EXPERIENCES OF AND RESISTANCES TO VIOLENCE USING PARTICIPATORY DOCUMENTARY FILMMAKING

by

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Experiences of and Resistances to Violence using Participatory Documentary Filmmaking

I declare that the above dissertation is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

(Signed on 31 January 2020)

SIGNATURE

31 January 2020

DATE

DEDICATION

To friends and family; past and present.

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SUMMARY

Over the last four centuries, South Africa has been shaped by the twinned, dialectical histories of violence and resistance to violence. However, because both violence and resistance encompass myriad formations and are underlain with a plethora of ideologies and hermeneutics, studying each - particularly from within critical community psychology - is oftentimes necessarily didactic and reductive. Yet, if this kind of research is to retain emancipatory potential, I contend, it should be both community-oriented and politically committed. In an attempt to understand how violence moves through Thembelihle, a low-income community in South Africa, an expansive lens for conceptualising violence and resistance is advanced across this research's four studies. In Study I, I use discursive psychology to examine how Thembelihle has been constructed in dominant discourse by analysing newspaper reporting on the community. Following this, in Study II and Study III, I draw on multimodal discourse analysis to study representations of quotidian life and political resistance in a participatory documentary film entitled *Thembelihle: Place of Hope*, which was collaboratively produced by residents of Thembelihle, professional filmmakers and myself. Lastly, in Study IV, I harness the narrative-discursive approach to explore how residents of Thembelihle build community in response to *Thembelihle: Place of Hope*. It was found that within dominant constructions, Thembelihle was personified as a monolithic and an essentially Other geo-cultural space, made newsworthy principally through its engagement with a broad, often vaguely-conceived, notion of violence. In response to dominant discursive constructions of this kind, community members who featured in and produced the documentary advanced a humanistic conception of Thembelihle which did not accept the different violences to which the community is subject. Following this, audiences of the documentary engaged the affective and political dimensions of community-building in order

to advance a democratically conceived notion of collective will. These findings present critical community psychologists and violence scholars with a number of considerations around representation; the multitudinous nature of violence and resistance; psycho-politics; and radical hope. Ultimately, I argue, if such research is to be meaningful, it must be guided by and subordinated to the emancipatory requirements articulated by community members.

Keywords: critical community psychology; discourse; narrative; violence; multimodality; participatory filmmaking; resistance; South Africa; media; audiencing

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INTRODUCTION

The four studies of which this dissertation comprises seek to abandon didactic, positivist, outputs-oriented and prescriptive research frameworks for an exploratory, discursive inquiry into the ever-shifting and multitudinous facets of violence and how it is experienced (see Jacobs, 2019). Specifically, I analyse discursive constructions of Thembelihle (a low-income community located in Johannesburg, South Africa) within newspaper coverage, a participatory documentary film, and audience reactions to this film. Thus, in taking up the recent call by Bowman, Whitehead and Raymond (2018) for research to connect, rather than simply collect, data on violence, my research attempts to engage the manner by which violence is experienced psychologically, structurally, culturally, interpersonally, as well as how it is symbolically, collectively and epistemologically resisted. The study therefore endeavours to contribute to violence research as well as critical community psychology praxis through engaging the discursive contradictions of violence as an interpersonal, ideological and political phenomenon.

South Africa's historical trajectory, as Alexander (2013) emphasises, is not exceptional. Indeed, the transition from colonialism to an elite-driven, and eventually neoliberal, corporatist politics has been observed throughout Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia (Jacobs, 2019). However, South Africa is somewhat exceptional with respect to its tremendous levels of violence (Bowman et al., 2018; Van der Merwe, 2013; Ward et al., 2012). Indeed, for centuries violence has been pervasive and seemingly omnipresent throughout the country (see James, 2012). In 2018, South Africa was listed on the Global Peace Index as one of the most violent and dangerous places in the world, with predictions that this is likely to intensify in the years ahead (Institute for Economics & Peace, 2018).

Despite not being a country at war, violence and injuries in South Africa are the second leading cause of all death and disability-adjusted life years (DALY), with interpersonal violence being the leading cause of injury (Ward et al., 2012) as well as the leading risk factor - after unsafe sex - for loss of DALYs (Seedat, Van Niekerk, Jewkes, Suffla, & Ratele, 2009). Homicide rates, in particular, are far above that of the global average (Bowman et al., 2018). Violence, it would seem, is embedded in the country's social fabric (Norman et al., 2007), and is typically the rule rather than the exception in most South African communities (Dinan, McCall, & Gibson, 2004).

While the manner by which violence undermines the social fabric of communities, and low-income communities in particular, is notoriously difficult to study (Norman et al., 2007), research has shown that such pervasive violence undermines a country's social cohesion as well as its socioeconomic development by entrenching a culture of fear, paranoia, and submission, all of which have damaging psychological and material consequences for those living in the country (Bell, 2016). Although violence is not experienced monolithically across low-income communities in South Africa (Manyema et al., 2018), it can induce continuous traumatic stress among people living in these communities (see Kaminer, Eagle, & Crawford-Browne, 2018).

Research into violence in South Africa has, over the years, seen a shift in focus. Contemporary research seems to no longer approach violence through predominantly political and/or results-oriented frameworks, as was the case during apartheid (e.g. Nell & Brown, 1991; Williams, 1986). Instead, violence tends to be engaged by researchers as an issue related to criminality, sociology, psychology and public health (Breetzke, 2015; Butchart, Terre Blanche, Hamber, & Seedat, 2000; Norman et al., 2007; Paret, 2015). In this

regard, violence is understood as moving between individuals, communities and social systems within a particular time and space (Bowman et al., 2018). With respect to the individual, research suggests that one's mental health, biological predisposition and use of illicit substances all influence a person's disposition towards violence (Stein, Seedat, & Emsley, 2002). None of this, however, can be divorced from one's environment, with studies also engaging the psychosocial character of violence (see Seedat & Lazarus, 2011). There are however numerous challenges to engaging the individual-collective dimensions of violence. Research - perhaps in part for analytical reasons - oftentimes approaches communities in a somewhat monolithic fashion (Manyema et al., 2018). This, in especially problematic iterations, can ascribe violence to the very character of poor communities (Hendricks, Kramer, & Ratele, 2019). Furthermore, while much research looks to analyse how social systems influence rates of violence (Stein et al., 2002), violent social systems in and of themselves are often studied somewhat superfluously in violence research. Indeed, when considering the social systems in which violence is embedded, research often neglects to analyse the economic, political, moral and ideological underpinnings and social particularities of violence (Ratele, Suffla, Lazarus, & Van Niekerk, 2010).

Commendable research efforts to engage the systemic character of violence within communities should at the same time remain attentive to individual considerations (Bowman, Stevens, Eagle, & Matzopoulos, 2015), which include how people make community and build political, everyday and popular resistance. There is a risk that violence research commits itself in greater part to transformative rhetoric, than to politics as such, including how politics are lived, felt and contested within community settings (see Gokani & Walsh, 2017). For instance, although violence research has been called upon to advance studies that develop community interventions which enhance empathy (Ward et al., 2012), there are few

studies which explore that overtly politicised modality of empathy known as solidarity. Similarly, "political will" is typically used by violence researchers to mean obtaining support from local and/or national governments (e.g. Stein et al., 2002), rather than the popular will observed in social justice movements, many of which are directly opposed to the State (see Alexander, 2013). There is a risk then that violence research considers itself as apart from people's social reality (Bowman et al., 2018), with researchers positing themselves as having the answers to how violence can be tamed, yet never seriously abated (see Fals-Borda, 1985).

Violence is, however, not inevitable and can be prevented (Dinan et al., 2004; Stein et al., 2002). Measures can and have been taken to prevent it, the most effective of which are popularly conceived and democratically enacted. Certainly, violence in South Africa, be it systemic or interpersonal in form, has always been met with popular resistance (see Gqola, 2010; James, 2012; Rodney, 1972; Segodi, 2018; Von Schnitzler, 2008). Thus, in a dialectical move, we can say that experiences and understandings of violence are directly related to how people resist and reject violence. This is to say, the related ways by which communities resist and understand violence should be brought, in greater part, into violence scholarship, thereby challenging researchers to engage the systemic, rhetorical, individual, contextual, and *political* character of violence. Following this, it has been argued that methodological and analytical lenses which are community-oriented and that draw on multimodal discourses can prove useful in attempting to study violence and resistance in necessarily expansive ways (see Arcidiacono, Grimaldi, Di Martino, & Procentese, 2016; Malherbe, 2019; Reavey, 2011; Seedat, Suffla, & Christie, 2017; Watkins & Shulman, 2008).

In what follows, I provide a historical sketch of violence in South Africa, which is proceeded by a brief summation of political resistance to violence in the country. I then consider

violence in relation to discourse, after which I outline (critical) community psychology's engagement with violence studies. I thereafter offer a lens through which to study violence from a critical community psychology perspective. Next, I very briefly summarise the four studies that constitute this research, and present an overview of the community setting in which I undertook my research. I then delineate the specificities of my research, including its rationale, aims and objectives, research questions, ethical issues, theoretical framework and issues of reflexivity. Lastly, I provide an overview of the research's overarching structure.

Violence in South Africa: A Broad Overview

Analyses of violence and resistance in South Africa should, I argue, remain ever-attentive to the various continuities that underlie the pre-colonial, colonial and neo-colonial antecedents and manifestations of violence. Accordingly, I offer in this section a broad historical overview of the material and discursive landscape of violence in South Africa.

Violence in the Colonial Era

Between 1815 and 1914, European territories rose from 35% to 85% of the earth's surface, most of which were located in the African and Asian continents (Said, 1978). This global imperial system, known as colonialism, can be defined as the:

> procedures of acquiring, distributing, and exploiting lands in colonies; the policies of domesticating natives; and the manner of managing ancient organizations and implementing new modes of production. Thus, three complementary hypotheses and actions emerge: the domination of physical space, the reformation of natives' minds, and the integration of local economic histories into the Western perspective (Mudimbe, 1988, p. 15).

Colonialism constitutes the practice, theory and attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre in ruling a distant territory (Said, 1993), thereby seeking to develop the metropole through the underdevelopment of the colony (Rodney, 1972). As a social system and globalised mode of rule, colonialism distorts, disfigures and destroys the histories of colonised peoples by prescribing onto them predetermined social roles and partialised ontologies (Fanon, 1963), thus attempting to disallow their conscious participation in history. In short, colonialism is a system where violence is a central and functional political component, with death constitutive of its social vision (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011).

While slavery in South Africa stretched between 1658 and 1834 (Baderoon, 2014; Worden, 1996), Oliver and Oliver (2017) note that the 'official' periods of colonisation in the country were between 1652-1795 and 1803-1806 by the Netherlands, as well as 1795-1803 and 1806-1961 by Great Britain. James (2012) explains that South Africa was a settler colony, meaning that colonisers lived in the country in large numbers, and sought to replace - and even erase - the indigenous society, while retaining its original inhabitants for purposes of labour. Thus, in colonial South Africa, the production of space was racialised (and indeed the production of race was spatialised), with racism normalised and naturalised through geographic configurations (Pithouse, 2016). Imperial definitions of race[1] were thereby central in controlling black bodies in particular ways (Boonzaier, 2017). Mbembe (2011) posits that colonial rule turned race into law, which allowed whiteness to function as a privileged

[1]While it is acknowledged that race and racial categories are socially constructed and discriminatory, they are used throughout this research insofar as they reflect social, material and structural divisions and inequalities, all of which constitute the legacy of colonialism. In apartheid South Africa, "White", "Black", "Indian or Asian", and "Coloured" (meaning mixed heritage) racial categories were used to refer to different population groups. These terms were created by apartheid laws and were therefore constructed to assist with divisive and discriminatory State practices. However, because they carry considerable social significance, they are still used today. Each one of these categories is contested, relational, political and psychological and - taken together - reflect ideological structures of racism and race that exist in South Africa and the world (Ratele, 2016).

mechanism that turned black life into waste or “other than the human” (p. 8). Laws and basic notions of humanity that applied to European metropolitan states were suspended in the colonies, and thus denied to the black Other (Mbembe, 2001).

It is important to note that while driven by the ruthless pursuit of profit, colonialism was very often unprofitable, as was the case in India (Said, 1993). Nonetheless, the brutality and bald violence of the colonial project of extraction sought to gain legitimacy through a particular kind of dehumanising hegemonic ideology. Thus, colonialism came to represent an oppressive social, cultural, and economic project that not only sought control over the labour and land of colonised people, but also their very being. In this way, colonialism exerted power over people, things, and meaning in the pursuit of profit (Bulhan, 2015). All of this is captured in the so-called three Cs of colonialism: Civilisation, Christianity and Commerce (Porter, 1985), where religion and European cultural hegemony were used to justify brutal and inhuman colonial modalities of profit-making.

The notion of ‘civilisation’ is clearly observed in the imperialist drive to forcibly immerse the African as ‘savage’ in an apparent European culture. This is sometimes referred to as “the white man’s burden”, a phrase popularised by the English novelist and poet Rudyard Kipling (1899/1999) to refer to the supposed duty of the coloniser to bring ‘civilisation’ to the colonies. The civilising mission served merely as a euphemism for the brutal access to colonised people’s bodies through exploitation, sexual violation, control of reproduction and systematic terror (Lugones, 2010). Mamdani (1996) asserts that throughout Africa this civilising project was conducted through a form of colonial domination that engendered a culture of violence as means of exerting control over Africans, as well as a through a type of ‘civilising education’ that was designed to render the African, and indeed ‘African-ness’,

antithetical to Progress. This ‘education’ was accomplished in part through the imposition of European arts and culture (Eagleton, 2000). In this way, colonialism sought to disfigure and destroy the cultures of colonised peoples in an attempt to render them fundamentally Other, or indeed, sub-human, even to themselves (Fanon, 1963).

In looking to the second C, the ‘white man’s burden’ (a rhetorical rationalisation in itself) was carried out predominantly by Christian missionaries, whose philosophical underpinnings may be simplified as: “Christianity = civilization” (Césaire, 1972, p.33). In South Africa, the openly racist Dutch-reformed church carried out this function (Rodney, 1972), calling the colonised not to God, but to the ways of the white oppressor (Fanon, 1963). Africans were thus understood as empty vessels, devoid of subjectivity and to be filled with religion. Africans were not allowed to speak in their native languages in public spaces and had to refer to themselves by their newly prescribed Christian names (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011).

In addition to controlling people (bodies), and knowledges (indigenous cultures), colonialism sought to control physical geographies (Bulhan, 2015). Looking then to Commerce, colonialism’s third C, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2011) notes that in destroying local ceremonial sites and relying on indigenous and ecological knowledges, Europeans sought to plunder and control the physical geography of the colonised. It was via polities based on regimes of terror that colonisers claimed almost all of the best land, forcing locals onto land that was often infertile or too small to see to even the most elementary of human needs (James, 2012). Thus, Europe came to block Africa from its own land and resources, preventing the integration of different African economies (Rodney, 1972). This was clearly the case in South Africa when diamonds and gold were discovered in the 1800s, which ushered in the so-called Mineral Revolution and, consequentially, industrial capitalism (Worden, 1996). Today, most of the

wealth generated in Africa is exported outside of the continent, with Euro-American industry effectively owning the means of production in Africa (Amin, 1977).

With colonisers seeking to inscribe black bodies with an essential killability and rapeability (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011), the fundamentally violent character of colonialism was gendered as much as it was racialised (Davis, 2011). According to Mbembe (2001), the colonised subject was understood by colonial authorities as a “body-thing” (p. 27) which could never “occupy the sphere of human possibility” (p. 28). Gqola (2015) demonstrates that throughout the slavocratic and colonial periods white men sought to feminise black men (see Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011) as well as exert their apparent ‘property rights’ over the bodies of black women through routine rape and sexual violence (Baderoon, 2014). It thus came to be that colonialism endeavoured to normalise the body of the white, cisgendered, male, middle class heterosexual, with all apparent biological deviations from such a body rendered abnormal and/or fetishised. Mbembe (2001) describes how colonial domination was ultimately a phallic project, whereby violent masculinity and power became intertwined with imperial rule.

Violence During Apartheid

Colonial ‘independence’ is very often designed through mechanisms forged by colonisers (Said, 1993). This was certainly the case in South Africa. In the years leading up to apartheid, official colonial independence was instituted in 1910 through the formation of the Union of South Africa, where black people remained dominated under racist, patriarchal, and economically exploitative processes (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011). In 1948 apartheid governance was institutionalised in South Africa, enacting a mode of internal colonisation that effected almost every aspect of daily life (Oliver & Oliver, 2017; Worden, 1996). Social life, employment, land and public facilities were now segregated legislatively along racial lines. In

following on from the Native Land Act of 1913 (Worden, 1996), black labour reserves, referred to later as 'Bantustans', were constructed as a means of dividing the majority of the population (Saul, 2014a), and functioned as small, independent nations for black people who were denied any kind democratic or political voice in the country's governance (Jacobs, 2019). Through numerous pieces of legislation, such as The Group Areas Act (1950), the Bantu Education Act (1953), and the Native Labour Act (1953), apartheid further entrenched colonialism's legacy of racialised segregation, patriarchal domination and anti-black violence. Notably, capitalism thrived under apartheid. Although various global sanctions were eventually called against the apartheid regime, many international corporations supported white-owned South African businesses. Indeed, it was due to the cheap labour and high profits secured by a hyper-exploited black working class that South Africa was particularly attractive to multinational corporations, including Ford, Barclays and General Motors (Saul, 2014a). The International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and other banks in the United States of America (USA) also granted the apartheid government numerous loans (Bond, 2004).

Although apartheid functioned through a quotidian regime of violence and fear, there were a number of particularly violent events, such as the Sharpeville Massacre,[2] the Soweto Uprising,[3] the various state of emergencies called in the 1980s, and the Bisho Massacre[4]. Media images of these events allowed for global solidarities with anti-apartheid movements (Worden, 1996). Eventually, global support for the apartheid regime began to dwindle which, in addition to intense organised political resistance from within the country, began to see a

[2]Following a day of demonstrations against apartheid legislation, on 21 March 1960 a crowd of about 6000 people marched to a police station in Sharpeville, a township in South Africa's Gauteng Province. The police opened fire on the crowd, killing 69 people and wounding 180 others.
[3]On 16 June 1976, 20 000 learners protested in Soweto against Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools. In response to this, police officers shot and killed 176 youth protestors.
[4]On 7 September 1992 in Bisho, the capital of the Eastern Cape Province, 29 people protesting apartheid legislation were shot and killed by a battalion of the South African Defence Force.

number of minor reforms to the system which, over time, gave way to more considerable transformation (Foster, Haupt, & de Beer, 2005). In 1990, major reforms began to take place, with large-scale violence erupting all over the county, much of which it was later revealed was instigated by the apartheid government (Bond, 2004). In 1993, apartheid legislation was officially repealed and in 1994 the country's first democratic election was held, with the African National Congress[5] (ANC) winning the overwhelming majority.

Violence in Contemporary South Africa

South Africa's transition to a liberal democracy made almost no advances towards a systematised process of decolonisation (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011), with the ANC presiding over a "semi-liberation" (Saul & Bond, 2014, p.2) where class remained fundamentally raced. Since 1994, numerous pieces of legislation, including The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), The Employment Equity Act (1998), and the Civil Union Act (2006), have attempted to implement democratic redress (Ratele, 2016). However, the rhetoric of constitutional rights and social equality in this so-called 'New South Africa' was, and indeed remains, an ideological mechanism that serves to mask ongoing structural inequalities and social injustices (Moffett, 2006).

From 1996 onwards, the country shifted from a retributive State to a neoliberal 'enabling' or 'facilitating' State, where notions of redress and redistribution were abandoned in order to implement a full cost recovery programme that saw the poorest populations experience the heaviest burden in accumulating the debt incurred by apartheid's closed, protectionist economy (Duncan, 2016). The ANC government did not call for global reparations or cancel

[5]Founded in 1912, the ANC was initially conceived of as a political organisation that would fight for the rights of black South Africans. It became one of the most prominent anti-apartheid organisations and was banned by the apartheid State in 1960. Now a political party, the ANC has won every national election in South Africa since 1994.

the IMF debt in fear of discouraging investment (Bond, 2004). The high debts faced by South Africa's poor indicate acute financial stress, which has forced these populations into applying for informal sources of credit, such as moneylenders or 'loan sharks', which carry high interest rates and short maturity so as to ensure quick repayment (Klasen, 2000). Although service delivery and local governance were key points of engagement for civil society in the 1980s and particularly in the early 1990s, today, poor - predominantly black - communities in South Africa continue to experience a low quality of life as a result of, among other injustices, impoverished municipal services, a scarcity of resources, and a lack of economic reform. In short, the present-day South African State has come to regard human life as "a waste product at the interface of race and capitalism" (Mbembe, 2011, p. 3).

Today, a long history of violence in South Africa has been whitewashed by a hollow notion of constitutional democracy (Stewart, 2014). The country's adherence to neoliberal doctrine (including rapid financial and trade liberalisation, big tax cuts for corporations, privatisation, fiscal austerity and monetisation, see Bond, 2004) has ensured that the rise of social and civil rights is counterbalanced by insecurity, violence and crime (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011). South Africa's over-production and under-consumption (reified by the country's mineral-energy-complex) have entrenched super inequalities that are gendered and racialised, with the economy depending in large part on the ebbs and flows of an unstable global capitalist system (Saul, 2014b). Economic policies such as Black Economic Empowerment and Affirmative Action have ensured that only a small number of black people have joined an existing white elite, all while retaining a neoliberal capitalist order (Schneider, 2018). Indeed, the country presents a profoundly unequal economic terrain, and despite redistribution of wealth having been a national policy since 1994, income inequality has grown consistently. The Gini coefficient, which provides a statistical measure of a country's wealth distribution,

is estimated at 0.63 for South Africa, making it one of the most unequal countries in the world (World Bank, 2019). Ten percent of the population (most of which is white) own more than 90% of the wealth in the country, while 80% have almost no wealth (Orthofer, 2016). As Desai (2003, p. 16) highlights, South Africa's "transition to democracy led by the African National Congress … was trumped by the transition to neoliberalism", which gave legitimacy to "global apartheid", an imperialist system of minority rule which sees unequal access to human rights, wealth and power. Therefore, South Africa's present moment - which has changed more in content than it has in form - may be regarded as a kind of neo-apartheid that retains the economic exclusion of a black majority, as well as the economic dominance of a white minority (Bond, 2004).

The South African State's social grant scheme (that administers monthly grants of between R380 and R1620 to approximately 17 million South Africans, hardly ensuring an adequate living standard), along with some attempts at economic and social redress, has led some to doubt the of claims that South Africa is an entirely neoliberal state. However, South Africa's economy adheres largely to the neoliberal axiom of privatisation, forming what is known as a hollow State, where many social services are outsourced to private companies that prioritise profits over human need (see Klein, 2007). The massive profits accrued by Cash Paymaster Services (the outsourced service provider that forms the backbone of social grant distribution in the country), which amounts to R16 per grant, attests to South Africa's embrace of neoliberal functioning (Cotterill, 2017). Furthermore, despite the centrality of grants in the lives of millions of poor South Africans, the social grant scheme in the country is characterised by a host of anti-poor prejudices, such as the ridiculous but nonetheless relatively widespread notion that social grants can result in teenage girls falling pregnant (Friedman, 2019).

South Africa has some of the highest rates of gender-based violence out of any country not engaged in warfare (Abrahams, Jewkes, Martin, Mathews, Vetten, & Lombard, 2009). It is estimated that 40% of all women in the country have experienced sexual and/or physical intimate partner violence (Dunkle et al., 2004; Jewkes, Dunkle, Nduna, & Shai, 2010), with the rate of female homicide involving intimate partners being six times that of the global rate (Matzopoulos et al., 2015). Reports also claim that one out of every three men admit to raping a woman or a girl, and that 42% of men have been physically violent towards a partner (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell, & Dunkle, 2011). Most women in the country, however, do not report gender-based violence, making these figures considerably lower than the actual rates of such violence. Violence between men is especially pervasive in low-income South African townships and informal settlements, where most homicide victims are black men (Ratele, 2016). However, violence, gendered or otherwise, should not be understood as an essentially poor, black problem, as centuries of racist and segregationist discourse in South Africa would have it (Hendricks et al., 2019).

Despite the alarming rates of violence in South Africa, the social systems which work to sustain and enable violence have always been met with popular political resistance (James, 2012). It seems crucial then that such resistance is taken seriously when attempting to understand the movement and socially situated character of violence.

Political Resistance in South Africa: A Broad Overview

Foucault (1978, p. 95), in a much-quoted statement, notes that "[w]here there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power". Resistance is thus always plural. South Africa's history of

violent oppression, suppression and exploitation sees a parallel history of resistance, political uprisings and activism (James, 2012). In response then to Spivak's (1988) well-known provocation, the existence of these movements for liberation signify that the subaltern can, and indeed does, speak (Said, 1978). However, as Fanon (1963) argues, any political resistance effort which strives for a more humane world will necessitate violence in the sense that the remaking of a more just world requires a violent break from the injustices of the old order.

Anti-colonial Resistance

The central thrust of anti-colonial resistance in Southern Africa was to reclaim Otherness (Gqola, 2010) and, in doing so, offer up images of an emancipatory future (James, 2012). Indeed, in South Africa, there was always popular resistance to violent colonial forces (Mamdani, 1996). Such resistance ranged widely in tactics and effectiveness. Some notable examples here include the 1808 slave rebellion that took place in the Cape Colony, various instances of social banditry (James, 2012; Steinberg, 2004), guerrilla resistance by Khoi and San people against settler farmers in the late 1730s, the 1799 rebellion instigated by Khoi and San people, and the 1906 Bambatha Uprising[6] (Worden, 1996). Such resistance was often intensely masculinised, and sought to instate the redemption of manhood under the guise of African freedom (Kelley, 2002). Yet, the role that women played in anti-colonial resistance efforts cannot, as it so often is, be overlooked (Said, 1993). Davis (2011) recounts how women living in slavocratic and colonial societies, despite undergoing horrific sexual abuse, were never subdued, and fought colonial powers in various ways, including poisoning white slaveholders, participating in slave revolts and anti-colonial uprisings, and running away from slaveholdings.

[6] An uprising led by isiZulu people against British colonial rule and taxation in the Natal Colony.

There were also a number of more subtle kinds of anti-colonial resistance. Stories formed a particularly important mode through which colonised peoples could assert their identities, communities and histories (Said, 1993). For many, reading, writing and teaching were fundamental tools of anti-colonialism (Davis, 2011). In South Africa's Western Cape, many colonised subjects asserted their Muslim identity as a way of subverting the Dutch/English/Christian colonial order which sought to hail colonised subjects as inferior and devoid of a sophisticated inner cultural life (Baderoon, 2014; Gqola, 2010). A kind of working class cultural resistance was also noted in the 1930s in what was known as Marabi, a form of music developed in South African townships that rejected white cultural hegemony (Worden, 1996). However, no matter what form anti-colonial resistance assumed, it was almost always met with disproportionate violence from imperial powers (Arendt, 1970; James, 2012).

Anti-apartheid Resistance

Initially, popular resistance to apartheid rule was enacted through primarily peaceful means, such as the 1956 Alexandra Bus Boycott. However, in time this resistance took on more assertive formations, including the various campaigns that were implemented by uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the armed wing of the ANC which was formed in 1961, as well as the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, also formed in 1961 (Bond, 2004; Foster et al., 2005). Also during this time, Black Consciousness philosophy began to emerge as a powerful mode anti-apartheid resistance. In moving from a philosophical orientation in the 1960s to a political programme in the 1970s (Worden, 1996), Steve Biko, the most well-known of Black Consciousness leaders, claimed that "what Black Consciousness seeks to do is to produce … real black people who do not regard themselves

as appendages to white society" (Biko, 1978, p. 51). Indeed, drawing on ideas from radical diasporic African thinkers, such as Frantz Fanon, Léopold Senghor and Aimé Césaire, and using "black" to refer to all races that were oppressed under apartheid as well as global systems of racism, Black Consciousness emphasised the pride and self-assertion of black people, and rejected the structural denigration of blackness and black people (Seedat & Lazarus, 2011).

Just as many forms of resistance reacted to the violence carried out by the apartheid State (MK, for instance, was formed in response to the Sharpeville Massacre), various apartheid laws were passed as a way of addressing popular resistance (Ratele, 2016). Perhaps most infamously, the Indemnity Act no. 13 of 1977, which indemnified anyone acting under State authority to suppress popular resistance, was passed in response to 1976's Soweto Uprising. Added to this, the apartheid State also targeted influential leaders of resistance movements. For instance, Robert Sobukwe, leader of the Pan Africanist Congress[7] (PAC), was denied adequate medical treatment for lung cancer, resulting in his death and the destabilisation of the PAC in 1978 (Pogrund, 2003). Another example here was the detaining and murder of Biko and the banning of Black Consciousness organisations in 1977; however, these events served only to radicalise the Black Consciousness movement (Worden, 1996).

Black industrial workers played an important role in organising resistance against apartheid. Industry brought - mostly black - workers together and although initially more vocal than effective (James, 2012), these industrial workers fought for the recognition of trade unions which allowed for formal bargaining power. Indeed, trade unions were crucial to 1980s anti-apartheid resistance (Worden, 1996), and in the eventual dismantlement of the apartheid

[7]Formed in 1959 as a breakaway movement from the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress was an anti-apartheid Pan-Africanist movement in South Africa. It is now a political party.

system (Friedman, 2019). Thus, from the 1970s, anti-apartheid resistance was dominated by the industrial working class and the trade unions which it had established (in particular COSATU[8]). In addition to urban workers' resistance, the various resistance groups that were banned by the apartheid government, such the ANC, UDF[9] and the PAC, were involved in rural guerrilla warfare (Sparks, 2009). Over the years, various socialist countries from around the world, perhaps most notably Cuba and the Soviet Union, extended their solidarity with and support for such anti-apartheid resistance efforts, while a number of African countries hosted political exiles from South Africa, trained guerrilla fighters, and lent their support to counter-insurgency efforts (Jacobs, 2019).

In the 1980s, resistance to apartheid from within South Africa led to numerous corporate and cultural boycotts, as well as global economic sanctions, against the apartheid government, many of which were spearheaded by the United Kingdom's (UK) Equity Actor's Union (Jacobs, 2019). As noted earlier, this was significant as it delegitimised the many powerful heads of State (e.g. Ronald Raegan in the USA and Margaret Thatcher in the UK), as well as multinational corporations (e.g. Ford, Barclays and General Motors) which had always uncritically supported the apartheid government (Bond, 2004; Worden, 1996). It was this coupling of internal resistance and global pressure that eventually caused the apartheid regime to collapse.

Resistance in Contemporary South Africa

In post-1994 South Africa's (neo)liberal democracy, Robins (2014) describes two - often interlocking - kinds of popular resistance. The first of these, known as 'slow activism',

[8]Founded in 1985, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) is the largest trade union federation in South Africa.
[9]Formed in 1983, the United Democratic Front (UDF) was a non-racial anti-apartheid coalition.

implements legislative and policy reform by working within bureaucratic State apparatuses. Slow activism requires patience on the part of activists, and is exemplified by numerous civil society organisations such as the Treatment Action Campaign and Equal Education (see Friedman, 2019; Jacobs, 2019). The second kind of activism is noted in protests, which are public gatherings that consciously disrupt normative societal functioning in order to bring the attention of government and civil society to particular social issues (Pithouse, 2016). A somewhat unique feature of protest in South Africa is that it is legally reified in the country's constitution. Indeed, in 1993, the Regulation of Gatherings Act (RGA) 205 was passed to "to regulate the holding of public gatherings and demonstrations at certain places; and to provide for matters connected therewith" (p. 2). The RGA's principle aim is to configure popular resistance in the so-called 'New South Africa' as an expression of democracy (Friedman, 2019; Pithouse, 2016). However, the State often draws on RGA legislation to block the protection of protests (meaning that employers are able to fire protesters under their employment) on bogus grounds. In this way, the State looks to ensure that protests only ever cause minimal, if any, social disruption, thereby neutering their liberatory potential (Duncan, 2016).

Despite overt violence characterising only a minority of protest events, protests are typically only covered in mainstream media when they become violent or especially disruptive (Duncan, 2016; Robins, 2014). Nonetheless, protest is a prolific feature of contemporary South African society, reaching a peak in 2012 with around 5500 recorded protests (Runciman et al., 2016). These protests can be anti-systemic, such as challenging the foundations of capitalist democracy, or they may act to resist particular facets of a system, such as demanding ethical governance within capitalism (Pithouse, 2016; Sinwell, 2009). Protest can also be observed in particular acts of defiance, such illegally connecting

impoverished communities to water and electricity supplies (Bond, 2004; Desai, 2003; Von Schnitzler, 2008). Yet, in whatever form a protest takes, it serves to shame those in power by articulating the causes of systemic injustice (Paret, 2015).

Violence, along with political resistance to various kinds of violence, are always interpreted and mediated through language. This is not to say that language alters the materiality of violence, but rather that language interacts with society to produce discourses that inform how we *read* violence. Thus, the manner by which violence interacts with discourse can inform what is labelled violent and what is not. Attempts to analyse and contextualise violence and resistance should, accordingly, take issues of discourse seriously.

Discourse and Violence

Discourses refer to the different ways of constructing knowledges and epistemic legitimacy *in situ* (Hall, 1997). Although the effects of violence are observed in the material world, in how people relate to one another and in the psyche (Foster et al., 2005), violence - like all social phenomena - is mediated, interpreted and symbolically coded through discourse. Thus, while the experience of violence is physical, material and psychological, discourse determines how we understand and interpret violence (see Žižek, 2008). The notion of power - which, following Gordon's (2017) definition, refers to the ability to make things happen - is fundamental to how discourse functions in relation to violence (Foucault, 1980). Power is itself a relational phenomenon, with resistance to power always exercised within dominant power relations (Foucault, 1978). It follows then that those who lack socioeconomic power have very little influence over the oppressive, narrow and/or stereotypically-informed discourses by which they are most often constructed (Tigar, 2009). Particular groups imbued with social power are then able to discursively constitute normativity, and thus also social

deviance. In turn, through discourse, disenfranchised peoples can be silenced, othered and/or dehumanised, relegated to what Fanon (1967) refers to as the zone of nonbeing. In other words, through discourse, violence can be established as belonging fundamentally to some (non)peoples, and not others. In this way, groups of people are not constructed as facing problems, but are instead essentialised as problem people (Gordon, 2000). South Africa, for instance, presents a long history of dominant cultural and political discourses that work to establish the black majority as Other, primitive, unreasonable, separate, non-human and essentially violent (Foster et al., 2005).

Most people are not formed or depicted by discourses of their own making (Rappaport, 1995). They are instead defined by dominant cultural discourses that carry a great degree of what Senehi (2002) refers to as "potency" (that is, power and influence). These "official discourses" (White, 2010) - or what Martín-Baró, (1994) refers to as the Social Lie - are not monolithic or homogenous, but are instead hegemonic, meaning that they change and adapt to the prevailing cultural values of the moment. For example, the colonial 'civilising mission' discourse sought to render legitimate a particular kind of violence at a particular historical moment in South Africa (see Said, 1993). Although a kind of residue of this discourse may be noted in some of the oppressive discourses of today, such discourse will need to adapt to contemporary social conditions if it is to retain potency.

If discourses are to make violence appear plausible or normal, they need to operate covertly, and/or through coercive means (Žižek, 2008). Oftentimes discourses seize on people's material grievances (e.g. economic disenfranchisement) in order to offer up false solutions (i.e. punishing the disenfranchised Other for systemic failures) (see Eagleton, 2000; Malherbe, 2019). For instance, Euro-humanist discourse could only legitimate itself through a

dehumanised colonised subject (Fanon, 1963). In this respect, violence in society is not only maintained through nakedly oppressive measures, but also through discourses - themselves located within particular social systems - that render certain peoples subordinate, inferior, docile, and/or inhuman (Said, 1993).

In dominant discourse, the Other is regularly defined in particular ways so that control can be exerted in accordance to this definition (Said, 1978), which is often little more than a stereotypical caricature of a single identity category (Said, 1993). By use of official discourses that attempt to justify and maintain violence towards a disenfranchised Other (White, 2010), the Other becomes inferiorised in the social sphere, which carries both psychological and material consequences (Carr, 2010). Indeed, immense psychological damage is inflicted when people's self-image is reflected back to them negatively (Taylor, 1994). Fanon (1967) argues that aspirations towards an oppressive cultural discourse - or an internalisation of violence - will continue the disenfranchisement of subjugated social groups, who are unable to wholly embody the identity of their oppressors, thereby creating and sustaining cycles of violence. Yet, as Fanon (1963) argues elsewhere, despite oftentimes aspiring towards a culture that exhibits structurally inferior treatment of one's own social group, no group is wholly convinced of its innate inferiority, as evidenced by the global history of popular resistance movements.

The State, which is usually partial to and has vested interests in powerful and oppressive cultural discourses that promote the generation of capital for a few by way of subjugating the majority, employs what Taylor (1994) refers to as a "difference blind" (p. 40) by ascribing specific ways of being under the guise of equal recognition and/or a freedom of choice. In other words, in dominant discourse, the Other becomes accepted on the grounds that it

behaves in accordance with the axioms of capital (i.e. prioritising the profit motive above all else). For example, apartheid discourses designated behaviours that were attributed to 'good blacks' (passive and socially obedient) and 'bad blacks' (assertive and confrontational). Today, in representing what might be understood as a white superstructure (Moosa, 1988), many white South Africans are able to claim non-racism as long as oppressed racial groups adhere to the notion of the 'good black'. Consequentially, Žižek (2008) questions whether such constrained coordinates of freedom, enshrined within constitutional and liberal capitalist democracies, denote freedom at all.

In attempting to root these considerations of violence and discourse disciplinarily, I consider below how each has been and can be considered from within (critical) community psychology. It is through community psychology, I argue, that we can begin to engage the psycho-political constitution of violence, discourse and violent discourse.

Community Psychology, Violence and Discursive Power

Community psychology has always reflected a range of conservative, liberal and radical ideologies (often mixing elements of each). It follows then that community psychologists looking to address issues of violence have done so from a range of perspectives, relying on many different methods, theories and techniques. However, what appears to cut across all iterations of community psychology is a focus on the social, which is to say an individual's psychology is understood to be cognitive in as much as it is shaped by interpersonal, social and systemic phenomena (Watts & Serrano-García, 2003). This is clear when looking at the origins of formalised, or disciplinary, community psychology in the USA. In declaring most psychotherapeutic models irrelevant to those living in poverty (Heller, 1989), and claiming to have taken inspiration from a number of social justice movements, community psychology's

1965 'officiation' at the *Boston Conference on the Education of Psychologists for Community Mental Health* saw a conception of the discipline as a mode of engaging in research and action - such as improving people's access to resources and decision-making apparatuses (Trickett, 2009) - that promote individual, relational and societal well-being, especially in marginalised communities (Angelique & Culley, 2007; Stark, 2019). There are, however, various conceptions and iterations of community psychology that exist all over the world, many of which do not always align, and may even actively resist, dominant United Statesian formulations of the discipline (Fryer, 2008; Montero, 1996; Seedat & Lazarus, 2011).

