

**VIDEO RESEARCH: DOCUMENTING AND LEARNING
FROM HIV AND AIDS COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES
FOR SOCIAL CHANGE IN GHANA**

by

Heiko Decosas BA
Communications, SFU 2006

PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF COMMUNICATION

In the School of
Communication

© Heiko Decosas 2010
SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
Summer 2010

All rights reserved. However, in accordance with the *Copyright Act of Canada*, this work may be reproduced, without authorization, under the conditions for *Fair Dealing*.

Therefore, limited reproduction of this work for the purposes of private study, research, criticism, review and news reporting is likely to be in accordance with the law, particularly if cited appropriately.

APPROVAL

NAME: Heiko Decosas
DEGREE: MA
TITLE: Video research: Documenting and learning from HIV and AIDS communication strategies for social change in Ghana

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

CHAIR: Peter Anderson, Associate Professor

Dr. Martin Laba
Associate Professor

Dave Murphy
Lecturer

Date: May 18, 2010



SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

Declaration of Partial Copyright Licence

The author, whose copyright is declared on the title page of this work, has granted to Simon Fraser University the right to lend this thesis, project or extended essay to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users.

The author has further granted permission to Simon Fraser University to keep or make a digital copy for use in its circulating collection (currently available to the public at the "Institutional Repository" link of the SFU Library website <www.lib.sfu.ca> at: <<http://ir.lib.sfu.ca/handle/1892/112>>) and, without changing the content, to translate the thesis/project or extended essays, if technically possible, to any medium or format for the purpose of preservation of the digital work.

The author has further agreed that permission for multiple copying of this work for scholarly purposes may be granted by either the author or the Dean of Graduate Studies.

It is understood that copying or publication of this work for financial gain shall not be allowed without the author's written permission.

Permission for public performance, or limited permission for private scholarly use, of any multimedia materials forming part of this work, may have been granted by the author. This information may be found on the separately catalogued multimedia material and in the signed Partial Copyright Licence.

While licensing SFU to permit the above uses, the author retains copyright in the thesis, project or extended essays, including the right to change the work for subsequent purposes, including editing and publishing the work in whole or in part, and licensing other parties, as the author may desire.

The original Partial Copyright Licence attesting to these terms, and signed by this author, may be found in the original bound copy of this work, retained in the Simon Fraser University Archive.

Simon Fraser University Library
Burnaby, BC, Canada

STATEMENT OF ETHICS APPROVAL

The author, whose name appears on the title page of this work, has obtained, for the research described in this work, either:

(a) Human research ethics approval from the Simon Fraser University Office of Research Ethics,

or

(b) Advance approval of the animal care protocol from the University Animal Care Committee of Simon Fraser University;

or has conducted the research

(c) as a co-investigator, collaborator or research assistant in a research project approved in advance,

or

(d) as a member of a course approved in advance for minimal risk human research, by the Office of Research Ethics.

A copy of the approval letter has been filed at the Theses Office of the University Library at the time of submission of this thesis or project.

The original application for approval and letter of approval are filed with the relevant offices. Inquiries may be directed to those authorities.

Simon Fraser University Library
Simon Fraser University
Burnaby, BC, Canada

ABSTRACT

The dynamic landscape of global communications continues to present new challenges for the design and analysis of media and communication within international development projects. This Masters project uses video and web technology to document, explore and extend the role of communication in a Canadian International Development Agency funded HIV and AIDS stigma reduction project in Ghana, West Africa. The project includes a documentary video entitled: *The Challenge of Stigma: Reflections on community education as a pathway to change*. The video looks at the situation of AIDS related stigma in Ghana and draws from 50 interviews to highlight the University teacher-training program delivering HIV/AIDS education through distance learning. A collaborative production process is detailed in this project report in efforts to discuss project challenges as well as propose experimental online architecture for open collaborative media production and communication for development strategies.

Keywords: HIV and AIDS, Ghana, West Africa, Video Research, Documentary filmmaking, Communication for Development, Communication for Social Change, Participatory Development, Openness, ICT4D.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks and deep gratitude to:

Manisha and Om who believe in me,
my parents who instilled in me compassion and activism,
my in-laws who support me resolutely,
Dave Murphy and Pat and Roger Howard who guided me,
Martin Laba and Betty Mitchell who made it all possible,
and those in Ghana who warmly received me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Approval.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	v
1: Introduction.....	1
2: HIV and AIDS in Ghana:	4
3: Communication for development: power, participation and Information technologies.....	10
3.1 The power of Ideas.....	10
3.2 Communication and Participation.....	14
3.3 The Digital Divide	17
4: Video Research:.....	22
4.1 Cinema and social science.....	22
4.2 Video Research in the field:.....	33
4.2.1 Research Identity.....	33
4.2.2 Pre-Production.....	33
4.2.3 Production.....	35
4.2.4 Post Production.....	43
5: CONCLUSION.....	51
Appendix A: DVD Video Appendix.....	53
Bibliography.....	54
.....	58

1: INTRODUCTION

“Obosom anim woko no mprensa.”
The oracle is always consulted three times.
(Akan Proverb)

“The Challenge of Stigma: Reflections on community education as a pathway to change” is a 22-minute documentary video (Appendix 1). It is the cornerstone of this Communication Masters Project and brings together research and contributions from many different people and organisations. My research and documentary video work is situated within the context of a University partnership project between; Simon Fraser University (SFU) in Vancouver, Canada, the University of Ghana, Legon (UG), the University of Cape Coast (UCC), and the University of Education, Winneba (UEW), all in Ghana. The project administration occurs primarily within the Distance and Continuing Education Departments in all of the partner schools. Since 2003, all four Universities have collectively worked towards HIV prevention and AIDS stigma reduction in Ghana. The project Directors have set out to achieve this through: (1) building Ghanaian universities’ institutional capacity to design and deliver an HIV distance education course; (2) developing materials and instruction methods for HIV education; and (3) training schoolteachers and community youth facilitators to deliver HIV education to school children and out of school youth. The education project is funded by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and financially administered by the Association of Universities and Colleges of

Canada (AUCC) (SFU,2008). The funding envelope for the project ends in 2010, however there is support from the Ghanaian partners and expressed interest from external agencies that the HIV curriculum will remain in the respective Universities academic courses for teachers and youth workers.

For my video project I travelled from my home in Vancouver to Accra, Ghana twice. In the spring of 2008 I spent one month in Accra, I returned in 2009 for another 3 months. During my second visit I was fortunate to travel to University run distance education centres in 8 of the 10 regions in Ghana. At these centres I interviewed course facilitators and teachers taking the HIV course on camera. I also interviewed a number of University administrators and staff as well as individuals from both civil society organisations and government agencies. Some, but definitely not all of them, are represented in the final video work. The interviews left out are archived on a website designed for project administrators. The production phase of the video in Ghana was collaborative. I worked collectively with a team of producers and assistants. While attempts were made to have a collaborative online postproduction editing process, much of this phase of the video was made alone in an editing suit at SFU. I have tried to be reflexive in my methods and have indeed learned and adapted and made many concessions in many applications.

The field of Communications presents a unique opportunity to me to study production and production practices using a hybrid lens of social science, art, humanities and much more, all the while focussing on communicative practices. Through the SFU School of Communication I have been given the opportunity to

make media in order to deconstruct it, to construct compelling messages and to analyse the technology and our human relationships to it. I have tried to consider both the political economy of production as well as the ideological origins of media messages. In this document I have brought together some key ideas that have shaped my productive practices. My approach to using video is rooted in a tension between documentary and ethnographic film making as well as considering aspects of Communication for Development theory. In particular I have attempted to draw together critical examinations of western representations of 'other' cultures with honest and reflexive accounts of my own experiences. My research is conducted and delivered in multimedia formats. As a result I have also briefly touched on methodologies in media development practices with a cursory examination of connectivity and access to online systems in continental Africa.

Specifically related to the University Partnership project I have tried to approach Communication for Development holistically considering both internal and external communication channels and have drawn on social constructionism and system theory to formulate my ground. My goal has been to experiment and learn from working with media production and ideas of open communication architectures, as well as emerging communication trends and technologies. The hope has been to contribute to the University partnership project and the field of Communication for Development.

2: HIV AND AIDS IN GHANA:

According to national surveillance the adult HIV prevalence in Ghana at the end of 2007 was estimated at 1.7 percent, translating to approximately 260,000 adults and children living with HIV. An estimated 87,000 people were in need of anti-retroviral therapy, while only 13,000 were receiving it (UNAIDS, 2008). During my first visit in preparation for the project I interviewed Professor Sakyi Awuku Amoa, at that time the Director-General of the Ghana AIDS Commission. The AIDS Commission was created in 2000 and is a multi-sectoral and supra-ministerial body under the President's office that co-ordinates HIV prevention activities in the country. Professor Amoa stated that there was a downward trend of HIV prevalence in the country from 3.6% in 2004 to 1.7% in 2007 (personal communication, Accra, April 2008). It is unclear to me as to whether this is a result of a decrease in rates of infection or the result of better data collection, including a change in surveillance methods from sentinel surveillance among pregnant women to population-based surveys (Kresge, 2007).

UNAIDS reports that continued HIV surveillance among pregnant women in Ghana records significant regional variations ranging from a high of 8.4% at one site to a low of 0.8% at another (UNAIDS, 2008). A report published by USAID in 2005 suggested a number of possible reasons why these variations exist. The report notes that rates are higher in dense urban areas and along

transportation corridors, in border towns with high levels of migration and cross-border trading with higher prevalence communities in Cote D'Ivoire and Burkina Faso, and in areas with concentrations of industrial activities requiring migrant labour such as the mining industry (Akwara, 2005).

