world. In Chapters Four and Five Standish argues that content (core subject knowledge about places and people) becomes secondary to the skills and ethics one needs to become a global citizen. Although this critique is alarming, Standish has probably seen very poorly written development education resources that widen (rather than reduce) the

distance between the North and the South and reinforce (rather than challenge) neo-colonial ideas about the giver-receiver relationship. He is voicing a similar concern to that raised by others that if we teach about them one day and fundraise for them the next, certain ideas about ‘them and us’ remain unchallenged.

In terms of knowledge, Standish is arguably one of many who are concerned that the framework of education today is largely responsive to the market – creating good workers and global citizens is the priority, not deep thinkers. Reading this book from my own context in New Zealand, this change has also taken place and traditional core subjects are increasingly seen as too difficult or not relevant to the modern student. It is easier (and deemed to be of greater value) to study ‘Computing for Apps’ than a course in English Literature. The influence of the business sector on education has resulted in a strong focus on employability and skills for the workforce. Courses that count towards New Zealand’s National Certificate in Education (NCEA) can be written by NGOs and the private sector. In many ways, the course content reflects the community and the national culture, not an elite group of educators from subject disciplines. The New Zealand curriculum sets out very broad educational outcomes which can be interpreted in many ways. A course in developing fundraising skills for an international NGO that results in a nationally recognised education achievement is one outcome of these changes and reflects the power of the NGO sector.⁴ In New Zealand at least, the NGO sector competes on the same playing field as other sectors and can provide credits towards the NCEA.

Standish would argue that the pendulum has swung too far to the left, privileging skills over content and he uses the contentious example of International Schools to illustrate this. By sticking to core curricula they retain their elitist nature while ordinary schools are obliged to begin looking and sounding like polytechnics, training young people for work, including the work

⁴ World Vision New Zealand offer an NCEA Level I course in senior Social Studies for students who help organise the 40 Hour Famine at their school. Visit: <http://email.worldvision.org.nz/mail/view/st3ItMN2UUu6bwjO3IFxgw>).

of fundraising for development. In this debate, Standish makes reference to Michael Young's concern over types of knowledge, arguing that global education is a form of content-dependent knowledge, not content *independent*. Standish asks whether classrooms are places for indoctrination or places for the development of critical thinking and a broad base of knowledge. This is indeed contentious because debates about what is knowledge and who decides what knowledge is, are at the core of this book.

In my doctoral research (Tallon, 2013) I came across this difference in the teaching of development issues. In the secondary classroom, education about global issues can become education towards a solution that often involves individual behaviour change. Instead of teaching about the ideas of development at the post-primary level including the nature and form of the NGO sector – what is known as *development studies* at tertiary level – this theoretical knowledge is often deemed too difficult, and the learning becomes about what the NGOs deem appropriate responses to issues. There have been critical evaluations of NGO resources (for example the study by Bryan and Bracken, 2011) and many NGOs have considered these concerns and are very reflective and responsive regarding their work in Northern classrooms.

Standish, in citing Heilman, argues that the ideas behind global education are created by a loose network of NGOs and political actors that are not bound by a clear democratic framework. There is no teacher, government or parent-elected board that writes the standards for global education. NGOs attempt to effect change in some aspects of children's education about the world – and this is actually a movement to change the values of society – a form of reverse social engineering to get the parents to change their habits via the children. Standish does not employ the word 'evangelical', but this is his implication: that NGOs with their good intentions are distracting teachers from teaching and turning them into disciples for their causes. Learning becomes less about knowledge and more about yourself, and how you can be a better global person. Standish is concerned that education is being replaced with 'therapy' and global education, he argues, is a strong proponent of this.