Like all disciplines, community psychology has seen numerous myopias and shortcomings, all of which have been intensified with increasing institutionalisation (Yen, 2008). Indeed, an institutionally-committed mainstream community psychology has come to maintain a veneer of legitimacy through a social justice rhetoric while remaining acritical, politically conservative, managerial in ethos, and ideologically problematic (Fourie & Terre Blanche, 2018; Fryer & Fox, 2015), oftentimes inadvertently reinforcing existing systematic inequalities by ignoring individual agency (Butchart & Seedat, 1990; Coimbra et al., 2012). With respect to violence research, it cannot be said that all mainstream enactments of community psychology are wholly regressive. Certainly, the proximity of mainstream community psychology to dominant powers can better facilitate the implementation of important policy changes around violence. Furthermore, institutionally-embedded community psychologists are likely to have access to the necessary resources for effective violence prevention work (Tuck, 2009). Yet, at the same time, such research can fall back into a symbolic and/or transactional mode of community engagement that seeks to satisfy the neoliberal requirements of funders, rather than transform violent social conditions (Fourie & Terre Blanche, 2018). Added to this, if we understand popular political resistance as the

driver of democratic social change, as it has been throughout history (see Friedman, 2019; James, 2012; Kelley, 2002; Mamdani, 1996; Pithouse, 2016; Said, 1993; Žižek, 2008), then it must be conceded that mainstream community psychology risks neutering such resistance by psychologising its politics, and making deviant those who engage in radical community activism (Parker, 2015). In this way, a hollow notion of social justice is called upon which seeks merely to improve people's experiences of violence and oppression (Evans, Duckett, Lawthom, & Kivell, 2017). Some modes of mainstream community psychology have also assumed irrelevant and static theoretical models of subjectivity that attempt to foster docility and social obedience in order to advance a kind of psychosocial mode of governmentability (Foucault, 1978; Parker, 2019). The voices of community members themselves are often lost within this kind of community psychology work (Tuck, 2009).

The turn to narrative in the work of Rappaport (1995) and his colleagues (e.g. Mankowski & Rappaport, 2000) represented an important milestone in US community psychology with regards to the use of discursive techniques. Within community psychology, the notion of community is especially pertinent with respect to discourses around violence, including violent discourses. Although receiving somewhat more attention in the 2000s (Carolissen, Rohleder, Bozalek, Swartz, & Leibowitz, 2010), there is, somewhat curiously, scant contemporary community psychology work that critically interrogates the political and rhetorical deployment of community (for some notable exceptions see Coimbra et al., 2012; Dutta, 2018; Kagan, Burton, Duckett, Lawthom, & Siddiquee, 2011). Indeed, there has been little work examining how dominant powers embed and naturalise perceptions of community through political and moralistic means (Evans et al., 2017), with the construct of community most often delineated along a static binary. At the supposed 'positive' end of this binary, community is posited as inherently constructive; always denoting connectedness, consensus,

democracy, agency and/or prospering ‘in the face of adversity’ (Williams, 2016). Butchart and Seedat (1990) note that although this ‘positive’ definition of community has been used for purposes of social mobilisation against oppression, it has also been drawn on for nefarious purposes, such as justifying a liberal sort of multiculturalism that promotes the existence of numerous fundamentally different and segregated communities (see Malherbe, 2019), with little interrogation of violent social norms within particular communities (see Parker, 2019). Using community in this ‘positive’ way does little more than to signal that what is being done is indeed positive, and does not require questioning (Heller, 1989). On the ‘negative’ side of this binary, community is constructed as an inherently othered geo-cultural space. The fundamental danger that marks ‘negative’ communities is understood to have left a permanent mark on those who live there (Coimbra et al., 2012). The discourse of the ‘negative’ community can also be drawn on to ghettoise various groups, often under the auspices of social housing schemes (Evans et al., 2017). Tuck (2009) refers to this as damage-centred research that looks to document the pain and brokenness of communities rather than encourage accountability. By setting the discursive coordinates of particular communities, that is to say, what community can and cannot mean, dominant powers are able to exercise control over communities on the basis of these - potentially exploitative and marginalising - definitions (see Coimbra et al., 2012; Said, 1978). It may therefore be said that on each side of this apparent binary, an illusion of coherence is established around the notion of ‘community’ in order to bypass the historically-contingent, multitudinous composition of a given community, thus allowing for a rigid discourse of community that can be used for purposes of control. The discursive use of community points community psychologists towards an imperative to advance, analyse, scrutinise and transform the dominant discursive - and, by implication, political - landscapes upon which communities are

situated. Certainly, community psychology can play an important role in how communities are defined as well as how they define themselves.

Considering Critical Community Psychology

In reaction to the institutionalisation and somewhat conservative impulse characterising much community psychology, the 1970s saw critical forms of community psychology emerge all over the world, most of which sought to align with global resistance movements and agendas (e.g. radical feminism, socialism, disability rights, environmentalism) as a means of enhancing the social justice capacities of the discipline (Montero, 1996). In South Africa in the 1980s, this kind of critical community psychology, led by black psychologists, emerged out of various Black Consciousness community-building initiatives (Seedat & Lazarus, 2011). In taking social justice as its starting point, these critical community psychologies encompassed a collection of politically progressive approaches to community psychology that, rather than adhere to a rigid set of disciplinary orthodoxies, constituted an ongoing approach that endeavoured to transform the discipline in order to better foster the conditions necessary for psychosocial emancipation (Evans et al., 2017). In efforts to emancipate all people, and particularly those to whom humanity is systemically denied (oftentimes on the basis of their 'abnormal' identity), critical community psychology is, I argue, a fundamentally humanistic enterprise (see Gordon, 2000).

The notion of power - and in particular social and political power - is especially pertinent to critical community psychology (Watts & Serrano-García, 2003). Where mainstream community psychology tends to employ reductive, static and individualising approaches to power (Fisher, Sonn, & Evans, 2007; Fryer & Fox, 2015), critical community psychologists whose work is oriented towards liberation - and often draws from a canon of contextually-

embedded critical psychological work (e.g. Fanon, 1967; Martín-Baró, 1994) - have sought to interrogate dominant meta-narratives; harness radical modalities of resistance politics; synthesise existing social movements; de-ideologise reality; build critical consciousness; recover historical memory; and problematise everyday life (see Malherbe, 2019). In contexts marked by violence (in its broadest sense), critical community psychology strives to work with marginalised peoples to engage psychosocial praxes that are attentive to people's material, spiritual and psychological needs, and the relations of power therein. Although these critical variants of community psychology attend to issues of justice somewhat unevenly (see Ratele, Cornell, Dlamini, Helman, Malherbe, & Titi, 2018), and sometimes do not even operate under the institutionalised banner of "community psychology" (see Fryer & Fox, 2015; Martín-Baró; 1994; Stark, 2019), they represent significant ways by which to imagine and actualise the emancipatory capacities of a psychology of community.

Critical community psychology's cautious stance towards (but seldom outright reject of) the institutions on which it very often depends places it at a somewhat contradictory juncture, where the resources necessary to advance critical work are oftentimes made available within strictures that do not allow for such criticality to flourish (Ratele et al., 2018). Critical community psychologists who endeavour to oppose dominant powers are thus challenged to reconstitute their discipline in a manner that is reflexive, interdisciplinary and cognisant of its limitations (Fisher et al., 2007). In doing so, critically-oriented community psychologists can begin to enact a form of psychosocial praxis that extends beyond their discipline's institutional boundaries and that does not compromise collective visions of emancipation. It is with this in mind that, in more recent years, critical community psychologists have utilised visual discourses (usually in conjunction with linguistic discourse) for a range of progressive

purposes (see, e.g., Arcidiacono et al., 2016; Reavey, 2011; Seedat et al., 2017; Watkins & Shulman, 2008).

In considering the capacities of the visual for engaging, (re)presenting and restorying community, critical community psychology is uniquely placed to work with people to engage the psycho-material-political nexus through visual and cultural artefacts (see Malherbe, 2019). In this way, critical community psychologists reject merely applying psychological theory to politics, and instead use emerging political concepts when visually representing political resistance (Parker, 2015). Furthermore, visuals can allow people to see and take stock of the transformative power of community-driven resistance, as well as to better understand the under-studied psychological phenomenon known as "activist burnout" (see Cox, 2011). Visuals can also illuminate for a broad audience particular histories of community struggle which are rarely documented (see James, 2012), but are nonetheless essential for a psychological understanding of people's lives. As Poks (2015, p. 66) notes, a "community is formed and re-formed every time its history is told", with the historicisation of community struggle opening up self-determining space for building and for healing communities in an expansive manner (Watts & Serrano-García, 2003). It is, however, important to emphasise that community psychology projects engaged in visual representation be cognisant of people's potential to uncritically reproduce othering images that endorse the social status quo (see Call-Cummings & Martinez, 2016), or reinscribe problematic discourses surrounding violence (see de Lange & Mitchell, 2012). Nonetheless, images can allow people to learn from, visualise and represent past traditions of struggle so that they may draw on these traditions for present-day emancipatory requirements (see Malherbe, 2019; Watkins & Shulman, 2008). Visual methodologies are, in this sense, very often drawn on by critical community psychologists as a means of moving away from outputs-oriented

formulations of violence and community, and to innovatively engage the complexities and shifting modes of power within communities. Methods of this kind can facilitate consciousness-raising, the expression of trauma, and an assertion of marginalised cultures, all while activating the kinds of creative capacities that are stifled or rendered superfluous under violent social circumstances (Malherbe, 2019; Reavey, 2011). Visual methods are therefore able to speak against the dominant discourses that shape how violence is understood, approached and made sense of in particular community settings (Kelly, 1990), and can offer up images of an emancipated future whose antecedents are to be found in the present (Kelley, 2002).

By drawing on visual, discursive and other alternative methods to better understand dominant power - including its discursive and ideological make-up - critical community psychologists can begin to inform the kinds of psychosocial resistance strategies with which they, along with those living in communities characterised by high levels of violence, involve themselves (Malherbe, 2019). However, community psychologists who work with people to develop and enhance such counter-hegemonic strategies cannot proceed to do so without a sound understanding of how hegemony itself functions. Work of this kind must consider violence in relation to dominant powers in an immanent fashion, that is, by the standards and discourses that are drawn on and established by these powers. In this way, community psychologists can begin to respond to the call made by Dutta, Sonn and Lykes (2016) to provide critical analyses of historical, socio-political and cultural contexts that look beyond demographics, readily available narratives and bourgeois historiographies, and towards communities themselves (also see Trickett, 2009).

A Conceptual Lens to Study Violence and Resistance in Critical Community Psychology

The World Health Organization defines violence as:

> the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation (Krug, Mercy, Dahlberg, & Zwi, 2002, p. 1084).

While this influential definition is useful in some respects, it is somewhat constrained in its scope, and appears to look only to actual or potential enactments of physical or psychological harm. Bauman (1989) advances a more complex and open-ended understanding of violence that is alert to the ebbs and flows of power. He asserts, quite simply, that violence acts to transfigure the undesirable subject into a desirable object (Bauman, 1989). This conception of violence is useful in that it negates any attempt to arrive at *the* definition of violence, suggesting instead the characteristic thrust of violence. This conception of violence also opens up possibilities for the different forms that violence can assume. Indeed, it is not only the manifest formations of violence that shape social and community life, but also the ways by which violence is legitimised, naturalised or invisibilised through symbols and discourse (Dutta et al., 2016). As Bowman and colleagues (2018) assert, it is the task of critical scholarship to engage the myriad constellations of violence, and to make connections between them.

In this section, I map out a nascent conceptual lens for understanding violence within community psychology research in an expansive manner, that is, as a social phenomenon that is at once materially, politically, discursively and historically constituted, felt and

represented. The lens - drawing largely on peace psychology, cultural theory and critical sociology - consists of five interlocking violences: structural, direct, epistemic, symbolic and cultural violence. This lens serves not only as a conceptual guide for my research, but also as a commitment to ethical, transdisciplinary and relevant scholarship.

Structural Violence

A structure is a set of interacting systems. Structural violence is therefore violence that is inherent to a larger social system (such as capitalism, where a majority is pressed economically by a minority) in which people live (Galtung, 1990). Structural violence consists of the social systems and mechanisms that produce, maintain and normalise marginalisation, inequality, oppression, exclusion and exploitation, often in accordance to various identity categories such as race and gender (Dutta et al., 2016). As a kind of "normal abnormality" (Martín-Baró, 1994, p. 125), dominant discourses regularly cast structural violence as socially necessary (White, 2010), which can lead to interpretations of structural violence as stable and more natural than, for example, structural peace (Galtung, 1969).

Structural violence is an ever-shifting, historically and culturally embedded process (Galtung, 1990). Its seeming omnipotence can mean that such violence appears insurmountable. However, structural violence is produced by people, and can thus be unmade or dismantled by us. Ethically, community psychologists are duty-bound to acknowledge how their work unfolds within structurally violent circumstances, and how these circumstances can be rejected, deemed illegitimate and transformed.

Direct Violence

Direct violence always involves an actor, an object and an action (Galtung, 1969). It is the physical (that is, anatomical) or psychological (relating to the psyche) violence that disrupts 'normal' social functioning, and hence may be considered an event (Galtung, 1990). Paret (2015) notes that property destruction and social disruption (for instance, road blockades set up by protesters) also constitute direct violence. This kind of direct violence often functions as medium and message, representing an attempt by the oppressed to gain visibility within contexts of structural violence (Žižek, 2008), and can signify a means of reclaiming identity, reinstating agency, and confronting systemic humiliation and injustices (Fanon, 1963). Therefore, although direct violence occurs alongside - or as an exertion of - power, it can also be wielded to destroy power and/or breed further violence (Arendt, 1970).

As direct violence is as an especially stark and immediate form of violence, it can be wielded for particular rhetorical purposes (Duncan, 2016; Paret, 2015). For example, a focus on direct forms of gender-based violence can obscure patriarchal systems and patterns that enable such violence. With respect to community psychology research on violence, and in particular quantitative research, the analytical accent tends to fall on measurable instances of direct violence. It may be said that focusing only on direct violence avoids the difficult questions surrounding invisibilised modes of violence, and whether community psychology is itself complicit in perpetuating violent social arrangements.

Epistemic Violence

The episteme denotes not what is true or false, but rather which knowledge can be considered credible, legitimate or scientific (Foucault, 1980). Following this, in a somewhat broad conceptualisation, Spivak (1988) defines epistemic violence as that which is performed

whenever the subaltern (that is, one who exists outside of hegemonic power structures) is represented by dominant groups as constituting an essentialised Other that is only ever a shadow of the self. Like all kinds of violence, epistemic violence is embedded within structural violence. Indeed, it is built into institutional, cultural and research practices and processes (Dutta et al., 2016), and approaches knowledge as additive, rather than selective, and in accordance to a predetermined "academic-research consensus" (Said, 1978, p. 275). For example, university staff being over-representative of men could be incorrectly interpreted as evidence of the innately inferior intelligence of women, rather than women being systematically marginalised by a violent, patriarchal and androcentric institution (Teo, 2010). The risk of committing epistemic violence should hang over ethical community psychology work, and should inform how each stage of this work is conducted. In this regard, community psychologists, and anyone else embedded within a politics of representation, carry with them a responsibility of epistemes (Foucault, 1980; Hall, 1997).

Symbolic Violence

Bourdieu and Passerson (1990, p.4) define symbolic violence as "power which manages to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force". By appearing normative, symbolic violence accomplishes itself beyond or beneath the controls of consciousness (Stewart, 2014), and is enacted by individuals as well as institutional structures (Bourdieu, 2004). Symbolic violence typically takes the form of language and is usually exercised upon social agents without their complicity (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2004). In this regard, symbolic violence serves to legitimise hegemonic powers and their accompanying subjugations (Bourdieu & Passerson, 1990).

With numerous ideological forces functioning in the service of symbolic violence, so much of what is considered normal, naturalised or inevitable works to sustain oppression. For example, Cornell, Kessi and Ratele (2015) emphasise that public bathrooms designated to 'Males' and 'Females' establish a gender binary as normal, thereby alienating those who do not identify with these prescribed social categories. Accordingly, interrogations of symbolic violence within community psychology research must be engaged consistently if such research is to maintain a serviceable degree of criticality. To interrogate symbolic violence analytically also requires deep psychological introspection on the part of community psychologists themselves (see Dlamini, Helman, & Malherbe, 2018).

Cultural Violence

Hall (1997, p. 9) understands culture as "a way of life in which we make sense or give meaning to things of one sort or another". Indeed, culture is any meaning-making practice that is connected to - but always relatively autonomous from - economic, social and political realms, and often assumes aesthetic formations (Said, 1993). Cultural violence draws on different cultural elements in order to justify and maintain structural and direct violence (Galtung, 1990). Cultural violence also suggests that aspects of culture (e.g. religion, language and ideology) which comprise the symbolic sphere of human existence can be used to discursively legitimise or justify symbolic violence.

Cultural violence constitutes a systemic assault on the dignity and self-worth of communities and individuals, while, at the same time, masking, naturalising and legitimising both structural and direct violence (Dutta, et al., 2016). With respect to community psychology, while the existence of cultural violence cannot be denied, the labelling of entire cultures as violent can serve as a kind of epistemic violence. It is this representational tension that, I

argue, critical community psychologists should seek to engage in their interrogations of violence.

This Dissertation

Setting

In the mid-1980s, a number of black, mostly Sotho-speaking, South Africans began working in Lenasia, a relatively well-resourced suburban area located in the south-west of Johannesburg that was designated to those classified as Indian under apartheid's system of racial categorisation (Huchzermeyer, 2009). In 1983, many of these workers - most of whom were migrants working at a nearby brick manufacturing company - and their families began to build small shack settlements in the area (SERI, 2014). At first, they referred to the land on which they built these settlements as Esigangeni, meaning "in the bush" in isiZulu (Tselapedi & Dugard, 2013). It was only later that these workers began to refer to the land as Thembelihle (see Figure 1), an isiZulu word which translates to "place of hope" in English (Poplak, 2015).

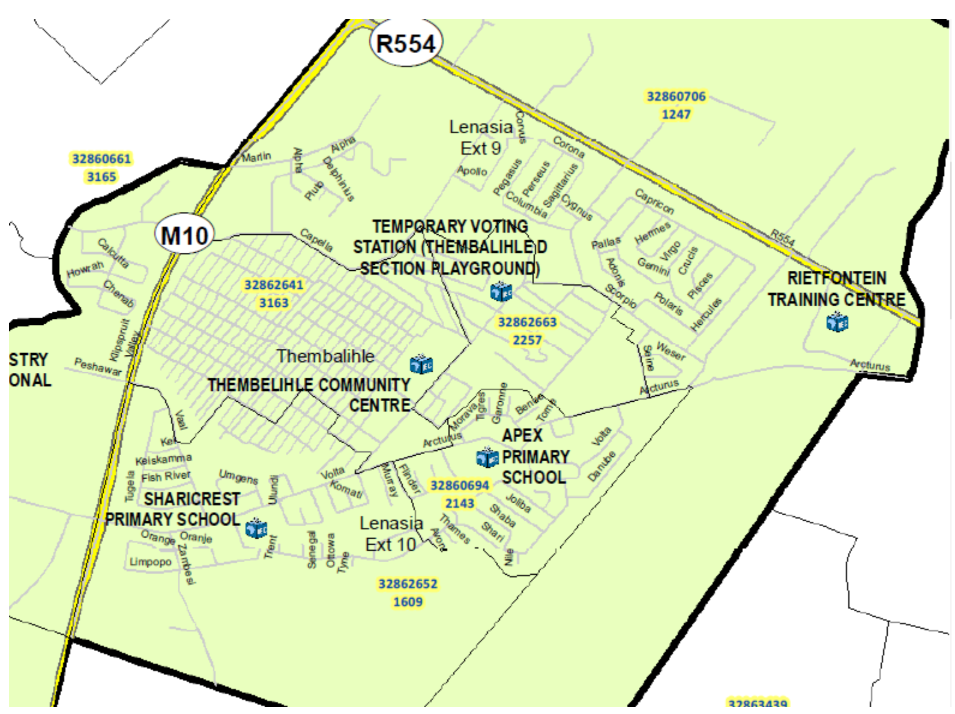

Figure 1. Map of Thembelihle, located in Region G, Johannesburg, Gauteng, South Africa (Municipal Demarcation Board, n.d.).

The most up-to-date census data indicate that Thembelihle consists of 9000 households, most of which are shack dwellings (Statistics South Africa, 2011). The community's population exceeds well over 21 000 people, which includes a considerable number of foreign nationals (Statistics South Africa, 2011), some of whom have experienced xenophobic violence in the community (Poplak, 2015). A range of languages are spoken in Thembelihle, including Setswana (spoken as a first language by 25% of the population), isiZulu (23%), Sesotho (17%), isiXhosa (11%), Xitsonga (8%), and a number of others (Statistics South Africa, 2011). Although located in Gauteng, South Africa's wealthiest province, Thembelihle presents high rates of crime and unemployment (Huchzermeyer, 2009) and, because the community is situated far away from Johannesburg's Central Business District (CBD), residents typically seek work in the surrounding areas (SERI, 2014).

Although former South African President Jacob Zuma visited Thembelihle in June 2016 to officiate its electrification (Phala, 2016), the community remains only partially serviced and regularised, meaning that large swaths of its population do not have access to electricity, as well as water and sanitation (SERI, 2014). This neglect on the part of the State is compounded by top-down, neoliberal economic development policies that emphasise cost-recovery over any kind of social justice agenda (Pape & McDonald, 2002). In response to this, people living in Thembelihle have, since 2003, illegally connected to the national electricity grid as a means of putting pressure on the State to provide safe and reliable electricity to all residents (Segodi, 2018). This reconnection effort is indicative of broader protest efforts across the country that have resisted payment for basic services (see Von Schnitzler, 2008). However, connecting to the grid has, sadly, resulted in a number of deaths. These deaths have nonetheless done little to spur the State into providing Thembelihle with basic services (Tselapedi & Dugard, 2013).

The people of Thembelihle have a long and well-known history of political activism. Despite its relatively small size, Thembelihle is considered one of Johannesburg's 22 'protest hotspots' (Tselapedi & Dugard, 2013). Although its residents have engaged in political struggle since the apartheid years (Segodi, 2018), activism in Thembelihle began to take on more organised iterations from 2001, with the formation of the Thembelihle Crisis Committee (TCC), a members-based community interest organisation (SERI, 2014). In fighting for justice across a number of social plains and in a number of different communities, TCC is a solidarity network whose membership consists predominately of unemployed residents from Thembelihle (Nieftagodien, 2017). TCC - often in collaboration with other community organisations and social movements (e.g. those located in the Soweto, Alexandra, Sebokeng and Vosloorus townships) - has, over the years, organised mass

meetings, marches, ward committee meetings, pickets, blockades, legal action, engagements with local government and has even participated in government elections (Segodi, 2018).

Today TCC has developed a reputation for social disruption. Such a reputation obscures the bureaucratic character of TCC (Nieftagodien, 2017), and often forecloses opportunities for legal protection of community protest on the grounds of presumed ‘violence’ and ‘uncontrollability’ (Duncan, 2016). For instance, on 30 April 2015 the South African Army surrounded Thembelihle for reasons that remain unclear (Poplak, 2015). In that same year, the community saw a month-long siege implemented by the State (Nieftagodien, 2017) and, just one year later, South African police officers fired live ammunition at a group of protesters from Thembelihle (Duncan, 2016). It is this history of community resistance, State oppression and surveillance that has formed a largely negative image of Thembelihle in South Africa’s popular imagination (Lau & Seedat, 2017).

Over the years, there has been considerable political activism in Thembelihle concerning the issue of dolomite. In 1992, a geo-technical study commissioned by the apartheid government found that Thembelihle was located on dolomite (a porous rock type that causes sinkholes and is considered uninhabitable), which would make any structural development in the area a risky and expensive undertaking. In 1998 another geo-technical study was undertaken, this time commissioned by the ANC government, which confirmed the results of the 1992 report (Tselapedi & Dugard, 2013). Residents from Thembelihle refuted both of these studies on the grounds of methodological inadequacy and a lack of community participation (SERI, 2014). However, in 2005, another expert report commissioned by the City of Johannesburg found that large sections of Thembelihle were located on dolomite (SERI, 2014). As a result of these studies, the State has refused to develop Thembelihle, and in 2002 began to relocate

residents, initially by illegally demolishing people's shacks (Segodi, 2018), to the neighbouring settlements of Lehae and Vlakfontein (SERI, 2014), both of which are located even further from Johannesburg's CBD (see Figure 2). Although some residents of Thembelihle eventually agreed to move to Lehae and Vlakfontein willingly (Tselapedi & Dugard, 2013), other relocations occurred under threat and intimidation on the part of the government (SERI, 2014). TCC has likened such relocation measures, along with the State's poorly executed orderly planning procedures, to the forced removals and racist spatial planning of apartheid (Segodi, 2018). Today, Thembelihle is still not declared a formal settlement, largely on the basis of its location on dolomitic rock (Segodi, 2018), with all State development plans typically withheld from those living in the community (Huchzermeyer, 2009).

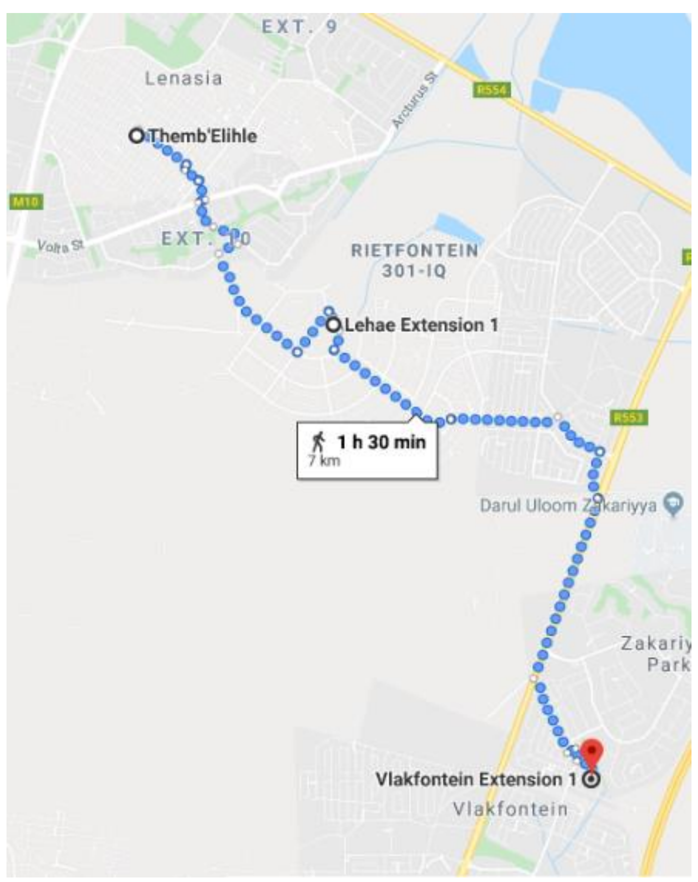

Figure 2. Map depicting the distance between Thembelihle, Lehae and Vlakfontein (Google, n.d.).

With the assistance of a number of NGOs, including Planact, the Freedom of Expression Institute, the Socio-Economic Right Institute (SERI), and the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, TCC commissioned its own independent geological assessment of Thembelihle in 2004 (Segodi, 2018; SERI, 2014). The results of this study disputed those of the State-sponsored research reports. Dolomite was found to have been low-risk, meaning that Thembelihle was in fact upgradable *in situ* as long as water precautionary measures were adhered to (Huchzermeyer, 2009). However, this also means that developing Thembelihle will cost the State considerably more than developing land that is not dolomitic, which many believe to be the real reason that the State refuses to institute development programmes in the community (Segodi, 2018). Accordingly, TCC has consistently campaigned and protested for service upgrades and structural development in Thembelihle (Duncan, 2016), the costs of which they claim should be covered by the government in accordance to the Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme (Huchzermeyer, 2009).

While the historical trajectory and socio-political experience of Thembelihle is by no means representative of all South Africans living in low-income areas, Thembelihle is nonetheless indicative of how so many communities in the country are engaged by the State, as well as how political resistance is organised. The failure to institute material justice, psychosocial well-being and dignity for the people of Thembelihle reflects South Africa's deeply shameful and inadequate reckoning with its violent past.

Rationale

My research's multidisciplinary focus on the discursive making of the dialectical entanglement of violence and anti-violence resistance addresses a number of gaps in the

broader research on violence in South Africa, namely: the notoriously slippery and under-studied ways by which violence undermines the social fabric of communities (Norman et al., 2007); how community is made through collective empathy, political resistance and solidarity (Ward et al., 2012); and the psychosocial consequences of articulating community-driven narratives and historiographies of struggle (James, 2012). Thus, the research approaches violence in ways that do not accept its inevitability, and reject fatalist currents that run through so much violence scholarship (Stein et al., 2003). At the same time, this research does not assume an uncritical or idealistic theoretical frame, and roots itself in the enormous challenges facing violence prevention efforts in South Africa.

With political will and insurgent community agency conceived as central - rather than as an adjunctive - to the study of violence in communities (Alexander, 2013), my research foregrounds the political dimensions of violence which are largely under-considered within contemporary violence studies in South Africa (Bowman et al., 2015). In this way, the research resists imposing violence prevention strategies from above, and looks to work with people to harness and develop political modalities of community-driven resistance to violence. In its rejection of fatalism, my research is willed towards the construction of democratically constituted counter-hegemonies. However, community psychologists who endeavour to understand the fundamentally political nature of violence oftentimes collapse into psychologising violence (Parker, 2019). This research's broad conceptualisation of violence (i.e. structural, direct, epistemic, symbolic and cultural) challenges simplistic, individualising and/or didactic interrogations of violence as a singularly formed or monolithically experienced social phenomenon (Manyema et al., 2018). The research looks not only to the manifest forms of violence that shape social and community life, but also to the ways by which violence is symbolically legitimised, naturalised or invisibilised (Bauman,

1989; Dutta et al., 2016). Thus, this expansive conception of violence resists restricting definitions of violence (e.g. Krug et al., 2002) in order to stretch the capacities and purviews of violence scholarship and critical community psychology praxis. Added to this, the focus on discourse allows for a critical interrogation of the ideological and material consequences of representing violence and resistance in South Africa (see Foster et al., 2005), which, in turn, has implications for how violence scholarship (re)presents its findings.

Lastly, while my research broadly locates itself within critical community psychology and violence scholarship, its focus on resistance and people's creative representational capacities allows for a generative approach to scholarship which rejects so-called damage-centred frames which oftentimes characterise research of this kind (see Tuck, 2009). Indeed, in lieu of an outputs-oriented paradigm, my research's focus on multimodal representation and community voice provides a platform through which to foster collective catharsis, consciousness-raising, emancipatory visions of the future and reconstructions of dominant meta-narratives (Malherbe, 2019). In this way, community-engaged violence research becomes conceptualised in a suitably nuanced fashion, whereby the uncritical discursive deployment of community is rejected, and the shifting modes of power that exist within and between communities is foregrounded.

Aims and Objectives

My research is structured around four distinct but related studies which, together, look to interrogate notions of power and discourse surrounding violence and resistance in the community of Thembelihle. The overarching aim of this research is to analyse how violence and community-driven resistance in South Africa are constituted within dominant and counter-hegemonic discourses, and to consider the psychosocial consequences of these

discourses. The research therefore endeavours to examine the manner by which residents construct counter-hegemonies and build community against an expansive conception of violence. In this way, I seek to resist damage-centred and outputs-focused research frames by offering a humanistic and fundamentally politicised approach to studying violence and community.

The research has four primary objectives:

1. To understand how the community of Thembelihle is constructed in dominant media discourses.
2. To consider how community members use participatory documentary film to construct everyday community life.
3. To examine how participatory documentary film is used by community members to (re)present community-driven resistance politics.
4. To consider how critical participatory film audiencing can facilitate modes of community-building.

Research Questions

In advancing the above objectives and rationale, my research is guided by the following research questions:

1. How is Thembelihle constructed in dominant media discourse?
2. How is multimodal discourse drawn on in a participatory documentary film to construct everyday life in Thembelihle?
3. How is multimodal discourse drawn on in a participatory documentary film to construct community-centred resistance politics in Thembelihle?

4. In what ways does participatory film audiencing foster critically conceived notions of community-building?

Four Studies

Below, I provide a brief overview of each of these studies.

Study I: Analysing discursive constructions of community in newspaper articles

While newspaper reports can and frequently do provide highly critical coverage that is geared towards the interests of the public, the proximity of newspapers to capital means that they are beholden to the profit motive, and are thus constrained in their socially just communicative capacities. This is especially the case in South Africa, whose media has long been entwined with the country's politics. Following all of this, studying newspaper discourse can afford us valuable insights into how low-income communities (and violence within these communities) are engaged by dominant powers. In this study, I draw on discursive psychology to analyse how Thembelihle and its residents are constructed in 377 national newspaper articles. The study was guided by the following questions:

1. How do newspapers draw on notions of community to construct Thembelihle?
2. How does symbolic power discursively function in newspaper reports on Thembelihle?
3. What are the material consequences of newspaper reports on Thembelihle?
4. How can analysing newspaper reports inform the construction of community-centred counter-hegemonies?

Study II: Restorying community through multimodal discourses: Articulating intra-community resistance

All over the world, and particularly in South Africa, community media represent a significant and oftentimes effective mode of resisting the many epistemologically violent depictions of low-income communities within the mainstream media. This study sought to examine the restorying potentialities and capacities inherent to participatory documentary filmmaking. In building on the results of Study I, this study utilised multimodal discourse analysis to interrogate how residents from Thembelihle construct everyday life in a 25-minute participatory documentary film, titled *Thembelihle: Place of Hope*. The study was guided by the following questions:

1. On what discourses do participants draw when constructing their daily lives in Thembelihle?
2. What discourses are used to construct the community of Thembelihle?
3. How is Thembelihle discursively positioned within broader South Africa?
4. What are the relations constructed between the individual and the community?

Study III: Analysing representations of community resistance politics in a participatory documentary film

Filmmaking, and documentary film in particular, has played an important role in various activist movements around the world, including anti-apartheid activism. Indeed, film can serve as an archive and a resource for social justice movements, and can play a role in articulating and making links between seemingly distinct community struggles. Using multimodal critical discourse analysis to examine the participatory documentary film *Thembelihle: Place of Hope*, this study sought to understand resistance politics in

Thembelihle in a manner that was critical, nuanced, historically-rooted, and sympathetic to the emancipatory thrust of these politics. The study was guided by the following questions:

1. How is the immanent make-up of resistance politics in Thembelihle discursively constructed?
2. How do community activists use multimodal discourse to construct political resistance in a relational manner (i.e. with reference to external political agents as well as the broader discursive field that informs how resistance politics are understood in South Africa)?
3. What do multimodal representations of resistance politics tell us about the historicity, complexities and contradictions of community resistance?
4. How, when, and for whom are notions of community situated within multimodal representations of resistance politics?

Study IV: Participatory film audiencing as critical community-building: Challenges and potentialities

There has been little research on the intersections of participatory filmmaking, community-building and critical audiencing, particularly from a critical community psychology perspective. This is a somewhat curious oversight when considering the community-building, mobilisation and conscientisation potentialities of participatory film screening events. In following my analyses of how participatory film can be used to articulate everyday community life (see Study II), as well as community resistance politics (see Study III), my fourth and final study attempts to examine how participatory film audiences make community. Drawing on the narrative-discursive approach, I analysed how community-building unfolded within three video-elicitation focus group discussions, wherein audiences

were asked to speak about the film *Thembelihle: Place of Hope* with one another. The study was guided by the following questions:

1. In what ways do participatory film audiences' narrations and counter-narrations work to discursively construct notions of community in relation to Thembelihle?
2. How is community-building pragmatically and affectively constructed in participatory film audiencing spaces?
3. What do audiences construct as advancing community-building, and what is established as hindering community-building?
4. How do understandings of politics, power, materiality and affect influence community-building as it unfolds in the audiencing space?

Figure 3 below summarises the research focus and method.

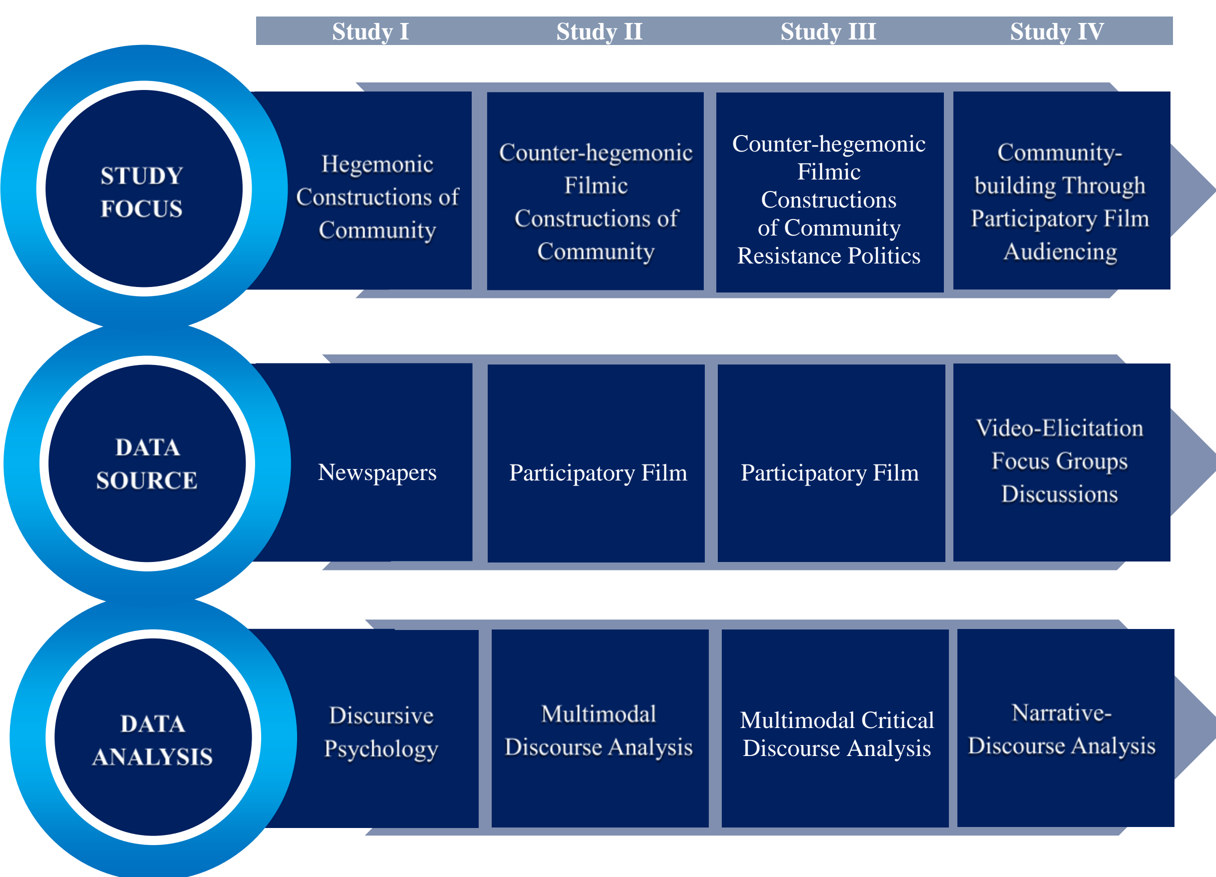

Figure 3. Summary of research focus and method

Theoretical Framework

Fourie and Terre Blanche (2018) note that critical community psychology work should be underpinned by critical theoretical frameworks if it is to avoid enacting a kind of managerialism that romanticises community voices. Accordingly, my research is framed theoretically through, 1) social constructionism, 2) critical social theory and 3) liberation psychology, all of which have been influential in the formation of critical community psychology praxes (see Evans et al., 2017). As I will show, this framework allows for critical understandings of the entanglement of violences, discourse, community, legitimacy and resistance. Additionally, these three theoretical strands can, together, assist in interrogating violence from the perspective of those for whom such violence is most pertinent, and who have historically enacted anti-violent action most effectively.