The Ghana AIDS Commission has, according to Amoa, identified women, youth, female sex workers, army, police and mobile populations such as truck drivers and traders as the key groups most at risk of HIV infection. This grouping ironically includes more than half of the Ghanaian population and is therefore of limited use for targeting programs. USAID reported in 2005 that heterosexual intercourse was the dominant mode of HIV transmission, accounting for 75% to 85% of infections (Akwara, 2005). Women are the hardest hit by HIV in Ghana. Amoa estimated that women accounted for over 60% of all HIV infections in the country (personal communication, Accra, April 2008). The USAID analysis of HIV demographics in the country confirmed this and reported that women aged 35-39 have the highest prevalence of HIV infection (Akwara, 2005). A report released in December 2008 by the NGO Action Aid Ghana presented findings from research in six northern districts in Ghana and suggesting that women have a higher vulnerability to HIV due to gender inequality and violence. The director of Action Aid Ghana commented in an interview with local press that “fear of violence prevents women from negotiating safe sex. Stigma and violence meted out to women who test positive and declare their status have caused them to turn to commercial sex work to survive” (Amankwah, 2008, para 4). The University HIV stigma reduction project in focus has dealt with gender equality issues primarily

through developing a curriculum that addresses and asserts women's sexual rights. A number of female teachers I spoke with were enthusiastic about the course as it was part of a larger distance education diploma program that allowed them to upgrade their education while continuing to teach in their communities and take care of their families.

The literature on HIV stigma reduction presents case studies and best practices. However many of the most successful HIV education and prevention programs have been developed in countries with much higher prevalence, in communities where most of the population has some personal experience with HIV infection. The relatively low HIV prevalence in Ghana, when compared to other African countries, is a cause for optimism, however in the context of behaviour change strategies through education, low national prevalence rates also present challenges for raising awareness and changing behaviour. If the threat is not perceived then there is little incentive to change anything. Professor Amoa stated that while awareness of HIV was high throughout Ghana, there continues to be a disconnect between levels of awareness and behaviours. Amoa used the phrase "All die be die" to describe a common attitude held by Ghanaian youth towards HIV. The phrase, he says, is a kind of youthful retort pointing to the general struggle for life in Ghana, with HIV perceived as no more significant a threat than a whole host of other health related risks (personal communication, Accra, April 2008).

In their 2009 program the Ghana AIDS Commission identified and targeted behaviour change communication as a key HIV prevention strategy, and

to this end initiated a number of programs tapping into religious networks and media communication channels. One of the main issues the Commission focused on addressing through their campaign “Who are you to Judge”, was stigma and discrimination against people affected by HIV and against groups who are associated in popular perception with high HIV risk (Amoa, personal communication, Accra, April 2008).

HIV stigma has been cited internationally within literature as one of the major challenges to HIV prevention and treatment (PANOS, 2001). A PANOS institute report points out that “stigma attached to HIV/AIDS is often layered upon pre-existing stigmas of sexual conduct and drug use ... and that stigma...reinforces, existing social inequalities, being linked to power and domination in the community as a whole” (PANOS, 2001, pg8). The HIV education courseware developed by the University partnership project *Reducing HIV Stigma by Education – Ghana*, cites sociologists Erving Goffmans’ definition of stigma as “the identification that a group creates about a person or a group of people based on some physical, behavioural, or social traits which do not conform to the normal or accepted traits”(Goffman in Koomson et al., nd, pg3). The 2003 Ghana Demographic and Health Survey suggests that only approximately 15 percent of men and 8 percent of women in Ghana expressed tolerance and accepting attitudes towards people living with HIV (Ghana Statistical Service et al., 2004). Once again in Ghana, as a low prevalence country, it is difficult to accurately provide measures of this social phenomenon.

Reviewing twenty years of international HIV and AIDS communication strategies, the Panos Institute (2001) authors suggest that the amount of resources that have been directed to HIV prevention has yielded limited results. In the article entitled *Missing the Message* they go on to point out that while a cure remains on the horizon there have been improvements in treatment as well as a number of success stories involving public education and behaviour change communication. Noting reasons for a reassessment the authors say that most communication strategies;

designed to change sexual behaviour have been short-term, non-empowering, top-down and lacking in long-term impact...these campaigns are extremely valuable,[yet] they do little to foster the kinds of long-term, multidimensional strategies that we believe to be also necessary to tackle this epidemic (Panos, 2001,pg6).

The authors suggest that a central lesson of successful HIV prevention in countries such as Senegal, Uganda, Thailand and Brazil is that within each nation there was a sense of “ownership, participation and a politicized civil society. ... [they were] societies with strong social networks and internal communication structures” (ibid, pg11). The authors argue that externally organized education efforts and communication strategies play an import role (and attract the most funds) within HIV prevention but really only work well when they have been created from within a society. The report is also careful to point out that many solutions are regional. There needs to be an emphasis on shifting the focus of communication strategies from message to voice, to local engagement and to fostering an open and safe environment for discussion. (ibid).

Developing a limited understanding of HIV and AIDS in Ghana has been critical to moving forward with this video project. One of the goals has been to use this understanding to help navigate away from some of the reductive short cuts that characterises much of the media coverage of HIV and AIDS. The goal of the video documentary is not to provide an evaluation of the University education project (this is occurring in another forum, through a different process) but rather to provide a grounded context for understanding the project and highlighting the important issues in relationship to a few of the direct experiences and perceptions of people involved in the University HIV stigma reduction project.

3: COMMUNICATION FOR DEVELOPMENT: POWER, PARTICIPATION AND INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES

3.1 The power of Ideas

Communication for Development (also referred to as Development Communication) was fashioned as a field in the US partly through the work of Wilbur Schramm and Daniel Lerner (Waisbord,2001). Lerner studied World War II media propaganda and developed a theoretical approach to applying communication for social engineering, development and ultimately control. Lerner's work was situated in a political climate in which the focus on development in America was very much attentive to the rising cold war. For Lerner, progress entailed "the passing of the traditional society" (Lerner,1958) which he said could be achieved through instigating successive structural shifts towards first urbanization, then literacy, mass media exposure and finally democratization. In Lerner's model, mass media inherently espoused the virtues of progress and modernization and he suggests that expansion of mass media in the 'Third World' would, as it had in America, similarly create the right social conditions for modernization (Waisbord,2001). Lerner's formulation of development discourse contains the common assumption within early mainstream development thinking, that there is a single model of development epitomized by the US and that developing countries needed to emulate it to achieve a qualitatively better life. The framework is troubling in that it tasks communication with the goal of destroying culture in order to create a new one.

In order to arrive at a definition that accurately represents the phenomenon of development Rist (1997) suggests using Durkheim's approach of defining social phenomena by focusing on material actualities rather than on normative or theoretical positions. Based on this approach Rist (1997) surmises that:

Development consists of a set of practices, sometimes appearing to conflict with one another, which require, for the reproduction of society- the general transformation and destruction of the natural environment and of social relations. Its aim is to increase the production of commodities (goods and services) geared by way of exchange to effective demand. (pg.13)

This concept of development provides at least the understanding that the process or phenomenon known as development is not a synonym for progress but rather a process that must be weighed and necessarily understood as both productive and destructive.

Cooper and English (2005) suggest that a school of constructionist thought that gained prominence in the 1970's initiated a major ideational turn in international relations and development thought. Constructionists, who questioned the production of knowledge, began to grapple with the processes and outcomes of development and began to both expose and create a far more complex account of development. John Ruggie, who went on to become Assistant Secretary General of the UN, provided a powerful overview at the time in which he states that "the building blocks of international reality are ideational as well as material...and that the meaning and significance of ideational factors are not independent of time and place"(Ruggie in Cooper and English, 2005,

pg.9). At an operational level, formal diplomacy and increasing levels of civil society organization formed networks of “knowledge oriented communities of experts” with either problem solving techniques or “advocacy networks operating with both a will (and often a capacity) to shape shift existing ways of thinking and doing things”(Cooper and English ,2005, pg.12). It is interesting to note that within the formation of the various international commissions, the US did not necessarily maintain its priority status indicating that along with the ideational shift came a shift in international power relations.

Jan Nederveen Pieterse (1998) agrees that ideas have become central to shaping what development is and does, and he acknowledges that a growing number of critical schools of thought including post-colonialism, post-modernism, political economy, anti-development, alternative development, feminism, and many more, have had a dramatic effect on ‘mainstream development’. A major point of fracture between mainstream development and it’s critiques lies in the critical view proposed through dependency theory that suggests that the problems of development do not lie within the ‘Third World’ but rather arise in direct relation to historical and economic forces of domination perpetuated by the western world. Pieterse (1998) points out that while many of the development critiques offer necessary insights into the theoretical deconstruction of development, very few offer alternate solutions. He also points out that the theories in opposition to development have tended to remain in static opposition and have not grown to consider the ways in which mainstream development has absorbed the critiques and changed as a result.

Pieterse (2001) proposes a more complex formation of the negotiation of ideas in which development is reflexive, it has arrived as a theme and central problem to itself, and in that way it is similar to the idea of reflexive modernity in which the “moderns are increasingly concerned with managing the problems created by modernity”(pg.192). Reflexivity, Pieterse (1998) says, has actually been a central part of the ideational development process all along. The “ideas and policies have been reactions to and reflections on the failures and limitations of previous development practices”(Pieterse,1998,pg.26).