Standish claims that the values espoused by the NGO sector are often at odds with school communities and do not always reflect society, or the reality

of society. When teachers employ these values they can present a future utopian society. In the classroom they call upon young people to ‘make a difference’ in the world, a world that adults themselves have not succeeded in perfecting. A personal anecdote might be a useful illustration here. Over a cup of tea a mother complained to me of the ‘ridiculous’ teacher her nine year old son was having this year. Her charge was that the teacher had persuaded the school to ban cling film in school lunchboxes. The rationale being that it was messy, not easily biodegradable and plastic, which was ultimately bad for the environment. The mother was outraged that a ‘green environmental activist’ was educating her son. Her convenience and lifestyle was being curtailed. The anger spiralled upwards to the effect that she complained that this helped strengthen her resolve *against* climate change activists. In this situation the teacher’s good intentions – the social engineering of the families via the children – was backfiring completely. Reflecting on this, I wondered if the mother wanted an objective, dispassionate teacher with no political values at all and if such a teacher exists. Standish argues that the ‘third sector’, both NGOs and the private sector have merged with the statutory sector so that what is being taught is often market-driven (including NGOs) rather than decided by an elite statutory body.

In Chapter Six, Standish opens by saying that global education has filled a vacuum about what to teach and how and this has become a form of social engineering. Referring to the sociologist Frank Furedi, Standish stresses the difference between socialisation into a society’s norms and values and social engineering which seeks to alter and change society. For those of you seeking to change society by educating young people, Standish may be harsh reading, but don’t run for the barricades just yet. What Standish does in this book is take a comprehensive and critical look at the power of the third sector in education. NGOs may be totally convinced that they are right and that the school classroom is the ideal place to disseminate their views, but against a backdrop of wider society, how much of what they do is social engineering, without the mandate of the wider community that they seek to change? From my perspective, referring back to the anecdote of the ban on cling film, it is important to know when and how activism should take place. There is a place

for it, definitely (and Standish would agree), but in the classroom, there are hidden pitfalls and things can go well and they can go horribly wrong.

Within development education specifically there have also been concerns raised about the moral imperative of NGO campaigning work in schools and studies have shown that temporary activism is a poor substitute for a deeper knowledge about global issues. Thus, Standish's claims are not new, but in many ways they are bold. NGOs involved in formal education need to be aware that they are bringing a powerful force into a community such as a school and there will be repercussions. Reading a book like Standish's will not be easy for committed NGO workers but good reflection on one's practice involves engaging with criticisms concerning global education that come from those outside of the NGO sector. This is what education critic Michael Young would term content-independent knowledge: learning outside of one's own realm and in this I would agree with David Lambert that Standish forces us (the NGO sector) to confront our power as a moral force in society; even if we regard our power as minor, it is never insignificant.

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PERIPHERAL VISION

Peripheral Vision, Donnacha Ó Briain / 2012 / Ireland / 100 minutes.

Review by Stephen McCloskey

In 2002, Donnacha Ó'Briain (with Kim Bartley) directed the award-winning documentary *The Revolution will not be Televised*, a remarkable film made during an oppositional coup against Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez. The film captured the outpouring of popular support for Chávez from the country's poor that secured his restoration to office. Ó'Briain's latest documentary, *Peripheral Vision*, focuses on events closer to home but remains firmly fixed on the relationship between people and power and the role played by civil society in resisting unjust policies foisted on them from above. It takes as its starting point the decision taken by the Dublin government in 2008 to recapitalise Irish banks which had recklessly over-extended their lending arms contributing to a construction boom fed largely by unsafe property loans and a credit bubble that was pricked by the collapse of Lehman Brothers bank in the United States. The government's decision to bailout one bank in particular, Anglo Irish, which was symptomatic of the corruption and malaise in the Irish banking sector and had no intrinsic value to Irish society, caused public outrage. The decision to recapitalise the banks led the government to seek a staggering €85 billion loan from a troika comprising the European Central Bank (ECB), the European Commission and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (McCloskey, 2011).