Social constructionism

Gergen (1996) posits that one's psychological lifeworld is socially constructed, which in turn bears on wider understandings of communities. All knowledge is, in this sense, *situated* within specific historical and cultural epochs, and is sustained by numerous social processes, most notably language. Social constructionism, as a kind of theory-method (Foster, 2003), understands language (which can be visual or linguistic) as a precondition for thought, with all representations of one's social world tied in with textual processes. However, rather than allow for direct access to individual thought, language is understood as facilitating the existence of thought. Understanding the social world is then linguistically selected, with the limitations of knowledge reflecting the limitations of language (Burr, 1995).

A social constructionist frame posits that signs represent people and objects (Terre Blanche, Kelly, & Durrheim, 2008). Analyses are then understood as interpretations that are influenced by the dynamic social context in which they are situated (McKinlay & McVittie, 2008), as well as power, discourses and subjectivities more broadly (Evans et al., 2017). Social constructionism rejects that individual expression is able to access that which exists within a speaker prior to being communicated (Taylor, 2007). One's attitudes are therefore not stable characteristics, but rather evaluative expressions which are features of discursive practice (Parker, 2002). Discourse analysts need not evaluate constructs such as attitudes or stereotypes when attempting to explain social interaction. They are to look at how (spoken and visual) language is utilised to perform social action. Cognitive phenomena are thereby conceptualised as context-bound, with discourses varying according to the rhetorical demands of particular contexts (Foster, 2003).

Critical social theory

Influencing social constructionism in substantial ways, and forming the dominant theoretical base of critical community psychology, critical social theory emerged from the so-called Frankfurt School in 1930s Germany (Evans et al., 2017). Critical social theory may be considered a kind of meta-theory that emphasises language and rational argument as normative foundations for social critique. It approaches history as moving in a dialectical, and not a teleological, manner towards emancipatory ideals (Browne, 2000). Social phenomena are thus regarded as forming part of a historical whole. Critical social theory views all knowledge as shaped by politics and power (Foucault, 1980) and, in effect, inflects social constructionism with a kind of socio-political awareness. Dant (2003) notes that critical social theory provides a multidisciplinary frame, with the aim of advancing the emancipatory function of knowledge. In this sense, critical social theory attempts to make

known the hidden workings of power in order to free the self from ideological delusion (see Foucault, 1978, 1980). In other words, critical social theory reveals and critiques structures of domination in order to imagine new, emancipatory pathways (Evans et al., 2017). Theory and practice are then applied together in the (re)making of transformative and liberatory knowledges (Leonardo, 2004).

In shifting focus from the paradigm of individual consciousness (on which much traditional social science, and specifically psychological inquiry, focuses), to a paradigm of communication, critical social theory facilitates the building of workable strategies for ideological critique, community-building and collective mobilisation (Agger, 1991). However, the social change to which critical social theory aspires does not necessarily emerge through revolutionary means. Instead, such change is catalysed by confronting and challenging various economic and political arrangements, as well as the dominant cultures (ideas, understanding, reasons, images, writings and other expressive modes) that sustain oppressive social systems and institutions (Dant, 2003).

Liberation psychology

It is perhaps conceptually useful to make a distinction between liberation psychology and critical community psychology. Montero, Sonn and Burton (2017) note that liberation psychology, unlike community psychology, is not a branch of psychology, but rather a way of doing psychology that originated in critical pedagogy, liberation theology, sociology and philosophy. Community psychology is therefore a strand of psychology that has perhaps been most effective in introducing liberation into psychological theory and practice. In other words, liberation psychology is the psychological wing of the liberation paradigm and, through the formalised sub-discipline of critical community psychology, can foster people’s

critical awareness of the establishment and maintenance of societal hierarchies, and how they can be transformed (Evans et al., 2017).

In attempting to break from mainstream psychology's insistence on the ahistorical individual who dwells in a "permanent psychological present" (p. 30) that is divorced from material reality, Martín-Baró (1994) describes liberation psychology as an ongoing process of social rupture that seeks to transform conditions of inequality and oppression along with the institutions and practices that produce these conditions (Montero & Sonn, 2009). Those affiliated with the liberation psychology paradigm usually work with people to challenge the oppressive socio-political systems that structure psychological and community life (see Malherbe, 2019). Thus, in emphasising both praxis and radical emancipation, liberation psychology adopts a critical, community-centred approach to understanding and changing psychosocial injustices.

Synthesising social constructionism, critical social theory and liberation psychology into a coherent theoretical framework seeks to ensure that my research is situated transdisciplinarily. Each of these theoretical strands assumes an anti-positivist stance in understanding meaningful research as endeavouring to alter - rather than 'objectively' interpret - violent social circumstances. With life, knowledge and material existence sustained through social processes, as social constructionism claims, then, as critical social theory notes, the task of research becomes one of interrogating and better understanding the consequences and mechanisms of dominant and counter-hegemonic powers. Knowledge, far from being value-neutral, can in this way be created with a view to informing collective action as well as visions and enactments of emancipation. With this in mind, the liberation psychology paradigm engages the psycho-political nexus by socially situating emancipatory

knowledges, and working with people to dismantle and reform oppressive social systems. Critical epistemologies may then be created in, with, for and by communities. With respect to my research's objective to understand the discursive and material potentialities of constructions of community, this theoretical framework allows for understandings into how power is structured through signs and symbols, and how people are, in the quest for liberation, also able to draw on signs and symbols to create more equitable and radically democratic social relations, knowledges and political formations.

Ethical Considerations

This research is located within the *Community Storylines* project of the *Ukuphepha: Demonstrating African Safety Promotion Programme*, housed in the University of South Africa's (Unisa) Institute for Social and Health Sciences (ISHS). Although *Community Storylines* has received ethical clearance (reference number: 2016/CGS/39/R), I applied for and received additional ethical approval for this doctoral research (see Appendix A).

Regarding the film's production and post-production processes (see Study II and Study III), community meetings were hosted at the ISHS offices wherein prospective participants were briefed, in English and in isiZulu, on what the project would entail. I stressed at these meetings that participation is voluntary and that informed consent would be an ongoing process (D'Amico, Denov, Khan, Linds, & Akesson 2016). Participants decided that those who featured in the documentary would not be anonymised, their names would be stated in full and their faces would be recognisable. This was to ensure that the documentary could be used by participants for lobbying as well as personal purposes. The community of Thembelihle, as a central representational and discursive site in the documentary, was also not anonymised in order to challenge dominant discourses that depict poor communities in

South Africa with reference to namelessness, baseless violence and deficiency (Seedat, 1999). As Banks (2001) highlights, we risk dehumanising when we anonymise, meaning that anonymity within research - especially that which is oriented towards social justice - is not always ethical. Indeed, those who participated in this research claimed to be proud of what they had to say and their community.

After participants who featured in the documentary had read the Information Sheet (see Appendix B) which describes what participating in the research's filmmaking component required of them, they signed an informed Consent Form (see Appendix C) which emphasised the purpose of this component of the research, and that participants could withdraw at any time without consequence. The consent form stressed that the film will be screened publicly. During community meetings and when signing consent forms, I discussed with participants the effects of being recognised by others. Once again, I highlighted to each participant the voluntary nature of the research, as well as the fact that there would be no consequences if they decided to terminate their involvement at a later stage. The consent forms also made it clear that participants could be edited out of, or anonymised within, the film if they no longer wished to be a part of the final product, or if they did not wish to be identifiable in the film. I personally explained the consent form and information sheet to each participant in the presence of a translator in case further clarification was required.

In addition to the informed consent form, participants using GoPro video cameras completed an Indemnity Form (see Appendix D). This form emphasised the risks of carrying a GoPro camera on one's person; that participants could decide whether or not to utilise the footage that they captured on this camera in the final film product; and that the footage belonged to

Unisa once it was handed over. As with the other forms, I explained this to each participant, with further translation offered when requested.

Although shooting the film presented relatively low levels of risk, I warned participants that film equipment is expensive and carrying this placed each one of them at risk. In discussions with participants, I demonstrated how to make safe choices with respect to what and who to shoot. This included discussions around obtaining consent from people whom they may wish to shoot, acceptable ways to approach individuals when asking to film them, and how to judge which situations could potentially entail risk. I advised participants not to trespass on to the property of others, and not to shoot illegal activities. I stressed that if participants were unable to obtain verbal consent from film subjects, the faces of these persons would be blurred and their voices pitched in the film's editing process. This was fortunately not necessary. Added to this, care was taken to ensure that no shot caused embarrassment, offence or harm to those who are recognisable in the film.

Lastly, I told participants that if they experienced any psychological discomfort or distress they would be directed or referred to counselling services offered by Thembelihle Clinic, a free-of-charge and centrally-located public health centre in the community. In such cases, participants would be consulted as to whether they have a preference with regard to a specific health practitioner and/or type of treatment. A follow-up meeting would then take place with the participant in order to determine whether further assistance would be required. In this case, the participant would be transported back to Thembelihle Clinic or, if more serious treatment was necessary, Lenasia South Hospital. However, none of the participants requested counselling services.

With regard to the screening events, I emphasised to all in attendance that each event would be audio recorded, and that although people's comments may be used in research reports, student dissertations and academic presentations, their names would be anonymised, with any identifiable information omitted. I assigned each participant a number, to which they are referred throughout Study IV (i.e. Participant 1 is referred to as P1, Participant 2 as P2, Participant 3 as P3, etc.). Every participant who required transportation to and from a screening event was required to complete an Indemnity Form (see Appendix E). After each participant had read, or had read to them, the Information Sheet that explained the purposes of the indicated study (see Appendix F), they were required to sign a Consent Form (see Appendix G). Researchers from Unisa who attended the screening events (including myself) explained in detail to participants the consent forms, offering clarification, assistance and translation where necessary. The informed consent document explained the purpose of this component of my research, and indicted that if participants were not comfortable, they would be transported back to where they had come from without consequence.

I then explained to participants that the screening events presented very low levels of risk to them. I clarified that although the audio recordings of the audience reactions to the film would remain anonymous, and that the screening spaces were to be characterised by safety, openness and critical engagement, some audience members might discuss the content of the audience discussions with those outside of these spaces. Accordingly, I told participants to take this into account when sharing with the group. If people experienced any psychological discomfort or physical pain (caused, for instance, by an accident occurring at the screening venue or during transportation to/from the venue), I would direct them to the requisite free-of-charge services offered by Thembelihle Clinic. If such pain, discomfort and/or stress continued after a follow-up appointment at the Clinic, I would refer participants to Lenasia

South Hospital. Fortunately, such services were not required as no participant reported feeling any pain or discomfort.

While the four studies did not offer participants any direct benefits, there were a number of indirect benefits. I explained to participants the potential for empowerment, skills transfer, reflection, dialogic engagement, and satisfaction that accompanies community engagement. Other indirect benefits included collective mobilisation potential, opportunities for witnessing, and conscientisation. I also explained the long-term benefits and potentialities of the project to participants. These included using the film as a lobbying tool (indeed, other multimodal products created within the *Community Storylines* project have formed part of successful community campaigns), and a communicative supplement for activist demands. Participants could also use the screening events to interact with other community members and build alliances and friendships. I explicated that audiences would have the opportunity to discuss how the film could be utilised, to whom it could be screened and for what purposes, and that Unisa would assist where possible in this regard.

A Note on Reflexivity

As noted earlier, all research, regardless of whether it declares itself to be critical, is susceptible to epistemic violence. Indeed, there are inherent biases and politics that belie all modes of communication and analysis (see Daley, 2010). The potent representational apparatuses available to researchers (e.g. publications, conference reports, and access to media platforms) place researchers in a hermeneutically and epistemologically dominant position (see Hall, 1997). Psychological work in particular - through its stock terminology and theoretical tenets - oftentimes collapses into assuming undue expertise over the lives of others (Teo, 2010). All of this presents the researcher with a host of ethical responsibilities.

In research, where we come from and who we are matter, particularly with respect to the questions we ask, the topics we study, the conclusions we draw, and the silences embedded in what we say (Ratele, 2016). We are always a part of the world that we are researching (England, 1994). In speaking to (but by no means claiming to resolve) issues of power, validity and epistemic dominance, researcher reflexivity seeks to visibilise unequal power relations within research, and to reorient scholarship towards epistemic justice (Malherbe, Suffla, Seedat, & Bawa, 2017). Reflexivity is an ongoing process that makes clear the researcher's influence on research, such as the way that data are interpreted or how a method is implemented (Pillow, 2003; Terre Blanche et al., 2008). In this way, reflexivity is not concerned with uncovering fundamental truths within or behind research, but rather with presenting an argument that is convincing, balanced and explicit in its politics (Patton, 1999). Reflexivity is attentive to how power, politics and the self are intertwined within the knowledge-making enterprise (Daley, 2010), with personal reflexivity always accompanying an epistemic reflexivity that articulates the various methodological assumptions and theoretical orientations of one's work (Lazard & McAvoy, 2017). In short, reflexivity necessitates vulnerability from researchers in acknowledging their complicity in modes of violence, which can be especially jarring for those involved in justice-oriented scholarship (Law, 2016).

The notion of reflexivity coheres with the theoretical framework of my research in a number of ways. Social constructionism, for instance, denotes that critical research should be a recipient of its own critique, and stresses that all interpretations be understood as informed by a host of factors related to social systems, identities (including those of the researcher), interpersonal interactions and personal experiences (Cromby & Nightingale, 1999). We

nonetheless cannot represent or interpret anything in its entirety because social constructions are always historically situated and in flux (England, 1994). Critical social theory's concern with knowledge-making calls upon modes of reflexivity to institute a bold and systematic approach to the (re)production and social use of epistemes, wherein the regressive and emancipatory social consequences of research are visibilised, as are the researcher's own epistemic and political commitments (see Dant, 2003). Lastly, a long history of reflexive work within the liberation psychology paradigm emphasises that one should not collapse into idle navel-gazing or provide a kind of laundry list of identity categories that mysteriously influence one's work. Instead, researchers should analytically engage their multitudinous and intersecting social positionalities in order to highlight the influence and implications that these have on research and bringing about socially just change (see Malherbe, 2019).

Reflexive engagement must be undertaken critically. Reflexivity has oftentimes meant a mere reciting of one's identity categories and what these may or may not mean for research (Pillow, 2003). Such an understanding of reflexivity reflects a kind of narcissistic and self-serving indulgence that directs attention away from the issues being researched (England, 1994), and prioritises neoliberal conceptions of subjectivity which are grounded in an ethic of individualism (Burman, 2006). Added to this, a researcher's reflexive attempt to make visible and situate one's self in research can act to position the self as epistemologically authoritative, while subtly pathologising and silencing the voices and subjectivities of others (see Parker, 2015). Reflexivity therefore cannot be an end in and of itself, but should serve as a kind of frame for doing, interpreting and socially locating one's research in a self-critical manner (see England, 1994). Indeed, it is when reflexivity cuts across the research process that we may begin to foster forms of self-awareness and self-knowledge that allow for an ethical approach to research (Ratele, 2016).

Concerning my own identity, I am a white, middle-class, cisgendered, able-bodied male, meaning that I am supported, as well as constrained, in particular ways by white-supremacist capitalist patriarchy. I am of French Huguenot, Dutch and Afrikaans descent. While this heritage has not been especially influential in the formation of my worldview (I speak neither Dutch, Afrikaans, nor French), I acknowledge that many of the material benefits, as well as symbolic privileges, that mark my existence stem from the excessive colonial violence that marks this heritage in South Africa (see Worden, 1996). My education, along with my institutional affiliation to the university, have placed me in a more socially mobile position than the majority of the country in which I live, including those who participated in this research. Throughout my research, my intersecting identity categories likely created a real distance between myself and participants (all of whom were black, from low-income backgrounds, and spoke English as a second or third language), and may have also rendered some participants reluctant to share their stories in my presence. Yet, at the same time, because of colonial discourses which celebrate the supposed 'objectivity' of the white, masculine gaze, it may have been possible that, throughout this research, I was read by different parties as "objective", "unbiased" and *a priori* legitimate.

Reflexively engaging one's position of power within research, however, necessitates a nuanced engagement with the motional nature of power (see Foucault, 1978, 1980). Suffla, Seedat and Bawa (2015) argue that reducing the community research encounter to an insider-outsider interactional binary over-simplifies the dialectical, hybrid, fluid and relative nature of this encounter. They note that community researchers embrace, and at times strategically adopt, the respective statuses of insider and outsider at different moments for different purposes. In my research, while I was certainly an outsider in the many respects cited above,

I have simultaneously garnered a degree of insider status through working with and in Thembelihle since 2015. Indeed, I have developed relationships and maintain personal communication with many of those who participated in this research. Further, as is the case in other community-engaged research projects (e.g. Suffla et al., 2015), my status as a ‘professional’ outsider who retains a degree of insiderness can potentially facilitate the kind of holding space required for participants to engage deeply with particular research questions. Yet, I may have also elicited, prompted or discouraged certain responses (either implicitly or explicitly) from participants precisely because of my positionality.

Issues around reflexivity were addressed in numerous ways in my research. An attempt was made to cultivate rapport with every participant, which was made somewhat easier through my engagement with many of them in other community projects that took place prior to this one. Such rapport was further cultivated during the lead up to each study, as well as the filmmaking training. I sought always to facilitate an open and comfortable research environment, particularly when high levels of affect and emotionality marked these environments. All participants worked with me to articulate the research’s goals, ethics and procedures (see Study II, Study III and Study IV). Indeed, participant feedback formed a central part of my research design (see Study II). Finally, in order to evaluate the credibility of the research findings, a process of respondent validation - where participants are asked to comment, critique and offer feedback on my interpretation of the data - was undertaken (Silverman, 2012). In other words, my reading of the participatory film (see Study II and Study III), as well as audience reactions to the film (see Study IV), were corroborated with participants’ interpretations. This feedback is said to be crucial in ensuring that participants feel represented by the film and the research (Ritterbusch, 2016). Throughout my research, I stressed the incompleteness of the data as well as my interpretation of it. Such an

acknowledgment sought to situate the research humanistically (Gordon, 2000). While my engagement with reflexivity does not resolve the unequal dynamics of power undergirding this research (Pillow, 2003), it is hoped that a participant-centred, rather than researcher-oriented, approach has been implemented to some degree.

Dissertation Outline

This dissertation consists of four studies (Study I, Study II, Study II, and Study IV), which are bookended by this Introduction section and a Conclusion section. Each study begins with a review of relevant research, which is then followed by an overview of the broader theoretical landscape on which the specific study is situated. After noting the research gaps that the particular study aims to address, I draw out a set of theoretical coordinates pertaining to the study. I then explicate the various components of the specific study, including the data collection and analysis processes. Following this, I consider the limitations of the study as well as the implications of its findings for research, practice, theory and politicised community engagement. Finally, the Conclusion section of the dissertation summarises the findings of each study, relates these to violence scholarship and critical community psychology praxes, considers the limitations of the research, and points to future directions for research of this kind.

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STUDY I

ANALYSING DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF COMMUNITY IN NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

Abstract

Newspapers are able to shape public consciousness, political agendas, the organisation of political resistance, debate, public opinion and government policy. However, newspaper reporting regularly provides an interpretation of reality that is catered to the social interests of the elite. Newspapers can thus 'manufacture public consent' to an oppressive kind of social ordering, all while appearing impartial. They are also able to establish the terms of engagement and the definitions by which communities are discursively formulated. This means that the manner by which power is reified through newspaper reporting can assist community psychologists in getting a handle on the complex, often contradictory, ways by which ideology and power are constituted in relation to particular communities. Accordingly, the present study draws on discursive psychology to analyse how 377 newspaper articles construct the community of Thembelihle, and how these constructions can inform counter-hegemonic strategy. Two discourses were identified in the analysis: *Signifying Legitimacy* and *Containing the Protest Community*. Where the *Signifying Legitimacy* discourse established a Statist kind of legitimacy-illegitimacy binary against which Thembelihle was to be assessed (typically in an ahistorical, acontextual and/or a moralistic fashion), the *Containing the Protest Community* discourse constructed Thembelihle as a monolithic and personified entity that enacted a wholly violent, and often directionless, mode of protest violence which was concerned with little more than 'service delivery'. Together, these discourses suggest to us the manner by which low-income communities are engaged by the

State, how Statist representations function materially, and the historical antecedents of contemporary governance in South Africa. Indeed, most newspaper articles relied on an interpretive frame whose hermeneutics were characterised primarily by violence and homogenously experienced suffering. Such representation, I argue, signifies the dominant discursive field and ideology against which counter-hegemonic strategy and (re)presentation must act.

Keywords: newspapers; discursive psychology; community; South Africa; discourse; violence

Introduction

It is perhaps pertinent to ask why community psychologists should study newspapers. While newspapers are not in every instance a hegemonic or entirely monolithic ideological State apparatus (see Althusser, 2014), they are able to, in very particular and often implicit ways, 'manufacture public consent' to specific kinds of social ordering, all while appearing impartial and objective (see Herman & Chomsky, 2010). Newspapers represent an especially potent kind of ideological depository and frequently establish the terms of engagement and the definitions by which communities are discursively formulated, both in formalised politics and the broader political unconscious (see Jacobs, 2019; Jameson, 1981). Added to this, it is taken for granted that news media production is not controlled by ordinary peoples, who are typically constructed in newspapers in objectified terms (Dreher, 2003). In this sense, mainstream newspapers typically provide an interpretation of reality that is catered to elite social interests (Hall, Chritcher, Jefferson, Clarke, & Roberts, 1978), which then has a knock-on effect in how violence prevention strategies are designed (Seedat, 1999).

Newspapers can serve as relevant and meaningful research data because, despite media audiences all over the world - including South Africa (Jacobs, 2019) - consuming much of their news through television, newspapers typically have a larger staff and network of journalists than television programmes, which means that most televised news programming rely on newspaper reports (Dorfman, Thorson, & Stevens, 2001). Newspapers are thus able to constitute agenda-setters for broadcast news and, perhaps more than any other medium, constitute "the first rough draft of history" (see Shafer, 2010). In this way, they represent important determinants in the shaping of public consciousness, political agendas, the terms of debate, public opinion and government policy (Howley, 2010). In turn, newspapers also influence how popular resistance is organised, strategised, enacted and supported, and can

point towards how political resistance efforts can effectively be engaged. In considering all of this, we may say that the reification of power (oppressive, oppositional and popular) through newspaper reporting renders newspaper articles ideal for assisting community psychologists in getting a handle on the highly complex, often contradictory, ways by which ideology and power are disseminated through discourse to construct particular communities (see Van Dijk, 2006; Williams, 1968).

The role that mainstream media play within communities which present with high levels of violence remains unclear (Ward et al., 2012). I argue that critical community psychology is able to make a significant contribution to those media studies whose primary concern is communities. In particular, we might ask what exactly community psychologists can offer newspaper studies. While this is certainly well-trodden terrain for media and cultural theorists, community psychology is able to approach newspaper studies from a set of disciplinary perspectives, methods and epistemologies (e.g. those articulated by the liberation psychology paradigm, including psychosocial analytical approaches) that are rarely considered within media studies. Furthermore, community psychologists are able to connect this work with grassroots counter-hegemonic community-building initiatives which make visible the discursive and material power differentials written into the notion of community (see Study IV). Indeed, community psychologists tend to be involved in existing community activity (political and otherwise) in greater part than many other formalised academic disciplines (see Evans, Duckett, Lawthom, & Kivell, 2017). Following on from this, the present study endeavours to analyse how South African newspapers construct the community of Thembelihle, and to develop ways by which community psychologists can use newspapers to inform community resistance and counter-hegemonic strategy.

Speaking to my research's interdisciplinary orientation, in what follows I attempt to develop a set of theoretical coordinates for this study by examining some of the canonised work located in cultural and media studies (e.g. Herman & Chomsky, 2010; Foucault, 1980; Hall, 1980, 1987, 1997; Hall et al., 1978; Said, 1993; Smythe, 1981; Williams, 1968, 2016). As the present study is situated in the contemporary South African context, this literature will focus primarily on capitalist liberal democracy, rather than centralised or socialist economies. From here, as a way of considering the discursive context in which Thembelihle is positioned, I offer a number of historically-situated remarks on South African newspapers. Finally, after outlining the study's aims and method, I analyse how Thembelihle has been discursively constructed in South African newspaper articles, and the implications that this has for critical community psychology work concerned with power and counter-hegemony.

News Media and Society

The Propaganda Model

Power is central to the functioning of all forms of communication (Williams, 2016). Corporate news media in particular are able to determine, on a large scale, what we think about, how we think about it, what the available alternatives are, and what the possibilities and limitations are for policy formation (Dorfman & Gonzalez, 2012). Speaking to this, Herman and Chomsky (2010) propose the Propaganda Model as a means of understanding how news media function as a market-oriented form of coercion. Briefly, the Propaganda Model espouses five filters, each of which work together to contribute to editorial biases in news media reports. The first of these filters is known as Ownership, and denotes how news media organisations cater to the financial interests of those who own them. The Ownership filter emphasises the tremendous influence that particular multinational corporations (e.g. *Disney, NewsCorp, Time-Warner, Viacom* and *Bertelsmann*) have on news production

(Howley, 2005). The second filter, Advertising, draws attention to the costs of production, with news items functioning primarily as a way of directing consumers' attention to advertisements. Unlike newspapers that were printed prior to the First World War, which received the majority of their funding from political parties, newspapers printed today are far more dependent on advertising revenue (Smythe, 1981; Williams, 2016). Third, the Sourcing filter refers to the different sources - selected or approved of by funders - from which news media reports draw. Time pressure and the constant need to use 'authoritative sources' result in most media over-accessing those in powerful and privileged institutional positions, thus reproducing within news reports existing patters of power and oppressive social orders (Hall et al., 1978). The fourth filter, Flak, accounts for negative responses to media statements, such as complaints and lawsuits, which can become costly to news media outlets. Flak influences the kinds of stories that are published and afforded attention in the media. Finally, the Anti-communism filter (which was later renamed "Fear" to accommodate the ideological make-up of a post-Cold War world) includes the construction of an external enemy (which usually signifies the antithesis to capitalist values) onto which people's genuine social grievances can be placed.

While the Propaganda Model does not tell the whole story of how newspapers work (ideologically and discursively) within different contexts, it is able to guide our understanding of newspapers in society, as well as the social, material and psychological consequences of news reporting. Considered together, the Propaganda Model's five filters can help us to see how news media very often form part of the very situation that they seek to 'objectively' describe (Williams, 2016). In what follows, I will repeatedly refer back to these filters as a means of framing how newspapers relate to issues of power.

The Myth of the Known Audience

The profit motive (which, under capitalism, undergirds and guides all news media production) fundamentally structures the form and content available to newspapers (Howley, 2005). As the Advertising filter reminds us, newspapers do not generate profit - as might be expected - primarily from sales, but rather from advertising revenue (Hall et al., 1978). As certain newspapers will be more suitable for a particular set of advertisements than they will for others, low-circulated newspapers are, perhaps paradoxically, able to sustain themselves if their advertising revenue is high enough (Hall, 1987). Certainly, the most influential work within communications has been undertaken by advertisers, who engage different publics primarily as 'targets' whose consumptive patterns are to be figured out and/or determined (Williams, 2016). Consequentially, advertisements form an integral part of the total communication of newspapers, often producing a single overall effect and style wherein emotional and evocative language is used to sell products as well as news to 'knowable markets' (Williams, 1968). The purpose of mass media is then to create known audiences that can be sold to advertisers (Smythe, 1981). However, an orientation towards capitalist axioms does not mean that newspapers should be understood as a monolithic entity. Indeed, if we are to take the Ownership filter seriously, we must acknowledge that corporate elites have varying and even competing interests, and while profit generation is a common denominator to these interests, they are engaged in a variety of ways.

Newspapers' supposedly knowable audiences are usually classed, raced and gendered in different ways, meaning that the specific consumer interests to which a newspaper caters will be associated with a certain group of buyers. For example, with respect to class, serious political analyses feature far more often in liberal newspapers, such as *The Mail & Guardian*, while cheaper newspapers produced for 'the majority' of people, such as *The Daily Sun*,

typically focus more on entertainment and spectacle (Wasserman, 2008). Thus, newspapers are able to designate, and therefore predetermine, particular tastes on a class basis (e.g. entertainment and gossip for working class readerships; political analyses and 'global news reporting' for middle class audiences). However, the very fact that these audiences consume the kind of news that is provided to them is taken as evidence for the fixity of their tastes. One aspect of taste thus emerges as more important than it initially is so that advertising can be sold through appeals to apparently 'known' audiences (Williams, 1968). It is not that working classes are more interested in entertainment than they are in political analyses, but rather that this is what is printed in many of the newspapers that are catered to working class audiences. It is in this way that newspapers reify particular class, race and gender identities that are very often premised on stereotype, division, competition and consumptive patterns (Herman & Chomsky, 2010), rather than culture, society and democratic communication (see Said, 1993). It seems then that it may be more analytically fruitful to examine how power discursively moves within and through news reports, than it is to focus on a newspaper's apparently known audience.

It can be said that a critical reading of newspaper audiences cannot rely on the kind of logic determined only by the Advertising filter. Rather, as Hall's (1980) pioneering work demonstrates, the ways by which signs and symbols are organised in newspapers, that is how they are encoded, will, in fact, always be interpreted, or decoded, in different ways by different people, depending on their position in society as well as their individual agentic capacities.

Symbolic Power and Value-making

The profit motive underlies both the Propaganda Model and the construction of newspaper audiences. However, it is not useful, or even accurate, to understand news media communication as, in every instance, fulfilling the repressive agenda of a malevolent nation-state. Indeed, it is through newspapers that people are able to learn about their political worlds, both past and present (Jacobs, 2019). All over the world, newspapers report from a range of political locations and frequently criticise State activity and market forces. This is not to say that the State does not censor newspapers when it is able to, but rather that in liberal democratic capitalist societies, anything - including sharp political criticism of a certain sort - can be accommodated by newspapers as long as it is profitable to do so (Williams, 1968). We therefore cannot deny newspaper biases towards neoliberalism, just as we cannot ignore that newspapers operate as producers, repositories and disseminators of knowledge that can challenge various modalities of oppression (Seedat, 1999), including neoliberal capitalism.

A critical understanding of power within newspaper reports requires that we incorporate framing into our analyses. This means that we must look beyond the latent content of newspapers and towards contextual cues and other salient features at work in newspaper reporting (Dorfman et al., 2001). Useful here is Bourdieu's (1991) notion of "symbolic power" which refers to the ability to name the social world, and thus also to construct reality in accordance with certain ideological principles. Much of the symbolic power of newspapers stems from their determination of news values which, in turn, determine newsworthiness (Bednarek & Caple, 2012). Traditional news values include timeliness, impact, violence, consequences, human interest and conflict (Dorfman et al., 2001). However, as nothing is inherently newsworthy, newsworthiness *comes to be* through a complex, but nonetheless

consciously constructed, set of criteria to which newspaper articles adhere in different ways for different purposes (Hall et al., 1978). There are numerous discursive and formal strategies - some of which are outlined in the Propaganda Model - that newspapers utilise to enhance their newsworthiness, including: positioning (i.e. centring sensational items); emphasising the supposed authority of a news source; using evaluative language; referencing negative emotions and actions; intensifying certain news items; relying on repetition; and using lyrical language, such as metaphor and simile (Bednarek & Caple 2012). The kinds of newsworthiness created from these strategies then translates into public perceptions of what does and does not matter (i.e. what is and is not legitimate news for different 'known' readerships).

Speaking to the real-world consequences of symbolic power, Hall and his colleagues (1978) describe how "signification spiral" in the news acts to link different events in ways that make them especially meaningful, potentially escalating people's sense of threat or crisis. Violence, in this regard, becomes represented and interpreted as decontextualised, uncontrollable and faceless; often creating a reactionary or siege mentality among audiences (Seedat, 1999). Here, the Fear filter draws on genuine and materially-rooted social anxieties as a means of constructing enemies whose essence is determined by elite social groups. Martín-Baró (1994), writing in 1980s El Salvador, notes that media discourses drew selectively from the public's desire for safety and stability as a means of constructing State violence as working to bring about such safety and stability. Dominant ideology, in this way, speaks to, rather than represents people's needs and desires (Eagleton, 1991), re-directing public anger towards vulnerable members of society instead of oppressive social systems (Herman & Chomsky, 2010).

The discursive coordinates of newsworthiness are also determined by the elite social groups who own or - through advertising - fund, newspapers (Dreher, 2003). Hall and his colleagues (1978) argue that these powerful groups become "primary definers" through their ability to crystallise issues that they deem important; provide information which supports preferred interpretations of these issues; and rely on the disorganised state of public knowledge to generate tacit agreement among audiences (Hall, 1987). There are always material consequences with respect to how primary definers exercise symbolic power in the determination of newsworthiness. For instance, mainstream news media in the USA tend to cover the Israeli occupation of Palestine from a conservative Zionist position because of Washington's political ties with Israel's Likud government. This then leads media audiences to assess positively Israeli occupation as well as the USA government's role in this (see Chomsky & Pappé, 2015). Similarly, Dreher (2003) describes how, following the attack on Manhattan's World Trade Centre in September 2001, Australian news media tended to scrutinise Muslim people living in Australia, which resulted in an uptick of Islamophobic violence and harassment in the country. News values and newsworthiness therefore carry with them material effects, themselves constituted by broader structures of domination.

'Impartial' Rhetoric

In relying on a seemingly detached, 'objective' tone, newspapers are able to appear democratic and impartial. Newspapers present to readers a "formal balance" (Hall, 1987, p.22) of opinions by presenting different (usually two and often conflicting) viewpoints which rarely reflect unequal distributions of power. Added to this, these viewpoints are usually placed within restrictive discursive parameters. In order to retain rhetorical credibility, those arguing against primary definitions are made to neutralise or alter their perspectives in order to accommodate to the discursive field as it is set by primary

definitions. Thus, for example, in news reports on discussions between social activists and ward councillors,[10] the focus may fall on assessing the legitimacy of protesters' damage to property, while the purpose of the protest (and the systemic and material conditions that it seeks to address) becomes largely ignored (see Duncan, 2016). Elites are in this regard able to influence and determine *the* interpretation of an event, generating in the process a common stock of taken-for-granted knowledges (Hall et al., 1978). It is also in this sense that 'speaking beyond' primary definitions is especially difficult once these definitions have been established within discourse.

The seemingly objective tone of newspapers also encourages readers to identify with 'rational neutrality' over any kind of passionate or partisan struggle. A politically detached subjectivity is in this way fostered among audiences (Hall, 1987). For instance, Iyengar (1994) highlights that many so-called episodic newspaper stories focus on individuals as both causes and solutions, which encourages readers to distance themselves from social structures that maintain economic and political inequalities. The passive position is in this way made to seem commonsensical and coherent with a particular 'reasonable' politics of respectability (Butchart & Seedat, 1990). People, in other words, become active consumers of news, yet remain politically passive as spectators (Robins, 2014). It is through this veneer of impartiality that newspapers retain a kind of cultural credibility that allows them to "manufacture consent" (see Herman & Chomsky, 2010), that is, legitimatise and gain consent to particular views, usually those of primary definers (Gavvilos, 2002).

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[10]In South Africa, ward councillors represent different geopolitical divisions - or municipalities - which are necessary for electoral purposes. Each ward elects a specific councillor, who serves as a communicative link between communities and their respective councils.

Media, Community and Violence

In order to explore further how newspapers' seeming impartiality affects material reality as well as rhetorical possibilities, we must look at how community is discursively engaged by newspapers, an area that is not well explored in the research (Ward et al., 2012). Indeed, mainstream media, including newspapers, tend to construct community in either wholly 'positive' or 'negative' ways (see Introduction section of this dissertation). However, what appears to have changed in today's media landscape - as opposed to earlier epochs (Butchart & Seedat, 1990) - is that affluent areas are rarely described as 'communities' (Ngonyama Ka Sigogo & Modipa, 2004). 'Community' usually refers to poor areas and, in places like South Africa, typically infers areas populated by those categorised as 'Black', 'Coloured' and 'Indian' under apartheid (see Introduction section of this dissertation). Thus, whether used in a wholly positive or negative sense, the notion of community within media and popular discourse can serve as a euphemism for race and separate development. In this sense, what, under apartheid were 'Bantustans' may now acceptability be referred to as 'communities' (Butchart & Seedat, 1990). In short, constructions of community in the media can serve to attribute inhumane living conditions to the very character of particular communities, ignoring broader histories and systems of violence (Dorfman et al., 2001). Such dehumanisation occurs by constructing the Other as an essentially violent object to be handled in a manner that is instrumental and that disregards the physical and/or psychological well-being of the community (Čehajić, Brown, & González, 2009). A small number of studies appear to confirm this. Esses, Medianu and Lawson (2013), for example, found that those communities which comprise low-status groups were more likely to be consistently dehumanised and established as expendable in media discourse. Similarly, in their study, Mahtari and Mountz (2002) found that positive attitudes towards immigration in Canada were rendered especially negative after being exposed to unfavourable media constructions of immigrant communities.