The reflexive pursuit of development fits within Ulrich Beck's (1999) framework of a “world risk society”, which he contends is a “discourse of self-confrontation”. In Beck's (1999) model of a world risk society “damage loses its spatio-temporal limits and becomes global and lasting” and it is global threats whether they be the effects of climate change, war and terrorism, stock market collapse, HIV pandemic or the erosion of cultural biodiversity that force “global socialization due to dangers produced by civilization”(pg.36). For Beck (1998) the discourse of globalization, and the dominant voices setting the agendas for development “depends not on a globality of problems but on transnational ‘discourse coalitions’ which assert within public space the issues of a global agenda”(pg.24). Ideas defined by epistemic communities, acted upon internationally through diplomatic channels and mainstreamed through cultural productive practices, focus the goals of the transformative policies and the productive and destructive practices of development. It is however sometimes difficult to tell whether or not the changes in approach since the 1950s have been

significant in nature or are just political expediency and a repositioning and renaming of the principal formation of economic growth in order to maintain 'social commitment'.

3.2 Communication and Participation

Returning once again to the initial discussion of how these underlying issues in development discourse pertain to communication for development and its practices, it is clear that the ideational shift which occurred in the 1970s and the ensuing critiques against development practices have had a significant impact on the field. As the constructionist approach suggests, the increasing focus on the ideas of development and the attendant rationalizations created more complex models of development and this is mirrored in communication theories. Within the mainstream development discourse the fairly simple "magic bullet" theories of communication proposed by Lerner and Schram have given way to more complex models such as Rogers' 'diffusion of innovations' (Waisboard, 2001). Those critical of the mainstream modernization theories have advocated for alternative models of communication situated locally, stressing participatory approaches.

The work of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire is credited with significantly contributing to developing participatory models of communication for development. Freire's (1970) work challenges the dominant paradigm of communication and development laid out by Lerner, (transmission of information from those who have it to those who do not) and focuses on a liberating education that promotes dialogue and grassroots participation prioritizing cultural

identity, trust and commitment. Freire's participatory model presents a community level methodology for reinvigorating creative cultural production through human-centered interpersonal channels of respectful communication and decision-making. In the field of international communication for development, community based forms of communication such as songs, theatre, radio, video, and other modes of group creative activity have been shown to give voice to community members and marginal groups, "to reflect upon community issues, and mobilize resources" (Hamelink in Waisboard, 2001 ,pg.19). In 2006 participants at the World Congress on Communication For Development sought to reinforce 'Communication for Development' as a field that encompasses all the arenas of communication yet focuses specifically on enabling participatory approaches to development (WCCD,2007). The idea that communication lies at the heart of a participatory development paradigm is illustrated by the UN's definition of 'communication for development' which states that: "it is a process that allows communities to speak out, express their aspirations or concerns, and participate in the decisions that relate to their development" (UN General Assembly Resolution 51/172, 2009) .

Considering the emphasis increasingly placed on participation within development practices, Robert Chambers warns that participatory practices are often little more than "cosmetic labels", tucked into a report or proposal to "make whatever is proposed appear good"(Chambers in Nelson & Wright, 1995). Chambers says participation can also be used as a "co-opting practice" that taps into local labour and resources to reduce costs of a project. Chambers describes

this form of participation as “‘they’ participate in ‘our’ project” and he says these forms of participation are not empowering (Chambers in Nelson & Wright, 1995). A handbook on how to make participatory video produced by a British NGO called *Insight* stresses the dangers of using participatory video as simply a means to "add value" to projects by exploiting the participatory approach (Lunch, 2006). The authors caution that simply handing over a camera does not constitute participatory video and doing so without a supportive structure may cause great damage. For Chambers the true framework of participant development is one in which “‘we’ participate in ‘their’ project”(Chambers in Nelson & Wright, 1995). Chambers says that the increasing recognition and adoption of participatory methods comes from growing acceptance that many of the top-down development programs do not achieve their goals or meet the needs of local populations. Chambers also notes that program developers striving for sustainability have come to the insight that being involved with local projects and local people increases the viability and sustainability of projects (Chambers in Nelson & Wright, 1995). The shift towards participatory methods represents a paradigm shift within development thinking, one in which development thinking transitions from being a paradigm centred on things (“blueprints for development”) to a paradigm centred on people (“Processes for development”) (Chambers in Nelson & Wright, 1995). For true participatory research and development to work, a significant transfer of power needs to occur. Chambers is unable to determine to what extent the transformation in development discourse and in the development industry has occurred as, he

says, these paradigmatic shifts come under extreme tension from long standing hierarchical human relations (Chambers in Nelson & Wright, 1995).

3.3 The Digital Divide

Looking at what he calls a network society, Manuel Castells (2007) suggests that despite the complexities of world systems it is the “dynamics of power relations.... dependent on the process of socialized communication” that is central to global development practice (pg.3). According to Castells (2007) “mass self-communication” based on horizontal networks of communication is now challenging older institutions’ dominance of communication through single direction mass communication. The network society is part of the information age and characterised by having a “pervasiveness of communication networks in a multimodal hypertext” (Castells, 2007, pg.2). The multimodal hyper-text refers primarily to interconnected web applications and telecommunications technology. Computer and wireless mediated communication represents to Castells the first case in which “written, oral and audio visual modalities of communication are integrated into the same electronic system”(Goodman et al., 2003,pg.264). He suggests that this is the result of newly created horizontal communication paths. In the battle for the minds of the people, horizontal communication networks, according to Castells, offers many opportunities for social organisation of counter-hegemonic resistance. It is important to also recognize the density of the media landscape and acknowledge that the distinction between mass media and mass-self media are made with the understanding that the two streams are interacting in many instances towards some form of convergence. (Castells,

2007) Powerful social organisations and media businesses are applying vast resources towards occupying the new digital flow and sphere of communication.

The International Telecommunications Union is a United Nations specialized agency with a mission to;

“enable the growth and sustained development of telecommunications and information networks, and to facilitate universal access so that people everywhere can participate in, and benefit from, the emerging information society and global economy”(UN,2010, para.2).

The ITU (2009) identifies bridging the digital divide as one of its key priorities and suggest that this can be achieved through infrastructure investment along with capacity building. The ITU currently estimates the number of world internet users in 2009 at well over 1.5 billion people with China having the largest population online followed by the US (ITU, 2009). Global Internet usage is increasing rapidly and of the 192 member states of the United Nations almost 100 countries have more than a million Internet users (CIA, 2009). Yet despite the increasing rates of uptake, the continental average of Africa estimated at 5% penetration is significantly lower than the rest of the world (ITU, 2009).

An IDRC report by Smith et al. (2008) entitled *Open Information and Communication technology for Development* suggests that there are three basic dimensions which interact together producing a variety of levels of openness of goods, which they say includes information and knowledge, technologies, decision making and production processes. The determinants include who produces the good, who owns the good and how they own it and who can access and use the goods (Smith et al.,2008). The degree of openness in reference to

ICT can also be laid out on a continuum in which each stage is a pre-requisite for the next stage. The first level is access (which includes the infrastructure and skills); the next is participation, which is a pre-requisite of collaborative production. Looking specifically at the digital environment the report suggests that the Internet infrastructure in Africa can at this point be considered a rivalrous good that is subject to scarcity and excludability. However the report and indeed the current trend in development suggest that the infrastructure can and should become more of a non-rivalrous public good (Smith et al.,2008). The physical devices such as computers and phones are excludable private goods but they can be provided as services in the way of public access points and they can also be made less exclusive through price reduction as is the case of wireless phone technology¹. Finally digital content is easily replicable, and easily distributable and should be, the authors argue, non-rivalries due to the potential for positive externalities and the converse risk of a tragedy of the “anti-commons” which the authors describe as the “underuse of knowledge” (Smith et al.,2008). Smith et al. (2009) also argue that at a base level their hypothesis of openness is geared towards moving various select goods from excludable and rivalrous contexts into the realm of public goods. The authors suggest that the idea of openness is not new to the field of development theory and is built upon and linked to ideas of participatory process and democracy. Openness, they state is a “way of

1 An IDRC background paper for an ICT Dialogue on Human Development, Growth and Poverty Reduction at Harvard in 2009 points out that while the poorest of the poor still do not have access, poor people with limited access spend a significant portion of disposable incomes on mobile phone use in the developing world (Spencer, 2009). Is this expenditure going to the right place? The report also highlights through the work of Arun Shoba et al. (in Spencer,2009) that while ICT development presents potential for delivering employment, skills generation and empowerment, there is growing evidence that the impacts are not gender neutral and need an engendered approach.

organising social activities that favours universal over restricted access, universal over restricted participation, and collaborative over centralized production” (Smith et al., 2009, para.3).

Recent developments in ICT have been dramatically shifting our communicative world (expanded voice and digital communication possibilities, sharing of digital content). New Web 2.0 technologies present a set of social creative possibilities which Smith et al (2009) catalogue as; “a) Increased coordination, organization and mobilization of people, b) Peer production (Open Source Collaboration, c) User-Generated content, and d) User driven information” (pg.1). It is important to also recognize that it is not simply the technologies that provide opportunities for innovation but also the “total innovations environment” which encompasses a vast set of nested social and technical systems (Smith et al. 2009). Referencing the work of Lawrence Lessig the authors of the IDRC report suggest that the opportunities for collaboration and new organizational and innovative productive forms as well as availability of access is predicated on the “interaction of the digital environment (technical infrastructure, hardware devices, standards and content) with the social (economic, legal, political, cultural) environment (Smith et al., 2009).