What followed the bank bailout was a wave of cuts to public services and welfare as part of a belt tightening austerity programme dictated in the terms of the troika loan. *Peripheral Vision* charts the resistance to the programme of austerity by inner city Dublin communities feeling the full force of government cuts and two communities in North Cork, Ballyhea and Charleville, that mount a weekly protest against the bank debt repayments. Shot in a raw cinema verité style over twelve months in 2011-12, the documentary is a study in activism as we witness a small group of protestors in Ballyhea (later joined by Charleville) move from weekly marches to sit-down protests to a 'run to the Dáil' to finally confronting the ECB in Frankfurt. We see a growth in confidence among the protestors - despite occasional doubts as

to the efficacy of their efforts – spurred by their greater awareness of the issues and increasing level of collaboration with like-minded groups in other parts of the country. They draw strength from participation in a major protest in Dublin against the Household Charge, which culminates with a march to the Fine Gael Ard Fheis (annual conference).

We also see a flowering of activism in the community resistance movement Spectacle of Hope and Defiance which has been mobilising inner city Dublin communities on the frontline of government cuts to resist austerity. They launched a book of grievances in 2011 based on the *Cahiers* or lists of grievances drawn up by the three estates (the clergy, nobility and middle-class) in revolutionary France. Although the lists were ordered by King Louis XVI they were not intended as a challenge to the *ancien regime* but ultimately helped to articulate and fuel the need for change at the time. The lists compiled by the Spectacle of Hope and Defiance similarly provided an opportunity for communities to articulate their fears, grievances and aspirations for the future. We see community workshops in which children discuss the burden of poverty on their families and concerns about cuts to local projects. They are in effect development education workshops led by community activists that involve economic demystification and shared learning in participative formats. While Ireland has become a by-word for political passivity and resignation in the wake of the financial crisis, *Peripheral Vision* suggests otherwise as communities prepare for a major public demonstration in Dublin city centre on 3 December 2011 in which they reclaim the streets and publicly air their grievances.

The film continually shifts between the protest movements in Ballyhea and Dublin and interjects these narratives with RTÉ news footage of government manoeuvres to navigate the crisis while keeping the public in check. At one point we see Taoiseach Enda Kenny saying in the Dáil (Irish parliament) that ‘We are not going to have the name defaulter written across our foreheads’ as part of a speech that defended the latest contribution of €1.5 billion to Anglo bondholders; a cost born by the Irish citizen. The debts of the now dead Anglo Irish Bank and Irish Nationwide Building Society total €30 billion and represent a staggering 40 percent of Irish national income. A campaign called Anglo: Not our Debt, which calls for a cancellation of Anglo debt and is

supported by many of the groups chronicled by *Peripheral Vision*, estimates that payments could continue to the 2030s (<http://www.notourdebt.ie/>).

Until the end of 2013, Ireland's debt took the form of promissory notes which are stated intentions to pay back the debt over a specific period. However these notes were converted into sovereign bonds which are tradable on the international markets and more difficult to write down. They are also payable over a longer timescale and accrue more interest which makes them arguably even more damaging to the Irish economy. Ireland's debt crisis is therefore not going away and the activism documented by *Peripheral Vision* needs to be stepped up if the lives of future generations in Ireland are not to be blighted by debt.

A key question posed by *Peripheral Vision* is why we do not have the kind of popular mobilisations against the bank debt repayments in Ireland similar to those seen in Greece and other neighbouring European states? This question is never satisfactorily answered although it is often debated in the film by activists, one of whom suggests that in Ireland we have often relied on intermediaries when dealing with institutional power rather than doing so directly. What is indisputable, however, is Ireland's experience of a sharp increase in emigration levels in times of severe economic difficulty and that has been the case since 2008. This has resulted in even greater tragedy for Irish families which have become divided through the need, particularly among young people, to find work overseas.

Peripheral Vision is a film about community learning and a learning tool in its own right. It asks searching questions about Irish society and the political class, and also our degree of political latitude within the European Union. It rebuffs the notion that Irish communities are willing to swallow the bitter pill of austerity without challenging the legitimacy of the odious banking debt which has been socialised and foisted on the Irish people. It should be shown in community settings and used as a mainspring toward education and activism on debt. The film makes clear that the media has largely failed us in regard to this issue which makes more public education on Ireland's debt crisis a matter of urgency.

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