Dalsklev and Kunst (2015) reported that newspaper articles which focused on a particular negative group identity lead to greater dehumanisation of that group/community, often exaggerating already existing antagonisms. Indeed, media reports of marginalised communities are able to justify systemic inequalities (Esses et al., 2013), all while naturalising - and therefore also evading moral accountability for - such inequality (Foster, Haupt, & de Beer, 2005).

Affluent or middle class communities are rarely covered in newspapers as the very existence of these communities conforms most readily to a liberal politics of respectability. Conversely, low-income communities, with whom community psychologists most frequently work, tend to become newsworthy only by breaking through this respectability, such as through protest (Duncan, 2016). Certainly, poorer communities rarely enter into news media discourse as a result of the wretched social conditions imposed onto them. Instead, it is when residents of these communities disrupt the liberal social order that they are reported on in the news. In other words, it is usually only when communities are understood as 'violent' that they are considered newsworthy. As news readers are often removed from these communities, newspapers provide the general population with particular ways of understanding communities as well as community violence (Bleiker, Campbell, Hutchison, & Nicholson, 2013; Seedat, 1999). For some readers, news media constructions serve as their primary, if not their only, engagement with poor and working class communities and the issues that are most pertinent to these communities (Martín-Baró, 1994). Such disparaging images of disenfranchised communities can then function to establish the prototype of the Other against which constructions of the virtuous self are evaluated (Dalsklev & Kunst, 2015).

However, news media should not be considered as a monolithic entity and can, at times, accommodate appeals for justice as part of their advertising revenue. In South Africa, as is the case elsewhere, this is typically referred to as 'corporate social responsibility' and often includes a community engagement component (Fourie & Terre Blanche, 2018). Furthermore, various philanthropic groups and organisations that are not aligned with the government frequently use mainstream news media platforms to mobilise public funds towards - and social support for - various community concerns (Seedat, 1999). Community voices may therefore appear in news discourse, even if only sporadically, and this can result in material changes in people's lives. We can then say that newspapers employ different hermeneutics of violence when covering communities, whereby violence - attributed to various social actors and situations - can be interpreted as systemic, interpersonal, oppressive, liberatory, banal, expected, unjust, reactionary, pointless, unnecessary and/or misguided.

In sum, media coverage of community issues tends to simplify these issues into graspable polarities and personalities, thus obscuring the systemic and historical character of these issues (Steuter & Wills, 2009). Constructions of this kind do, however, differ from community to community, and although community voices and appeals to justice are certainly not entirely absent from news media discourse, the systemic connections between wealthy and impoverished communities are - more often than not - concealed (Dorfman et al., 2001). Consequently, violence - of all kinds - experienced by disenfranchised communities emerges as inevitable rather than unjust and preventable. It is in this respect that news media can perpetuate the romanticisation of 'community empowerment' over the much more liberatory notion of systemic transformation (Butchart & Seedat, 1990).

Newspapers in South Africa

News Media in the Apartheid Era

During apartheid, mainstream news media were under the control of the racist State and tended to either support or remain complicit with the ruling National Party government (Jacobs, 2019). Indeed, the national broadcaster, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), effectively served as the propaganda arm of State (Sparks, 2009). Switzer (2000) notes that by the 1980s, South Africa's commercial press was controlled by four major newspaper chains, the English language *Argus Printing and Publishing Company* and *Times Media Ltd.*, and the Afrikaans language *Nasionale Pers* and *Perskor*. Together, these chains accounted for 95% of readers of daily newspapers, as well as 92% of Sunday and weekly newsreaders. However, because these news chains catered to white audiences, their respective readerships excluded the majority of the country (Switzer, 2000). The monopolisation of news media (which, because television was only introduced in the country in 1976, consisted mainly of newspapers and radio broadcasts), together with the tight control that the State exercised over news production, meant that divisive and racist politics could be disseminated on a large scale through the media (Jacobs, 2019).

Between 1950 and 1990, over 100 laws regulating the activities of the South African news media were passed (Durrheim, Quayle, Whitehead, & Kriel, 2005). The most significant of these was the Publications Act 42 of 1974, which abolished all prior judicial reviews of censorship, thereby allowing the government complete control over all news content, as well as enabling the State to ban particular journalists (who were usually black) from working (Thiel, 1997). Mainstream news coverage during apartheid was also especially careful not to report on State-sanctioned violence. When such violence was reported, the names and faces of black people were usually obscured as a means of dehumanising blackness, as well as

generating what was commonly known as *swart gevaar*, an Afrikaans term which translates directly as "black danger" (Foster et al., 2005). In her study, Posel (1990) documents how, during this time, images in the media of anti-apartheid protests were typically captured from very close angles, and were often accompanied by inflammatory newsprint such as "security forces were forced to make use of rifles and shotguns to disperse rioting crowds" (p. 162). She notes how black protesters were repeatedly depicted as savage, tribal, unreasonable and as comprising a monolithically chaotic crowd. These depictions were then referentially drawn on to construct a civil and reasonable police force. Jacobs (2019) similarly highlights how, during apartheid, the SABC would demonise anti-apartheid protesters by describing them as "terrorists", "Russian-trained" and/or "agitators". The news production process was just as oppressive, with apartheid newsrooms subject to inhumane labour practices, such as sjambokking[11] black workers (Braude, 1999, as cited in Durrheim et al., 2005).

Although anti-apartheid media were subject to government censorship, exile and shutdown, there was nonetheless considerable resistance to mainstream racist media practices (Jacobs, 2019). However, anti-apartheid news media ranged widely in their political orientation. For instance, liberal critique advanced by the English press, and some Afrikaans publications, such as *Namqua Nuus* and *Vryweekblad*, was often ambivalent in how it exposed violent State practices (Switzer, 2000; Tomaselli & Nothling, 2008). In a collection edited by Tomaselli and Louw (1991), it is demonstrated how black-owned newspapers that were published (and usually banned) during the apartheid years played a much more important role in nurturing literary, democratic, social and organisational resistance to the National Party regime. Newspapers of this kind included *UDF News*, the widely circulated newsletter of the UDF; *The Rand Daily Mail*, which covered issues pertaining to black South Africans from a

[11]This entails repeatedly hitting someone with a heavy leather whip known as a sjambok. The sjambok has become symbolic of apartheid-style oppression.

vehemently anti-apartheid position; *The World*, which published explicitly anti-apartheid content; a range of African Nationalist newspapers printed between the 1940s-1960s, most of which were crushed; ANC newspapers; trade union newspapers, including those printed by COSATU; community newspapers; socialist newspapers; student press, like *National Student*; religious newspapers, such as *Muslim News*; and the Black Consciousness press of the 1970s, whose most prominent writer, Steve Biko, published under the pseudonym Frank Talk (see Biko, 1978). While some black-owned newspapers remained pro-capitalism (e.g. *The Sowetan*), these publications nonetheless played a crucial role in campaigning for a more just and democratic media in South Africa. They also informed the majority of the country's population - as well as the rest of the world - of the atrocities that were being committed by the apartheid government (Jacobs, 2019; Switzer, 2000).

The full extent of the role that the South African media played in sustaining apartheid ideology became better known to the public during the country's transition and reconciliation period, which began in the mid-1990s (Durrheim et al., 2005). It was during this time that the importance of anti-apartheid media, no matter how uneven or inconsistent in delegitimising the government, was made apparent to the world. This would bear implications for the so-called 'New South Africa' with respect to how media reports were consumed, resisted, coded and recoded (see Hall, 1980; Jacobs, 2019).

News Media under Liberal Democracy

It is important to keep in mind the role that print media have historically played in the consolidation of nation-states as "imagined communities" (see Anderson, 1983). It is during this consolidation period that such media are able to influence decision-making processes and - with respect to media access - who is able to make decisions (Howley, 2005). As noted

earlier in this dissertation's Introduction section, in the 1990s, when it was becoming clear that the apartheid regime was buckling under, the ANC - especially under Thabo Mbeki's leadership (1999-2008) - shed its socialist agenda for neoliberal reforms (Bond, 2004). A constitution was drawn up that emphasised free expression (within limits), including free access to information, with racism now made illegal under the rule of law (Durrheim et al., 2005). In this apparent 'New South Africa', the media were understood as a key site in opening up the country's economy. As early as 1993, Anglo-American disinvested from South Africa's media industry, an especially significant event as the British mining company had acted to legitimise and protect capital during apartheid, owning two of the biggest press houses. Black dominated capital also bought out a number of white-owned conglomerates, and the media industry was one of the first in the country to engage in Black Economic Empowerment redistributive economic policies (Tomaselli & Nothling, 2008). Today, most print media in South Africa are owned by four conglomerates: *Ausa*, *Media24*, *Independent Newspapers* and *Caxton CTP* (Chiumbu, 2015).

All of this had a significant effect on the production of news media in the post-apartheid era. The SABC was transformed from a State broadcaster to a public one, and a number of private broadcasters were now permitted, further entrenching an unrestricted and unregulated media landscape (see below: Table 1 for data on the circulation of daily print newspapers in South Africa, the Audit Bureau of Circulations of South Africa, 2018 as cited in Breitenbach, 2019; Table 2 for weekly print newspaper circulation, the Audit Bureau of Circulations of South Africa, 2018 as cited in Breitenbach, 2019; Table 3 for weekend print newspaper circulation, the Audit Bureau of Circulations of South Africa, 2018 as cited in Breitenbach, 2019; and Table 4 for data on South African online news website hits, the Digital Media and Marketing Association, 2013 as cited in Politics Web, 2013).

Table 1: Circulation of daily print newspapers

Publication	Circulation
Daily Sun	119,772
Daily Nation	105,000
The Star	75,772
Isolezwe	73,141
Sowetan	70,392
Son (Daily)	55,126
The (Daily) Citizen	42,045
Die Daily Burger	41,533
Die Daily Burger - Western Cape	38,773
Bukedde	35,921
The Namibian	33,245
Daily Beeld	32,500
Cape Times	29,353
Cape Argus	27,001
New Vision	25,252
The Mercury	25,175
Daily News	23,241
Times of Swaziland	22,243
Business Day	20,014
Daily Monitor	16,941
The Herald	16,318
Daily Dispatch	15,468
Volksblad - Daily	13,784
Pretoria News	12,442
The Witness	10,926
Taifa Leo	10,310
Diamond Fields Advertiser	6,966
Zambia Daily Mail	6,012
Die Daily Burger - Eastern Cape	2,762

Table 2. Circulation of weekly print newspapers

Publication	Circulation
Soccer Laduma	223,515
Ilanga	56,456
The Post	38,065
Mail & Guardian	25,834
The Voice	15,746
The Mmegi Reporter	11,721
The Botswana Gazette	10,114
The Monitor (Formerly Mmegi Monitor)	8,089
Lesotho Times	7,281
African Times Newspaper	1,288

Table 3. Circulation of weekend print newspapers

Publication	Circulation
Sunday Times	250,176
Sunday Nation	113,096
Rapport	105,900
Isolezwe ngoMgqibelo	57,016
Isolezwe ngeSonto	55,156
Sunday Tribune	50,615
Die Saturday Burger	49,717
Weekend Argus	49,612
Die Saturday Burger	48,490
City Press	46,498
Sunday Sun	46,352
The Saturday Star	44,200
Sunday World	38,901
Saturday Beeld	38,072
Independent on Saturday	35,598
Ilanga Langesonto	33,093
Son op Sondag (formerly Sondag Son)	31,822
Weekend Argus	31,509
The (Saturday) Citizen	29,623
Weekend Argus	18,103
Sunday Vision	15,871
Weekend Post	15,233
Daily Dispatch Weekend Edition (formerly Saturday Dispatch)	14,713
Volksblad - Saturday	13,053
Sunday Monitor	10,689
Weekend Witness	10,400
Taifa Jumapili	8,782
The Southern Cross	7,085
Pretoria News Saturday	6,645
Sunday Mail	4,848
Die Saturday Burger	2,660

Table 4. Online news websites

Rank	Publication	Website - Desktop	Website - Mobile	Total
1	news24.com	232 552	117 541	350 093
2	iol.co.za	103 613	9 629	113 242
3	sowetanlive.co.za	50 550	6 227	56 777
4	mg.co.za	43 486	7 318	50 804
5	timeslive.co.za	39 632	6 693	46 325
6	beeld.com	44 256	Unavailable	44 256
7	mybroadband.co.za	38 139	Unavailable	38 139
8	fin24.com	36 449	Unavailable	36 449
9	iafrica.com	23 555	4 037	27 592
10	citypress.co.za	24 526	Unavailable	24 526
11	bdlive.co.za	22 367	Unavailable	22 367
12	looklocal.co.za	15 928	4 745	20 673
13	ewn.co.za	10 914	6 939	17 853
14	moneyweb.co.za	17 137	570	17 707
15	dieburger.com	17 259	Unavailable	17 259
16	sabc.co.za	15 457	Unavailable	15 457
17	bizcommunity.com	12 276	2 704	14 980
18	Daily Sun (mobi)		14 707	14 707
19	volksblad.com	12 324	Unavailable	12 324
20	sundayworld.co.za	9 689	1 872	11 561
21	enca.com	9 473	Unavailable	9 473
22	thenewage.co.za	6 038	2 775	8 813
23	dailymaverick.co.za	8 322	Unavailable	8 322
24	sharenet.co.za	7 600	90	7 690
25	rapport.co.za	7 582	Unavailable	7 582
26	engineeringnews.co.za	5 528	722	6 250
27	etv.co.za	6 023	Unavailable	6 023
28	itweb.co.za	5 860	Unavailable	5 860
29	politicsweb.co.za	5 751	Unavailable	5 751
30	News24.com/isiZulu	505	4 273	4 778
31	maroelamedia.co.za	4 198	Unavailable	4 198
32	citizen.co.za	3 636	Unavailable	3 636
33	2oceansvibe.com	3 471	Unavailable	3 471
34	miningweekly.com	2 510	381	2 891
35	iol.co.za – Pretoria	2 687	Unavailable	2 687
36	techcentral.co.za	2 639	Unavailable	2 639
37	polity.org.za	2 057	342	2 399
38	Die Son (mobi)		2 358	2 358
39	dispatch.co.za	2 343	Unavailable	2 343
40	BusinessTech.co.za	2 297	Unavailable	2 297
41	iol.co.za – Cape Times	2 095	Unavailable	2 095
42	witness.co.za	2 051	Unavailable	2 051

There remained, however, a degree of State regulation, as evidenced by the Films and Publications Amendment Bill of 2019; the strong central editorship control of the SABC that was assumed in 2006; the reliance of the SABC on corporate advertising; and the regulatory standards imposed by semi-autonomous bodies (Sparks, 2009; Tomaselli & Nothling, 2008). It is with this in mind that we must consider the role that the media has played in consolidating the ANC government's effort to rebrand South Africa under a renewed and unified politics of national identity. As Jacobs (2019) notes, during the 1990s, the media's coverage of particularly notable national events (e.g. Nelson Mandela's release from prison in 1990; his televised 1993 address on the murder of Chris Hani;[12] the country's first democratic election in 1994; the Rugby World Cup that South Africa hosted and won in 1995; and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission proceedings that took place from 1996 to 1998) ushered in a media age, where the country's politics became, for the first time, intensely mediated on a large scale.

For contemporary South African media, cost-cutting - as is the case in the global media landscape (see Howley, 2010) - has meant that newsgathering and investigative reporting have been greatly downsized (Duncan, 2016). This, coupled with space constraints, pressure to meet deadlines, and the various institutional barriers that prevent journalists from accessing information (Dorfman et al., 2001), have resulted in a somewhat constrained media environment, where efficiency is prioritised over accurate reporting. Furthermore, sourcing is not well-funded, meaning that authoritative and easily contactable sources are heavily relied upon in South African news media (Duncan, 2016). Seedat (1999) and Pithouse (2014), for example, note that South African newspapers frequently used police reports as their primary

[12]Chris Hani was a popular and committed anti-apartheid activist. He was the leader of the South African Communist Party as well as the chief of staff of uMkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC.

source. This was evidenced in some news media reports on the 2012 Marikana Massacre[13] which, in relying on police accounts, proclaimed that police officers shot protesting miners in self-defence. However, researchers from the University of Johannesburg and journalists from *Daily Maverick* later found that these murders were premeditated by the South African Police Service (Duncan, 2016).

Today, as in the past, South Africa's media are not a monolithic body. Conservative and liberal newspapers are distinguishable from alternative and radical press by their respective political agendas (Seedat, 1999). Yet, there is an asymmetry of funding here. Much resistance press that had received donor funding for their anti-apartheid politics had this financial support withdrawn after 1994, which meant that media opportunities for those living in poor and working class communities in South Africa (i.e. the majority of the country) became greatly diminished (Pillay, 2003). All of this has meant that in the 'New South Africa' a large segment of the oppositional press has folded (Sparks, 2009).

Much of the mainstream media in contemporary South Africa remains metropolitan-based and middle class focused (Duncan, 2016), with race looming large across newspapers in particular. Durrheim and colleagues (2005) note that in 1999 the South African Human Rights Commission found that newspapers were especially racist in their reporting, with formal charges laid against both the *Sunday Times* and the *Mail & Guardian.* In a more recent study, Boonzaier (2017) found that South African newspaper reports on a young coloured girl who was raped and murdered inadvertently reproduced and bolstered colonial discourses around black women. She concludes that in South Africa, violence is located

[13]On 16 August 2012 - in what started off as a strike for wage increases by Lonmin platinum mineworkers - South African Police Service officers opened fire on the protesting miners, killing 34 of them. This was the deadliest use of force exerted on civilians by the South African State since 1976, and became known as the Marikana Massacre (see Duncan, 2016; Thomas, 2018).

primarily within and upon the bodies of black people and their communities, thereby ascribing within public consciousness an absolute violence onto blackness and poverty. Yet, it must be emphasised that even within mainstream media reports, space is sometimes made for activist voices seeking to challenge oppressive hegemony. In the United Kingdom, *The Guardian* newspaper targeted State security services after it had published secret documents that had been leaked (Kennard & Curtis, 2019). In South Africa, a number of exceptionally wealthy individuals were involved in funding the amaBhungane Centre for Investigative Journalism, a non-profit company that has been instrumental in reporting on corruption in the ANC government (see Du Toit, 2019). In another example from 2019, five South African journalists faced physical threats from prominent members of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)[14] for their critical reporting on the party (Chabalala, 2019). Therefore, while much print media in South Africa labours under the yoke of coloniality[15] (see Boonzaier, 2017), there are certainly journalists who struggle for just reporting. A critical analysis of South African media should pay heed to this tense and contradictory space, and the consequences that it has for symbolic power and freedom of speech.

Today, South African media - while freer than ever before - faces similar constraints to that of global media, meaning that those struggling for free and just reporting face a particular set of institutional and structural barriers. As noted earlier, these barriers can affect public perceptions, shape politics, marginalise particular ways of being and knowing, and constrain democratic processes. Following this, the media - and newspapers in particular - represent a

[14]Formed in 2013, the EFF is the third most popular political party in South Africa. They claim to be a "Marxist-Leninist-Fananion" party and proclaim to be on the far left of the political spectrum.

[15]Maldonado-Torres (2007. p. 240) describes coloniality as the "long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labor, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations. Thus, coloniality survives colonialism."

significant mode of analysis for community psychologists who are concerned with building counter-hegemonies.

The Present Study

Theoretical Coordinates

In drawing out a set of theoretical coordinates from the above literature, and read against my research's broader theoretical framework (i.e. social constructionism, critical social theory and liberation psychology), the present study seeks to utilise the five filters of Herman and Chomsky's (2010) Propaganda Model (i.e. Ownership, Advertising, Sourcing, Flak and Fear) to examine critically the discursive workings of power within South African newspapers, whose institutional history intersects with political struggle in the country in very particular ways. Such coordinates allow for an interrogation into social constructions of newsworthiness and news values, and how these relate to the supposed politics of 'known' readerships. Further, by examining how the Propaganda Model works to structure newspaper reports (including the tone of such reports), we may begin to critically analyse how news content discursively constitutes community for particular social purposes, thus speaking to critical social theory as well as liberation psychology. These theoretical coordinates facilitate a materialist consideration of power and discourse within newspapers, seeking to make clear various ideological mechanisms. The coordinates are malleable and allow for insight into how newspaper articles favour interpretations that cohere with a dominant social order, and - following critical social theory - how they challenge this order within particular ideological limits.

Aims and Objectives

The present study aims to understand how newspapers draw on 'community' to construct Thembelihle, and - from this - draw out insights for critical community psychologists who are concerned with the workings of dominant power and the building of counter-hegemonies. In seeking to advance these aims, and in drawing from the above research literature and theoretical coordinates, the following questions guided this study:

1. How do newspapers draw on notions of community to construct Thembelihle?
2. How does symbolic power discursively function in newspaper reports on Thembelihle?
3. What are the material consequences of newspaper reports on Thembelihle?
4. How can analysing newspaper reports inform the construction of community-centred counter-hegemonies?

Method

Data collection and corpus

The inclusion criterion for this study was any newspaper article that made mention to Thembelihle, including articles where the community was not the central focus. Excluded were reports on the Thembelihle municipality located in South Africa's Northern Cape province, as well as reports that were written by journalists named Thembelihle (unless, of course, they were reporting on the community in question). While no specific time period was selected, articles ranged between the years 1995 and 2018. Print newspaper articles were sourced via NewsBank's *South African News Media Archives*, which is the largest and most comprehensive collection of news stories in Africa. Access was gained through Unisa's online server. While the entire server was searched, newspapers which reported on Thembelihle included *The Sowetan*, *Pretoria News*, *Citizen*, *Mail & Guardian*, *City Press*,

Business Day, *Star, Financial Mail*, *Sunday Times*, *Saturday Star*, *This Day*, *The Times*, *The New Age*, *Sunday Independent*, *Daily Dispatch*, *Daily Sun* and *The Witness*. The online platform associated with each of these publications was then also searched. Other news websites that were included in this study were *IOL*, *Daily Maverick*, *ENCA*, *News24*, *Eyewitness News* and *SABC News*. In cases where the same article was published online and in print, only one was considered for inclusion in the study's data set. In total, 123 printed articles and 254 online articles were examined. As smaller community newspapers are not well catalogued, they were not included for analysis in this study.

Data analysis

Discourses are systems of symbols that create objects or constructs, such as 'community'. They represent various social practices and are inscribed with particular meanings which are made visible and invisible within particular contexts (McKinlay & McVittie, 2008). Stated differently, discourses are ways of referring to or constructing knowledges. They encompass numerous ideas, images and practices, all of which work to define appropriateness, use value, relevance, and 'truth' *in situ* (Hall 1997; Rose, 2001). Discourses are always inscribed with a particular politics of meaning. They signify neither objective fact nor subjective experience. Instead, they are part of a fluid set of practices which arrange social life as well as an individual's inner-world. Indeed, a single object or event is always subject to a variety of discourses (Burr, 1995; Parker, 2002). This is especially pertinent in the context of this study, where the individual-social nexus is important in considering how discourses on community are drawn on for a variety of purposes.

The study of discourse does not neglect materiality, but rather seeks to investigate the linguistic organisation of material life (Taylor, 2007), that is, how various meanings are

supported, contradicted and negotiated within and through language (Hall, 1997). Studying the slippery, ever-shifting contours of power requires careful consideration of how discourse engages power-knowledge (see Foucault, 1980; Rose, 2001). Indeed, discourses are tied to different social structures that scaffold power relations, with power exercised through discourses to render acceptable (and unacceptable) various forms of domination as they exist in particular contexts (Burr, 1995). Attempting to understand discourse therefore enables us to explore how power informs our shared meaning-making capacities, including the conventions, rules and games that accompany these capacities (Parker, 2002). Those who possess greater social power are able to construct more influential and potent discourses (Edley & Wetherell, 1999), meaning that analysing the workings of such power can inform how critical community psychologists are able to assist grassroots efforts that seek to resist and reconstitute dominant powers.

Although there are a number of principles which underlie a general conception of critical discourse analysis (see Van Dijk, 1993), for the purposes of this study, an especially relevant approach is proposed by Potter and Wetherell (1987). This approach, dubbed 'discursive psychology' by Edwards and Potter (1992), utilises discursive techniques to analyse how language is used, and applies these analyses to particular settings (Potter & Hepburn, 2007). Analysts need not evaluate cognitive phenomena such as 'attitude' or 'stereotype' when attempting to explain how discourse works. Instead, they are to look at how language is utilised to perform particular social actions within certain contexts (McKinlay & McVittie, 2008). What is emphasised here is the action-orientation of language (Willig, 2001). Thus, an individualising mode of analysis is substituted for a systems-focused hermeneutic that is sensitive to the psycho-material constitution and consequences of language.

Discursive psychology is concerned with identifying what Potter and Wetherell (1987) refer to as "interpretive repertoires". Organised around a number of metaphors, interpretive repertoires can be understood as "mini discourses". They are usually stylistically and grammatically coherent, and tend to develop and adapt to historical circumstances (Rose, 2001). Interpretive repertoires are, in this sense, toolkits that are drawn on in the discursive construction of a seemingly stable reality. For instance, the discourse of femininity will draw from a number of smaller interpretive repertoires around gender, just as discourses on community will draw from various interpretive repertoires that seek to problematise, fix, deconstruct and moralise 'community' for a range of purposes. It is because interpretive repertoires are always utilised for particular purposes that they encompass much variability (Potter & Hepburn, 2007; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Potter, Wetherell, Gill, & Edwards, 1990). Thus, analysts should not concern themselves only with the mere identification of interpretive repertoires. They should also attempt to recognise the use and function of these repertoires, the problems generated by their existence and the power relations therein. Discursive psychology therefore seeks to examine the ideological implication of interpretive repertoires, and highlight the differences both within and between repertoires (Burr, 1995; McKinlay & McVittie, 2008), all while emphasising the analyst's interpretation as one among many. In this, persuasiveness is prioritised over generalisability (Rose, 2001).

Analytical procedure

Relying on Potter and Wetherell's (1987) stages of discourse analysis, this study's analytical procedure adhered to the following steps: coding, main analysis and validation. During the first coding stage, I condensed the data corpus into smaller fragments. As coding must be as comprehensive as possible (Willig, 2001), I admitted into the coding process all newspaper reports which mentioned Thembelihle, either directly or implicitly. I then underlined and

designated a particular code to each word or phrase which was, even vaguely, relevant. For example, in the sentence "protesters from Thembelihle burnt down a power station", I identified a number of simple concrete codes, including: "Burning", "Property Damage", and "Protest". At the end of this process, almost 150 codes were identified. I then organised each of these codes into 13 coding categories (see Table 5 in the next section) which were eventually captured under two discourses, *Signifying Legitimacy* and *Containing the Protest Community*.

The next of Potter and Wetherell's (1987) stages, the main analysis, does not entail a single methodological procedure. Instead, it seeks to decipher how interpretive repertoires are deployed. Therefore, identifying interpretive repertoires that pertained to Thembelihle and its residents, as well as questioning my reading of these data, formed the primary foci of this stage. I also examined the variability and consistency, as well as the purposes and consequences, of discursive patterns within the various interpretive repertoires. I then attempted to falsify my initial interpretations of the data as a means of justifying the final analysis, as well as ensure credibility (Silverman, 2012). During this stage, I continually consulted relevant literature as well as the discursive action model and techniques of fact construction discussed by Edwards and Potter (1992). In heeding Parker's (2007) caveat that discursive psychology often neglects materiality and power differentials for a focus on the psychological, I attempted to contextually ground my interpretations using the study's theoretical coordinates outlined earlier. Thus, I sought to locate the power-laden material circumstances from which participants' discourse emerged, spoke to and/or resisted.

The final stage, validation, relies on two techniques, the first of which, coherence, speaks to the analyst's understanding of interpretive repertoires and how they relate to broader

discourses. Coherence determines whether texts can be considered for meaningful analysis. Ambiguity or indecipherability, in general, means that a text cannot be analysed in a significant way. If I and/or my supervisors determined a news article to be unclear it was disregarded from the analysis. The second technique in the validation process, fruitfulness, refers to the value of a text with respect to the analyst's ability to produce a pertinent interpretation of it, and thus relates to issues of analytical validity. This was apparent within about a third of my initial findings, most of which were either discarded or integrated into the rest of the analysis.

In what follows, I relied on the above stages of analysis to probe into how the community of Thembelihle is constructed in South African newspaper reports, and what this means for critical community psychologists concerned with power and counter-hegemony.

Analysing Power and the Discursive Making of Community in Newspapers

In reading almost 400 newspaper articles on Thembelihle, it quickly becomes apparent that the community - geographically segregated from the Johannesburg metropolis - is most often represented through a discursive prism of violence. However, such a prism is never monolithic, consistent, or singularly defined. It is instead through a number of different hermeneutics of violence (e.g. violence as emancipatory; violence as reactionary; violence as regressive; violence as banal; violence as misguided; violence as autotelic) that the greater South African public discursively 'consumes' Thembelihle within newspaper reports. In this regard, the immediate, as well as the historical, ontology of the community maps readily on Herman and Chomsky's (2010) Fear filter.

As a means of situating the study's main analysis within the larger data corpus, Table 5 below represents the 13 categories that were used to code the 377 newspaper articles, all of which were sourced from 22 online and print newspapers publications. These categories included: "Thembelihle as Violent"; "Police Violence"; "Protest"; "Municipality"; "March"; "Dolomite"; "Service Delivery"; "Relocation"; "Specific Political Party"; "Housing"; "Racial Tension"; "Arrests"; and "Shack Fire".

Table 5: Frequency of coding categories

Newspaper (n=22)	Articles examined	Thembelihle as Violent	Police Violence	Protest	Municipality	March	Dolomite	Service Delivery	Relocation	Specific Political Party	Housing	Racial Tension	Arrests	Shack Fire
The Sowetan	43	25	10	22	12	7	9	19	12	13	13	3	9	2
Pretoria News	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Citizen	44	29	4	19	8	1	2	14	3	3	5	5	14	0
Mail & Guardian	30	14	14	16	3	3	7	22	7	9	10	3	8	1
City Press	7	2	3	4	2	0	4	6	5	1	6	0	1	0
Business Day	6	1	1	2	1	2	0	1	1	2	1	0	2	0
The Star	40	15	7	16	14	3	13	19	19	8	13	0	6	0
Financial Mail	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Sunday Times	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
This Day	2	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
The Times	34	23	10	25	6	2	1	20	1	10	10	6	9	0
The New Age	9	1	0	3	1	1	2	7	2	0	1	0	1	0
Sunday Independent	4	1	1	1	2	0	1	4	1	2	1	0	0	0
Daily Dispatch	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Daily Sun	22	6	2	3	2	0	1	3	0	0	1	0	0	4
The Witness	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
IOL	7	4	3	4	0	1	0	3	0	2		0	1	0
Daily Maverick	10	7	6	10	2	0	4	8	1	6	4	3	5	0
ENCA	19	16	1	3	2	0	0	3	0	1	1	0	11	0
News24	36	23	10	20	5	0	3	10	2	4	6	4	17	1
Eyewitness News	55	33	14	39	15	4	3	38	0	9	13	3	13	1
SABC News	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
Total	**377**	**202**	**87**	**191**	**78**	**24**	**52**	**184**	**56**	**71**	**88**	**27**	**97**	**10**

Of the 13 coding categories identified, the most commonly occurring appeared to be undergirded by the notion of direct violence. Indeed, the most frequently occurring coding category was “Thembelihle as Violent”, where news articles portrayed the community as wholly or fundamentally violent. While violence in the community was, in some articles, reported on with reference to everyday instances of violence (e.g. crime), as well as spectacular and targeted violence (e.g. xenophobic violence), violence in Thembelihle was most often linked to protest (with “Protest” being the second most common coding category). Noteworthy here is that peaceful modes of demonstration - which form the majority of popular insurgent action in South Africa (see Duncan, 2016) - were reported on in the newspaper reports far less often (with the category “March” - a type of demonstration that was never characterised as violent in the news reports - noted only 24 times throughout the data corpus). Another form of direct violence within the coding categories was “Police Violence” which, in most articles, was constructed as a necessary reaction to community-led protest violence. It would seem then that across the coding categories, Thembelihle emerges as inherently - and perhaps also unchangeably, or ‘culturally’ - violent. It should be emphasised that newspaper articles that criticised police violence, or called for action against the unjust social conditions experienced by residents of the community, were in the numerical minority. This is to say that in the context of a majority of news reports that constructed Thembelihle as wholly violent, newspaper articles which challenged such depictions came to serve as progressive re-readings of the ‘objectively’ depicted fundamental violence (e.g. protest; xenophobia; reactionary police action) which characterised Thembelihle in most of the newspaper articles that were examined.

Across the newspaper articles, the more complex notion of systemic violence appeared most often as a brief contextual note against which instances of direct violence - typically the

primary focus of a given article - were to be evaluated or interpreted. For instance, although no article examined the categories "Dolomite" and "Relocation" in and of themselves, each (often in conjunction with one another) served as discursive adjunctives that provided sweeping background information that would frame the specific, directly violent, instance that was being reported on. "Service Delivery" and "Housing" similarly served as empty signifiers, simplistically summing up the grievances and fate of Thembelihle's complex, systemic and historical struggles. Even news articles in the "Shack Fires" category divorced shack fires from their largely systemic origins (see Pithouse, 2014). In the case of the "Racial Tensions" category (which focused primarily on racially-charged incidents occurring between black residents of Thembelihle and Indian residents from neighbouring communities), race-based antagonisms were, similarly, deployed as a brief note that acted to contextualise a more newsworthy story. Racial tensions were thus made to seem independent from their long history in South Africa (see Jacobs, 2019). Apparent here are limitations of form, where newspapers are tasked with reporting on what is understood as newsworthy (i.e. the immediate and visceral nature of direct violence), rather than the slow and invisiblised nature of systemic violence. Therefore, despite the poverty of interpretation that comes with considering direct violence at the expense of systemic violence, particular news values ensure that the former is afforded prime of place across the newspaper articles. This then feeds into the overall impression of Thembelihle as fundamentally violent, rather than as a community that labours under systemic violence and, in many ways, mobilises against this violence.

Although the most common coding categories saw direct violence as emanating primarily from Thembelihle itself, there were a number of categories that appeared to locate such violence as relational, that is, as arising from the community's interaction with external agents. These categories included: "Police Violence", "Racial Tension", "Municipality",

"Specific Political Party" and "Arrests". In each of these categories, direct violence was attributed primarily to an interaction ("Police Violence", "Racial Tension" and "Arrests") or to a lack of interaction ("Municipality" and "Specific Political Party"). Yet, blaming rhetoric remained consistent across these categories. The actions of those living in Thembelihle were usually identified as the root cause for police violence and arrests, and in cases where systemic violence was linked to the inaction of municipalities and particular political parties, residents were blamed for reacting with illiberal insurgency and anger, rather than exercising a measured kind of patience that puts its faith in a system that has continued to fail this community (see Introduction section of this dissertation). While some news articles harnessed these relational categories in sympathy with the plight of Thembelihle, such articles were - once again - in the minority, and thus seemed to represent a subjective perspective, working against the 'facts' that were reported across the majority of the newspaper articles.

It would seem then that prioritising newsworthiness, by focusing on a violent event over the historical and systemic nature of violence, meant that Thembelihle emerged across the coding categories not only as imminently and relationally violent, but as fundamentally responsible for this violence. It is against this discursive backdrop that I move onto the main analysis, in which two discourses were identified: *Signifying Legitimacy* and *Containing the Protest Community*.

Signifying Legitimacy

Legitimisation refers to the degree to which a particular social behaviour, practice or process is accredited or licenced, and thus depends on the support and/or approval of others (Reyes, 2011). In this study, legitimacy served as a significant framing device in many of the news articles across the coding categories, particularly "Protest". Indeed, any insurgent activity

attributed to Thembelihle (the very reason the community is rendered newsworthy) was usually constructed, either explicitly or implicitly, as legitimate or illegitimate. In this way, readers were led to evaluate the legitimacy of the violence in question, as well the social order in which it is situated; with structural violence almost always established in a given news article as natural or inevitable, and therefore more legitimate than any kind of resistance or reaction to this violence from the community.

In a newspaper article printed in the *Citizen*, which ran the headline "Squatter anger erupts" (Mabuza, 2002), protesters from Thembelihle (whose spelling is inconsistent throughout the article, perhaps indicating the partial ontology afforded to the community) are characterised as a "mob" on a "rampage". Although inflammatory, emotive language of this kind works to delegitimise the struggles of protesters, such delegitimisation is also achieved in a more subtle manner. Falling within a number of the above coding categories (see Table 5), the article describes how residents (who represent a single and coherent voice in the article) "claim" that because there "is no proper sanitation or electricity" their relocation is unjust. This "claim" is then contrasted with the State's reasoning for relocation, which is described as necessary "because" of the danger of dolomitic sinkholes in Thembelihle. Where the word "claim" attributes to the community a subjective stance (which builds onto the emotive and irrational connotations that are established via the emotive language used to describe the community), State action - through the more direct, and causal subordinating conjunction "because" - becomes marked by a position of objectivity and rationality, and therefore also legitimacy. As is typical in dominant colonial discourse, anger and community rage are delegitimised so that an oppressive social order can be sustained (see Canham, 2018). Members of the community are constructed as having been presented with a legitimate means through which to combat their structurally violent circumstances, yet this is refused on the

grounds of their subjective assessment rather than definitive reality, the latter of which is conferred to the perspective of the State and its actions. It is therefore a combination of allocating legitimacy to the State position, illegitimacy to that of the community, and discursive space to emotive descriptions of protester actions - rather than reasons for these actions - that the article brings readers into contact with Thembelihle as a singularly constituted, irrational and baselessly violent entity (i.e. the "Thembelihle as Violent" coding category).

In another article, published in *Daily Maverick* (De Wet, 2011a), a journalist working in Thembelihle offers readers five "lessons" that the South African public can glean from Thembelihle's political history, one of which is "[e]motion trumps logic every time". The apparent lesson here appears to be that "logical arguments" advocated by a "spread of politicians and would-be local leaders" which seek to "calm down" protesters are ignored by the overall population of Thembelihle, evidenced by its taking "to the streets" to protest. This "lesson" concludes by noting that "[t]here simply is no selling logic to people once they are well and truly riled up". Legitimate struggle, in this discursive rendering, can only be ascribed and reasonably dictated from above, meaning that democratic insurgency can only ever surface in the discourse as illogical, illegitimate and emotional; the consequence of being "riled up". Thus, those who defy primary definitions by operating outside of the discursive logic set by these definitions cannot be considered legitimate. Together, the five "lessons" (respectively: "Contagion is inevitable, no third force required"; "When you're angry at the government, your neighbours are in the line of fire"; "Emotion trumps logic every time"; "Don't mistake a hand up for a handout"; and "Listening is never a bad idea") appear to convey a kind of paternalism, where only a reasonable outsider is able to plausibly constitute struggle for the illegitimate community. In turn, the reader 'learns' that social order

can be restored only through the community's entering into a (perhaps slightly reformed) liberal politics of respectability, rather than through collective struggle. Community rage and emotion are, once again, cast aside (see Canham, 2018), and readers are encouraged to identify to a greater degree with the article's detached and dispassionate analysis than they are with the community's grassroots activist efforts (see Hall, 1987).