It is clear that communications spaces are changing especially in relationship to development. The goal thus far has been to understand that the old industrial models of communication and the dynamic structures of power relations within development are shifting. Video and the new media landscape present new frameworks for understanding communication as a central issue in

power dynamics and provide an important focus for communication for development.

4: VIDEO RESEARCH:

4.1 Cinema and social science

Barbash and Taylor say that cinema is a language of moving, seeing and hearing that more than any other medium uses “experience to express experience”(Barbash & Taylor, 1997, pg.1). They argue that the documentary idea is central to the origin of cinema in that films were initially considered to be linked unproblematically to the objects and events they captured. Given that this is less true in an age of digital manipulation and increased media literacy, the principles of actuality are still upheld in the field of documentary and ethnographic filmmaking. The following is a brief exploration of film history geared towards understanding my role as a video researcher and a documentary filmmaker focusing on the University HIV and AIDS Stigma reduction project.

The origins of cinema were attached to the concept of documentation. In the 1890’s the Lumiere brothers argued that cinema should not follow the dramatic conventions of theatre but rather should be used to “capture real life-sur le vif – on the fly” (Barbash & Taylor, 1997, pg.15). According to film luminary John Grierson, the virtues of documentary lay in cinema’s capacity for “observing and selecting from life itself...[and for] opening up the screen on the real world” (Renov, 1993, pg.94). The real world says filmmaker Trin T. Minh Ha became,

“the one basic referent-pure, concrete, fixed, visible, all-too-visible...[resulting in] the advent of a whole aesthetic of objectivity and the development of comprehensive technologies of truth

capable of promoting what is right and what is wrong in the world and, by extension, what is "honest" and what is "manipulative" in documentary.(Minh-Ha, 1990, pg.80)

Vivian Rehberg (2005) suggest that while film and photography are mimetic means of production they also contain “inherent potential to undermine or underscore their mimic faculty through the procedures of montage, cropping, fragmentation and the use of different narrative structures”(para 5). Documentary and ethnographic films present and represent reality through processes of selectivity and interpretation. The documentary value of a film is often held up for its faithfulness to the recorded reality. According to author and critique Elliot Weinberger...it’s the “fuzzy border between “documentary value” and documentation” (meaning a proof that is independently verifiable) that has led so many filmmakers into acrimonious philosophical debate and methodological civil war (Weinberger, 1992, pg.5). Trin T. Minh Ha suggests that the use of word documentary demands accuracy and that documentary is not actually a question of techniques but rather material. She says, “if the material is actual, then it is documentary. If it is invented then it is not documentary and if we get confused, we should just talk about films” (Minh-Ha, 1990, para 4).

The first reported documentary film that was screened is the Lumière brothers short film that shows a train arriving at a platform and people embarking and disembarking. The film was shown in a café in Paris in 1895 (Weinberger, 1992). The same year in Paris Felix-Louis Regnault attended the Exposition Ethnographique de l’Afrique Occidentale and filmed a Wolof woman making pottery. Regnault was studying motion in a manner similar to Muybridge and he

suggested that using film to study motion brought a new form of scientific measure. According to Weinberger(1992), Regnault's work is considered by many to be one of the first examples of ethnographic research on film while the film of the Lumiere brothers is classified as a documentary. The categorization of a film as "ethnographic" when it shows African people and as "documentary" when it shows people in Europe is ethnocentric. For Weinberger (1992), ethnographic film etymologically breaks down to simply mean a "representation on film of people", which he says is "a definition without limit, a process with unlimited possibilities, an artefact with unlimited variation"(para 5). The filmmakers Barbash and Taylor (1997) echo Weinberger's sentiments when they argue that all films, including fiction, contain ethnographic information about the film subjects as well as the filmmakers. For their extensive theoretical and practical look at cross-cultural filmmaking they use the term 'documentary' to "refer to both explicitly ethnographic and not-so-explicitly ethnographic documentary"(pg.4).

Robert Flaherty's famous 1923 grainy black and white film *Nanook of the North* is considered by many to be another kind of first in both documentary and ethnographic filmmaking. Flaherty is renowned for the filmic conventions he developed, which have in many cases become standard cinematic language for documentary and ethnographic filmmakers; in particular developing narrative through third-person narration, a subjective tone, and a focus on indigenous persons. Underscored by an emotive classical soundtrack, *Nanook* portrays a number of 'real life' sequences in the film; building his igloo, dog sledding,

kayaking, hunting, fishing and struggling to survive with his family in the harsh Arctic climate. Flaherty begins the film with a reflexive preface, in white text on a black screen; he lays out a few details of how and why the film was made and what some of the challenges were in making the film. In the last frame of the preface, Flaherty divulges to the audience that two years after making the film, the “kindly, brave and simple Eskimo”² Nanook (his real name, according to Weinberger(1997) was Allakariallak) starved to death on a hunting expedition. The preface for the film is interesting in that the short sequence succeeds in framing the film for the viewer and providing a compelling and believable back-story and context for understanding. Establishing for many, that what they are about to see is indeed real. Presenting the harsh demise of Nanook at the beginning of the film, is an expedient way for Flaherty to quickly create an emotional hook for this new genre, as well as assert the validity and truth of his film. Nanook’s demise proves that he was first and foremost a real person, and is compelling evidence for Flaherty’s thesis that the ‘noble savage’ is involved in a harsh struggle against the oppressive forces of nature. (Rabiger, 1992) (Barbash & Taylor, 1997) (Weinberger, 1992)

Many critics have analyzed Flaherty’s work and taken him to task for his film trickeries and the half-truths he employs, suggesting that Flaherty’s work is more of a dramatic recreation than a documentary. Many ethnographic and documentary filmmakers however also turn to Flaherty for insight as an early innovator, in part because of his focus on indigenous characters and his

² Quote is from the film script...retrieved from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SmzIZWpxla0&feature=related>

participatory filmmaking methods. Flaherty spent a year living in Nunavut working with Allakariallak developing the film. He brought with him to the North all the equipment necessary to screen raw footage for the people in his films, to solicit their comments and suggestions. Nanook is for this reason a provocative starting point for many in the development of participatory cross cultural filmmaking. (Rabiger, 1992) (Barbash & Taylor, 1997)

Around the same time that Flaherty was making Nanook, the influential Polish anthropologist Malinowski was arguing that ethnographers needed to get “off the veranda”³ and interact with the communities being researched for longer periods of time than was customary. Malinowski believed that understanding the individual was crucial to understanding how society functioned and he suggested that the goal of anthropological fieldwork was to “ briefly grasp the native’s point of view, his relation to life, to realize his vision of his world,” through participatory observation (Malinowski in Ruby, 2000, pg87). Both Malinowski and Flaherty played an important role in developing methods for cross cultural research and filmmaking

Alison Griffiths (1999) notes that while many historical accounts of documentary and ethnographic filmmaking start with Flaherty’s film Nanook, they omit a large history of cross-cultural commercial and academic filmmaking that occurred in the 1900’s prior to Nanook. In the early years of film, before synchronous sound, there were many scholarly and ‘less scholarly’ yet still ethnographic travelogues made with commercial backing. Griffiths argues that

³ Name of a documentary film about his work.

while some of these films, and the contexts they were made in, are considered questionable within the field of anthropology, and many are deemed to be ethnographic spectacles, the producers and distributors of the early ethnographic travelogues “sought legitimacy from the discursive authority of anthropology, and invited audience members to take up the roles of virtual ethnographers”(Griffiths, 1999, pg282). The power of film and video is the verisimilitude of the medium, roughly defined as the medium’s effect of ‘suspending the viewers’ disbelief’ and having them buy into a filmic reality. The validity of the film and its ethnographic value within the academy was, according to Griffiths, largely dependent on the context of the exhibit and the status of the filmmaker or lecturer. For Griffiths, considering early travel films in terms of notions of ethnographic objectivity and colonial propaganda within a US colonial context is revealing of the popular and ideological contexts for the development of both the discipline of anthropology and the practice of ethnographic filmmaking (Griffiths, 1999). She argues that both the mode of production as well as the ideological contexts of early academic and commercial cinema overlapped and that the “cinematic apparatus was itself a potent icon of the ideological power of western technologies in the service of colonial regimes”(Griffiths, 1999, pg285)⁴. In many instances filmic

⁴ In Theodore Goldberg’s (1993) book *Racist Culture* he stresses the importance of understanding the way in which the representations of others “ and the discursive rationalizations attendant” justify and make conceivable forms of social control and oppression of others. In terms of understanding cinema’s relationship to power and culture it is possible to see both how cinematic production and product, by and large, is clearly located within what theorists of the Frankfurt school would call mass culture, a set of cultural products created and disseminated by powerful interests for the consumption of the working class. Griffith’s(1999) assertion that the cinematic apparatus is itself an icon and a tool of western domination suggests there is a need for a critical examination of the role of the audiovisual arts in the processes of international development.

representations of other people and lands developed as a racist world ordering spectacle, framed as a “triumph of realism”(ibid,pg285).

During the 1950's, ethnographic film became an academic discipline torn between anthropologists who believed in or espoused the objective virtues of film and those that argued for a more artistic interpretive approach. The scientific approach to filmmaking led by innovators such as Margret Mead and later Timothy Asch sought to distinguish the field through the use of rigorous methods. In the 1970's Karl Heider provided a concise list of many of the core values and rules that he suggested distinguished ethnographic or scientific filmmaking from commercial documentary and entertainment films. Heider states that ethnographic films demand;

“a level of technical competence, minimal inadvertent distortion of behaviour (interaction with camera crew), minimal staging or reconstructing of events, ethnographic presence (acknowledge the presence of the filmmaker), minimal time and continuity distortions, adequate explanation and evaluation of distortion, natural synchronous sound, demystifying narration relevant to visuals, cultural and physical contextualization of behaviour, whole bodies, long camera shots , whole acts, whole people, ethnographic understanding and full integration with printed materials (Heider in Weinberger, 1992, pg.39).