This discursive dichotomy, where clear-eyed and legitimate State rationality comes up against an inferiorised and illegitimate community response was by no means anomalous across the news articles. For instance, an article published in *This Day* ran the tagline "Thembelihle residents battle Johannesburg to stay on dolomitic land" (Russouw, 2003). Similarly, a 2011 *City Press* article - titled "Thembelihle wants more" - was taglined "nearby Lehae is serviced but residents won't go" (Sidimba, 2011), and a 1999 article from *The Star*, which was flippantly titled "Residents have sinking feeling" (Sepotokele, 1999), claims that:

> despite being warned that the area was at risk because it had been built on dolomite and might sink, some of the residents are opposed to being relocated to Vlakfontein, and say they enjoy and prefer living in Thembalihle [sic].

In each of these three articles - just as in the previous two - residents of Thembelihle, whose multipronged perspectives and contextual realities are only ever considered briefly, if indeed they are considered at all, are constructed as moving outside of the logics proposed by primary definers, and are therefore constituted within the discourse as illegitimate. Residents are constructed across these articles as desiring to live in an area that has been declared uninhabitable by the State, and therefore their demands and even their viewpoints on this matter need not be seriously engaged. In this way, issues of structural violence are

discursively cast as the products of a community that does not follow the ‘reasonable’ course of action proposed by a seemingly benevolent State.

The Ownership and Sourcing filters (see Herman & Chomsky, 2010) served as important considerations in newspaper articles which harnessed primary definitions as a means of delineating the discursive contours of legitimacy and illegitimacy. This was observed most explicitly in pro-government newspapers, such as the now-defunct *New Age* which was owned by TNA Media, a company with very close ties to the ANC. A clutch of *New Age* articles concerning Thembelihle include one which ran the headline “More informal settlements electrified” (TNA Reporter, 2016); one which boasted that “2500 stands will be electrified in the informal settlement of Thembelihle” (Nkosi, 2016); and another which reported that “87.2% [of the population of Thembelihle has] access to electricity” despite “owing millions to Eskom” (Manoko, 2017). However, in studying discourses related to power and community, open propaganda of this sort tells us little about the workings of hegemonic power, and the more subtle ways by which legitimacy and illegitimacy are constructed in the media. We are perhaps able to glean greater insights in this respect from liberal newspapers such as *The Sowetan*, which is aimed at middle class black audiences and tends to focus its journalistic attention on Thembelihle more regularly and in a somewhat more critical fashion than newspapers aimed at white audiences.

A 2002 article published in *The Sowetan* reports that “several former residents of Thembelihle informal settlement, near Lenasia, who opted to relocate to Vlakfontein voluntarily, say the relocations were conducted peacefully” (Fuphe, 2002). Looking to Figure 2 (see Introduction section of this dissertation), it is clear that both Thembelihle and Vlakfontein are located in the larger Lenasia area; however, in demarcating both as ‘near’

Lenasia, the report comes to other these particular 'troublesome' geographies. The article goes on to recount several other similar testimonials, including one from a member of the PAC, "who is opposed to the move [but] conceded that despite resistance by about 3 000 protesters on Tuesday, people were now relocating to Vlakfontein on their own". In contrast to the singularity of violence and illegitimacy which marks constructions of Thembelihle in the liberal and Statist newspaper articles, such as those published in *The New Age*, Thembelihle is constructed in this *Sowetan* article as comprising multiple and conflicting voices and politics, most of which are characterised by "peace". Yet, even this more nuanced construction is shot through with the newspaper's capital-friendly ethic. Although official sources (e.g. the police and ward councillors) are not relied upon as heavily as they are in other news articles, the actions and voices of the people of Thembelihle are constructed as favourable only insofar as they cohere with (or resist in a socially palatable fashion) State functioning and decision-making. Rather than take on a similarly nuanced tone in describing protests which were not "peaceful", these are left out of the report altogether. Thus, despite this article extending greater legitimacy and sensitivity towards the plight of those living in Thembelihle than many other newspaper articles did, the neoliberal character of *The Sowetan* does not permit it to handle with empathy more radical protest action (e.g. contestations to the veracity of official geological reports, and assertions that State-led infrastructural investment may stabilise the area, as it has in other dolomitic areas in Gauteng, see Huchzermeyer, 2009). Indeed, such progressive protest action is to be ignored if the news report's sensitive, but essentially neoliberal, approach to community struggle is to be sustained credibly.

Although primary definitions of legitimacy are typically set by the liberal State, the State is still able to contravene these and may, in such instances, be constructed in the news reports as

illegitimate. In a relatively critical newspaper article concerning relocations in South Africa (with specific mention of Thembelihle) that was published in *City Press* (wa Sekano, 2002), authorities are condemned for destroying people's shacks in a ruthless manner. In rare cases then, the "Police Violence" category was not paired with the "Thembelihle as Violent" category within newspaper reports. Added to this, Vlakfontein - the area to which Thembelihle residents are relocated - is described in the article as "barren", geographically distant and selected for relocation on a political, rather than a pragmatic, basis. However, the implication here is that relocation (whose legitimacy is not questioned) is performed illegitimately, and it is the finer contours of the relocation process that are questioned, instead of the process itself. Thus, the decades-long contestations around dolomite in Thembelihle (see Huchzermeyer, 2009), as well as issues of attachment, memories of apartheid, and sense of home and belonging, are entirely disregarded.

From the above, we can deduce that in South African newspaper reporting, Thembelihle is made newsworthy primarily with reference to violence, from which a legitimate-illegitimate binary is established. Through different interpretive repertoires - most of which subscribe to Herman and Chomsky's (2010) Propaganda Model - insurgent community action was decontextualised, and made to appear as illegitimate acts of direct violence. By contrast, State action and structural violence were established as legitimate, so long as they cohered with liberalised boundaries of respectability, themselves imposed and defined by the State. Taken together, these constructions represent a kind of epistemic violence, where ahistorical, essentialised and liberalised representations of Thembelihle, and the activist actions of its residents, are drawn upon so that both may be treated by State powers in accordance to such myopic representations (see Said, 1978; Teo, 2010).

Containing the Protest Community

As noted earlier, violence served as a hermeneutic prism through which Thembelihle was discursively established in the different newspaper reports. Such violence was rendered newsworthy only when it broke through the existing social order, usually in the form of public protest (i.e. a coupling of the two most common coding categories, "Thembelihle as Violent" and "Protest"). It is significant that 'non-violent' protest was only occasionally covered, and when it was, select publications opted to do so (e.g. *The Sowetan*; *Daily Maverick*; *City Press; Citizen*). Furthermore, protests understood as violent (with damage to property and police brutality usually collapsed into a singular and vague notion of 'violence') were rarely historicised within news articles. Yet, in every article, the textual positionality of protest (e.g. protest as the article's principle focus; protest as contextual background for the article's main focus; or protest as an omnipresent potentiality), as well as the rhetorical function of a particular protest within an article (e.g. protest as an object of critique; protest as an analytical mode; and/or protest as an explanatory consequence) were constructed in very different ways. The continual reference to protest (actual, potential and imagined) thus establishes Thembelihle in the social imagination as little more than a protest community which must, in almost every instance, be contained through State-directed action if a peaceful social order is to be restored.

In the newspaper articles examined, protest was most often constructed as "service delivery protest" (bringing together the "Protest" and "Service Delivery" coding categories), which - as numerous authors have noted (e.g. Duncan, 2016; Hart, 2008; Stewart, 2014) - serves as a myopic kind of State-centric analysis of public grievances. Indeed, a simplistic, catch-all solution to structural violence is offered here through better service delivery, while the overall system of racial and patriarchal capitalism remains intact. Although the adequate

rendering of services by the State often forms a central demand of protesters in South Africa, characterising every protest as being concerned with an unspecified notion of 'service delivery' inadequately speaks to the complex political origins and demands of these protests, which range from social inclusion, to citizenship, to human rights. For instance, in a seemingly critical article was published in *The Sowetan* which and headlined "Don't build on unsafe land" (Sepotokele, 2011), journalists working in South Africa are urged to report responsibly on protest events - such as those around land evictions (see the "Relocation" coding category) - that were taking place in Thembelihle at the time of this article's publication. The article begins:

> [d]espite warnings not to build on sinking ground, shack dwellers continue to do so. Can the media help? Every time communities are engulfed in flames because of violent protests over the lack of service delivery, the media are the first to know and the first on the scene – even before law-enforcement agencies arrive.

In this discourse, media personnel are positioned as able to provide direction to misinformed protesters, making for a patronising tone. Indeed, the "flames" of continued structural violence - which certainly affect more lives in Thembelihle than a single protest event - are ignored, and discursively remade into a product belonging to the actions of protesters. "Service delivery" is employed here in a suitably vague manner in order to emphasise that protests should be prevented, rather than have protesters' grievances addressed or taken seriously. It is in this way that 'protest' is discursively attributed to the very character of communities like Thembelihle, meaning that rational outsiders - such as journalists - have a duty to curtail protest, as well as the 'violence' by which protest is almost always characterised in the media. There is little mention in the article to the irresponsible stance

assumed by most journalists covering protest in South Africa, who repeatedly over-represent protests as violent (most are, in fact, non-violent, Duncan, 2016), and seldom cover police brutality[16] (see Duncan, 2016). Protest is thus able to emerge in the article as a kind of social affliction, rather than a constitutional and democratic channel which has enjoyed a long history of winning various legislative, social and political freedoms in South Africa.

The article goes on to note that:

> [i]n reporting protests it is important for the media to highlight the unintended consequences of the violence that often accompanies protests, such as injuries, death, and damage to property and infrastructure – as evinced in the violent protest in Thembelihle.

A conceptual slippage is apparent here. Although, as the article contends, it is true that "injuries [and] death" are "unintended" - and are also quite rare - "consequences" of protest (see Duncan, 2016), the same cannot be said for "damage to property and infrastructure". Yet, it is often the intention of protesters to garner public attention to their struggle through non-violent damage to property (see Canham, 2018). Added to this, there may be factions within social movements that advocate property damage as a strategy, those who do not, and those whose rage becomes manifest in particular moments of protest through unplanned damage to property. Thus, the subjectivities, bureaucracies and material realities of protesters are muted in the article by focusing on the real, imagined and hypothetical effects of protest on the given social order. This is reiterated most clearly in the article's two closing sentences:

[16]However, employing a violent/nonviolent binary to characterise protest comes with its own set of complications. How, for example, can one determine whether violent protest action is enacted by the protesters themselves, and not opportunistic bystanders? Can/should we disentangle structural violence from direct violence when covering protest? Are brief moments of violence within a protest event enough to classify the entire protest as violent? Accordingly, the refusal, and perhaps also inability, of most newspaper reports to grapple with questions like these can perpetuate static and moralistic evaluations of protest.

> It is really shocking that certain sections of our population make their message known through violence, destroying what we have for what we don't have. Sadly, the damage caused during the Thembelihle protest is estimated at R1.5-million, and it's you and I, the taxpayers, who will foot the bill.

The words "[s]adly and "shocking" advance a moralistic reading of protests, where a particular in-group of "taxpayers" - valorised through their adherence to the dictums of capital - comes up against an anesthetised (rather than a properly politicised) conception of struggle. Structural violence is ignored, with the State's monopoly on violence (see Weber, 2008), and the consequences thereof, muted. Similarly, a nuanced engagement with the social effects of protest violence, within and beyond the community, is not advanced in any way. Instead, the spectacle of protest violence serves as the primary interpretive frame by which struggle is to be understood, and in this way struggle becomes delegitimised. Consequentially, potential cross-alliances are disabled via an emotional and a social distancing, with the "Protest" and "Thembelihle as Violent" coding categories effectively collapsing into one another. Ultimately, the article emphasises that it is not intended for an audience that is sympathetic to the plight of Thembelihle, let alone for residents of this community.

While the above *Sowetan* article is somewhat more polemic than is typical of news journalism (it may, perhaps more accurately, be classified as an opinion piece), its basic sentiment and use of interpretive repertoires can be observed across supposedly more 'objective' news reporting. Looking to a 2015 online article published in *IOL* (Sapa, 2015), protesters from Thembelihle are said to have:

> once again blocked the K43 road in Thembelihle, Lenasia, on Monday evening, Johannesburg metro police said … [m]otorists are advised to use the Golden Highway and Nirvana Drive as alternative routes, as protesters are throwing stones towards passing cars. There has been no injuries or damage confirmed as of yet. It was believed they were protesting over electricity … Lieutenant Kay Makhubela said police used teargas to disperse the protesters, who were apparently demonstrating over service delivery issues.

In a similar manner to other South African media platforms - such as talk radio - which are informed by neoliberal discursive frameworks (see Day, Cornell, & Malherbe, 2019), the above excerpt positions protest with respect to how it disrupts society (i.e. the flow of road traffic), with the particularities of the protest itself rendered a secondary concern (the article very vaguely notes that it is "believed" that the protest is concerned with electricity, presumably illegal electricity connections, but even this is not explicated). It is in this sense that the article might more appropriately be considered a traffic report, with a suitably neutral tone, encouraging motorists to work around this momentary, but typical, nuisance. In this way, any engagement with the inherently political nature of the protest is denied. While this article does not participate in false reporting *per se*, it draws on particular interpretive repertoires to arrange 'facts' in a manner that prioritises the social status quo. This is not to say that the article gives credence to elite subjects (certainly, many workers - especially precarious workers - are invested in the smooth functioning of the neoliberal status quo) (see Day et al., 2019), but rather draws attention to how the community comes into public consciousness when *it*, constructed as a monolithic entity, engages in protest.

Many news reports covered protest in Thembelihle from the perspective of the police, that is, from the discursive position of the State, and therefore assumed an 'objective' tone through their proximity to such an authoritative source. A 2011 article, published online in *The Sowetan* (Maliza, 2011), reported that:

> [a]n 11-year-old boy was hit in the face by a stray rubber bullet in Thembelihle outside Lenasia in Johannesburg yesterday, after service delivery protests in the area had turned violent. The boy was struck by a rubber bullet as he stood in his parents' yard and watched as police and residents took each other on. Tebogo Tshwala was left grazed, swollen and bleeding from his left cheek.

In this extract, the image of the young child becomes central in the politics constructed in the discourse. By stating his full name and age, as well as providing a description of the injury, he becomes established as emblematic of the consequences of the protesting community. Despite the child being shot by a police officer, the article relies on strategic sequencing, as well as evoking a false equivalence, in order to position the child's injury as an inevitable product of protest, instead of the result of violent State-directed action. Indeed, it is only after the child's injury has been described that the reader is informed that "[s]ervice delivery protests in the area had turned violent and police fired rubber bullets at the crowd". The fact that the child was hit by one of these rubber bullets is never directly stated. Furthermore, by positing the police and protesters as two clashing but - implicitly - equal forces, the article condemns the entire protest without considering the unequal dynamics of power that characterise police-protester interaction. However, the article seems to go even further than this. Violence, again functioning as an empty signifier, is established as that which brought about the rubber bullets. There seems to be an implication here that had these protests not

“turned violent”, or occurred at all, harm to the young child would have been prevented. Power in this sense is afforded in greater part to protesters, whose actions are subtly positioned within the discourse as causing the police to shoot the child.

In differing from news reports which ignore or remake the unequal power relations between police and protesters, many news media articles alluded to the necessity of policing the protesting community. In a 2011 *Daily Maverick* article (De Wet, 2011b), it is noted that:

> [r]eports of planned marches into Lenasia itself caused minor spikes of panic, talk of evacuating children in the face of imminent looting. Cooler heads (or the police) invariably prevailed, but if the police presence had been any smaller, any less visible, or police had been perceived to not be in control, that may well not have been the case. Themb’elihle itself also requires a firm police hand, to some extent. Everyone, including protesters and their leaders, acknowledge that criminals have used the chaos caused by demonstrations for their own gain. They target not the armed-and-waiting residents of Lenasia, but the weaker on their own side of the road. Several police officers have expressed worry at what could befall the old and frail and young in Themb’elihle if it should become a true no-go zone for police. Not to mention the effects should the community then take justice into its own hands.

In this extract, protest is established as: a danger to children; resulting in “spikes of panic”; a cause of looting; the domain of “criminals” and “chaos”; and praying on “weaker” citizens, including “the old and frail and young”. From this account, it would seem that in every instance protest is as directionless as it is all-encompassing and damaging. This is perhaps the logical conclusion to the protesting community discourse, and it follows that against this

apparently baseless destruction “[c]ooler heads (or the police)” are championed as external mediators. As the discourse favours repressive State apparatuses (see Althusser, 2014) over the community taking “justice into its own hands”, the “Police Violence” coding category becomes self-legitimising. Yet, with respect to the study of power and how it is justified, what is most pertinent in the case of this article is what it omits. It cannot be claimed that every person living in Thembelihle supports every protest. However, in over three decades of activism, protest does form an important part of the community’s historical trajectory and therefore also its identity. Certainly, protest has been responsible for a number of victories, such as the partial electrification of Thembelihle in 2016 (see Phala, 2016), meaning that in all likelihood protest is a source of pride for many in the community (see Cornell, Malherbe, Suffla, & Seedat, 2019). The article neglects to consider this. Additionally, by relying on constructions that evoke three contesting and monolithically rendered entities: ‘the community’, ‘protesters’ and ‘police’, the article does not engage the reasons that community members may be sceptical of the police, the overall goals of the protest in question, and possible factions within this protest. Another peculiar omission in the article relates to the notion of ‘slow activism’ (see Robins, 2014), that is, the tremendous amount of organising and planning behind protest events. Characterising such protest as “chaos” discursively places a value judgement onto the consequences of protest, while ignoring the bureaucratic and legislative processes that undergird the organisation of protests. Discursively placing police-protester interactions within such a simplistic order-chaos binary acts to rationally posit policing protest as requisite in maintaining a social order that, because it is not given any critical discursive attention in the article, emerges as inherently just.

It would seem that discourses around *Containing the Protest Community* seek to construct Thembelihle in two central ways, both of which cohere with how the community is engaged

by dominant powers. Firstly, in harnessing Herman and Chomsky's (2010) Fear filter, the protest community is established as one that participates in protest in a wholly directionless and violent manner. Violence of this sort is not always defined, and functions as a kind of empty signifier which points to an overall condemnation of protest, rather than attempting any sort of political and systems-focused analysis of protest. A signification spiral can thus be noted here (see Hall et al., 1978), where Thembelihle emerges as a faceless and violent protesting mass (Seedat, 1999). Secondly, if an article does provide motivation for the violence characterising protest (which, as a means of advancing the 'illogic' of the protest community, it often does not), such violence is, in almost every instance, constructed as a response to a lack of 'service delivery'. This acts to diminish or over-simplify the political nature of protests, and allows newspaper articles to plausibly construct protesters as irrational due to their ambivalence towards the social services which have been rendered (no matter how inadequately) by the State. From this emerges a paternal, even patronising, discourse around the need for purveyors of ideological State apparatuses (e.g. State-aligned media personnel or the police) to 'educate' or 'contain' the community. Little, if any, mention is made to community issues as articulated by community members themselves.

Conclusion

Community psychologists are, for the most part, outsiders to the geo-cultural spaces within which they work. While studying the contextual backdrop of different communities is important, such study does not always yield useful understandings of how particular histories are lived and felt in the contemporary socio-political moment. Drawing largely on Herman and Chomsky's (2010) Propaganda Model as a means of understanding the workings of power in news media, and in particular its political history in South Africa, the present study harnesses the notions of symbolic power, news values, imagined readerships, ideology,

framing and newsworthiness to explore how 'community' is discursively drawn on in South African newspapers to construct Thembelihle. From here, the study interrogates the material consequences of these discursive constructions, and how these can inform counter-hegemonic action.

I identify two discourses in this study, *Signifying Legitimacy* and *Containing the Protest Community*, both of which inform a construction of the community that is shot through a hermeneutic prism of violence. Resultantly, Thembelihle - an already marginalised community - emerges in public consciousness almost exclusively through references to violence. This, as many critical psychologists of community have argued (e.g. Martín-Baró, 1994; Seedat, 1999), affects not only public opinion and civil society's response to systemic injustice, but also legislation, policy and a community's self-image. In short, these newspaper constructions contain within them fundamental questions related to psychosocial praxis, activism, organised resistance, and the broader political unconscious (see Jameson, 1981).

News media are able to guide how community psychologists work with people to disrupt static conceptions of their community, and how communities are discursively hailed by dominant powers (see Said, 1978; Teo, 2010). This includes considerations around amplifying a multitude of, often contradicting, voices in an effort to create a basis of common community concerns, and working to articulate these concerns to and for audiences within and beyond the community. It is in this way that we may begin to work outside of the primary definitions imposed onto communities and, by legitimising resistance, struggle and the multitude through nuanced conceptions of community, allow for a process of counter-hegemonic and humanising social action. Such action may then open up space for democratic discursive reconstitution (e.g. re-signifying what is legitimate and what is illegitimate

progressive emancipatory action) while foreclosing oppressive discursive spaces (e.g. debates regarding the responsibility of individuals for their structurally violent circumstances). Work of this kind is also able to contribute to dismantling constructions of communities as wholly violent and essentially Other geo-specific places (which often operate in tandem with discourses that define communities as violent because they are Other). Amplifying community voices in this way is able to contextualise community struggles as well as garner support from wider society.

It is important to stress that in establishing counter-hegemonies within communities, combining organised political activism with discursive resistance is crucial. Community voices - both in the media and through more unconventional cultural modalities - are able to contextualise and communicate to a broader public community issues, how these are being resisted, and channels for solidarity. Thus, taking seriously discursive resistance can enable community psychologists to engage in a wider project of legitimising community activism, and spreading the reach of such activism on terms set by activists themselves (rather than those imposed onto such activism by mainstream media reports). We may then speak to, and create ruptures in, the ways by which structural violence is encoded through epistemologically violent news media depictions.

As noted earlier, this study examined mainstream newspapers, and therefore ignored the discourses that were drawn on in local newspapers circulated exclusively in the Lenasia area, such as *Lenasia Times* and *The Rising Sun*. This is undoubtedly a weakness of the study, as local newspapers certainly influence public opinion in this area. Although the low circulation of community newspapers means that they are less discursively potent than national newspapers, for many residents of Lenasia, these publications serve as their primary, if not

their only, interaction with Thembelihle. Future research should take greater care to consider such publications which may not be hegemonic. Another weakness of the study is noted its attempt to draw out lessons for community psychology from news media coverage of a single community. Analysing newspaper reports on a number of communities - ranging in affluence, geo-historical location and size - would deepen this kind of analysis. While I did attempt to link the discourses to materiality (e.g. how newspaper descriptions of protest may have influenced the State's engagement with protesters), much of this was speculation, and oftentimes collapsed into discursive reduction. Future research is urged to grapple further with the material limitations of discursive psychology, and to seek out innovative ways of addressing this (e.g. through critical realist insights). Finally, I recognise that the study's analysis could have been more reflexively grounded, emphasising how my own socio-politico-ontological position influenced my reading of the data, as well as how my engagement with the academic literature around media and community may have unintentionally predetermined the coding categories that were identified.

Critical community psychologists who are working through the profound psychosocial wounds that afflict majority populations living under racial and patriarchal capitalism have a duty to confront the workings of power (see Lykes, Terre Blanche, & Hamber, 2003). Accordingly, while we should be expected to harness existing as well as emerging enactments of counter-hegemony, socially just policy, the everyday and community-oriented legislation, we are also required to examine how the discursive workings of dominant powers relate to people's material realities. In this study, I argue that newspapers are ideal in this respect as they can lay the foundations for how to proceed in changing dominant discursive terrains; providing insights into how communities are perceived, engaged and handled; and informing, as well as aggrandising, efforts to build flourishing and safe communities whose

residents' psychosocial anguish, quotidian lives, and sense of home and belonging are taken seriously by a democratically constituted set of institutions.

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STUDY II

RESTORYING COMMUNITY THROUGH MULTIMODAL DISCOURSES: ARTICULATING INTRA-COMMUNITY RESISTANCE

Abstract

As noted in Study I, discourses of community are typically drawn on in mainstream newspaper reports for marginalising ends. In response to this, 'alternative' or community media have sought to reject elite-oriented media narratives by constructing counter-hegemonies that inform how communities organise against and resist dominant powers. In the present study, I argue for the counter-hegemonic capacities and restorying potentialities inherent to participatory filmmaking. The study aims to examine how dominant depictions of community are resisted and repurposed within a participatory documentary film produced by residents of Thembelihle. A number of meetings were held with community members who worked in collaboration with a professional filmmaking team and myself to conceptualise and produce the documentary. It was decided that the film, which community members titled *Thembelihle: Place of Hope*, would feature the stories of twelve different people living in the community. For the purposes of this study, I drew on multimodal discourse analysis to examine how five of these participants constructed community-oriented modes of quotidian resistance in the film. It was found that across four kinds of economic activity (namely: farming, brick-making, teaching and nursing) participants drew on the *Entrepreneurship of the Multitude* discourse to construct anti-capitalist formations of economic production and distribution. In this way, the *Entrepreneurship of the Multitude* discourse offered visions of an egalitarian future that were located within the everyday, and were thus especially meaningful to people. The discourse appeared to pivot on the multitudinous character of

community life and - unlike the newspaper discourses analysed in Study I - attempted to tell a fuller, more nuanced story of Thembelihle. The anti-capitalist economic activity constructed by the *Entrepreneurship of the Multitude* discourse was, however, constrained by the very neoliberal economic system that it sought to challenge. I therefore argue that supporting the kinds of democratic economic arrangements offered by this discourse is imperative for projects concerned with socioeconomic liberation more broadly.

Keywords: participatory filmmaking; multimodal discourse analysis; entrepreneurship of the multitude; community; violence; community media

Introduction

For community psychologists, the study of ideological hegemony should inform the action orientation of their praxis. Such an understanding is able to guide how community psychologists work with communities to develop political, material and discursive counter-hegemonic strategies (see Gramsci, 1971). As noted in Study I, discourses of community are typically drawn on in mainstream newspaper reports for marginalising ends that align with Statist and capital-oriented programmes. As newspapers, in large part, set the news agenda for more widely consumed news media, such as television (Jacobs, 2019), it was argued in Study I that analysing newspapers allows for an interrogation into the functioning and material consequences of dominant discourses. However, for the purposes of constructing counter-hegemonies through community media, newspapers are perhaps not as visceral or 'spreadable' as so-called new media (see Askanius, 2014; Jenkins, Ford, & Green, 2013). Accordingly, the current study seeks to examine the counter-hegemonic capacities and restorying potentialities inherent to participatory filmmaking.

Specifically, I argue in this study for participatory film as a means through which to develop an understanding of how alternative, resistant and politicised constructions of community are lived and felt by those living in Thembelihle. I thus aim to examine how dominant depictions of community are resisted by those residents for whom this community serves as a site of psychological and material significance. However, as the representational properties of film allow for an especially emotive and visceral kind of counter-hegemonic representation, a linguistically-based discourse analysis (such as discursive psychology, see Study I), I posit, will not in itself be sufficient to analyse the visuality of film. Instead, I draw on multimodal discourse analysis (where various 'modes', such as sound, movement and visuals, intersect to

make meaning within particular contexts) to analyse a participatory documentary film entitled *Thembelihle: Place of Hope*.

In what follows, I examine some of the ways by which participatory filmmaking has been used in community-based research (often, but not always, by community psychologists), and consider the capacities of the method to restory community. I then provide a brief outline of community media and their political import in South Africa and elsewhere. Following this, in a section detailing the present study, I draw on theories from media and discourse studies to develop a form of multimodal discourse analysis that is suited to the study of participatory film. This analysis is then applied to the participatory documentary film *Thembelihle: Place of Hope* as a means of exploring how residents from Thembelihle discursively (re)constituted their community through the film, as well as to what extent they were able to advance counter-hegemonic constructions that spoke back to the epistemic violence inherent to many of the dominant narratives that surround their community (see Study I). Finally, I consider the relevance of this study's findings for community psychology as well as community-engaged work more generally. In particular, I consider how we might use film and the ways by which the medium can engage 'community' for socially-just counter-hegemonic purposes.

Participatory Filmmaking and the Restorying of Community

Always directed towards anti-oppressive and democratic social change, while harnessing the transformative potential of subjugated knowledges (Askanius, 2014; Walsh, 2014), participatory filmmaking undertakes the task of storytelling in a manner that prioritises marginalised epistemes and systemically muted voices over narrative linearity and exactitude (Malherbe, Suffla, & Everitt-Penhale, 2019). Ideally, participants should be involved in the study's design and production (Ritterbusch, 2016); that is, participatory processes and

products must be inclusive and accessible to individual filmmakers and their communities (Evans & Foster, 2009). It is in this regard that, resting on the more general principles of participatory action research, participatory filmmaking seeks to challenge dominant knowledge forms within positivist research, and to subvert the inequalities of power that exist between 'knower' and 'known' (Walsh, 2014).

As a research method, participatory filmmaking has been utilised most often in anthropological and media studies, meaning that the theoretical development of the method owes much to these fields. However, the official history of the method is somewhat contested. James (1996), for instance, argues that participatory film has taken considerable inspiration from the work of Soviet filmmaker Dziga Vertov, yet this is rarely acknowledged in methodological historiographies. Instead, the method is most often said to have its roots in the 1966 National Film Board of Canada's Challenge for Change which - in stressing process over product (Howley, 2005) - sought to use community-made films as a means through which to create dialogue between marginalised communities, government, social workers and low-income citizens (Walsh, 2014).

Regardless of the 'origins' of participatory filmmaking, its contemporary use as a research method is greatly indebted to the work of John Collier (1988), a pioneer of visual anthropology. In his early research in the 1950s, Collier used documentary photography with migrant workers in the Canadian Maritimes. He found that when introducing photographs (which he had taken) into the interview setting, richer data were produced than when he interviewed migrant workers through conventional methods. Collier claimed that his (albeit limited) articulation of visual ethnography enabled him to map culture and/or social interaction in ways that linguistic research methods would not allow for. Following from

Collier's work, Worth and Adair (1972), in their pioneering research, conducted a now well-known anthropological study entitled *The Navajo See Themselves*. In this study, 35mm video cameras were provided to seven Navajo (Native American people who generally reside in South-western USA) who had almost no previous experience with recording equipment. They were trained to use these video cameras and were instructed to produce 'biodocumentaries' on their everyday lives. At a later stage, their films were analysed, and have since come to be regarded as important representations of Navajo culture (Pauwels, 2011). Yet, with a predetermined research agenda that centres the goals of researchers over the voices of participants, the study should not be regarded as participatory in the contemporary understanding of the term. Added to this, like Collier's work, *The Navajo See Themselves* appeared in large part to map 'exotic' culture for the west, and therefore served othering and potentially epistemologically violent purposes. We might say that, ultimately, Worth and Adair's (1972) study sought to examine how the Navajo see themselves *for us*.

The communicative tools selected to restory a community form the building blocks of narrative construction, and influence both the limitations and capacities of restorying (Taylor, 1994). A central feature of contemporary participatory filmmaking is certainly its capacity for articulating a radically inclusive and community-oriented style of narration. The multimodality (which, as was explicated earlier, denotes the interaction of various semiotic modes to produce a single communicative text) of participatory film represents a particularly visceral kind of restorying apparatus that is able to mobilise political resistance, articulate cultural identities, preserve popular memory and sustain democratic movements (Howley, 2005). Indeed, participatory filmmaking's multimodal storytelling capacities can allow filmmakers to catalyse change initiatives; create new and humanising conceptions of newsworthiness; construct (re)humanising and healing spaces; as well as establish sites

wherein people are able to work through experiences of violence. Added to all of this, the method has been used to uncover community narratives that explicate alternative knowledge forms, shared traumas and common histories (see Baú, 2014; Rodríguez, 2000). Unlike newspapers or radio - two especially popular forms of community media in South Africa (Jacobs, 2019) - film connects with almost all of one's senses and, if produced well enough, can mobilise audiences to take social action (Roberts & Muníz, 2018). Film is able to capture the attention of real-life audiences (Butsch, 2011), whose engagement is crucial in distributing, debating, and even repurposing of a film's messages within and beyond community settings (see Study IV). A plethora of interpretations are, in this regard, encouraged by the medium of film, whereby meaning is co-constructed, contested, rejected and championed - in different ways and at different moments - by the audience in concert. It is because of film's potential towards an ethos of community (where 'community' itself is understood as inherently multiple, complex and contradictory) that the dearth of participatory filmmaking in community-engaged research today is especially striking.

Participatory filmmaking is, for the most part, relegated to the margins of the social sciences for a number of reasons, such as the inferiorised status occupied by the visual within this kind of research (Banks, 2001), the relatively high financial cost (e.g. film equipment, training, screening requirements) of implementing the method (Walsh, 2014), its unstandardised nature (Malherbe & Everitt-Penhale, 2017), and difficulties around analysing the filmmaking and/or production processes (Coemans & Hannes, 2017). Nonetheless, Baú (2014) notes that due to greater technological accessibility and the ubiquity of cinematic cultural codes, participatory filmmaking as a research method has seen a gradual uptick in recent years (e.g. *Simunye Video Dialogue Project* in South Africa; the *Community-based Participatory Video Programme* in Kenya; *Peace It Together* in Palestine and Israel; and *Dialogue Through Film*

in Azerbaijan). There are also a number of organisations all over the world that fund and produce community films on a large scale (e.g. the pioneering Alternative Media Centre, established in 1970 in New York; the various participatory video movements occurring across Latin America today; the Gauteng Film Commission's Industry Support and Development Unit, and the National Film and Video Foundation – both of which are based in South Africa). Today, participatory film projects are used for a range of purposes, such as investing local narratives with contemporary meaning (see Hunter & Page, 2014), fostering peace education (see Kirk & Mak, 2005), as well as overcoming intergroup hostility and facilitating healing spaces (see Baú, 2014). The method has therefore taken on more progressive representational politics than the earlier filmmaking projects of Collier (1988), and Worth and Adair (1972). In what follows, I explore some of the ways by which the method has been used in and for communities.

The Odenwald Study, an especially large participatory filmmaking project that took place between 1986 and 1988 in Germany, saw young people between the ages of 15 and 25 creating 35 films (Niesyto, 1992). Each film focused on the tensions that participants experienced living between rural and urban settings. A similarly large participatory filmmaking study, beginning in 1997, was entitled *VideoCulture*. In attempting to explore the potential of participatory film productions within intercultural communication, this project explored how young people between the ages of 14 and 19, from Germany, England, Hungary, the Czech Republic and the USA, exchanged and understood a number of participatory films that they had produced (Niesyto, Buckingham, & Fisherkeller, 2003). Both *VideoCulture* and *The Odenwald Study* were significant in demonstrating the legitimacy of participatory filmmaking as a research method - particularly for youth studies - within and across communities. However, the high budget and specific research focus of each project do

not present us with a replicable research model. Furthermore, the various films' multimodal discourses were not an analytical priority in either project, just as constructions of community and the psycho-political implications thereof appeared to form only secondary considerations in each project.

In South African communities, the method has been used in a number of ways. Mitchell and de Lange (2011), for instance, instituted a participatory filmmaking project in KwaZulu Natal (a coastal South African province) entitled *Izindaba Yethu*. The project saw 19 senior secondary school students work with adults to produce short films on different topics, such as gender-based violence and poverty. These films were then screened in the community. The *Izindaba Yethu* project placed its emphasis on the filmmaking component, with the film texts and their ability to build and engage critically with notions of community considered somewhat superfluously. In another project, also implemented in KwaZulu Natal, Moletsane, Mitchell, de Lange, Stuart, Buthelezi and Taylor (2009) worked with a group of young women to envision change-making through a participatory film that focused on living with HIV and AIDS in contexts of poverty. Like the previous study, the multimodal representational capacities of community contained within this film did not form the central focus of this study. Lastly, in the Western Cape (a province located on the west coast of South Africa), *The Engaging Youth Project* (see Malherbe & Everitt-Penhale, 2017) saw a group of school-going learners work with a professional filmmaker to produce a scripted film on teenage pregnancy. While a brief analysis of this film's content was undertaken (see Malherbe et al., 2019), an in-depth discursive consideration of the film was not provided, nor was the film's ability to link with broader community concerns sufficiently examined.

Every participatory filmmaking project, Roberts and Muníz (2018) claim, must be aligned with a set of particular aims that are made transparent to all involved. For example, if a project is process-focused and serves to foster relationships, catharsis and collective voice *within* the filmmaking group, each stage of production should be overseen and steered by the participants. However, if a project is product-focused, and anticipates that the film will be used for activist, campaigning and lobbying purposes - with an audience of government personnel, journalists and policy-makers in mind - then some of the participatory elements of the filmmaking process may become secondary to the production value of the film product. Yet, as noted in the above examples, product-focused participatory film projects rarely extend analytical attention towards the film itself. Although there are a handful of exceptions in this respect - such as Malherbe and colleagues (2019), Halverson (2010), and Halverson, Bass and Woods (2012), who respectively explored participatory filmic representations of youth identity - these represent an anomaly in broader participatory community filmmaking research.

In the two pioneering studies cited earlier (see Collier, 1988; Worth & Adair, 1972), the participatory filmmaking method was used for othering purposes that aligned with the agendas of researchers, rather than those of participants. In more recent work, it seems that although participatory filmmaking as a community-engaged research method has successfully enacted representational, material and social justice within a variety of communities, it has often done so at the neglect of the film product and its community engagement capacities. Such participatory filmmaking research is, for the most part, used for purposes of data collection or dissemination (Coemans & Hannes, 2017). Furthermore, some studies (e.g. *The Odenwald Study* and *VideoCulture*) had considerable financial backing, which does not provide a replicable model for the majority of community-engaged research. Despite

assuming a more politically progressive orientation than the earlier pioneering work, these more recent participatory filmmaking studies tend to reflect the social sciences' discomfort with the visual by ignoring the film products, focusing instead on the process of film production, dialogue spaces, and how the method was used. Indeed, in their recent scoping review of 131 community arts-based studies, Coemans and Hannes (2017) found that only four of these studies had employed some kind of visual analysis. Participatory films thus tend to serve as illustrative devices rather than legitimate data (Bell, 2008), with their capacity to construct community in relation to broader discourses remaining largely unexplored.