Anthropologist Walter Goldschmidt (1972) defined ethnographic filmmaking as the attempt to capture human behaviour from one culture and decode it to another culture by using images “of people doing precisely what they would have been doing if the camera were not there”(Griffiths, 1999, pg287). In his article *The Camera People*, Weinberger makes fun of the ethnographic filmmaker that thinks he is invisible and suggests that this methodological approach presents

either a ridiculous notion of an invisible wall between the camera and those being filmed or a scary notion of surveillance (Weinberger, 1992). Taylor and Barbash (1997) explain that the pro filmic events encompass “all the processes and activities that actually happened in the shooting of the film” and the filmic as only those events that appear on the film (pg8). In many ways ethnographic filmmaking methods strive to minimize the separation between the pro filmic and the filmic reality, however Weinberger notes that as long as the notion of objectivity and invisibility are upheld, the premise is fundamentally flawed. Weinberger also notes that it is interesting that written ethnographic research often presents generalizations through repeated observations of behaviours while film cannot help but be specific...“the endlessly repeated becomes the unrepeatable moment” and for him this is another affront to assertions of a scientific mode of filmmaking (Weinberger, 1992, pg44).

In the field of ethnography, Wienberger (1992) suggest that filmmakers such as Timothy Asch and the McDougals present work that has applied the rules of ethnographic filmmaking in interesting and effective ways. He criticizes Asch for making films that are still examples of scientific attempts to “cubbyhole messy human life into chunks of explainable phenomena”(ibid, Pg40).

Weinberger cynically compares the “scientific” films made by Timothy Asch to other travelogues featuring the Yanomamo people and concludes that Asch’s scientifically objective films often gives much less information than the commercial counterparts, or more damningly he says “they provide the same information”(ibid,pg.41). In the case of David and Judith McDougall’s films,

Weinberger admits that their reflexive style is honest, however he suggests that their films lack dynamism as a result and are not very compelling to watch.

For an alternative approach Weinberger turns to the more surreal and interpretive ethnographic filmmakers. He points to Robert Gardner's work on films such as *The Nuer*, which he says has "no story, little narration, no coverage of events in their entirety, one brief interview, no time frame, scenic shots, a soundtrack of local music, un-translated speech, and many long shots of cows" (ibid,pg.43). Yet for Weinberger the film gets amazingly close to the impossible role of the ethnographer as laid out by Malinowski: "to briefly grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realize his vision of his world" (ibid,pg.44). It lets us look closely at what the Nuer people look at, and while the film is a metaphor for the people it is set apart because according to Weinberger, it does not pretend to be a mirror.

The French filmmaker Jean Rouch is famous for breaking ethnographic conventions with a reflexive style. Rouch is often associated with Cinema Veritae and the legacy of Russian innovator Dziga Vertov. Dziga Vertov's Kino-Pravda or Camera-Truth, envisaged documentary film as a reaction against "entertainment values" and used innovative filming and editing techniques to craft films that were tools for social communication and indoctrination (Rabiger, 1992). Rouch (1980) was a civil engineer working in Niger in the early 40's. In an interview with Robert Gardner he says that the first film he ever saw was *Nanook of the North* and it captivated him. Rouch remained in West Africa and turned to anthropology to eventually pioneer a kind of docufiction/ethnofiction filmmaking.

Rouch saw himself and the camera as a catalyst for behaviour as he attempted to create events to film rather than wait for them to happen (Rouch, 1980). His first film *Les Maîtres Fous* (The Mad Masters) was released in 1954. The film was shot in and around Accra, Ghana and follows a group of North Africans called the Hauka who reproduced colonial rituals in their religious ceremonies. Some of the shots are extremely intense to watch, as Hauka individuals are shown at night in trance wearing an assortment of British soldiers' uniforms, foaming at the mouth. When the film was originally screened, Rouch did not include a voiceover narrative and the colonial leaders and educators as well as the African scholars that reviewed the film found it extremely offensive. Rouch later added a narrative voiceover but the film retained its controversial reputation. For the colonial authorities the Africans' depicted in the film blatantly mimicked and mocked the "white oppressors". Yet for African students and teachers the film perpetuated the "exotic racism" of African people. Interestingly and perhaps as a result of the way that *Les Maitres Fous* was first received, Rouch attempted to retain rigid control of his films narratives and analyses by attending all of the screenings of his work, presumably so that he could direct interpretations. Rouch was well known for subverting ethnographic filmmaking methods and relationships (Barbash, 1997). In the 1994 project called *Rouch in Reverse*, Malian filmmaker Manthia Diawara, assumed the role of the 'scientist', while Rouch became the 'informant' on an anthropological field visit to Paris. Scenes in the film show Diawara walking down the streets of Paris collecting ethnographic data, measuring head size and checking Parisians teeth. Rouch

reminds filmmakers that humans are complex and mysterious entities and that filming humans and the cinematic experience is a shared one (Barbash, 1997). Rouch says that in his work he tries to minimize or not further widen a “ gap between the observer and the observed....but to try and ask good questions, the answers to which will open up new questions”(Rouch in Taylor, 1991). (Barbash, 1997)

For Weinberger, it is the unconventional methods of filmmakers such as Rouch, Gardner , Trin T. Minha and others who “leave the enigmas unsolved” and challenge the scientific approach to filmmaking that create the most interesting work in the field (Weinberger, 1992,pg55). There are many arguments to make for the virtues of the utilitarian video tool and scientific filmmaking but I have chosen to focus on Weinberger’s critique, primarily to position my video project as a communication piece that engages reflexive thinking rather than purely social science methods. Ultimately for Weinberger, when the technology of filmmaking is no longer in the “western domain...when the observer becomes the observed...and when ethnography becomes a communal self-portrait as complex as any representation of us,” only then will there be any hope for a truly revolutionary methodological and ideological shift in filmmaking and viewing (Weinberger, 1992, pg54).

4.2 Video Research in the field:

4.2.1 Research Identity

In order to acknowledge my assets and the biases that I may have developed in relationship to the issues I discuss, I am providing a brief outline of my research identity, and my personal relationship to the issues. I grew up in a community that was engaged in HIV and AIDS issues. The contexts were very different but many of the fears and hopes were the same. I had far more exposure to the epidemic in the nineties than most youth my age and in many ways HIV and AIDS was normalized in my experience of this world. During my high school years in Canada my mother was working as the Executive Director of an urban AIDS resource centre on Vancouver Island. My father is a medical doctor and epidemiologist who has lived in West and Central Africa for the last twenty five years. He has been working primarily within public health HIV prevention initiatives since the early 1990's and is a key resource for me.

4.2.2 Pre-Production

In April of 2008 I travelled to Ghana with a Canon XL1 video camera, a wireless lavalier microphone and a shotgun microphone, I also had a mini disc for back up audio. I used a semi structured set of interview question that were framed towards developing an understanding of the University Reducing HIV Stigma by Education project. I hoped to understand how the project worked and to develop a video that would both inform Canadians and Ghanaians about the project and the role of stigma in hindering HIV prevention efforts, as well as provide a document that could be used by organisations and government to

identify possible synergies, linkages and extensions for the project. I initially planned for this trip to encompass a production phase, however as it turned out my inexperience and lack of planning coincided with University holidays at the partner schools in Ghana. While I was able to attend a number of administrative meetings and conduct a few interviews with University personnel, I was not able to actually see the courses running anywhere. Nevertheless, this trip was foundational to my work and gave me a chance to test my approach, to make mistakes, to build shot lists, to recognize some of the technical communication and transportation issues I would face travelling in Ghana and to consider what was viable and what was not. Most importantly on the trip I began to develop a relationship with the Ghanaian project partners and started to elicit further support and ideas for the video project.

One key realisation I have learned from trying to video in Ghana is that without proper clearance it is quite difficult to video public situations as a foreigner. It was not unusual for citizens to stop a video production and attempt to question ones legitimacy and right to take a shot. I believe this to be a common human uneasiness around image capturing technology along with a very real postcolonial context of race relations and media production. I understand sensitivity to others feelings to be a critical method and I have attempted to foster and develop this. Experience is a lean teacher, and has taught me to assuage my approach in documentary filmmaking.

Upon my return to SFU in Vancouver I reflected on my mistakes, the nature of the project and considered what role video research could play and

whom it would serve. I began to grapple with balancing the need to make a video that would be relevant and interesting to people outside of the project while at the same time trying to make something critical that could benefit the projects internal communication practices and sustainability. I also began to develop possible participatory or collaborative approaches that I might take. I developed several potential models that involved varying degrees of reflexivity and participation, however they hinged on an unknown future in terms of what I could reasonably ask of the project and it's partners. The complexities of manifesting theory into productive practice still seemed daunting.

4.2.3 Production

In March of 2009, I travelled back to Ghana. My first step was to present myself to the Public Relations departments of all 3 Ghanaian Universities to seek their approval to film on campus and interview staff and faculty. At first not all project partners thought this was a necessary step as it involved a drawn out bureaucratic process in some cases, however in retrospect I believe that it was a crucial initial step to establishing goodwill. Throughout my interactions with project administrators and staff in Ghana I was gently educated on cultural protocols and etiquette. This step of obtaining clearance, I believed conformed to an idea of procedural respect and hierarchy within the Ghanaian system and assured the project partners that they would have some 'participation' and control in the process.