Community Media

Most people perceive both the form and content of community media as aesthetically and politically inferior to that of mainstream media (Howley, 2010). Consequently, community media are not well-defined and have been referred to by a number of different names (e.g. citizens' media; alternative media; participatory media), each of which carries different connotations. A useful conception of community media has, however, been offered by Howley (2005, p. 33), who states that "community media are a site of interpenetration between local and global actors, forces, and conditions" and are, in this way, well-suited to examining the dialectical interplay of global forces and everyday relations that occur within and across specific communities. Howley (2005) goes on to describe community media as locally-oriented access initiatives that are predicated on free expression, widespread dissatisfaction with mainstream media, participatory democracy, community relations and solidarity – all of which are geared towards making accessible the consumption and (re)production of media. Indeed, community media hold the capacity to make publicly available information and knowledges, raise awareness of ongoing social struggles, increase social interaction, and build participatory political cultures. In effect, community media

amplify a range of - inevitably conflicting - concerns, ideas and opinions for the purpose of consolidating a sense of community, as well as participation and consensus (Fourie, 2008). Added to this, Olorunnisola (2009) argues for the humanising potential of community media, where cultural pride, self-esteem and identity can become renewed and restored when people are involved in media production (a practice from which most people are excluded).

Influential to how community media are conceptualised is the notion of the "knowable community", where attempts to establish community-centred representations and communications are driven by the goal of fostering collective and individual consciousness and solidarities (see Williams, 1973). Although, as noted in the Introduction section of this dissertation, we cannot ever 'know' a community through any kind of stable discursive formulation, community media are able to make known a generative kind of community ethos, as well as the unequal relations of power that exist within and between different communities. In this sense, community media aim to counteract the ways by which dominant or commercial media conceal the mutual dependence and interconnectedness of communities. The scope of community media is therefore not confined to a particular community or even to specific communities, but rather to a broader interactive community of citizens, laypeople, political figures, institutions and journalists (Blakenberg, 1999). Community media offer us a modest, but significant, correction to how corporate media ownership undermines local cultural expression, privatises communication channels and threatens the prospects of democratic self-governance (Howley, 2010).

In speaking to Martín-Baró's (1994) conception of de-alienation, community media are able to intervene in the dominant mode of capitalist production. Indeed, the decision-making apparatuses of community media are - ideally - participatory, locally-sourced and explicit in

how particular contexts and constraints (e.g. those related to finance, staff, audience reach and technology) shape the creation of media texts, practices and institutions (Howley, 2010). Those producing community media thus have stake in the media products that they produce. In this sense, they are likely to involve themselves in constructing a popular modality of culture, whereby "journalists" - in the strictest sense of the word - are replaced with "facilitators of social communication" who do not represent the originators of media messages, but instead use media as a communicative and overtly political mechanism through which to activate dialogue, social learning and grassroots organising (Louw & Tomaselli, 1994). This, in turn, can result in moving away from conceptualising audiences as consumers or knowable markets (Butsch, 2011), and towards an understanding of the audience as an assortment of politically-engaged, pluriversal voices that may share certain goals, but cannot be reduced to a single identity. In short, the audience becomes associated with a critical conception of community. It is in this regard that the kind of media literacy that is enabled through community media can promote critical thinking and political action (Fourie, 2008; Mihailidis & Thevenin, 2013). Community members can therefore become co-creators of counter-hegemonic discourses that articulate an oppositional politics which challenges inaccurate representations of community by preserving cultural identities, making visible differences that exist within communities, and restorying and historicising struggle narratives (Howley, 2010; Louw & Tomaselli, 1994). In short, community media are able to articulate conflicts and contradiction within communities from the perspective of these communities. This is central to destabilising rigid and incompatible constructions of 'the individual' and 'the community', as well as underscoring various antagonisms that exist within communities, creating channels for solidarity, democratising struggle, and building community connectedness more generally (Howley, 2005).

There are, however, a number of drawbacks to community media. As commercial media are driven by waged labour, they are able to produce media content on a consistent and reliable basis. Community media, on the other hand, often rely on donations and external funding. This means that although community media are not as beholden to the Advertising filter as commercial media (see Herman & Chomsky, 2010), commercial media are endowed with greater resources, and are thus more sustainable than community media (Blakenberg, 1999). Consequentially, while community media are better equipped than mainstream media to engage and articulate the demands and struggles of different communities (Howley, 2005), such media - all over the world - face tremendous financial pressure. However, community media also suffer from many of the same pressures as mainstream media. In South Africa, for example, registered community media platforms - such as community radio stations and television channels - are subject to the strict regulations stipulated by the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa Act of 2000 (Tacchi, 2003). Today, community media are increasingly limited by a set of financial constraints that mirror - albeit on a smaller scale - those imposed onto mainstream media. This has resulted in many community media platforms becoming reliant on advertising revenue (see Pillay, 2003). Added to this, community media are not in every instance emancipatory in their representational capabilities. They can be, and indeed have been, used to communicate violent messages, trivial matters and corporatised agendas (Howley, 2005).

We should not engage or seek to construct community media on the false premise that mainstream media have power, and community media do not (Tacchi, 2003). Certainly, the success of various community media activist campaigns all over the world is testament to this (see Howley, 2010). Nonetheless, it remains true that power is afforded in greater measure to media which align with capital and/or State interests, just as it is true that community media

hold within them the potential to advance emancipatory representations through egalitarian models of media production and consumption. For instance, in South Africa, the largest community radio station, *Bush Radio*, has involved itself in a number of successful community campaigns against gang violence and gender-based violence, most of which have relied on donations and external funding, and have therefore been somewhat limited in scope (see Howley, 2005). In contrast, the SABC sees much internal corruption and undertakes very little community work, but receives considerable State funding, and thus has a far greater reach (see Sparks, 2009).

Prying media production and communication from the demands of capital, hegemonic State apparatuses and, ultimately, the filters that comprise Herman and Chomsky's (2010) Propaganda Model (see Study I), requires an opening up of the conception of democracy, whereby the public is understood as better equipped to make decisions on - and mobilise around - community issues when political processes are made transparent and political norms are clearly articulated (Olorunnisola, 2009). As Olorunnisola (2009) argues, when media become oriented around community instead of profit, their purpose shifts from the short-term (e.g. presenting results to funders and external evaluators) to long-term (e.g. orienting public communications towards the material and psychological needs of communities). The struggle for democratic media is therefore always highly politicised.

Community Media in South Africa

Although Study I outlines the history and contemporary relevance of alternative and resistance media in South Africa, it is perhaps useful to briefly consider the particular history of community media in the country. Community media in South Africa extend back to anti-colonial community newspapers (e.g. the exceptionally popular *Abantu-Batho*, published by

the ANC from 1912 to 1931) that were circulated in the early twentieth century. Anti-apartheid print media were also widely published in and beyond various communities from the 1970s until the early 1990s (see Jacobs, 2019). However, as mentioned in Study I, after the official dismantling of apartheid, funding for community media which was allocated on the basis of an anti-apartheid stance was retracted as such a stance now appeared to be redundant. Resultantly, from the early 1990s, civil society began to push for State-funded community broadcasting. The partial success of these efforts is noted in community radio stations, such as *Kathorus* (Duncan, 2000) and *Bush Radio* (Howley 2005), which enjoy especially large listenerships today.

Overall, however, civil society has not been able to successfully secure funds for community media in South Africa. Yet, there have been some gains in developing policy for community media. South Africa sees an especially progressive set of community broadcasting policies, such as the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act of 1993, and the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa Act of 2000 (Tacchi, 2003). In 2002, the Media Development Diversity Agency (MDDA) was set up to support non-profit media (Pillay 2003). Unlike the SABC, the MDDA - which effectively allows communities access to and control of media - is greatly constrained by a lack of funds, most of which are allocated to community radio. The dire financial circumstances of South African community media have resulted in most community media platforms adhering to commercial media practices, which has shown to breed fierce competition for the limited available funding, and to foster antagonisms over area-specific monopoly broadcasting rights (Sparks, 2009). An increasing reliance on self-funding and advertisements has meant that South Africa's community media sector experiences many of the same constraints as mainstream commercial media, thus limiting the already diminished reach of community media (Pillay, 2003). Added to this, the

legacies of apartheid structure the socioeconomic terrain on which community media in South Africa are located, which means that most community media are under white ownership and - as was made apparent in the South African Social Media Landscape Report for 2017 (cited in Friedman, 2019) - the country's digital divide avails community media on a class and race basis. Consequently, those who have access to technology (e.g. smartphones, the Internet, computers) are able to access community media to a greater degree than the large swaths of the country for whom communicative technologies remain unaffordable.

It may therefore be said that although community media are able to speak back to the discursive limitations, alienating modes of production and epistemologically violent impulses of mainstream media, they are nonetheless restrained by their own set of limitations, such as a dearth of funding, under-staffing and crises of legitimacy.

Creating Space for Community Media in Community Research

In South Africa, community research has, in recent years, undergone significant change. As the 1990s saw the waning of overt, State-sponsored and widespread political violence in communities, much community-based research - including community psychology - began to examine the social and psychological implications of violence. Thus, community research came to emphasise people's material needs over specific causes of violent conflict (Butchart, Terre Blanche, Hamber, & Seedat, 1997), with both physical and mental health issues in communities becoming especially salient for community research agendas that sought to counter individualist hermeneutics (see Seedat & Lazarus, 2011). Yet, despite this research being relatively progressive (e.g. Nell & Brown, 1991), its search for generalisability and results meant that differences within and between communities tend to be brushed over (Bowman, Stevens, Eagle, & Matzopoulos, 2015). Further, as Ratele, Suffla, Lazarus and

Van Niekerk (2010) argue, this kind of research does not adequately consider the socio-economic, political, moral and ideological contexts of communities. In striving towards institutional legitimacy, such research regularly relies on positivist frameworks, which risk overlooking the analytical value of determining the *look* and *feel* of daily life within different communities (Fryer & Fox, 2015).

In South Africa, where high levels of interpersonal, self-directed, psychological, gender-based, sexual and collective violence are a ubiquitous facet of so much community life (Seedat, Van Niekerk, Jewkes, Suffla, & Ratele, 2009; Van der Merwe, 2013), a fatalistic current often runs through community research (see Martín-Baró, 1994), where - like with many mainstream media reporting on low-income communities (see Study I) - violence is understood as a permanent and unchangeable social state. This is to say, low-income communities are often interpreted in community research through a prism of violence. This "damage-centred research" risks making a fetish of violence, and engaging communities as fundamentally ruined and helpless, devoid of desire, complexity, survivance[17] and contradiction (Tuck, 2009). As Bowman and his colleagues (2015) argue, the systemic mechanisms and individual agents that enact and resist a range of violences remain under-explored in community research in South Africa. This is especially so from within psychosocial and community-orientated frameworks (see Seedat & Lazarus, 2011). Thus, it should be emphasised that the welcome turn to systems-focused analyses within community research must not come at the expense of analysing the individual *in situ* (Bowman et al., 2015).

[17]Vizenor (1998, p. 93) notes that survivance "is not just survival but also resistance, not heroic or tragic, but the tease of tradition, and my sense of survivance outwits dominance and victimry."

In addition to (and often in tandem with) the fatalistic current that runs through much research on violence in South African communities, much academic discourse, and psychology in particular (see Kessi & Boonzaier, 2018), is prone to epistemologically violent depictions of marginalised populations (Tigar, 2009). Indeed, 300 years of so-called scientific racism have entrenched a particularly violent tradition of knowing that is still alive in much community research undertaken today (Hendricks, Kramer, & Ratele, 2019). Where some community histories are acknowledged by the academy, others - typically those for which a politics of resistance is central - are erased or sanitised (see James, 2012). Community research very often engages communities in a manner that renders them over-researched and under-seen/heard (Tuck, 2009). Thus, with respect to how institutional legitimacy emboldens the symbolic power wielded by academic researchers, the issue of representation - and its violent potentialities - remains especially pertinent for those working in community settings.

It is imperative that those conducting critically-oriented research in, for and with communities insist that the focus of this work is systemic *and* individual; psychological *and* social; as well as analytical *and* action-oriented. Despite community media being largely misunderstood and undervalued in academic discourse (Howley, 2010), I argue that they are especially suitable for those who seek to undertake community research which takes seriously issues of representation. Indeed, the complex modes of representation availed by community media allow researchers to move away from outputs-focused and didactic formulations of community, and towards an epistemic orientation that probes into the ever-shifting complexities and multitudes that define and mediate community life (see Jacobs, 2019; Williams, 1973). Community media are in these ways able to respond to the call made by Bowman and colleagues (2015) for community research to situate itself within the global-local struggle nexus. Community media are also well suited to articulating issues that exist

across and within different communities (see Howley, 2005). Added to this, enacting critical research through community media allows for the creation of community narratives that counter, or destabilise, the official discursive constructions which shape psychological and material life in low-income settings (Kelly, 1990). On another level, research of this sort can redefine how the academy positions itself within communities.

The Present Study

Theoretical Coordinates

Following this research's overarching theoretical framework (social constructionism, critical social theory and liberation psychology), the current study locates its theoretical coordinates in the humanising and democratising potential of community media which, in speaking back to the corporate ethos of mainstream media, are able to move the production and consumption of communications away from the profit motive, and into the service of the community. Fundamental here is the democratically constituted and socially constructed notion of the de-alienated 'known community', that is, community as essentially unknowable, multiple and, in speaking to critical social theory, geared towards understanding the power differentials, inequalities and injustices that structure, but need not define, communities. Thus, in facilitating social communication, community media - although not immune to perpetuating epistemic violence - are theorised *a la* liberation psychology as capable of advancing a critical conception of community that can foster political action, psychosocial praxes and counter-hegemonies, all of which locate, link and speak back to a plethora of interconnecting violences.

Aims and Objectives

By analysing the multimodal discourses drawn on in a participatory documentary film entitled *Thembelihle: Place of Hope*, the present study aims to explore how and if participants' constructions of community are able to serve counter-hegemonic ends. In doing so, we may begin to get a sense of how resistant narratives of community are employed, how these attempt to garner discursive potency, and how they can be used for purposes of material justice. It is anticipated that the study will contribute to the small body of literature exploring multimodal constructions of community within participatory film, as well as develop a kind of multimodal discourse analysis for participatory films.

Based on the above theoretical coordinates, as well as the academic literature, the following questions served to guide this study:

1. On what discourses do participants draw when constructing their daily lives in Thembelihle?
2. What discourses are used to construct the community of Thembelihle?
3. How is Thembelihle discursively positioned within broader South Africa?
4. What are the relations constructed between the individual and the community?

Participatory Filmmaking in and with Thembelihle

Participatory filmmaking, like community media (Howley, 2005), is referred to by a number of names, including collaborative filmmaking, community filmmaking and participant-led filmmaking (Malherbe & Everitt-Penhale, 2017). Broadly, the method sees the provision of video cameras as well as cinematic training to participants, who are encouraged to voice their concerns, elucidate their experiences and, ultimately, effect social change through the kinds of multimodal storytelling enabled by film. Although the method encompasses much

variability, participants are typically encouraged to engage critically and reflectively with their micro and macro environments (Roberts & Muníz, 2018), thus fusing individual hermeneutics with collective experiences in an attempt to catalyse socially just action among individuals, groups and communities.

Participatory filmmaking allows us to gain access to narratives that are not always available through purely verbal or quantitative inquiry (Ritterbusch, 2016). Visuals can be useful in expressing affect, culture and radical imaginings in ways that linguistic communication may not. Therefore, film does not convey more or less knowledge than written or visual expression, it conveys *different* knowledge, which remains inadequately harnessed within community-based research (MacDougall, 2011). Such different knowledge can enable critical reflection among film producers and audiences, allowing both groups an opportunity to (partially) re-assert control over how their experiences are represented. Taking a rights-based approach, Lunch and Lunch (2010) demonstrate that participatory filmmaking is capable of ensuring that the powerful (or, duty-bearers) seek out and listen to the less powerful (or, rights-holders), whose needs and values are generally ignored within policy and decision-making processes. Participatory filmmaking projects have, in general, observed increased confidence, feelings of empowerment, and activist activity among participants (D'Amico, Denov, Khan, Linds, & Akesson, 2016). Tensions associated with differences of linguistic and cultural expression may also, to an extent, dissolve when utilising film as an expressive medium (Niesyto et al., 2003).

For the present study, funding was provided by Unisa to hire a film production company which worked with residents of Thembelihle to produce a film on their community. This particular film production company was selected by myself as well as residents of

Thembelihle on the basis of the numerous community-engaged films that it has produced, and the various awards and accolades that it has won. I continually emphasised to community members that it would be them, rather than the film production company or Unisa, who would set the agenda for the film that they would produce. Throughout the project, I encouraged community members to intervene if they felt that their voices were being diminished or rendered secondary in any way.

The first stage of the project consisted of three community meetings held at the ISHS offices which are located in walking distance from Thembelihle. Invitations to these meetings were sent to the broader community (via phone call, word-of-mouth and community-based recruiters). The invitations noted that a documentary film project on Thembelihle was to take place, and that members of the community were to determine the character, content and outline of this film. The meetings were open to all in the community who wished to attend. At each meeting, community members were provided with refreshments, lunch and transport to and from their homes. After each person had introduced themselves (with the assistance of a language translator if necessary), the community members discussed what they wished to get out of the project, the kind of film that they wanted to produce, and the kinds of stories that they wanted to explore in the film. This was fraught with tensions. Indeed, I was to introduce the basic design of the project, while attempting not to set its agenda wholesale. I asked community members how they thought Thembelihle was perceived by those who do not live there. People answered that, because of mainstream media reporting and corrupt politicians, people living in South Africa saw Thembelihle as a violent and backwards place. Participants emphasised that this was unfair. Responding to this, I noted that the documentary film which participants would produce did not need to tell *the* story of Thembelihle (as many news articles attempted to do), but rather to show that Thembelihle consists of numerous

stories, many of which were positive and generative. Here, I rely on Stott's (1973) definition of documentary as presenting or representing reality in ways that are credible and vivid to people at a particular time, and sometimes also within a particular place. Accordingly, I stressed to community members that the documentary could re-tell some of the stories that were focused on in the media from their largely neglected perspective. I attempted to convey this in a sufficiently broad manner that would not predetermine the look or feel of the documentary. Nonetheless, such a task is never entirely possible, and it was likely that the framework that I presented solidified some possibilities, while closing off others. In order to mitigate this somewhat, I asked for feedback from community members who had attended the project meetings. In my reading, everyone in attendance appeared excited. However, some were concerned that the difficulties in Thembelihle would be papered over with a wholly positive story of the community. We discussed that attempts would be made throughout the production process to prevent this. Others raised questions about the film attempting to capture the 'essence' of a community that consisted of so many different voices. In response, the group specified that the documentary would seek to capture a multitude of voices, rather than represent the multitude in its entirety. Indeed, it would offer a more nuanced portrayal of Thembelihle from the perspectives of those who live there.

In deciding the title of the documentary, some community members suggested that it be referred to as *Thembelihle*. Others were however concerned that this would limit the film's audience to those who were familiar with this word. There were also fears among community members that such a title implied that the film would offer *the* definitive account of the community. A group member then suggested that the film be titled *Thembelihle: Place of Hope* (with "Thembelihle" being an isiZulu word for "hope", see Introduction section of this dissertation). The group agreed that this title would appeal to a wider audience, all while

emphasising that Thembelihle represents hope for many of its residents, despite dominant media portrayals of the community.

In selecting who would feature in the documentary, a group comprising of researchers (myself and two colleagues), filmmakers from the film production company, as well as various leaders, activists, business owners, cultural workers and language translators from the community walked through Thembelihle and explained the project to different people. This served to generate wider community interest in the project. Some of those who attended the community meetings suggested specific people in the community who might be interesting in becoming involved with the project, thereby bringing more voices into the documentary through internal social networks.

A range of voices were represented in the final film product, including a farmer (who was suggested by a community member in the project meetings), a peer educator (who was also suggested by a community member), a scrapyard owner (who heard about the project and volunteered to participate during the aforementioned community walkabout), a dancer (who was suggested by the scrapyard owner), two self-identified activists (who have long been involved with the community-engaged work of the ISHS), a shop-owner (who was suggested by one of the activists), a brick-maker (who was suggested by the farmer), two nurses (who have worked with the ISHS on other projects), a soccer coach (who was suggested by a community member during the project meetings), and a day-care principal (who has worked with the ISHS in the past). I, along with a translator and a number of community members who had attended the project meetings, approached each participant individually and explained the project to them. Consistent with the aims of qualitative research, the project's intention was not to attain a representative sample of the community, but to represent a range

of voices from the community. Collectively, the voices sought to advance a humanist image of a community that is suitably multifaceted and complex. Upon agreeing to become involved in the project, each of these 12 individuals began to attend project planning meetings.

With assistance from the professional filmmakers, I interviewed each of the 12 participants on camera. Each interview took place in an environment that the respective participants had identified prior to shooting as representative of their everyday lives or, alternatively, was said to have been a comfortable space for them. The semi-structured interview schedule (see Appendix H) was framed by me in collaboration with those who attended the project planning meetings. It was decided by the group that the questions would seek to examine the individual as they live and work in Thembelihle, and attempt to connect their individual lives to the greater community. The interview questions also probed into the struggles of the individual participants, as well as the generative facets of their lives. In short, the questions sought to examine how living and working in Thembelihle related to historical and contemporary social conditions, how one might understand daily life in the community, as well as how individuals shape - and are, in turn, shaped by - their wider community. Following each interview, participants received basic cinematic training from the professional filmmakers. Each participant then received a GoPro video camera. Proceeding this, I asked the participants what it is that they would film, and which aspects of their lives they wished to share. I explained that they would have the video camera for two weeks (longer if requested) and that during this time they should attempt to capture what they wanted to share about their lives, and what this said about life in Thembelihle. In the final cut of the documentary, the GoPro footage was supplemented with the interviews that were shot by the film production company as well as archival footage of Thembelihle, which was sourced by the production company.

Roberts and Muníz (2018) highlight that participatory filmmaking projects vary in their level of participant ownership, with the overall aims of a particular study usually dictating the degree to which participants are involved. Although professional editing and production can diminish participatory ownership of the film, both of these processes can, on the other hand, increase a film's capacity to reach a wider audience (see Malherbe & Everitt-Penhale, 2017; Roberts & Muníz, 2018), and aggrandise participant voice in ways that avoid flattening it through poor production (Walsh, 2014). The present study was undoubtedly more product - than it was process-focused, which meant that campaigning, lobbying and activism were prioritised over the cathartic and relational aims of process-focused participatory filmmaking projects. Accordingly, after I discussed with participants the merits and drawbacks of professional film editing, they decided that the majority of editing and shooting would be undertaken by professional filmmakers. Participants' decision here may have been influenced by some of them taking part in a digital storytelling project (see Lau, Suffla, & Kgatitswe, 2017), where the focus was on the process of producing the digital stories, rather than the digital stories themselves.

The production company edited the first cut of the film, which was then screened to a group of community members (including, but not limited to, those who featured in and shot aspects of the film) who suggested a number of edits (examples here included adding a shot of the Most Integrated Community Award presented to Thembelihle by local government officials, see Department of Home Affairs, 2016; selecting music for the film's score; and including shots of the undeveloped roads in the community). I filmed this participatory editing process and sent the footage to the film production company, whose film editors then incorporated the community members' suggested edits into the film. Once the edits were incorporated into

the documentary, it was once again screened to the same group of community members who enthusiastically expressed their approval and suggested no further edits.

The final film product is 25-minutes and 45 seconds in duration which is, as Caldwell (2005) argues, about how long films that interrogate human struggles and resistance should be if they are aiming to captivate audiences. The film does not make use of overdubbed narration as it has been shown that a narrator's identity may be called into question by audiences, and can thus distract from the content of the film (Cizek, 2005). Instead, each character's speech serves as the film's guiding narrative. Every character features for roughly the same length of time in the film, with their GoPro footage interspersed between shots of them working in the community and being interviewed. The first part of the documentary presents an image of everyday life in Thembelihle, focusing specifically on the brick-maker, farmer, peer educator, scrapyard owner, dancer, day-care principle, and the two nurses. At the ten minute mark, the activists are introduced into the film, each of whom provides a brief history of struggle in Thembelihle, which is then elaborated upon by the soccer coach and shop-owner. This is supplemented with archive footage of protests in the community, including footage of police brutality. Finally, each character provides a short reflection on how they understand life in Thembelihle, as well as their vision for the future. Before the final credits, an image of community leaders holding the Most Integrated Community Award (see Department of Home Affairs, 2016) is portrayed (see Study III for more here).

There are, of course, a number of limitations that accompany participatory filmmaking. As with many participatory endeavours, those using the method frequently overlook issues related to unequal power, authorship and scale (see Nygreen, 2010). Furthermore, although a university's institutional affiliation is able to furnish participatory filmmaking research

projects with legitimacy, Parr (2007) argues that these institutions can also constrain a project's political capacities. Added to this, Evans and Foster (2009) note how participation in their participatory filmmaking project was uneven and at times quite ineffective. Coemans and Hannes (2017) highlight that, in addition to the expensive and lengthy nature of this kind of research, participants who are new to the method are faced with a tremendously steep learning curve, and in this way participant voice can become diminished. Participation in and of itself should therefore not be considered as *de facto* progressive. Indeed, participants may be encouraged to participate in oppressive systems rather than challenge them (Cleaver, 2001). Merely telling stories will never institute socially just change, and participatory filmmaking, while representing an especially innovative and visceral mode of communicative engagement, should serve as one among many tactics of political analysis, social change-making and community organising.

While many of the above limitations are inherent to any project which relies on the participatory filmmaking method, the present study sought to address such methodological limitations, and minimise their effects, in various ways. In speaking to the unequal dynamics of power structuring the project, participants were - as noted above - involved in every stage of film production, democratically making decisions around what to include and exclude in the film. In this sense, the project endeavoured to be as collaborative as possible. An effort to ensure that participant voice was not overshadowed by that of the researchers, community members always outnumbered researchers and filmmakers at the project meetings (see Mitchell & de Lange, 2011). Scale was an issue that was also partially addressed by including as many community members in the project as possible. Indeed, no final decision was passed or seen to without consulting the large group of community members involved in the project. Regarding participatory filmmaking's relatively steep learning curve, participants' sustained

engagement with the method, and with professional filmmakers, allowed for a slow and patient process of learning. Finally, as is demonstrated in Study IV, the community members and I did not conceptualise political engagement and change-making through participatory filmmaking exclusively, but rather sought to use the method as a tool for organising, community-building and political coalition-making.

Multimodal Discourse Analysis

Multimodality refers to the manner by which different semiotic texts are co-deployed and co-contextualised in producing meanings that are particular to specific texts and their socio-cultural positionalities (Baldry & Thibault, 2006). Multimodality directs our attention to an integrated set of meanings that draw on a range of semiotic modes - like image, sound and movement - to create meaning (Radumilo, 2015). Texts, we might say, are never 'monomodal', or even able to exist outside of a given social context, and while we can artificially separate visual and linguistic text for the sake of analysis, they are never functionally able to make meaning independent from one another (Baldry & Thibault, 2006). The individual components of multimodal texts often take on new meanings when they interact with one another, as each mode contributes to the production of a new multimodal form (Radumilo, 2015). It is in this way that multimodal analysis is able to enlarge the analytical consciousness of one's field of study (Harper, 2005). Yet, meaning is always multiplicative, and never additive, with each element contextualising the other in order to produce an overall meaning of which the analyst can only ever construct subjective interpretations (Baldry & Thibault, 2006).

O'Halloran (2004) defines multimodal discourse analysis as the theory and practice of analysing the discourses that make use of various semiotic resources such as language,

image, space and architecture. Physical aspects of communication, including colours, lines, music and point of view, are important to how multimodal analysis approaches a particular text (Radumilo, 2015). Thus, the analysis and interpretation of various languages are contextualised in conjunction with other semiotic resources which are, themselves, drawn on in the construction of meaning. Context unfolds through multimodality, and therefore no multimodal text can be used to determine context as it is context that is central to the very constitution of multimodality (Ledin & Machin, 2019). All elements, or modes, of a multimodal text can be analysed, and must be interpreted in relation to one another, that is, with respect to how they are organised collectively as well as their individual contribution to the overall communicative and social function of the text. In other words, the meaning of a text should be understood with respect to the composition of its parts (Baldry & Thibault, 2006).

In order to understand how semiotic resources interact to create multimodal meaning, we need to analyse how a text engages Halliday's (1978) systematic functional model. Based on the metafunctional principle, this model conceptualises a text's various modes as able to provide the tools that are necessary to construct meaning. Multimodal language is then analysed with respect to how it fulfils basic metafunctions (Ledin & Machin, 2019), which are, themselves, activated through discourse. These metafunctions allow us to examine the functionality of different multimodal resources (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). Halliday (1978) identifies three metafunctions, the first of which is known as the ideational metafunction, and constitutes people's ideas about the world (O'Toole, 1994). In considering multimodal discourse, ideation offers choices with respect to how different objects are interpreted in relation to one another. Communications, ideas and experiences are, in this way, realised through their multimodal naming (Ledin & Machin, 2019). Within the ideation

metafunction, we encounter experimental meaning, that is, the representation and portrayal of experiences, as well as logical meaning, which includes constructions of societal relations (O'Halloran, 2011). The second metafunction, known as the interpersonal metafunction, projects enactments of social relations between a sign's producer and its receiver (Ledin & Machin, 2019). Finally, textual metafunctions refer to the capacities of multimodal resources to form interpretable and coherent texts. In this regard, different multimodal arrangements can allow for different textual meanings, themes and motifs (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006).

Lastly, the fulfilling of Halliday's (1978) metafunctions within multimodal discourses should be understood against what Lim Fei (2004) refers to as a Space of Integration, wherein intersemiotics occur through contextualising expansions that result from interactions and negotiations between semiotic modes. The Space of Interaction is constituted through expressive (meaning-making systems), content (semantics and grammar), and contextual (genre, register and ideology) planes. These three planes play a central role in the metafunctional fulfilment of multimodal discourse.

With regards to participatory filmmaking, multimodal discourse analysis is especially suitable when attempting to make sense of a film's interactive and visceral properties from which much of the method's appeal derives (see Lunch & Lunch, 2006; Malherbe & Everitt-Penhale, 2017; Mitchell & de Lange, 2011; Rodríguez, 2000). Considering participants' multimodal discursive meaning-making capacities permits the analyst a kind of sensitivity towards understanding the multifaceted, contextually-situated, complex, contradictory and creative communicative composition of a participatory film (Baldry & Thibault, 2006). This includes the sorts of communicative infrastructures that determine which interpretations are possible and which are not (Ledin & Machin, 2019). It is also through multimodal discourse

that researchers are able to engage the emotional and symbolic facets of experience that are mediated within and through participatory film (Banks, 2001).

In the present study, I transcribed the participatory documentary film in accordance with an adapted version of Baldry and Thibault's (2006) micro-analytical approach. This approach seeks to chronologically appreciate the different meaning-making processes in a particular film text. The multimodal transcription procedure as it appears in this study is categorised into four different components: time (duration of the clip); visual image (description of the clip's visual depiction); kinetic action (salient movement in the selected clip); and relevant audio (spoken language and/or music featured in the clip).

In an attempt to uncover how prevailing patterns enrich each other within participatory films (Iedema, 2001), the multimodal discourse analysis employed in this study is described in Halliday's (1978) metafunctional terms (Baldry & Thibault, 2006). The study's specific analytical procedure was based loosely on the steps proposed by Rose (2001). I watched and re-watched the documentary, making notes and suggestions each time and corroborating these with the 'fresh eyes' of my colleagues and supervisors. In order to evaluate the credibility of my findings, a process of respondent validation, where participants were asked to comment on my interpretations, was undertaken (see Silverman, 2012). This feedback was thought to be crucial in ensuring that participants felt represented by the film (Ritterbusch, 2016). Next, I organised my notes into broad themes. I then attempted to connect each theme to specific metafunctions, and noted how different metafunctions manifested in the Space of Integration. In considering each of these metafunctions together, I continually sought to examine the unequal power dynamics therein (Ledin & Machin, 2019), while remaining attentive to the various discursive manoeuvres - or what Potter and Wetherell (1987) refer to

as interpretive repertoires (see Study I) - that were harnessed to fulfil particular metafunctions. It was in this way that I tried to understand the material consequences and the socio-political relevance of the different themes (Rose, 2001). I then collapsed the themes into one another to form more concrete discourses. I understood the psycho-political effects of the various discourses (and their social production) to be more analytically important than any kind of theoretical abstraction, meaning that it was the evidence for my particular argument - rather than truth claims - that was emphasised in the analysis (Iedema, 2001). At this stage, I reread the data, always looking to identify contradictions, complexities and that which was not explicitly said or shown. Finally, after I consulted the aforementioned 'fresh eyes' one last time, the validation of my interpretations was assessed with respect to their fruitfulness and coherence (see Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

Multimodal discourse analysis has observed much uncertainty and little standardisation, which has resulted in tremendous debate with respect to how it should be employed (see Ledin & Machin, 2019). Particular drawbacks of multimodal discourse analysis include the long time it takes to employ, its very technical nature, and that it does not sufficiently account for the creators of the multimodal text (Iedema, 2001). It is also unable to ascribe causality and often neglects issues of reflexivity (Rose, 2001). As a means of addressing some of these limitations, I have attempted above to comprehensively outline how multimodal discourse analysis was theorised and employed in this study so that it may be replicated and/or critiqued immanently. This analytical procedure also seeks to address, if somewhat partially, some of the other challenges of employing the analysis, such as its overly technical nature and its ignoring of the creators of the text. Indeed, Halliday's (1978) clear and systemic approach accounts for both the audience and the creators of a text (i.e. the interpersonal

metafunction). Finally, the analysis explicitly proclaims its status as a subjective interpretation which looks to stand beside other coherent and fruitful analytical offerings.

Entrepreneurship of the Multitude as Intra-community Resistance

Although a number of multimodal discourses were identified within *Thembelihle: Place of Hope*, for the purposes of this study and its concern with counter-hegemonic constructions of community, I focus on the *Entrepreneurship of the Multitude* discourse, which sought to construct alternative, community-oriented and potentially radical kinds of economic activity (see Hardt & Negri, 2017). Thus, the discourse represented a form of intra-community resistance, that is, resistance from within existing social structures in Thembelihle. As I demonstrate below, this discourse was ideal in advancing the central aims of this study, namely, exploring how participants discursively engage community when constructing counter-hegemonic community relations.

While the *Entrepreneurship of the Multitude* discourse did not operate in entirely foreign ways to news media reports on Thembelihle (violence, poverty and underdevelopment were common in both the documentary and newspapers), it tended to bring nuance to constructions of Thembelihle by rejecting essentialising rhetoric, liberal hermeneutics and/or State-centric narratives. Therefore, although the documentary did not ignore or make inconsequential issues of structural violence in the community, such violence was always read through a humanistic lens, and thus the structural was always linked back to the individual. Resultantly, Thembelihle emerges in the documentary as a community struggling against systemic forms of violence, rather than as an inherently violent community.

In order to properly situate participants' use of the *Entrepreneurship of the Multitude* discourse, it should be emphasised that economic activity under capitalism, as those working in the Marxian tradition have long attested (see Malherbe, 2018), produces among workers various degrees of alienation from their labour, from the products of their labour, from one another, and from broader society. There is, however, resistance to such oppressive economic activity from within the capitalist system. This resistance does not (because, under capitalism, it cannot) break entirely from the exploitative mechanisms of capital, but seeks to infuse labour with an ethos of co-operation, social consciousness and democratic decision-making. Hardt and Negri (2017) describe this as "entrepreneurship of the multitude", where work is able to represent a communal kind of self-organisation that rejects, in different - sometimes contradictory - ways, capitalist management, the neoliberal ethic and a near-pervasive entrepreneurship of capital. In (re)producing the multitude in this way, economic goods can construct positive social relations and, ultimately, a better society (Hardt & Negri, 2004). As Bayat (1997) highlights, quotidian resistance of this kind can, over time, result in significant social change.

Although never referred to as such, a number of characters in the documentary sought to construct the *Entrepreneurship of the Multitude* discourse in different ways, one of which was through the process of production. Norman Mayimele, a brick-maker who features in the documentary, organises his business in a manner resembling a "worker cooperative", which seeks to infuse worker self-management, ownership and sense of community into economic activity (see Wolff, 2017, 2019). As was confirmed by a number of other brick-makers on-site, all decision-making, monetary distribution and productive labour is enacted democratically within Mayimele's business.

Extract 1

Time Frame	Visual Clip	Kinetic Action	Relevant Audio
03.20-03.25		First-person GoPro shot of Mayimele engaged in cement production.	"I didn't want to become a businessman. My aim was to find a way to bring money home. So I thought: why don't I make blocks? And maybe people will buy and I'll make some money. The people I work with, we're just like a team. We saw there was a high demand for bricks so we decided to make them to sell. Let's say we have sand but no money for cement, when a customer orders we ask for a deposit so we can buy cement and make bricks. As the orders accumulate, we get deposit money and we divide it among us for every week's salary. It helps them. We want money and they want bricks."
03.26-03.40		Workers engaged in the production of cement.	
03.41-04.25		Mayimele at his place of work speaking to the camera.	

A hierarchy of economic production is certainly reflected in this discourse, with Mayimele embodying many attributes of a 'boss' in the conventional sense of the word. As he notes on the content plane in the above extract, he owns the equipment (what we might think of as the means of production) and - as reflected in the visual clip - a group of young male workers

undertake most of the physically strenuous labour. Further, it is unlikely - as is the nature of most small businesses - that these workers are represented by unions or receive benefits of any kind (Bruenig, 2018). However, despite all of this, the business is constructed as an entrepreneurship of the multitude. Mayimele notes that he "didn't want to become a businessman", which seems to suggest that rather than an aspirational endeavour, starting a business was, for him, a necessity of livelihood. Here, entrepreneurship of the multitude is not, as Hardt and Negri (2017) imply, forged out of solidarity and towards a common democratic goal, but as a product of circumstance. Indeed, Mayimele appears to invest very little in his identity as a 'boss'. During the participatory editing process, Mayimele insisted that the footage which he had shot of himself making bricks be included in the final cut of the documentary. The logical ideational metafunction is fulfilled here by constructing entrepreneurialism not through readily available capitalist models, but through a particular, knowingly alternative, practice which centralises an ethic of equality. With staff referred to as "a team", and emphasis placed on the fact that profits are "divided" equally "among us" (all of which was confirmed by interviews with the workers), this ethic of equality comes to structure the discourse's textual metafunction. It would seem that Mayimele discursively builds into his construction of labour practices a notion of community that is generative, complex and consciously subversive (i.e. a kind of resistance from within given community structures). This speaks against mainstream media constructions of Thembelihle as a monolithic geo-spatial community that is characterised by little more than land contestation and protest violence (see Study I).

Towards the end of his interview, Mayimele asserts that "we're getting lots of customers because people want electricity boxes put in brick structures, not [the existing] zinc structures". In this way, the ethic of community which undergirds his business model - that is

to say, the entrepreneurship of the multitude - is extended into the wider community by discursively linking his business to structural development in Thembelihle. However, in examining the discourse's context plane, Thembelihle's development must be considered politically. The community is continually ignored by development programmes and what little development has been implemented, particularly electrification (see Phala, 2016), while incomplete, has been won through the efforts of grassroots activists and not willingly handed over by the State (see Introduction section of this dissertation), as is implied by some newspaper reports (see Study I). Mayimele therefore acts to discursively connect the entrepreneurship of the multitude to a broader community identity, which casts resistance politics (both internal and relational) as essential to wider community development (see Study III for more here).