In my initial proposal to the various University partners I suggested that I would 'tell the story of the project' and work towards an ethically produced and

culturally sensitive video that was open to contributions from project stakeholders, while recognizing the limitations of time, resources and funding as well as the constraints of the medium. In the proposal I stated that: The documentary will (1) engage both Canadian and Ghanaian audiences and bring the viewers up to speed on the universities' approach, (2) bring specific situations and individuals involved in the project into focus, and (3) become a useful resource for professionals working in the field of HIV prevention. I also stated that the Directors of the University Partnership project would play a consultative role and that I would provide them with the opportunity to screen anything I made and comment on it before I released it to a wider audience.

During the one-month period that I waited for approval from the Universities' Public Relations offices; I conducted a number of informant interviews on and off camera with individuals from the Ghana Ministry of Education (School Health and Education Program), UNAIDS, the National Association of People living with HIV and AIDS Ghana (NAP+) and the Ghana National AIDS commission. These interviews proved crucial in helping me to understand and begin to frame the context of HIV and AIDS in Ghana. In 2009 I was using a new Canon XH-A1 HD which provided better quality image than the footage from my first trip. As a result I requested a second interviews with individuals I had videoed in 2008. Having a second chance to interview some people provided great opportunities to adjust my semi-structured interview questions and fix compositional or technical mistakes I had made the first time.

Given a second chance I was more confident asking questions and also looked for ways to improve the production value.

On this trip I also began to try to apply some of the collaborative or at the very least consultative production methodologies I had laid out in Canada. I defined my processes as collaborative and not participatory primarily because I understood the video to be my project that I was coming to the development partners with. It was quite apparent that my activities were often diversions from already large workloads and scarce resources and I was acutely aware of Robert Chambers' warnings that projects that were framed as participatory were often done so to elicit and co-opt local labour and did not reflect a truly participatory process. While I may not have been able to achieve participatory research or production due to a number of limitations, I did prioritize process over product in my methods and was fortunately able to offer travel per diems to crew through the project's public engagement funds.

The crew consisted of two graduate students from Cape Coast University, Paul Nyagorme and Ahmed Bamie Mubashir, both of whom worked at the university during the week and operated as distance education course facilitators on the weekend. Beatrice Torto, was at the time an administrative assistant to the Winneba project Director, and a deputy director of the HIV education project and she also joined the production crew and brought a wealth of experience and confidence as not only a project deputy director but also someone with a number of years of experience as a broadcaster in Ghana. All three were well versed and connected to the HIV education project in various forms since it's inception.

They had all participated in conducting the original baseline studies for the HIV education project. Both Nyagorme and Torto were also involved at the time in the Universities' project evaluation process. Together the four of us formalized the semi-structured interview tool and developed production protocols.

In April 2009 we began site visits to regional distance education teacher training centres throughout the country. As a production team, we worked very closely together and switched roles as interviewers, camerapersons and production assistants throughout the production process. It is hard to describe how significant their contributions and insights have been to this video project and my own learning process. Our first visit was to a study centre in Accra. After an introduction to the facility principal by Beatrice Torto I entered the classrooms and presented myself, handed out consent forms to the class and asked if any one had any objections to being videoed in the class. We taped 3 class sessions and interviewed 17 people including the course facilitator. We tried to interview anyone that was willing and attempted to somewhat balance the number of women and men we spoke to. At some point we began to get the sense that we were reaching a point of saturation in terms of new information coming through the interviews and a quick assessment of our tape stocks suggested that we would need to develop a slightly more selective approach. I captured the footage and later the same week had a chance to sit with Ahmed and Paul to look at what we had done. We had made many mistakes, with lots of poorly lit and blurry unfocused shots. It was a hard to see all that work from the day in such an unusable state. However reviewing the footage with Paul and

Ahmed proved to be a great learning experience for all of us and we worked together to find ways to mitigate these problems and developed techniques to improve the quality of our work.

In late April we travelled to Tamale and Wa. In Tamale we interviewed 8 people whom were teachers taking the class, 2 HIV Course facilitators, and taped 2 classes in action. It was really amazing to me in Accra and Tamale and for the rest of the trip, how much allowance people made for the presence of the camera in their classroom once there was an official greeting and introduction. This really surprised me based on previous experiences trying to video in Ghana not to mention my own sensitivities that arise when a camera is pointed at myself. People in the classroom and the teachers made strong efforts not to be distracted or thrown off by the camera's presence. This behaviour of ignoring the camera seemed to me to be strange as if there was indeed some kind of social contract creating that invisible wall in action. I however do not believe that the invisible wall is an appropriate metaphor for what actually occurs in the field and lean more towards what sociologists Shrum, Duque and Brown (2005) call a fluid wall, which operates in research context and acknowledges that behaviour and observation occurs in both direction. There was no doubt in my mind that as a foreigner walking around a classroom with a camera and headphones I was the centre of attention, even if no one engaged me directly.

In Wa, we once again reduced the number of interviewees as we found that we were getting a lot of repetition in the responses and tapes were getting in shorter and shorter supply. One of the challenges of working in Ghana with this

kind of technology is that the tapes and other materials are premium import, stock. Tapes and drives cost at much as 50% more in Ghana. In Wa we interviewed 5 teachers, one class facilitator and videoed one class in action. The facilitator in Wa explained that he was a regular tutor at the Teacher Training College during the week and worked on the weekends for the University of Winneba. He started comparing the Universities' HIV course with the one that he was teaching during the week in the Teacher Training Colleges. None of the team was aware that there was another course on HIV and AIDS in Ghana geared towards teachers called a Window of Hope. I was a bit flustered by this information as it suggested a major gap in my research and also required that I reconsidered how the Universities' education initiative was situated in the national context. In the footage of the interview with the facilitator from Wa, my surprise at the information is apparent as I dig for details of this other course. What I lost in that moment was the sense that this education initiative was unique in Ghana. A fundamental difference between the two courses is that one is delivered through distance education and the other is delivered on site at Government owned teacher-training colleges. I had a number of conversations with the crew and the project Directors about this dilemma and came to the conclusion that the need was to focus on understanding the scope and benefits of distance education as well as highlight the curriculum focus on stigma reduction as a different approach to HIV and AIDS curricula for teachers. I re-tooled the set of semi-structured interview questions to reflect this slight alteration of course. (Appendix XX) I knew that the facilitator in Wa had made

many important though critical points that I thought would be invaluable to a project administrator or project evaluators. The interview in Wa in particular also raised the issue for me as to who the intended audience was for the video and what the message was that needed to be communicated. Taxpayers in Canada fund this University partnership and there is pressure on the project to prove its legitimacy and show transparency. A critical interview, considered out of context could undermine all the good things that were happening. In contrast viewing the interview in it's original and complete context would include watching the entire 20-minutes of footage, listening to the good and bad things the facilitator says about the project and then watching a number of other interviews to further contextualise the interviewee's and my own comments. This seemed neither feasible nor desirable and gets to the heart of the some of the problems of using video as a research tool , often attempting to present qualitative data is at odds with an edutainment mandate. This is a major tension in video research which originates in the earliest developments of social science and documentary cinema.

After Wa, we visited the Distance Education Centre of Enchi in the Western Region, close to the Cote D'Ivoire border. The reason for visiting so many different centres in Ghana (we visited 8 different regions in total) was to try and get a sense of the diversity of cultures that existed and to attempt to see if there were any significant differences in the ways in which the course was being interpreted and taught that reflected local cultural or religious communities. Another reason for travelling so far was to try and provide a visual representation

of what the regional centres looked like and to find out what kind of resources were available to students and staff. This kind of information I thought would prove particularly useful to interested parties with limited knowledge of the rural contexts of the project. Given that there are regional variances in HIV prevalence rates, I also wondered how the responses to the course would be different in areas of lower and higher prevalence. Reviewing the footage it is difficult to get a deep sense of how ethnic diversity or regional prevalence rates changes in regards to how people responded to the questions. Perhaps there were deficiencies in the interview instruments. It is also suggested by the UCC project Director Albert Koomson that the use of English and the role of education in imparting a National rather than cultural sense of identity tends to mute many of the cultural differences in school systems in Ghana. There was evidence of diversity it just did not seem to translate into a distinct and corresponding difference of opinion in respondents.

The video footage from the trip is rich in data. As I mentioned we visited 8 regions in total and conducted 50 interviews, amounting to approximately 44 hours of footage on tape. The sheer amount of work in processing this has been overwhelming and remains to some extent incomplete. In terms of this project the first and foremost objective was to create a video documentary to serve as a work of public engagement for the project. Taking a broader view of the process it is clear to me that given the time and resources to continue working with the footage much more could be done with the rich data sets to serve the project. The following section on post-production provides an account of how the video

was edited and serves as a starting point for further discussion and development of communication and video research practices.

4.2.4 Post Production

Susan Wright and Nici Nelson (1995) draw attention to the distinction between participatory research and the notion of participant observation (from ethnography) stating that while the two approaches share a number of methods they have distinctly different histories and are ultimately incompatible. Participant observation in anthropology emphasizes the value of embedded researchers living with the research subjects, but Wright and Nelson say there is generally little actual participation that goes on in the research process. Participation in the era of Malinowski and anthropologist Franz Boas initially meant, “getting close enough to watch and ask” and only now includes consideration of the researcher’s physical and emotional involvement through full participation in everyday life (Nelson & Wright, 1995, pg 57). Still the authors point out that the researcher typically encodes the data in cryptic notes that are analyzed away from the community and are generally written up in an authoritative tone and filed away in inaccessible libraries far away from the sites of research. In contrast a participatory research framework identifies the people as agents of research and the researchers as facilitators helping to “increase participant understanding of their situation and their ability to use this information, in conjunction with their local knowledge of the viability of different political strategies, to generate change for themselves”(ibid, pg51).

My intention was to work with the producers and project staff in Ghana to edit the footage and draft a rough script. Time however ran out on us, as I had to travel back to Canada. Paul Nyagorme and I developed a system that we thought would enable us to continue the editing process over long distance. We captured all the footage onto a 1 Terabyte hard drive and then duplicated it onto a clone. I left the clone with Paul. The idea was that we would be able to view the footage in our respective countries, and discuss it via e-mail or over the phone.

Unfortunately, computer technology is never as straight forward as one would like. I was working on Mac OS X platform and for some technical reason it was not possible to format the large drive so that it would function on a PC operating systems. There were technical solutions but Paul did not have the resources or the time to engage in this collaborative editing project. Back in Canada I started to cut and sort the footage and to create a more organised and coded archive of the material. I separated and trimmed the interviews down to their primary in and out points. I catalogued them by region, gender and role (i.e. teacher or facilitator) and matched them up with the consent forms I had to get proper name spellings. I did the same thing with the classes we filmed. When I found shots in the footage that were scenic compelling or representative of something important I cut them and catalogued them. I realised in doing this I was changing the reference point for the clone drive in Ghana and recognised that this process would make it even harder to work in collaboration. I had changed the file system architecture of my own drive in the process of sorting and ordering the footage. I decided to compress all of the organized footage and build a web site interface

for accessing the videos. The compressed files on the web were organised in a similar manner in full resolution on my hard drive. The hope was that Ghanaian counterparts would be able to access the online archive and we could engage in a system of ranking of the clips to begin the editing process.

At the time of this Masters project bandwidth in Ghana was still limited and expensive however as further research into Information technology for development revealed to me it became clear that online project of this nature will become increasingly viable. In the meantime I thought the website could be sent to the project partners on a DVD or CD if Internet access was fast enough or available.

In the first web interface I plotted the interviews out on a Google map (mash-up) with links to the videos, a few pictures and some basic tags identifying the interviewee's name, University affiliation, and a few keywords drawn from the participant's responses. I consider that the map was an interesting way to spatially lay out the data and added a layer of contextualization, allowing the viewer to see the geographic position of each interview and also providing a user interface for navigation. When I started this project Google maps had extremely low resolution in Ghana (outside of the major urban centres) and provided very limited details. As I continued working with the data I was amazed to see daily updates to the maps satellite imagery providing more and more details and levels of resolution. By the time I finished this project I could zoom in to see an aerial view of many of the actual buildings we visited. This presented a fantastic opportunity to provide the project staff with another layer of information.

At some point it occurred to me that maps are not popular tools for navigation in Ghana. I remembered an example from the trip in which I noticed at the back of the text book for the teachers course on HIV and AIDS there was a list of resources for counselling and testing services offered throughout the country and the directions were provided on how to get to these clinics. The directions were peculiar to me in that they suggested a kind navigation that I was unfamiliar with. Essentially the ways to HIV clinics and hospital were laid out in a linear fashion directing the reader to landmarks and assistance from locals along the way. (ie...when you get to this junction ask for this landmark and look for this building...when you arrive in this town ask for this road.) In a meeting with the project Directors I expressed concern that someone going for an HIV test may not want to stop on the side of the road and ask for direction and that perhaps a map would be a much clearer communication of this information. I was told that maps of this nature are not well received in Ghana and are rarely used by Ghanaians. This is obviously somewhat of a generalisation but it did remind me that I was operating from a different cultural framework. Indeed reflecting back to all the driving we did around the country I never once saw one of the University drivers stop and pull out a map. However we stopped countless times to ask locals for directions, navigating in exactly the manner that was laid out in the back of the textbook. Often we received extremely pertinent information that a map could never have delivered. Information that a bridge was under construction up ahead and that we should divert to an alternate route. In a country with limited infrastructure in rural areas, I realised that this system of

navigation was in real time and offered a reliable and friendly mode of navigation. Sitting in a computer laboratory in Canada I forgot for a moment that people have different ways of structuring and accessing knowledge. Aside from personal experiences I have a very limited idea of the history of oral culture in Ghana and would not be comfortable to make any kind of proclamations of best practices in this research context. This example is simply brought up to showcase some of the challenges I faced and attempted to navigate in working over long distances in different cultural contexts.

At a practical level needing to move forward with this project of online structuring of data I was pleased with the flexibility of the hyperlinked world and created another interface based on the language of navigation and narration that I encountered in the back the HIV education text book. Essentially I told the story of our site visits and hyperlinked all of the interviews mentioned. What I have found is that once the preliminary work of sorting and archiving of raw material is completed, it is not all that difficult to design different interfaces of ways of navigation the data and I see this flexibility as a major asset in the new modes of media production. Initially creating an archive for the footage served as a way of developing a collaborative editing methodology over long distances. I was particularly inspired by the successes of initiatives such as www.opensourcecinema.org, in which the film was crowd sourced to an extent through an interactive website that allowed users to upload and download and remix footage as well as interact with the script in a wiki format. For this project I foresaw that the video archive would remain a constant, yet the interfaces for

accessing the data seemed somewhat unlimited. It seemed entirely plausible that the archive provided an opportunity to repurpose the footage for future iterations of the project and other research endeavours. In a development project that brings together people from across the world I saw this as a unique opportunity for designing systems of communication that facilitated collaboration yet gave space for local knowledge and practices. I think a major area of research could go into consideration and testing of cultural interfaces designs for developing online sites for collaboration.

In the end I ran out of time and was not able to initiate my final plan to have project partners rank the footage online. The video, *The Challenge of Stigma: Community education as a pathway to change* was not edited collaboratively. The processes of capturing, encoding, tagging, compressing, uploading, and building archival interfaces took up more time than I had. The pressure to produce this video in the end also came as a result of needing to meet the deadline of a scheduled visit from the Ghanaian project team to SFU in Canada. This visit provided an opportunity to screen the video and show it to a broader Canadian audience with the project Directors and the Producer Beatrice Torto available to answer question with me. The Directors and Beatrice were given the opportunity to screen the video before it was shown publicly and each gave their comments and suggestions. None of the participants objected to any content within the video. While I did not achieve a completely collaborative video methodology I suggest that the work that has gone into developing the

video and the website provides an excellent opportunity for the sharing and repurposing of the footage with the project partners.

As I focused on developing web based communication systems and methodological approaches to online collaboration and information sharing I reflected on my experience within the project and on the role of communication for the development and education project. Life is always more complex than can be described or planned for, and factors such as time differences, different cultural or gendered outlooks and value systems, and all the variables create a kind of noise in development communication strategies. While working to design public outreach communication I was given what I consider to be a unique perspective to view the project as a whole. Needing to interview multiple stakeholders in the project allowed me to literally move horizontally and vertically through the project networks. In the consideration of communication, dealing with such a critical and emotionally charged subject of HIV and AIDS stigma reduction and prevention I recognized that behaviour change communication and the design of public outreach communication took precedence in much of this projects outlook. I suggest that if communication is to be understood as a central part of the development process (as a pathway to participation) it must be considered holistically developing well-researched models of network communication strategies based on technology and human relationships to improve upon all aspects of the development project. I believe that this framework can also be developed to take some of the pressure of the evaluative structures, especially if the communication frameworks include the

recommended characteristics of transparency and archival utilities. In building the website I saw not a technological solution but rather an approach that presented possibilities of opening up communication.

5: CONCLUSION

In the book, *The Wayfinders*, anthropologist Wade Davis (2009) says there are over 1,500 languages attendant at the global campfire of the Internet and many more joining everyday. The task for researchers is to understand and empirically and qualitatively look at specific initiatives, techniques and developments to further comprehend all that is transpiring in global communication at an increasingly rapid rate. While this project has been primarily about documentary video making, the desire for collaborative practices and the experiences developing an online resource for editing and project communication has brought broader issues to the fore. For the field of Communication for Development I believe that practitioners must maintain the focus on people as Robert Chambers suggests, while also considering not so much how to communicate over new networks (as people are pretty creative with that) but rather to ensure that the public space is accessible and maintained for the purpose of communication and not just capitalist expansion. In conclusion I suggest that openness be applied not as a binary function but as one that exist on a continuum. Openness as an operational concept can work in multiple levels across a myriad of social, technological and economic environments. It is important to recognize that not all aspects of development will necessarily benefit by opening up productive process. The general idea of openness should nonetheless be more fully understood and I believe become a fundamental

principal in the practice of development. From a communications perspective, adopting this premise of openness will on one hand highlight the need to take an interdisciplinary and broad perspective in all aspects of the development process, and will focus communication strategies on enabling access and less on prescriptive or ideological messaging, providing a more mutually beneficial working environment for development partners. This should not just be applied at a technological level but also in social communication practices at an applied level. Taken as a whole this discussion calls for further theoretical and practical research into developing an Open Communication Architecture that can operate as a strategic system informing decisions and their associated rationales.

APPENDIX A: DVD VIDEO APPENDIX

The DVD video, attached, forms a key part of this work.