Although Mayimele constructs his business as reflecting a community ethos, like most worker cooperatives, he struggles to attain longevity in a capitalist political economy that does not accommodate cooperative business models (Wolff, 2017, 2019). Mayimele takes on an especially serious tone in his speech when declaring that he is "not sure what will happen [to the business] when the electricity project ends" and that "this is no business, it is child's play. We are just working to eat". The material deprivation reflected here does not correspond to any of the GoPro footage that Mayimele shot. Instead, the idyllic constructions relied on earlier in the interview are countered through this more sober tone, which acts to fulfil the logical ideational metafunction. Although the business is linked to community development, such development ultimately occurs in a context of structural violence, meaning that the business experiences difficulties in sustaining itself, let alone growing or extending its influence. Here, unlike in media reports on Thembelihle, structural violence in the community is not established as the central discursive determinant of the community.

Rather, the limiting nature of structural violence is emphasised by demonstrating its effect on generative community-building activity. While surplus value is designated equally among all of those working at this business - including Mayimele - none of the workers are able to secure a consistent salary within a capitalist system that does not support egalitarian labour practices.

Another way by which entrepreneurship of the multitude was constructed in the documentary was with reference to commodity distribution. Jongilizwe "JoJo" Mnyanda, a self-employed farmer - or "gardener" as he refers to himself in the documentary - emphasises the pride that he obtains through growing healthy food in, and ultimately for, Thembelihle.

Extract 2

Time Frame	Visual Clip	Kinetic Action	Relevant Audio
02.15-02.18		First-person GoPro footage of Mnyanda selling his produce to a customer.	"[A]n achievement for me is this garden that I started because it started small and with hardship to start it … I have done what … I think … is an achievement to me. As a matter of fact, this garden reflects the people of Thembelihle."
02.19-02.35		Mnyanda planting seeds in his garden.	

02.36- 02.44		Mnyanda in his home speaking to the camera.	

Mnyanda discursively constructs the labour and distribution processes of his business as instituting an ethic of community. This is directly asserted when he proclaims that “this garden reflects the people of Thembelihle”. Indeed, more so than that of any other character in the documentary, the GoPro footage shot by Mnyanda depicts many different residents of Thembelihle, which meant that shots of his garden (as well as him gardening) were infused with a visible sense of community. Yet, unlike Mayimele’s brick-making business, where the production process reflected a generative sense of community through a worker cooperative model, Mnyanda works alone. Thus, for Mnyanda, entrepreneurship of the multitude was established through the visible presence of the multitude, and how such a presence influenced the day-to-day running of his business.

Unlike Mayimele, Mnyanda’s work did not realise the entrepreneurship of the multitude through broader community development (and its associated politics). Instead, a discursive emphasis was placed on the multitude with respect to commodity distribution (which, in this particular case, was vegetables). Mnyanda proclaims later in his interview that he manages to “make ends meet by selling to the local population” and that people in Thembelihle do not steal from him. He notes that:

> because they know if they haven’t got money, they’ll just come to me [and say] “Mr. Joseph, you know, my kids didn’t eat today. Just give me some spinach.” And then I [will] just give [to] him.

This extract presents a number of considerations regarding the context plane on which the discourse rests. Mnyanda places great discursive value on the fulfilment of the experimental ideational metafunction by constructing his life in the community as one that signifies a generative kind of hope (noted in Extract 2 when he connects his business' success and growth to the wider community, and in his continual smiling when discussing the history of his business). Yet, the discourse also recognises structural violence and, in fulfilling the logical ideational metafunction, makes reference to those in the community who cannot afford to eat. Thus, the multitude is realised in this particular business via a prioritising of community over the profit motive ("I [will] just give [to] him"). A central feature of the discourse then is, like in Extract 1, structural violence shapes everyday life in the community in material ways. However, unlike in news media constructions, Mnyanda constructs life in the community as characterised by a fundamental humanism. He therefore discursively counters dominant depictions of Thembelihle by emphasising a nuanced image of a 'community' wherein structural violence is resisted - rather than perpetuated or sustained - from within everyday community activity.

In a manner somewhat distinct from Mnyanda and Mnyanda, Deliwe Segodi, a day-care principal in the community, engaged the *Entrepreneurship of the Multitude* discourse by emphasising the struggle that such a discourse embodies. Her calling for State assistance does not function to serve her own interests, but rather those of Thembelihle. In this sense, her day-care centre is discursively constituted as fulfilling a social, rather than a financial, purpose in the community, with personal satisfaction derived from the quality of service rather than profitability.

Extract 3

Time Frame	Visual Clip	Kinetic Action	Relevant Audio
07.50-08.02		Segodi speaking to the camera at the day-care centre.	"Education is important, that's why we're trying to educate not only the kids but the parents as well … we're trying to promote and improve the learning culture within our community. Our biggest challenge is funds. Our school fees is the only source of income … [from which] we have … to pay the teachers, we have to provide the food for the children, we have to make sure that the resources are there, we have to make sure that the crèche is maintained. Another challenge is that because of the area that we are in, we have difficulties with the social development, where they'll be telling us that you don't qualify because of the area. When we go to the counsellor, the counsellor will tell you that Thembelihle
08.30-08.34		First-person GoPro shot of Segodi between classes.	
08.35-08.48		Segodi working in her office.	

			shouldn't even be here."

Early on in Segodi's speech, education is established as a social enterprise which involves both parents and children, and is therefore constitutive of a broader "learning culture within our community". The discourse seems to reject news media reporting that constructs 'culture' in Thembelihle as a static and ahistorical performance (see Study I). Instead, culture is drawn on as a suitably dynamic, situated and humanistic institution, co-created by different people for the broader goal of community development. Such a culture is positioned as a kind of value that is to be fought for and advocated in the community through, for instance, engaging in entrepreneurship of the multitude.

As with Mayimele in Extract 1, and Mnyanda in Extract 2, Segodi discursively acknowledges the limitations and restraints that are imposed onto her labour by a structurally violent social order. She highlights that school fees have to account for maintenance, food provided to the learners, and teachers' salaries. This makes difficult the building of an adequate learning culture. These often-unacknowledged facets of sustaining a community-oriented business are accentuated when, later in her interview, Segodi notes that "I work all the time". Extending this lack of recognition to the logical ideational metafunction, Segodi asserts that State justifications for withholding development funds are premised on the fact that "Thembelihle shouldn't even be here". Once again, entrepreneurship of the multitude is connected to political struggles around the ontological status of Thembelihle. Where much of the discourse drawn on in mainstream media seeks to establish Thembelihle as 'irrational' due to its ignoring of the State's relocation agenda (see Study I), Segodi demonstrates how people construct home in Thembelihle in spite of, rather than in accordance to, structural violence and Statist reasoning. This is perhaps one of the most pertinent ways by which discursive

resistance is enacted within Thembelihle, that is, by defining community on one's own terms rather than those that have been discursively imposed.

In Extract 3, the *Entrepreneurship of the Multitude* discourse is realised through Segodi's fight to build a pedagogic culture in Thembelihle. She discursively resists colonial constructions of culture and community that act to determine the 'illogic' of both. By assuming a humanising rhetorical form, the discourse reminds viewers of the documentary - through the fulfilment of the interpersonal metafunction - that entrepreneurship of the multitude is, in essence, a site of political struggle when the multitude is systematically oppressed. The kinds of individualistic 'solutions from above' that are advocated by political leaders and reflected in mainstream news media reports are in this way rejected for systems-focused and humanistic understandings of community life.

In the fourth extract, two nurses working in Thembelihle, Jeannette Motsoeneng and Agnes Thiko, describe their jobs and the social circumstances in which they perform them. They discursively connect their work to the reproduction of the multitude as well as to the demand for socially just living conditions within which the multitude is able to flourish (see Hardt & Negri, 2004). In other words, they resist the notion that social labour is less fundamental to an economy than so-called material or industrial labour. Such intra-community resistance emphasises the alienating and systemically violent conditions that fundamentally sever the extent to which social labour is able to serve the multitude.

Extract 4

Time Frame	Visual Clip	Kinetic Action	Relevant Audio
06.31-06.38		First-person GoPro shot of food being prepared and dishes being washed.	Motsoeneng: “If a sick person lives alone, we bathe them and clean their environment. If there is no food, we make a plan for them … If there is a family nearby who can help, we train that family in how to look after that person. And we return to monitor that person to see how they are looking after the sick person.” Thiko: “When it rains it’s a problem. It gets very windy. In those conditions we have to go into the field. They will tell you: “you work in the community, so rain or no rain, you have to go to work.” It would help if the government would provide transport … Patients also need transport to get to the clinic. The wheelchairs are also not up to standard and they’ve stopped giving us
07.00-07.13		Shot of Thiko preparing for work.	
07.19-07.34		Shot of an undeveloped road in Thembelihle.	

			allowances to take wheelchairs into the community to help patients there.”

Here, the multitude and the kind of entrepreneurship with which Motsoeneng and Thiko are involved are constructed as existing within a dialogic relationship, that is to say, each is formed and informed by the other in particular ways that are restrained by systemically violent circumstances and yet, at the same time, act as a kind of internal resistance to these circumstances. Hardt and Negri (2004) refer to this particular kind of social labour - where ‘commodities’ are immaterial - as biopolitical labour. Such labour is at once affective, relational and community-engaged, and is characterised on the text’s content plane with references to “bath[ing]”, “clean[ing] their environment”, and “[cooking] food” in Motsoeneng’s speech, and as an imperative to “help patients” in Thiko’s speech. Looking to the multimodality of the discourse, the linguistic text is supplemented with shots of each nurse preparing for work, as well as stills of unclean dishes. On the expressive plane, because biopolitical work is - due to its feminisation - often denigrated to superfluous status under patriarchal capitalism (i.e. it is established as a kind of duty-bound ‘care’ rather than labour proper, see Fraser, Arruzza, & Bhattacharya, 2019), these shots served to visibilise this kind of work, as well as emphasise its socio-economic import, thus bringing together the logical and experimental ideational metafunctions. Unlike the previous three extracts, where an action-orientation appeared to frame the different shots (farming; selling; making bricks; teaching), there is a stillness to Extract 4. Such inertia relies on multimodality to articulate and visibilise the political underpinnings of biopolitical labour.

In examining Extract 4’s context plane, both participants discursively situate their biopolitical labour in particular ways. Motsoeneng, for instance, fulfils the experimental ideational

metafunction by explicitly anchoring the sustainability of her work to the multitude, describing how neighbouring families receive training that equips them to perform this kind of work. This is then discursively elaborated on (and also, more subtly, contextualised) by Thiko through positioning problems of transport and insufficient facilities as systemic hindrances to nursing work. Like Motsoeneng, Thiko connects her work to the positionality of the multitude by noting that "[t]hey will tell you: 'you work in the community, so rain or no rain, you have to go to work'", a point that is reiterated in the way that the third shot in the above extract fulfils the interpersonal metafunction by depicting Thembelihle's undeveloped roads (a visual whose significance was continually stressed during the participatory editing process). Speaking to the textual metafunction, both participants construct a fundamental paradox of biopolitical labour (which we can understand as a kind of subcategory of the entrepreneurship of the multitude). This paradox is noted in how attempts to build and improve community well-being are limited - and even altogether ceased - through a systemically violent system (see Thiko's claim that "wheelchairs are … not up to standard and they've stopped giving us allowances to take wheelchairs into the community"). Indeed, such a system works to deny particular communities, like Thembelihle, the humane living conditions that are necessary for a dignified mode of social reproduction. With Thiko's assertion that she is told to deal with these circumstances because she "work[s] in the community", it is made clear that systemic violence is naturalised through the partialised ontology afforded to Thembelihle, with individuals ultimately made responsible for structural violence (see Friedman, 2019).

However, although both participants describe the systemic difficulties that characterise their work (austerity, poor community infrastructure, resources), later in the documentary, Motsoeneng, fulfilling the experimental ideational metafunction, proclaims that:

> it's nice to see someone getting up and going to work, making a means to feed their families. Jobs are scarce but it's nice to see them on their feet and to know you made a difference.

Thiko similarly reflects that "nothing makes me happier than to see someone recovering". We can perhaps deduce then that the ways by which biopolitical labour connects to the multitude present an image of a more just, fundamentally human, future and thus informs conceptions of resistance. Indeed, within the discourse, biopolitical labour is positioned as "singularity and commonality" (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p. 127), that is, the social nexus within which the resistance potential of the multitude exists. Yet, there remains a struggle for recognition, both within and beyond the community. This is noted in Motsoeneng's statement later in the documentary:

> the spirit is there in Thembelihle. People want to see themselves living like people in other communities where there is everything. People are not just sitting back. They're fighting for what they want.

Intra-community resistance is constructed here as embodied in the "spirit" of Thembelihle's multitude. In this regard, internal resistance should not be perceived as fundamentally insular. To the contrary, it looks beyond one's immediate conditions in order to demand that these conditions be improved. By emphasising the actional and resolute temperament of the residents of Thembelihle through the words "fighting" and "spirit" - as well as the fact that "people are not just sitting back" - Motsoeneng rejects individualising hegemony and fatalist meta-narratives. A discursive accent is therefore placed on how those in Thembelihle are fighting for "everything".

In Extract 4, intra-community resistance is constructed through visibilising biopolitical labour and denouncing the systemic denigration of such labour (see Fraser et al., 2019). Entrepreneurship of the multitude is thus asserted in its ontological fullness and must, if it is to be a legitimate modality of internal resistance, include within it the demand for just working conditions for all. Once again, through the *Entrepreneurship of the Multitude* discourse (which, in the case of biopolitical labour, we might understand as entrepreneurship *for* the multitude) participants destabilised the profit motive as the driving force of labour, prioritising instead a community-oriented formation of work. In this way, internal resistance comes to function as a basis against which to inform relational community resistance politics (see Study III).

Within each of the four extracts above, social and material labour - that is, productive and reproductive labour - are connected to Thembelihle's multitude, and in this regard, work is reformulated as that which is driven by a humanistic ethos that is continually threatened by structural violence. The precariousness of such labour, which is emphasised most evidently in Extracts 1, 3 and 4, is therefore premised on the existential threat to Thembelihle itself. Indeed, when entrepreneurial activity centres the multitude, it will have difficulties doing so in a capitalistic economic system that is hostile towards modes of production that are not premised on exploitation (see Wolff, 2017, 2019). Yet, in some cases, as was noted in Extract 2, workers centre the multitude by labouring with structural violence in mind, or even against such structural violence, as in Extract 4. Thus, the generative capacities of community are addressed within structurally violent circumstances through the entrepreneurship of (and for) the multitude.

In this study, participants drawing on the *Entrepreneurship of the Multitude* discourse engaged intra-community resistance in the economic sphere in a manner that resists the fetishisation of “small businesses” (see Bruenig, 2018), and that took seriously how community members envisioned socially just and community-centred productive and reproductive work. In this sense, offered within the discursive contours of the documentary are radically egalitarian images of community. The manner by which these images are amplified, interrogated and contested by the wider Thembelihle community are analysed in Study IV.

Conclusion

Restorying and speaking back to dominant representations of community is a tremendously complex task. Indeed, how can we work with communities in ways that democratically harness collective voice in a manner that is sensitive to the unequal relations of power and contradictions that characterise this voice? In recognising the impossibility of this task, this study engages the humanising and democratic potential of participatory film as a means of (re)purposing communications in the service of the ‘known community’ (and the power differentials therein) and counter-hegemonies rather than profit and corporatised social agendas. Multimodal discourse analysis is rarely employed in this kind of community-engaged work, let alone the social sciences, due in part to its complexity, inexact methodological procedure and the tensions that surround visual data more broadly (Banks, 2001; O’Halloran, 2011). Yet, the task of immanently unpacking the discursive capacities of participatory films renders multimodal discourse analysis an essential method of inquiry in uncovering the role that such films are, and are not, able to play in restorying community. I thus argue that in order to appreciate the restorying potentialities of participatory film, careful analytical attention must be paid to multimodality. Accordingly, in an attempt to better

understand how people discursively construct and materially enact counter-hegemonic notions of community, this study examines multimodal discourses of community that were drawn on in a participatory documentary film.

In its capacity to engage the structural and individual character of violence (see Bowman et al., 2015; Seedat & Lazarus, 2011), as well as its ideological, ocular, affective and moral gradients (see Fryer & Fox, 2015; Ratele et al., 2010), the *Entrepreneurship of the Multitude* discourse, as participants constructed it in this study, presents community-oriented research with a number of considerations. Indeed, advancing the needs of community, rather than capital, within quotidian economic relations is an important modality of anti-capitalism, but it cannot stand as the sole enactment of such resistance, especially when it is consistently disincentivised by capitalism. Everyday resistance of this kind should therefore be taken seriously by organised and collective resistance efforts so that it may garner political support.

The study also highlights the subtle and visceral ways by which participatory filmmaking can be used to engage everyday resistance to epistemologically violent discourse, as well as systemically violent social circumstances. Indeed, within this study, while violence was acknowledged and analysed, participants continually emphasised how intra-community resistance is (and is not) able to refuse violence as the primary and definitional hermeneutic logic by which to understand Thembelihle. Thus, in heeding complex resistances which emphasise an ethos of community, we may move beyond oppressive discursive logic by building a political base whose demands are guided by community-oriented business practices, rather than capitalist modes of production (see Wolff, 2017). As Ward (2012) and colleagues highlight, addressing violence requires that links be established between government, civil society and community-based organisations. Multimodal discourse analysis

can facilitate a sustained and emotive engagement with people's lives and how they intertwine resistance politics within the everyday.

The study presents a number of limitations. To begin with, documentaries always signify a fundamental lack with respect to representing community, and will in this sense omit more than they are able to present. While this in and of itself is not necessarily a drawback of the study, it does mean that my analysis of community life - and particularly economic activity - in Thembelihle is incomplete. For instance, for ethical reasons, illegal business activity could not be represented in the documentary. Yet, in a community with such high rates of unemployment, this undoubtedly forms a large part of the local economy. Similarly, the majority of businesses in Thembelihle which adhere to the entrepreneurship of capital, and do not seek to connect their economic activities to the multitude, are not depicted in the documentary. It is important, then, to recognise that the representations offered in this study signify an incomplete production of reality, that is, "a process in which the discourses and silences invoked by the researcher and those invoked by the participants in question meet, challenge, dovetail, diverge, and generally construct new, hybrid understandings" (Macleod & Bhatia, 2008, p. 580). Added to this, issues of power, which plague this kind of research, were insufficiently addressed in this study. For example, in an effort not to centre my own voice in the documentary, I excluded myself from it entirely, meaning that the overall influence that I had over the production of the film was made to seem invisible. Further, despite being invited to comment on my interpretation of the documentary, participants were not involved in the primary analysis. In this way, the project lacked engagement with its own participatory principles. Finally, within the study I insufficiently explored how solidaritous relations could be and are forged between community-centred businesses in Thembelihle, and how these relations could be connected to more formalised politics. It should also be noted

that due to space constraints, there were participants who drew on the *Entrepreneurship of the Multitude* discourse (e.g. the soccer coach and scrapyard owner) who were not considered in this study.

By paying heed to the fiercely contested politics of representation that exist in South Africa, community media, and participatory films in particular, are able to restory, and thus intervene in, dominant discourses and their material consequences. In this study, I examine how community members who featured in a participatory documentary film drew on multimodal discourse to construct community. Such discourse presents community researchers with a complex set of considerations that are to be embraced if we are to assist in the task of building legitimate counter-hegemonies that not only challenge dominant discourse, but also hold within them politicising, historicising and inclusive capacities (see Gramsci, 1971). Participatory film does not represent an emancipatory endpoint or - even more preposterously - a complete resistance politics in and of itself. Rather, it signifies an important method by which to institute community-directed representations and assessments of struggle, (re)productive labour, the multitude and the everyday. Representations of this kind can make clear the connections between these seemingly distinct spheres of community life, and can in this way inform emancipatory social action.

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STUDY III

ANALYSING REPRESENTATIONS OF COMMUNITY RESISTANCE POLITICS IN A PARTICIPATORY DOCUMENTARY FILM

Abstract

In South Africa, film has a long tradition of representing resistance politics as well as engaging the visceral nature of these politics. Indeed, with historiography so often ignoring or glossing over grassroots political resistance, film is able to serve as an important archive and resource for emboldening, communicating and making connections between different struggles. Curiously, a sustained analysis of how community members use film to articulate the contradictions and regressions of resistance politics remains under-explored. Speaking to this gap, the present study aims to explore how participatory filmmaking can be used to flesh out a relational politics of resistance in a manner that counteracts the crude representation of community-level resistance within media reports (see Study I). In advancing this aim, I draw on multimodal critical discourse analysis to examine how three participants (two activists and a local business owner) who feature in the participatory documentary film *Thembelihle: Place of Hope* (described in Study II) construct resistance politics. It was found that participants drew on the *Multifarious Struggle* discourse which established activist politics in Thembelihle as embodying radical inclusivity as well as political regression. The shop-owner highlighted that he, along with other foreign nationals in the community, had faced xenophobic violence during moments of community protest. Such violence was, however, addressed by activists from Thembelihle, a fact which was notably absent in news media discourse (see Study I). The activists in the film constructed their politics as encompassing an expansive and fundamentally humanist vision of liberation, whereby demands for basic

material goods were complimented by a desire for an aesthetically pleasing and joyful mode of living in the community. It would appear that the *Multifarious Struggle* discourse worked to assess relational modalities of protest against notions of humanism and democracy. Emphasised here was the centrality of protest in achieving material justice and in forming collective and insurgent identities of communities as well as community members.

Keywords: participatory filmmaking; protest, representation; resistance politics; struggle; xenophobia; violence; community

Introduction

Drawing on literature from social movement studies, visual cultural studies and film studies, this present study critically analyses the multimodal discourses drawn on by community members to construct resistance politics in the participatory documentary film *Thembelihle: Place of Hope* (see Study II). Although film has been used for the purposes of advocacy and community mobilisation, there has been a dearth of research exploring how community members use participatory film to construct their struggles, and what this means for representing a politics of resistance (Chiumbu, 2015). Critical community psychologists who work with people to produce participatory films may attempt to utilise the method as a pertinent, emotive and visceral means through which communities can signify and construct an emancipatory politics on their own terms. With historiography so often ignoring or glossing over grassroots political resistance (see James, 2012; Rodney, 1972), film is able to serve as an important archive and resource for emboldening and communicating struggle, as well as articulating and making connections between seemingly distinct struggles (Mattoni & Teune, 2014).

In Study II, we saw how participatory filmmaking was used by residents of Thembelihle to construct intra-community resistance, that is, to centralise a sense of community from within the confines of oppressive social structures that debase notions of the social good (see Debord, 1977), and offer up images of an emancipatory, community-centred future. More specifically, I examined how residents of Thembelihle used participatory filmmaking to construct material and social (re)production in ways that prioritised the multitude over profit-making (see Hardt & Negri, 2017). Within the same participatory documentary film, however, these constructions of *resistance from within* were complimented, and always linked back to, a relational modality of activism that was often associated with - but not

exclusively a product of - formalised (i.e. organised) resistance politics in the community, or what we might refer to as *resistance from without* (i.e. intra-community resistance). It is this relational mode of resistance politics that is insufficiently considered in Study II as well as research literature more generally. Indeed, there is little work - particularly in South Africa (Chiumbu, 2015) - that examines how community members use participatory film to construct community resistance politics (Downing, 2008), with even fewer analytical frameworks available for this kind of work (Pauwels, 2015). Therefore, rather than attempting to offer a definitive theoretical or analytical proclamation on community resistance, the present study seeks to understand how participatory film is able to engage the flux inherent to relationally-constituted social change efforts in a suitably complex fashion (Downing, 2008). In other words, the study analyses the setbacks, internal contradictions, affective consequences and problematics of community resistance politics.

In what follows, I offer some examples of how participatory films have been used to represent resistance efforts. I then describe, in broad terms, how resistance politics in South Africa are represented visually, how film has engaged this discursive landscape, and the issues faced by participatory films attempting to represent resistance politics. After this, I provide a set of theoretical coordinates for the present study, and outline its primary aims and objectives. The manner by which participatory filmmaking was used in this study is then briefly recapped (see Study II for more details here), with particular attention paid to the suitability of critical multimodal discourse analysis within research of this kind. Finally, in accordance to this study's aim of analysing multimodal constructions of resistance politics within participatory film, I explore the *Multifarious Struggle* discourse as it was drawn on in the participatory documentary *Thembelihle: Place of Hope*, and conclude by drawing out from the analysis implications for critical community psychology praxes.

Using Participatory Film to Represent Resistance

Participatory film, like all participatory visual methods, is geared towards knowledge production and social action (Baú, 2014; Pauwels, 2015). However, within research, representations of the latter are rarely explored in as nuanced a manner as enactments of the former are (Aguayo, 2014; Roberts & Muñiz, 2018). Nonetheless, there are cases all over the world where participatory filmmaking has been used to represent community resistance politics. Throughout Latin America, for instance, organised labour movements, indigenous peoples, social workers, political activists, religious leaders and educators have all utilised the method for purposes of social and political justice, solidarity promotion, the preservation of local culture, and the building of community (see Rodríguez, 2000). In an especially powerful example, the *New Orleans Videovoice Project* (see Catalani et al., 2012), which was undertaken two years after Hurricane Katrina devastated New Orleans (located in the state of Louisiana in the USA), saw filmmakers, community members and researchers produce a 22-minute film that campaigned for community assets. In this way, the project addressed the government's inadequate attempts to assist poor communities after Katrina. In *The Engaging Youth Project,* young South Africans produced a film on teenage pregnancy in their community. At a well-attended public screening of the film, an activist from an independent feminist movement was invited to connect the themes of the film to other ongoing political struggles for gender equity in and outside of the community (Malherbe, Suffla, Everitt-Penhale, 2019). In another example, Wheeler (2009), who helped produce three participatory films in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, sought to bridge anti-violence campaigns and notions of citizenship through film and, through challenging dominant power arrangements, attempted to effect change and solidarity among communities and policy-makers. Resistance was therefore enacted through State structures in an effort to change these structures.

Participatory film has also been used to cherish the meaning of community activism within social memory, that is, to connect with others through shared trauma, and to build activism around the commonality of painful experiences (Rodríguez, 2000). In a participatory filmmaking project in Palestine, Norman (2009) recounts how young people created a film to mourn and honour the Palestinian poet and activist Mahmoud Darwish. Similarly, in their participatory film study in Guyana, Mistry and Berardi (2012) found that most participants used the method to discuss the Rupununi Uprising,[18] and how its effects reach into contemporary psychosocial processing.

However, despite some participatory filmmaking projects attempting to represent and harness community-centred resistance politics in meaningful ways, it should be stressed that the change-making imperative of participatory filmmaking - more often than not - exists at the level of rhetoric (see Roberts & Muníz, 2018). In other words, very few participatory filmmaking projects attempt to critically and meaningfully represent social action - in all its complexity and contradiction - as it exists at a community level (Corneil, 2012). Further, while the voices of activists are often explored within the participatory films, or indeed at public screenings of these films, the somewhat unique manner by which the method is able to harness community-oriented voices in representing the internal tensions associated with political resistance is rarely subject to systematic and critical analyses.

Visually Representing Resistance Politics

Resistance politics seek to engage in epistemic and material modes of popular struggle as a way of interrupting exclusionary, repressive, undemocratic and exploitative socio-political and economic arrangements (della Porta & Diani, 2009; Hardt & Negri, 2004). Such

[18]A large grassroots insurrection that occurred on 2 January 1969 in Guyana, a country located on the North Atlantic Coast of South America (Mistry & Berardi, 2012).

resistance is emergent, relational and behavioural, and institutes modes of action in accordance with how the *demos* believes things ought to be (Watts & Serrano-García, 2003). A politics of this kind can operate through institutional parameters, organised formations, and/or looser, more temporal collectives (Oliver, Cadena-Roa, & Strawn, 2003). However, for resistance politics to be considered emancipatory, oppression cannot just be rejected, it must also be overcome. In other words, the appearance of an oppressive social order is destroyed so that the seeming impossibility of liberation can appear attainable (Fisher, 2009), which means that an emancipatory resistance politics is one of building as well as rejecting (Kelley, 2002). It is through these politics that poor and working people, despite having little access to political resources and social capital, can influence the social policy; decision-making apparatuses; and meta-narratives surrounding their lives, all while subverting many of the 'respectable' channels of civic participation (Sinwell, 2009).

For many in South Africa, resistance politics are responsible for what few national freedoms are enjoyed today, and thus form an important source of their identity (Cornell, Malherbe, Seedat, & Suffla, 2019). Although various resistance modalities exist in South Africa, in the context of the country's tremendous social inequality, protest has been the principle medium of resistance politics in the last decade (see Runciman et al., 2016). It should, however, be emphasised that in South Africa - as is the case all over the world - protests vary in their political orientation (Robins, 2014). Despite being critical of the ANC government, much political resistance in the country remains somewhat loyal to the governing party, seeking not to contest its right to rule as much as the way that such rule is enacted (Piper & Anciano, 2015). Protests are frequently decentred and fragmented, often striving for the enhancement of democratic channels, and regularly drawing on anti-apartheid strategies of resistance (Paret, Runciman, & Sinwell, 2017). Thus, as is the case globally, resistance politics in South

Africa are characterised by difference and even contradiction (see Lorde, 2017), which poses a specific set of representational challenges.

Representing grassroots political resistance should not be limited to engaging an apparent silence-voice binary (Lykes, Terre Blanche, & Hamber, 2003). Indeed, we should also interrogate representation itself which, in the present study, necessitates interrogating the visual. Hall (1997) notes that representations, which produce meaning through language (be it visual, linguistic, kinetic or multimodal) stand for and in the place of something, and therefore work to signify and symbolise that thing. It is people who make images speak, rather the images themselves (Mbembe, 2001), with such speaking always occurring within, and in reaction to, a particular social context (Sontag, 1977). Thus, because the meanings attributed to visual signs have material consequences and are always contested, images embody a politics of representation (see Hall, 1997). Visual signs, Hall (1997) goes on to say, are especially interesting in that they are iconic, that is, their form resembles that to which they refer (e.g. while an image of a table is obviously not a table, it resembles a table in ways that the word "table" does not). Pictures are so powerful because they appear innocent and devoid of ideology, and yet they code reality in such visceral ways (Sontag, 1977). It is the politics of contested meaning and the ability of visual signs to appear authoritative, often by denying their status as signs and relying on familiar and naturalised cultural codes (Mbembe, 2001), that influence how we understand visual representations of resistance politics.

Resistance politics are, in many ways, fundamentally visual (Mattoni & Teune, 2014). Visual representations of political resistance have material consequences for how such resistance is engaged by authorities (Duncan, 2016), and can determine the legacy of specific political campaigns (Corrigall-Brown & Wilkes, 2012). As a result of its capacity for a seemingly

objective reflection of reality (Hall, 1997), visual representation influences how publics understand, disassociate and/or identify with resistance politics, and can furnish these politics with an aesthetic dimension in the popular imagination. Therefore, unlike in the academy, where visual data carry very little credence (Pauwels, 2015) - and where visual representations of resistance politics remain under-studied (Corrigall-Brown & Wilkes, 2012) - in broader society, the visual is often understood to provide an accurate reflection of reality. It is in this way that the representational politics of visual images of resistance are concealed (see Mbembe, 2001).

Visual communication is, like linguistic communication, inherently limited in what it is able to represent. This is especially so in the case of resistance politics, which constitute a tremendously complicated series of mini-events that are always in motion and connected to one another in different - often contrasting - ways. Thus, the limited manner by which resistance politics are visually represented reflects the impossibility of capturing any kind of 'essence' of these politics. While it is essential to bring issues related to the political economy into how we study resistance efforts (Runicman, 2017), it is also important to note that representing resistance politics in full is not possible. For those involved in resistance efforts, the representational task becomes not one of fundamental 'Truth'. Rather, the fundamentally complex political orientation of resistance is to be engaged in a manner that is nuanced and geared towards understanding its psychological and material implications.

Visual activism in South Africa has shown to express people's political desires and even construct radical political communities (Thomas, 2018). Indeed, Dawson (2012) demonstrates how, in South Africa, community resistance politics are oftentimes signified through 'nano-media' which exist outside of mainstream reporting. Such nano-media can

include public demonstrations, dress, slogans, murals, songs, community radio programmes, dance, theatre and documentary film. Visuals of this kind seek to articulate structural violence as well as commemorate political resistance. They are thus attuned to the aesthetic dimensions of resistance politics. Community-driven visual activism, in particular, is able to flesh out how subordination is lived and felt, as well as capture the symbolic and political texture of resistance (Scott, 1985). We might say that visual representations of the activist self can lead to representations of *us* and eventually representations of the *now* (i.e. collective activism) (see Ganz, 2009). Furthermore, visuals can signify the communicative capacities of resistance politics, and how these politics are so often characterised by a language of violence that is (purposely) susceptible to mistranslation (Van der Merwe, 2013).

Although in more recent years (see Neumayer & Rossi, 2018) social media have been pivotal in disseminating images of political resistance movements (e.g. the global Occupy Demonstrations and the so-called Arab Spring), in South Africa - where social media are only available to the portion of the population (less than half) who have Internet access (Runciman, 2017) - visually representing one's politics through social media exclusively can have a somewhat limited impact. It is also possible for police and other State authorities to use social media in ways that do not privilege protesters (e.g. the prolific SAPS Twitter account). Another problem with visually representing resistance through social media was observed in a study undertaken by Neumayer and Rossi (2018), who found that the images of protest that received most attention on social media (and were thus algorithmically privileged) are ones that depict violence, meaning that both protesters and mainstream media tended to adhere to the same conventions, language and representational paradigms that prioritise spectacle over the grievances of activists. It may then be said that neoliberal discursive logic structures the representational terrain of social media in as much as it does

mainstream media (see Day, Cornell, & Malherbe, 2019). Social movements in South Africa, such as the Durban-based shack-dwellers movements Abahlali baseMjondolo, therefore usually use social media in conjunction with a number of other communications (e.g. newsletters and mailing lists) when visually representing their resistance politics (Dawson, 2012).

In sum, the struggle over representing resistance politics plays out in very particular ways within the visual. Dominant visual representations of resistance politics often work to ensure that they are read in unfavourable ways (e.g. chaotic, baselessly violent, wholly anti-social, see Study I). It is for this reason that grassroots movements have, in a variety of ways, sought to use visuals not to present the definitive reading of their politics, but to engage these politics in a necessarily complex manner. Those looking to work with and for activists in visually representing their struggles should remain attentive to the nuances, regressions, differences, contradictions and emancipatory thrust inherent to resistance politics.

Film Advocacy

Using film as a tool for social justice activism - often as a means through which to increase the visibility of specific protest campaigns (Caldwell, 2005) - is usually referred to as film advocacy (Gregory, 2005). Through film advocacy, activists are afforded a powerful means of constructing counter-publics (Mattoni & Teune, 2014). Norman (2009) comments that these counter-publics range widely in their politicising modalities because films can be used for a variety of activist purposes, such as communicating with others; teach-ins; prompts within critical dialogue spaces; at marches and demonstrations; alongside petitions; as tools for advocating boycott, divest and sanction campaigns; and for policy change (see Wheeler, 2009). Added to this, film advocacy can allow for collective and responsible listening that

reveals dominant power structures, visibilises harmful activities and products, and/or offers visions of a more just world (Keifer-Boyd, 2011). Not only then do advocacy films endeavour to understand particular social issues, they are also geared towards examining how these issues are constructed and deconstructed by different people (Roberts & Muñiz, 2018). It is in this sense that these films represent ethico-political praxes whose emancipatory potential lies in their cultural, epistemic and/or social engagement (see Ginsburg, Abu-Lughod & Larkin, 2002).

In technocratic societies, especially those as heavily mediated as South Africa's (Jacobs, 2019), the ocular characteristics of protest are pertinent to resistance politics (Aguayo, 2014; Mattoni & Teune, 2014). Indeed, social movements are able to use films for claim-making and meaning-making (Dawson, 2012), which can have long-lasting effects on audiences (Cancel, 2004). DeLuca (1999) speaks of protests as "image events" whose visuality is able to serve as a mode of resistance and/or solidarity that uses spectacle as a form of social critique. In especially politicised moments, advocacy films can draw on image events to overshadow the hegemony of mainstream media, as was the case with street tapes during the 1999 Seattle protests, 2011's January 25 Revolution in Egypt, and the student-led Fallist movement that began in 2015 across South Africa (Aguayo, 2014; Bosch & Mutsvairo, 2017; Mattoni & Teune, 2014). Cinematic symbolism can therefore play an important role in demonstrating and making clear the political coordinates of one's activism and the tensions experienced by activists. Film can also create spaces that facilitate participation, horizontal organisation, collective identity-making, psychological strength and bottom-up participation (Chiumbu, 2015).

Film advocacy presents a long history within social movements. Askanius (2014) notes that producing films for the purposes of activism came to prominence in the 1980s with the proliferation of camcorders (e.g. the HIV and anti-nuclear proliferation video activism of this period). However, even before this, activists were producing films, such as the pro-labour documentaries and Soviet workers' photography of the 1920s and 1930s (e.g. *Workers Film* and *Photo League*, which documented strike lines throughout 1930s), as well as the guerrilla video culture jamming, feminist film collectives, ethnographic films, and so-called "third cinema" movements that occurred throughout Latin America, all of which took place during the 1960s and 1970s when media technology became increasingly portable and relatively affordable (also see Gregory, 2005; Mattoni & Teune, 2014; Mistry & Berardi, 2012; Rodríguez, 2000). In following on from the street tapes used by the anti-globalisation movements in the 1990s, contemporary film activism has taken on an increasingly prolific character, as has been noted in the Black Lives Matter Movement in the USA (Aguayo, 2014), and the Fallist movement in South Africa (Bosch & Mutsvairo, 2017).

Today, there are a number of film advocacy organisations and collectives, including Voices Beyond Walls (Palestine), Appal (USA), the Chips Media Project (Mexico), CEFREC (Bolivia), the Drishti Media Collective (India), Undercurrents (UK), INSIST (Indonesia), Maneroo Mengi (Tanzania), WITNESS (South Africa), and Labor News Production (South Korea) (see Englehart, 2003; Gergory, 2005). At an individual level, films produced by collectives have shown to foster feelings of empowerment, develop technical and artistic skillsets, function as catharsis, and encourage critical thinking (Norman, 2009). Yet, as the primary goal of film advocacy is to pair individual change with community-level change (Caldwell, 2005; Ganz, 2009; Pauwels, 2015), many of these films also attend to resistance politics as a means of critically engaging activism. Englehart (2003) highlights that there

exists an important tradition within film advocacy (e.g. in films produced by: HIV and AIDS activists, Palestinians living in occupied territory, refugee communities, as well as artists and critical ethnographers) that harnesses the voices of activists in both the production of the filmic text and within the films themselves. One way of centring activist concerns within film advocacy is to implement an ethics of access, where those represented on film are intimately involved in how such representation is constituted, and for what ends (Corneil, 2012).