The DVD contains a 22 minute documentary video entitled:

The challenge of Stigma: Reflections on community education as a pathway to change.

It is available online at the SFU Media Analysis Lab Website: <http://www.sfu.ca/media-lab/>

Objective: Video Documentation of HIV Stigma reduction education and research initiatives in Ghana.

Audience: Both Ghanaian and Canadian public and project stakeholders.

Video Credits:

DIRECTOR and PRODUCER: Heiko Decosas

EXECUTIVE PRODUCERS: Dr. Martin Laba
David Murphy

CO-PRODUCERS: Bamie Ahmed Mubashir
Paul Nyagorme
Beatrice Torto

ADVISORS: Director Albert Koomson
Dr. Yaw Oheneba-Sakyi
Prof. J.K. Aboagye, Director
Dr. Joseph Decosas
Shaheen Nanji
Dr. Betty Mitchell
Maggie Bailey
Manisha Singh Decosas

CAMERA: Heiko Decosas
Bamie Ahmed Mubashir
Joseph Ebo Mefful
Paul Nyagorme
Eric Debrah Otchere

SPECIAL THANKS
Nicole Ottenbright
Chris Jechelnick
Kate Adoo Adeku
Dr. Isaac Amuah
Prof. Ruben Aggore
Prof. Sakyi Awuku Amoa
Kathy Cusak
Baba
Central Folkloric
Heather Nyberg
Emma Dawson Brew
Wisdom Hordzi
Dr. Michael Tagoe
Jacob Larbi
Daniel Odura-Mensah
Elolo Gharbin
Om Decosas
Clement Azigwe

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abrahamsen, R. (2004) "The Power of Partnerships in Global Governance", *Third World Quarterly*, 25(8), 2004, 1453-1467
- Akwara, P. et al. (2005) An In-Depth Analysis of HIV Prevalence in Ghana. Maryland: USAID. Retrieved from <http://www.docstoc.com/docs/2362752/An-In-Depth-Analysis-of-HIV-Prevalence-in-Ghana>
- Amankwah, A. (Dec, 2008). Ghana: Traditional And Religious Practices Frustrate HIV/Aids Prevention in Ghana. Accra: Public Agenda. Retrieved from <http://allafrica.com/stories/200812151282.html>
- Appadurai, A. (1990). "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," *Public Culture* Spring 1990, pp. 1-24.
- Barbash, I., & Taylor, L. (1997). *Cross-cultural filmmaking: A handbook for making documentary and ethnographic films and videos*. Berkeley, Calif. ; London: University of California Press.
- Beck, U. (1998) *World Risk Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Castells, M. (2007). Communication, Power and Counter-power in the Network Society. *International Journal of Communication*. Retrieved: <http://ijoc.org/ojs/index.php/ijoc/article/view/46/35>
- CIA (2009) "Country Comparison Internet Users" *CIA World Factbook*. Retrieved: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2153rank.html>
- Cooper, A. & English, J. in Ramesh Thakur et al., (2005). *International Commissions and the Power of Ideas*, Tokyo, UN University Press, Ch1.
- Davis, W. (2009) *The Wayfinders: Why Ancient Wisdom Matters in the Modern World*. Barnes and Noble
- Deacon, D. et al. ed. (1999) *Researching Communications: A Practical Guide to Methods in Media and Cultural Analysis*. Arnold/Hodder. London
- Escobar, A. in Rahnema, M. & V. Bawtree eds. (1997) "The Making and Unmaking of the Third World through Development", *The Post Development Reader*, Halifax: Fernwood, pp. 85-91

- Flaherty, J. (1958) Film: Nanook of the North. Retrieved from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SmzIZWpxla0&feature=related>
- Freire, P. (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum
- Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), Noguchi Memorial Institute for Medical Research (NMIMR), and ORC Macro. (2004). *Ghana Demographic and Health Survey 2003*. Calverton, Maryland: GSS, NMIMR, and ORC Macro.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge, Polity Press.
- Goldberg, D. T. (1993). *Racist culture : philosophy and the politics of meaning*. Cambridge, Mass., Blackwell.
- Goodman, S. et al ED.(2003) *Language Literacy and education: A Reader*. Trent, Tretham Books.
- Griffiths, A. (1999). 'To the world the world we show': Early travelogues as filmed ethnography. *Film History*, 11(3, Early Cinema), 282-307. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/stable/3815203>
- Hawk, B. G.(Ed.)(1992) *Africa's Media Image* Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers.
- Harvey, D. (1990). *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- ITU (2009) *Measuring the Information Society: The ICT Development Index*. Geneva, International Telecommunications Union.
- Jackson, Peter & Jan Penrose. *The Theory of Social Construction*. Website visited December 8, 2003 <http://staff.washington.edu/saki/strategies/TSocConst.doc>
- James, S. (1996) *Educational media and Agit prop:I. The legacy of Vertov*. *Journal of Educational Media*, 13581651, Jul96, Vol. 22, Issue 2
Database: Academic Search Elite
- Koomson, A. et al (nd) *Education on HIV/AIDS and Stigmatization*. Cape Coast: Center for Continuing Education University of Cape Coast
- Kresge, K. (2007) HIV prevalence estimates: Fact or fiction? International AIDS Vaccine Initiative. Retrieved from <http://www.iavireport.org/Issues/Issue11-4/Prevalence.asp>
- Landy, M. (1994) *Film, politics, and Gramsci*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Lasswell , H. D. et al. (Ed.)(1980) *Propaganda and Communication in world history*. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii.

- Lerner, D. (1958) *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press
- Lunch, N. (2006) *Insights into Participatory Video: A Handbook for the Field*. Oxford: Insight: Retrieved from http://www.insightshare.org/training_book_download.html
- Marsh, D. et al. (2005) Globalisation and the State. *In The State*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Minh-Ha, T. T. (1990). Documentary Is/Not a name. *October*, 52, 77-98. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/stable/778886>
- Murphy, D.(2009) Cycles of Iteration. Retrieved online from: <http://www.sfu.ca/media-lab/cycle/>
- Nelson, N., & Wright, S. (1995). *Power and participatory development: Theory and practice*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
- Panos Institute. (2003). *Missing the Message: 20 years of learning from HIV/AIDS*. London:
- Panos Institute. (2001). *Panos Report: Stigma, HIV/AIDS and prevention of mother to child transmission: a pilot study in Zambia, India, Ukraine and Burkina Faso*. London: Unicef
- Pieterse, J. (1995). "Globalization as Hybridization", in M. Featherstone, S. Lash and R. Robertson (eds) *Global Modernities*, pp. 45-68.
- Pieterse, J.(1997). "Going Global : Futures of Capitalism", in *Development and Change*, Vol. 28, No. 2.
- Pieterse, J., (1998). "My Paradigm or Yours? Alternative Development, Post Development, and Reflexive Development," *Development and Change*, 29:342-73
- Pieterse, J., (2001). *Development Theor*, London, Sage publications 29:342-73
- Rabiger, M. (1992). *Directing the documentary* (2nd ed.). Boston: Focal Press.
- Rehberg, V. (2005) The Documentary Impulse. *Jong Holland* Issue 4 volume 21.
- Renov, M. (1993). *Theorizing documentary*. New York: Routledge.
- Redclift, M. & Woodgate, G. eds.(1997). *The International Handbook of Environmental Sociology*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Rist, G. (1997) *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*, (London:Zed) Ch1.
- Rouch, J.(1980) Screening Room Interview with Robert Gardner. Retrieved from: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kQ6sTAY4QCM>

- Ruby, J. (2000). *Picturing Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sachs, W. in Redclift, M. & Woodgate, G. eds.(1997). "Sustainable Development" *The International Handbook of Environmental Sociology*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Schurman, F. J., (2000). "Paradigms Lost, Paradigms Regained? Development Studies in the Twenty-First Century." *Third World Quarterly*, 21, 1:20
- Simon Fraser University (2008) *Annual Progress Report- Year Four: Reducing HIV Stigma by Education-Ghana*. Retrieved from http://www.sfu.ca/cstudies/international/t2/T2_Annual_Report0708.pdf
- Smith, M. et al. (2008) *Open ICT4D-Working Draft*, International Development Research Centre
- Song, S.(2009) Undersea Cables. Blog. Retrieved online from: www.manypossibilities.net
- Spence, R. (2009) *Information and Communication Technologies, Human Development, Growth and Poverty Reduction: A Background Paper*. International Development Research Centre
- Steger, M.(2005). "Ideologies of Globalization", *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol. 10, no. 1 pp. 11-30.
- Shklovsky, V. (1917). *Art as Device Abbreviated*. Retrieved from <http://courses.essex.ac.uk/lt/lt204/DEVICE.HTM>
- Taylor, L. (1991) A conversation with Jean Rouch. *Visual Anthropology Review*. Retrieved from: <http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/journal/120182477/abstract>
- UN (2009) UN Agencies and Communication for Development. Retrieved from: http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php?URL_ID=21370&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html
- UN (2010) Agencies of the UN. Retrieved: <http://www.un.cv/agency-itu.php>
- Waisbord, S. (2001) Family tree of theories, methodologies and strategies indevelopment communication. The Rockefeller Foundation. Retrieved online: www.comminit.com/socialchange/stsilviocomm/sld-1774.html
- Weinberger, E. (1992). The camera people. *Transition*, (55), 24-54. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/stable/2934848>
- (WCCD) World Congress on Communication for Development (2007). *World Congress on Communication for Development: lessons, challenges, and the way forward*. Communication Initiative, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations [FAO], World Ban