In South Africa, documentary film advocacy has long sought to humanise and properly politicise community activism by granting audiences access to the 'private' or hidden side of resistance politics (Walton, 2016). Such a history is generally believed to have begun with a 24-minute black and white documentary film produced in 1949, entitled *Civilization on Trial in South Africa*, which looked at the plight of racially oppressed peoples living in South Africa and Namibia (Gordon, 2005). However, Cancel (2004) notes that the height of film advocacy in pre-1994 South Africa was during the 1970s, particularly after the Sharpeville Massacre. Especially notable films here include *Last Grave at Dimbaza* (1974), *You Have Struck a Rock* (1978), S*ix Days in Soweto* (1979) and *Crossroads South Africa* (1979). Yet, as Cancel (2004) and Gordon (2005) highlight, documentary film in South Africa has also been used for oppressive and reactionary purposes, such as advocating racist State propaganda in the 1930s and, later, pro-apartheid political agendas (e.g. 1980's *To Act A Lie*). Today, South African documentary film is regularly employed for racist and sexist purposes, as was seen in *Disrupted Land*, a 2019 documentary film produced by AfriForum - a right-wing Afrikaner nationalist group - that sought to glorify apartheid (see du Toit, 2019). Nonetheless, contemporary documentary filmmaking in South Africa is more often used by social movements and activists to amplify particular struggles, develop counter-narratives and draw public attention to various social issues (Chiumbu, 2015). Some examples here

include *Dear Mandela*, a 2012 documentary that chronicles the housing struggles faced by Abahlali baseMjondolo, as well as *Tin Town* (2012) and *Sounds of Blikkiesdorp* (2014), both of which examine struggles faced by residents of Blikkiesdorp, a township in Cape Town. Possibly the most well-known advocacy documentary film produced in South Africa is 2014's *Miners Shot Down*. The film, which won an Emmy Award as well as a DocImpact Award, investigates the events leading up to the Marikana Massacre and was used in the 2014 Commission of Inquiry (Walton, 2016). When the SABC refused to air the documentary on national television, activists projected it onto the SABC's head offices (Thomas, 2018). However, in almost all of these post-apartheid advocacy films, an ethics of access was neglected, and therefore community agency was diminished (Chiumbu, 2015).

Participatory Film Advocacy and Issues of Representation

Participatory documentary films can be useful for constructing visceral counter-hegemonies that allow people to tell their stories as they understand them (Rodríguez, 2000), and to demonstrate the often under-reported affective dimensions of struggles against injustice (Mattoni & Teune, 2014). Indeed, with symbolic power so often negotiated through mainstream media (see Study I), participatory films can serve as important representational conduits of political struggle. By drawing on a number of familiar cultural scripts, participatory films are able to create intensely politicising discursive spaces for those who may not be directly engaged in activist thinking and praxis (Askanius, 2014). As Norman (2009) highlights, the method can create spaces for engagement and organising, thereby increasing collective awareness of community struggles as well as broader social issues.

There are a number of challenges when attempting to represent resistance politics in and through participatory film. For instance, within participatory filmmaking projects, because

social change and activism are, in general, defined very vaguely (if at all) by unknown parties (Roberts & Muñiz, 2018), a film's relationship to political struggles as they are enacted and experienced on the ground can be somewhat dubious (Norman, 2009). Similarly, hidden representational hierarchies are likely to influence the seemingly flat structure of participatory film production. It can also be unclear where researchers' voices have distorted those of activists (Chiumbu, 2015). Added to this, there is a danger of confining filmic representations of radical political engagement to the requirements of funders (Aguayo, 2014; DeLuca, 1999), where an elite social agenda can institute moralistic or acontextual cinematic readings of resistance (see Van der Merwe, 2013). Representing political resistance through participatory film can also pose a danger to activists themselves, especially those who are considered threatening to dominant power structures (Corneil, 2012). Furthermore, participatory films concerned with representing resistance politics often fail to engage community by focusing on charismatic activist leaders and thus obscuring the multitude (see Dawson, 2012). In sum, because participatory filmmaking typically presents an affinity to a liberalised kind of political engagement (Walsh, 2016), it is challenged not to collapse into representational distortions, while at the same engaging critically with resistance politics. Critical analyses of this sort should not presume that simply because something is said or done by an activist it is beyond critique (Wheeler, 2009). We should also not romanticise one's ability to speak, but rather interrogate what is said as well as where this is said and to whom (Lykes et al., 2003). Therefore, participatory film advocacy should endeavour to inform social movements and to communicate resistance politics in a nuanced fashion, rather than cohere with elite representational frameworks.

The ways by which participatory film allows for a "visceral sense of knowing" (Riecken et al., 2006, p. 275) can facilitate critical representations of community activism that stimulate

civic engagement and challenge dominant narratives (Norman, 2009). However, participatory film should not be understood as simply handing over agency to participants, or as affording to communities modes of representation that were entirely unknown prior to filmmaking (Corneil, 2012). Instead, the method can assist people in harnessing and mobilising resources, energies and activist capacities already in existence, and to represent these in a critical but always community-oriented way which speaks back to dominant meta-narratives surrounding resistance politics (see Study I). In this sense, participatory filmmaking can facilitate the discursive space necessary for representing resistance politics for communities and to community outsiders in ways that are sensitive to the power differentials underlying dominant and grassroots representational conventions (Shaw, 2012). Representing resistance politics through participatory film in this way can also demonstrate to film audiences how epistemic insurgency is able to catalyse ruptures in an oppressive social order (Wiebe, 2015).

The Present Study

While there is a considerable body of research examining how filmmaking has been used by and with activists all over the world (e.g. Aguayo, 2014; Askanius, 2014; Caldwell, 2005; Milne, Mitchell, & de Lange, 2012; Mistry & Berardi, 2012), particularly through social media platforms (e.g. Bosch & Mutsvairo, 2017; Neumayer & Rossi, 2018), there appears to be relatively little work - especially in the South African context (Chiumbu, 2015) - that critically analyses how community activists use participatory film to construct resistance politics, including the contradictions and setbacks therein (Downing, 2008). Research of this kind also lacks comprehensive frameworks for analysing film (Pauwels, 2015). The present study seeks to address this gap in the academic literature by analysing in a community-centred, but fundamentally critical, manner the multimodal discourses drawn on by community members to construct resistance politics in a participatory documentary film.

Theoretical Coordinates

Speaking to the broader theoretical framework of this research (i.e. critical social theory, liberation psychology and social constructionism), the present study takes its theoretical coordinates from the struggle for representation surrounding community resistance politics in South Africa. Such representation, as argued by critical theorists like Hall (1997) and Lorde (2017), does not resolve difference and contradiction in even or neat ways, but instead directly addresses the kinds of tensions (individual and collective) that characterise all politics which seek to build a more just world. Representations of this kind thus take into account and make connections between various political interests and conceptions of liberation *a la* critical social theory and liberation psychology.

Drawing from the considerable history of film advocacy (which includes participatory filmmaking as a mode of signifying community resistance efforts), the interpersonal, community and societal consequences of representational struggle are conceptualised in this study in a manner that is sensitive to a broader politics of representation, as well as the socially constructed discursive logics surrounding resistance politics in South Africa. Leaning on the liberation psychology paradigm, the study explores how the psycho-material-political nexus (wherein issues of affect are understood to intersect with political economy) is socially constructed and engaged within filmic representations of community resistance politics. Finally, in remaining both community-oriented and critical, the study acknowledges that representing a stable and fixed representation of a politics of resistance is neither possible nor desirable. Instead, I attempt to analyse how the multimodal discourses interact with the inherently contradictory, psychological, ethical, political, regressive and liberatory dimensions of resistance politics.

Aims and Objectives

This study aims to examine the tremendously complex terrain of community resistance politics. Speaking to the gap in the research literature regarding community members' multimodal constructions of resistance politics, and in remaining attentive to the literature considered above as well the study's theoretical coordinates, the following questions guided this study:

1. How is the immanent make-up of resistance politics in Thembelihle discursively constructed?
2. How do community activists use multimodal discourse to construct political resistance in a relational manner (i.e. with reference to external political agents as well as the broader discursive field that informs how resistance politics are understood in South Africa)?
3. What do multimodal representations of resistance politics tell us about the historicity, complexities and contradictions of community resistance?
4. How, when, and for whom are notions of community situated within multimodal representations of resistance politics?

Participatory Filmmaking

Although participatory filmmaking is described comprehensively in Study II, for the purposes of this study, it is worth briefly outlining the method as it relates to the representation of resistance politics. Participatory filmmaking entails working with people to produce films on a particular topic, with the ultimate goal of affecting social change (Roberts & Muníz, 2018). The method is able to challenge dominant and taken-for-granted ways of knowing and can - however oftentimes does not (Walsh, 2016) - engage in emancipatory representations of contested community issues (de Lange & Mitchell, 2012). Unlike advocacy films that are

produced in activist spaces (Aguayo, 2014; Askanius, 2014), when participatory films are produced within research settings, the focus tends to be on the process of film production and creating dialogic spaces at public screenings, with the film text itself largely neglected (Roberts & Muníz, 2018). As outlined earlier, while participatory filmmaking research can be and indeed has been utilised to represent different kinds of community struggle (see Milne et al., 2012), it tends in large part not to analyse how the politics of these struggles are represented, meaning that the visceral and rich multimodal languages available to film have been under-considered with respect to the politics of representation surrounding community-driven resistance.

In this study, I argue that the complex representational faculties inherent to participatory film allow for suitably nuanced ways of interrogating the contradictory, relational and community-oriented nature of resistance politics as they exist *in situ* (see Machin & Mayr, 2012). The method is able to gain access to community meaning-making apparatuses that are under-explored in mainstream research (Ritterbusch, 2016). This is especially pertinent to the representational constitution of community resistance politics. Such representations should be constituted on their own terms and need not conform to the kinds of instrumental, 'reasonable' and 'rational' requirements of mainstream discourse (see Lunch & Lunch, 2006; Malherbe, 2019). In short, despite the fact that in Study II I argued that participatory filmmaking can be useful for dissolving particular community tensions, in this study, I note that the contrary is also true, which is to say that the method's ability to articulate and lean into community tensions can be a useful tool for representing and communicating resistance politics (see Teo, 2018). I also argue that representations of political resistance within participatory film can allow audiences and researchers to engage, build upon, historicise and mobilise around these politics (Howley, 2005; Rodríguez, 2000), all of which are important

processes of conscientisation, epistemic correction and psychosocial liberation (see Freire, 1970; Watkins & Shulman, 2008).

Representing Resistance Politics through Participatory Filmmaking in and with Thembelihle

The manner by which the participatory filmmaking method was utilised in and with Thembelihle is described in detail in Study II. However, as with the above description of the method itself, it is perhaps worth touching on some specifics around using the method in relation to the aims and objectives of the present study.

Although a number of multimodal discourses were identified in the documentary, I focus here on the *Multitudinous Struggle* discourse, which spoke to this study's aim of examining how resistance politics can be represented in a manner that is both critical of and sympathetic to such a politics. In brief, the *Multitudinous Struggle* discourse constructed resistance politics in Thembelihle as willed towards justice for all. However, the enactment of these politics had, at times, regressed into anti-liberatory formations, which subsequently became an object of resistance by community activists. Analysing the ways by which participants engaged this discourse allowed for insights into how resistance politics were immanently constituted in Thembelihle and the contradictions therein. Added to this, the discourse demonstrated how historical specificities characterised relational struggles in the community, as well as the role that democratic notions of community (see Study II) played within these struggles. It may therefore be said that the *Multitudinous Struggle* discourse allowed for an interrogation into notions of justice, incongruity as well as the material and symbolic consequences embodied by resistance politics in Thembelihle.

While the *Multitudinous Struggle* discourse was engaged in various, often subtle or indirect, ways by each of the 12 participants who featured in the film, it was harnessed most directly by the two community activists - both of whom are affiliated with TCC (see Introduction section of this dissertation) and who have a long history of working with Unisa - as well as the shop-owner, who had been recommended for participation in this project by the two activists. While it may be argued that the shop-owner was suggested for participation by the activists because his politics cohered (even if only partially) with theirs, he was nonetheless critical of community activist efforts with which, it should be noted, he has never been directly involved. In the documentary, the activists' speech was interspersed with other participants' stories of everyday life (see Study II), and in this way politics were represented as undercutting the everyday while never relegated as the sole definitional referent of Thembelihle, as is the case in many popular discourses (see Study I).

With respect to post-production, those who had attended the initial project meetings, as well as those who had produced the participatory film, were involved in a participatory editing process (see Study II for more details here). During this process, it was the two community activists who suggested including an image of community members holding the Most Integrated Community Award, which was awarded to the residents of Thembelihle (see Department of Home Affairs, 2016), as well as featuring shots of undeveloped roads in the community. Finally, because participants expressed the desire to represent the historicity of resistance politics in Thembelihle, archival footage of protest in the community, shot by South African journalist Philip de Wet and sourced by the film production company that worked on this project, was included in the documentary. This footage depicted activists clashing with SAPS officers and, unlike most mainstream print media accounts of protest in

Thembelihle (see Study I), portrayed police officers dispersing protesters with firearms, while protesters had only stones to defend themselves.

Throughout this study, a number of limitations inherent to participatory filmmaking were noted. Although these limitations are discussed more comprehensively in Study II, perhaps most pertinent to this study is the critical point made by Walsh (2016), who notes that participatory filmmaking oftentimes represents a liberalised politics which embraces short-term individualism and personal reform over long-term political struggle (also see Williams, 2004). It was thus crucial that the community members who featured in the documentary were afforded an ethics of access, and had full autonomy with respect to their representations. It was anticipated that the inclusion of activist narratives would ensure that everyday struggles discussed by other characters in the documentary were connected to structurally violent circumstances, and how these are resisted by community members. In this way, the production process sought not to collapse into a liberalised mode of engaging the politics of representation.

Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis

Building on a more general conception of multimodal discourse analysis, which was expounded upon in Study II, the present study employs what is referred to as multimodal critical discourse analysis. This inclusion of "critical" does not mean that an uncritical approach was advanced in the previous study. Indeed, one could argue that every discourse analysis strives towards criticality. Rather, criticality in this instance suggests a concern with society, ideology and power (see Machin, 2013), all of which are thought to be pertinent to studying multimodal representations of resistance politics (see Hardt & Negri, 2004, 2017). Here, my use of critical denotes an interrogation of the politics being described, while

remaining sympathetic to their emancipatory underpinnings and ideals (Roderick, 2018). Certainly, what is “critical” for researchers may not be so for participants (Souto-Manning, 2014), meaning that I sought to prioritise notions of community within participants’ discourses. A critical kind of multimodal discourse analysis therefore examines within multimodal discourse the latent content, discursive absences, taken-for-granted assumptions, unequal relations of power, and pathways towards inclusive social change (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Before detailing what is meant by critical multimodal discourse analysis, it is perhaps useful to outline the more general conception of critical discourse analysis. Rooted in classical rhetoric, textual linguistics, socio-linguistics, as well as applied linguistics and pragmatics (Weiss & Wodak, 2002), critical discourse analysis looks beyond thematic examinations of a text as a means of exploring broader socio-political systems in which discourses are constructed (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2004). More specifically, critical discourse analysis is a mode of analysis that examines how language (which, for our purposes, includes multimodal language) is used to reify, maintain and resist hierarchies of power and social inequality (Van Dijk, 2008). Such an analysis is primarily concerned with how and why discourses are made into social practices, with particular attention paid to the concealed mechanisms of dominance, discrimination, power and control within language (Machin, 2013).

Critical discourse analysis eschews a deterministic relationship between the social and the text, with time, place and communicative convention all understood to play a part in forming a text (Wodak, 2001). Ideology is especially important here. Ideologies represent a system of ideas, values and beliefs that attempt to explain and justify the social hierarchies and political factions within a given social order (Chiapello & Fairclough, 2002). Althusser (2014) speaks

of ideology as an imaginary relation to material, or real-world, relations, with discursive practices having intensely ideological consequences that (re)produce inequalities through representation and discursive manoeuvring (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Ideology is able to influence the distribution and constitution of dominant powers which work to naturalise and stabilise social structures and discursive conventions (Wodak, 2001). Thus, critical discourse analysis' concern with language means denotes its intention to demystify the internal mechanisms of ideology (Weiss & Wodak, 2002).

Offering an eight-point programme for critical discourse analysis, Fairclough and Wodak (1997) claim that such an analysis should address social problems; engage inequitable power relations; situate notions of society and culture within language; locate the ideological work of a given discourse; note the historicity of discourse; link discursive practices to society; interpret and explain the use of various discursive resources; and relate the use of discourse to social action. In short, critical discourse analysis attempts to interrogate the manner by which discourse configures social activity, representational limits and ways of being in the world (Chiapello & Fairclough, 2002). Thus, for critical discourse analysts, social problems constitute greater import than particular research questions (Fairclough, 2003).

There is much overlap between critical discourse analysis and multimodal discourse analysis. Indeed, both engage human communication in multifaceted ways, and each encompasses a range of disciplines, methodologies and theories (Djonov & Zhao, 2013). Furthermore, both aim to excavate the ideological structure of communication. Accordingly, the multimodal critical discourse analysis hybrid looks to examine how discourses shape and (re)contextualise social practices as well as inform and are informed by ideology (Machin, 2016). While this analytical method represents a political and ethical project geared towards

social change (Roderick, 2018), its generative impulse lies in its ability to denaturalise the ideological constitution and representational forms assumed by dominant powers, thereby informing how politics are discursively constituted, enacted and resisted (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Although the theoretical tenets of multimodal critical discourse analysis are often described in detail, it is rare that researchers describe how they employed this kind of analysis. As a result of this, the intentions of researchers who undertake multimodal critical discourse analysis are often mystified (Billig, 2002). As a result of this mystification, multimodal critical discourse analysis has struggled to carve out a distinguishable academic identity (Djonov & Zhao, 2013). Nonetheless, David Machin's work on multimodal critical discourse analysis (see Machin, 2013, 2016; Machin & Mayr, 2012) offers us a number of concrete considerations for conducting such an analysis. These include paying attention to discursive naming strategies (i.e. what appears in the discourse and what does not, as well as what is collective, individualised, latent and/or suppressed within discourse); hedging (i.e. utilising a kind of systemic vagueness that masks one's lack of understanding of a particular issue); and what is concealed, made abstract and/or presupposed within a given discourse (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Furthermore, just as one's analysis should not be overly technical (as analysts can lose sight of what is happening in the discourse), it should also not constitute a simplistic and generic listing of what is understood as happening within multimodal communication (Machin, 2013, 2016). Finally, Machin (2013) emphasises that within multimodal communication, semiotic resources are drawn upon in four central ways: deletion – what is omitted and why; addition – what is included and why (legitimisation and delegitimisation is important here); substitution – how details and complexities are substituted for generalisations and abstractions, and *vice versa*; and evaluation – assessing the social

practices related to the multimodal discourse being analysed. Using Machin's work, as well as that of the other discourse analysts mentioned above, I offer below an analytical frame for critically examining multimodal discourses.

A Framework for Critically Analysing Multimodal Discourse

In attempting to employ a degree of analytical rigour, this study makes use of a slightly adapted version of Fairclough and Chouliaraki's (1999) analytical framework. Firstly, the research problem is to be identified. Here, the analyst should exercise critical reflection in order to emphasise that the analysis to follow represents only one, hopefully convincing, perspective among many, and that this perspective is inevitably coloured with particular biases (Billig, 2002; Fairclough & Chouliaraki, 1999). Reflexivity of this kind is important in attempting to advance an ethical and humanist mode of analysis (see Teo, 2018).

Next, Fairclough and Chouliaraki (1999) note that any obstacles faced by the analyst in approaching the identified problem must be clearly articulated. They argue that conjuncture (i.e. the social practices in which discourses are embedded) and discursive moments (i.e. the relations between particular moments within discourse) must be taken into account here. In addressing these problems, it can be useful to draw from Fairclough's and Wodak's (1997) eight-point programme for critical discourse analysis outlined above (i.e. social problems; power relations; society and culture; ideology; historicity; social practices; discursive resources; and social action). Indeed, this programme can assist the analyst in examining the purpose and social consequences of different discourses (see Fairclough, 2003).

Moving on to the primary analysis, discursive structures, interactions and social resources (sometimes referred to as "orders of discourse") should be examined. Especially important

here is what is known as genre, which signals power and thus refers to how language is used in relation to a particular social activity (Wodak, 2001). As multimodal critical discourse analysis does not simply apply linguistic interpretive models to multimodal data, attention should be paid to how different semiotic resources are realised in specific discourses. In other words, the analysis should be attentive to what it is that different discursive resources and modalities seek to do, how they are used, and how they sidestep various communicative commitments (Machin, 2013). Helpful in this respect are the numerous strategies for multimodal critical discourse analysis that have been suggested by Machin and Mayr (2012), as well as Machin (2013), which include naming strategies, hedging, abstractions, deletion, substitution, addition and evaluation.

Finally, as outlined in Study II, multimodal discourses drawn on in a participatory film can be examined with regards to how they fulfil Halliday's (1978) three metafunctions, which include the ideational metafunction (people's ideas of the world which can be experimental, which is the portrayal of experiences, or logical, which denotes social relations), the interpersonal metafunction (relations between a sign's producer and its receiver), and the textual metafunction (how a multimodal text is made interpretable and coherent). Again, as described in Study II, the fulfilment of these metafunctions should be understood as occurring within Lim-Fei's (2004) Space of Integration, wherein meaning is made on expressive (meaning-making systems), content (semantics and grammar) and contextual (genre, register and ideology) planes.

Process

In this study, as with Study II, the process of transcribing the participatory film followed Baldry's and Thibault's (2006) micro-analytical approach, which seeks to chronologically

arrange a film's meaning-making processes. Four categories were relied upon in the transcription process, namely: time (duration of the clip); visual image (description of the clip's visuals); kinetic action (salient movement in the selected clip); and relevant audio (spoken language and/or music featured in the clip).

After I had completed the transcription process, I watched and rewatched the documentary several times, all while making notes and corroborating my understandings with those of others (e.g. participants, as well as my doctoral supervisors and colleagues). With respect to the study's "problem" (see Fairclough & Chouliaraki, 1999), particular attention was afforded to how community activists drew on multimodal discourses to construct resistance politics - and the complexities and contradictions therein - in relation to Thembelihle as well as South Africa. Here, I was attentive to how my own politics and personal biases (see Introduction section of this dissertation) influenced my reading of the data (Billig, 2002). For instance, because I have worked with some of the participants - and not others - in the past, my empathetic engagement with the data may has been uneven. My status in the community may have also influenced my reading of the data (see Conclusion section for a more considered reflection here). Following this, I organised my notes into themes, each of which fulfilled particular metafunctions as they were embodied in the Space of Integration (see Halliday, 1978; Lim-Fei, 2004). Each theme, and its associated metafunction(s), was then analysed and expanded into more concrete discourses.

The study's primary analysis saw me developing an argument for how each discourse functioned within the text and the social consequences thereof (Fairclough, 2003). Here, I interrogated conjunctures and discursive moments in relation to power, society and ideology (always noting the functionality of silences, structure, interaction, genre, anomalies and

evasions), all while referring back to the findings of Study I and Study II (Machin, 2013; Machin & Mayr, 2012). Finally, in an attempt to furnish my analysis with a degree of credibility (see Gorup, 2019), I assessed my interpretations against Fairclough's and Wodak's (1997) eight-point programme and later corroborated these with my doctoral supervisors.

There are a number of limitations inherent to any multimodal critical discourse analysis, including a lack of standardisation (Djonov & Zhao, 2013); systems of meaning-making overshadowing the wider social context; descriptions being presented as analyses (Machin, 2016); arbitrarily selecting discourses; and prioritising the individual over the collective (Machin & Mayr, 2012). In this study, I attempted to address these limitations in numerous ways. Firstly, in order to allow for rigorous external critique, I have outlined in the previous sections how multimodal critical discourse analysis was framed and conceptualised in this study. Further, as noted in Study II, attention to Halliday's (1978) metafunctions was useful in ensuring that I avoided various analytical myopias typical of multimodal critical discourse analysis (see Machin & Mayr, 2012). Indeed, the focus on metafunctions allowed for analytical sensitivity towards discursive constructions of the individual and the collective, as well as the interpersonal and the contextual. Baldry's and Thibault's (2006) transcription framework also helped me to ensure that the data were adequately described, and that my analysis did not collapse into mere description. Finally, in stressing that my analysis is a single, subjective interpretation guided by a particular research agenda, I attempted to implement a focused analysis that was, at the same time, transparent with respect to its sympathies with progressive resistance politics.

Representing Multifarious Struggle

Differing somewhat from much anti-apartheid activism, contemporary struggles in Thembelihle are not organised around labour movements (Runciman, 2017). While the TCC has been responsible for articulating, enacting and organising most of the resistance efforts within the community since 2001 (see Introduction section of this dissertation), such resistance is generally realised through a loose network of uncoordinated community protests, many of which struggle to sustain themselves (see Chiumbu, 2015). As elaborated on in Study II, Hardt and Negri (2004) refer to such a politics as that of the multitude, whereby resistance is not articulated by a single vanguardist authority or social class, but rather through a complex network structure - "a movement of movements" (e.g. trade unions, student movements, community groups, individuals and civil society) - that form a communicative and cooperative body. The struggles of the multitude do not always cohere around a fixed set of demands or through a singular 'voice', as might be discerned from a cursory glance of media reports on protest in Thembelihle (see Study I). Instead, they oftentimes present factional or contradictory political demands and formations (Runciman, 2017). It is in this sense that these politics can be understood as multifarious in constitution.

In what follows, I examine how participants engaged the *Multifarious Struggle* discourse, wherein resistance politics in Thembelihle were constructed as converging and sometimes clashing in their ideological constitution, but were nonetheless always willed towards social justice. Thus, without evading some of the problematic or politically regressive facets surrounding enactments of resistance in Thembelihle, the discourse appeared to establish activism as fundamental to a community identity in flux, and in this way challenged reports in the mainstream media that work to present activism in Thembelihle as aimless, hopeless, autotelic and entirely disconnected from people's everyday needs (see Study I).

In the extract below, an interview with Bhayiza Miya, a well-known activist from Thembelihle, is supplemented with archival footage of a protest in the community as a means of engaging with the community activist identity, which is itself poised at the intersection of a set of complex representational politics.

Extract 1

<table>
<tr><th>Time Frame</th><th>Visual Clip</th><th>Kinetic Action</th><th>Relevant Audio</th></tr>
<tr><td>11.25-11.39</td><td></td><td>Police officers firing rubber bullets at unarmed protesters in Thembelihle.</td><td rowspan="2">“We were determined to say that we will live in Thembelihle. Whether they like it or not, people will reside in Thembelihle. Irrespective of them [the State] having these forced removals, forced evictions, we were united in one common goal in saying we want a place where we will call it our home. That’s where the real fighting started, in 2001. Now, when we are on the street protesting we are being perceived as criminals, as people who are hooligans, as people who don’t know what they want. But we</td></tr>
<tr><td>12.05-13.11</td><td></td><td>Miya outside of his home speaking to the camera.</td></tr>
</table>

			have said it with the journalists, the journalists in this country, what they normally do, they focus on bad things, burning of tyres, killing of people - you know - xenophobic attacks. That's why they come here."

As with mainstream media coverage of Thembelihle, the conjuncture within the above visual modality presents to viewers what appears to be 'protest violence' in the community. However, looking to particular discursive moments within this extract, such violence is constructed in a considerably different manner to mainstream media representations. In examining Extract 1's content plane, it would seem that unequal power relations are made explicit in the experimental ideational metafunction - as well as the interpersonal metafunction - by foregrounding the positionality, and therefore also the responsibility, of the police with respect to protest violence ("Irrespective of them [the State] having these forced removals, forced evictions, we were united in one common goal"). The discourse makes a deliberate attempt to reject interpretations of police-protester interactions as equivalent (see Study I), advocating instead the Weberian view of the State as a "legal authority" (see Weber, 2008), where the police - as an extension of the State - have both a monopoly on, and greater access to, apparatuses of violence (see Althusser, 2014), and are also the only political actors able to legally and legitimately exert violence (Hardt & Negri, 2004). Thus, in Extract 1, resistance politics in Thembelihle are constructed against the State as a legitimator of violence and a legal authority.

In considering Extract 1's expressive plane, Miya states in a calm and clear manner that "[w]hether they like it or not, people will reside in Thembelihle". Here, the discourse acts to establish the dignity of protesters, and indeed of Thembelihle, as the basis for insurgent community action. In this sense, the multimodality available to participatory film facilitates a discursive intervention into the kinds of 'common stock knowledge' around protest which is so often evoked by mainstream media in order to represent protest as little more than an illogical blight which periodically disrupts the smooth functioning of liberal society (see Duncan, 2016). Against this, and in considering Extract 1's interpersonal metafunction, it is especially striking when Miya directly addresses the anti-community ethic of mainstream media ("the journalists … focus on bad things … [t]hat's why they come here"). This naming strategy explicitly connects the materiality of community struggle to dominant representational ideologies. Also noteworthy here is that during the participatory film editing process, Miya was especially approving of the paradoxical decision to feature archival media footage of the protest at the very moment in the film when he condemns the mainstream media. An attempt, it would seem, was made by Miya to re-present the media's 'factual inference' through a community-oriented mode of interpretation. It is thus at this discursive moment that viewers of the film are able to engage with the complexities of representation in relation to community-led resistance efforts, where meaning can be made and remade for different political purposes.

In turning to its discursive form, Extract 1 represents resistance politics in Thembelihle as satisfying the textual metafunction not through an adherence to Statist narratives or valourising outsider intervention and governmental linguistic genres, but rather through popular protest action. In this way, viewers of the film are offered an immanent reading of protest, where emphasis is placed on the protest's historicity ("the real fighting started, in

2001”), its objectives (“we were united in one common goal in saying we want a place where will call it our home”), and the representational politics it faces (“we are being perceived as criminals, as people who are hooligans, as people who don’t know what they want”). Here, in considering the textual metafunction as well as the conjuncture, protest emerges as being organised along a set of community principles that are both psychological (“we want a place where will call it our home”) and practical (“people will reside in Thembelihle”), meaning that the discursive coordinates of protest are returned to a logic that is determined by community - rather than State - interests. It is therefore not the fact of protest that is disputed, but rather its representation (see Lykes, et al., 2003).

Looking at Extract 1, it would appear that the participants’ critical interrogation of epistemologically violent mainstream media depictions of resistance politics in Thembelihle did not collapse into a similarly monolithic discursive logic that sought to valourise a singularly conceived community voice. Instead, the activists who feature in the documentary insisted that xenophobic violence be represented in the documentary by someone living in the community who had experienced this kind of violence. This was especially pertinent with respect to this study’s grounding in community psychology which, like the academy more generally, has been reluctant to explore xenophobia from the perspective of communities (see Kerr, Durrheim, & Dixon, 2019). This is perhaps due to the tremendously tense and controversial nature of xenophobia in South Africa (see Mngxitama, 2009), made all the more complicated through the tacit and sometimes explicit endorsement of xenophobic violence by a number of high profile South African politicians (see Jacobs, 2019; Neocosmos, 2008). Yet, if a critical community psychology is to engage resistance politics and struggle in a nuanced fashion, such social phenomena should be addressed in ways that prioritise safety, justice and collective conscientisation. In Extract 2 below, tensions and stake

are manged in particular, and at times subtle, ways within the discourse. Elias Assefa Alemu - an Ethiopian man who owns a small convenience store in Thembelihle - discusses his experience of xenophobic violence in the community, which is complemented by Miya's discursive engagement with such violence. While these respective narrative arcs appear to cohere, notions of subjectivity and agency are constructed somewhat differently in each account.

Extract 2

<table>
<tr><th>Time Frame</th><th>Visual Clip</th><th>Kinetic Action</th><th>Relevant Audio</th></tr>
<tr><td>13.17-13.37</td><td></td><td>Alemu at the ISHS offices speaking to the camera.</td><td rowspan="3">Alemu: "[W]henever they protest, we are the targets. They directly come to our shop and then they loot us, they beat us, they take everything from our shop and when you come back our shop is empty. So it's very hard to recover at that time … It's not all the people that are xenophobic, you understand? After each and every xenophobic [attack], the people [in Thembelihle] come to ask for an apology ... So the community, they came to us, we did a meeting, and they promised us not to</td></tr>
<tr><td>13.38-14.10</td><td></td><td>Miya outside of his home speaking to the camera.</td></tr>
<tr><td>14.11-14.20</td><td></td><td>Alemu's day-to-day dealings in his convenience store.</td></tr>
</table>

			do these things again. That's why I decided to stay here [in Thembelihle]." Miya: "I remember when we had the protests and shops were [being broken] into by the community members, right? We had to suspend the protest because we were told that criminals were doing their own business. We came in, we went [from] house [to] house where we were told that the stuff of those foreign nationals … [was stolen]. On the day, we confiscated about 14 fridges and their stock. We took them back to our brothers and sisters from Africa."

In the above extract, Alemu appears to attribute the perpetration of xenophobic violence to community protesters when he proclaims that "[W]henever they protest, we are the targets". He discursively fulfils the ideational experimental metafunction when he states that "they loot us, they beat us, they take everything from our shop … So it's very hard to recover at that time". A direct and emotive genre is assumed here in order to name the kinds of xenophobic violence to which foreign nationals in Thembelihle were subject during a period of prolonged

protest (and in this way, certain protesters, but not protest itself, are connected to this kind of violence). The distanced, 'objective' language that is so often utilised in media reporting on xenophobia is abandoned in this extract (see Hall, 1987; Kerr et al., 2019). Xenophobia is instead engaged in an explicitly affective-discursive juncture that stresses the speaker's positionality which - in fulfilling the interpersonal metafunction - invites viewers to connect with (rather than condemn from afar) this struggle.

It would, however, appear that the subjective-affective positionality within Alemu's speech is met with a similar kind of subject positioning in Miya's speech, which discursively attends to the pragmatic ("we confiscated about 14 fridges and their stock") and the ethical ("[w]e took them back to our brothers and sisters from Africa") dimensions of this intervention into xenophobia. Referring back to the context plane, this community-driven intervention represents an inclusive enactment of community resistance politics, which is particularly remarkable in the context of South Africa, where protester demands tend to focus on the rights of South African citizens only (Kerr et al., 2019). Miya's speech coheres somewhat with Hardt and Negri's (2004) formulation of the multitude as "an anthropology of singularity and commonality" (p. 127), wherein individual concerns (which always differ) are to be honoured if resistance politics are to progress in genuinely emancipatory directions. Difference within the multitude should not merely be tolerated in the liberal sense of the word, but should be embraced and drawn upon as a source of strength within community resistance efforts (Lorde, 2017).

The candid nature of Alemu's discourse (which is constructed on the expressive plane in a calm and reflective genre) appears to suggest that within this discursive moment he feels a sense of relative safety, which is reflected in the shots of his quotidian business activity.

Alemu goes on to discursively reject the notion of xenophobia as an all-encompassing community-wide sentiment ("[i]t's not all the people that are xenophobic") and recounts how various people in the community apologised to him for the violence that he and other foreign nationals had experienced at "that time". In considering the textual metafunction, the narrative is taken forward by Miya's speech, which establishes for viewers how this community apology became actionally reified ("[w]e had to suspend the protest because we were told that criminals were doing their own business"). However, in differing somewhat from Alemu's speech, Miya discursively dislodges xenophobic violence from the protester subjectivity. For Miya, engaging in xenophobic action represents the antithesis of the resistance politics that underlie protests for social justice. Therefore, those involved in xenophobic violence are named on the content plane as "criminals" - rather than "protesters" - who are preoccupied with "their own "business" which is presumably separate from, and irreconcilable with, the business of protesters. A nuanced construction of community resistance politics in Thembelihle is advanced here, whereby an ethic of humanism must be adhered to if people are to claim these politics as their own. In this way, protesters assume the status of criminal only if they violate the ethical character of community resistance politics. This conception of resistance politics rejects much mainstream media discourse, where the protester is *de facto* a criminal (see Study I).

During the participatory editing process, participants and other community members insisted that the documentary depict an image of the Most Integrated Community Award which was presented to Thembelihle by the government in 2016, and was accepted on behalf of the community by Miya, among others (see Department of Home Affairs, 2016). The Award acknowledges how people in Thembelihle worked together to peacefully address xenophobic violence in their community by, for instance, having members of TCC work in shifts to

protect foreign nationals, as well as hosting a friendly football match in the community between South Africans and foreign nationals (Tselapedi & Dugard, 2013). While an image of this award was included in the final cut of the documentary, it is perhaps noteworthy that no participant who featured in the documentary made mention it, despite the fact that - as was apparent during the participatory editing procedure - it had generated much pride within Thembelihle. Indeed, during the filmed interviews, the external recognition signified by this award appeared less important than communicating the pragmatic and affective consequences of the community activists' intervention into the xenophobic attacks. It was only after it was clear to participants that the social consequences of this community-led intervention had been clearly communicated in the documentary that it was suggested that the Award be depicted. The emphasis then was to represent and assess the community's socially just achievements on discursive terms that had been set by the community rather than an external agent. However, it could also be argued that representing the Award visually and not in speech (a multimodal deletion of sorts) ultimately meant that the legitimacy of this intervention's achievement was somewhat decentred within the film's narrative. In this way, the conjuncture of xenophobia and resistance politics in Thembelihle may have been realised only partially in the discourse. Nonetheless, the hesitancy in South Africa to confront xenophobia's "politics of fear" means that such humanistic, community-driven efforts that confront violence of this kind should be identified, built upon and learned from (Neocosmos, 2008).

While one can read the community activists' intervention into xenophobic attacks as the harmonious fulfilment of the logical ideational metafunction, there are a number of discursive moments that betray the various tensions that continue to surround notions of belonging in the community. Where Alemu constructs "the community" as existing outside of himself and

other foreign nationals ("the community, they came to us"), Miya refers to foreign nationals as "our brothers and sisters from Africa", which seems to position South Africa as existing outside of Africa. This coheres with discourses of exceptionalism within South Africa that derive a cultural and intellectual frame of identity from Western Europe and the USA (see Neocosmos, 2008). Although still a part of Africa, such discourse positions South Africa as an extraordinary exception on the continent (see Jacobs, 2019). Therefore, even when acknowledging that direct xenophobic violence in Thembelihle has abated, participants' speech still appears beholden to the discursive logic and linguistic genre associated with such violence. A conjuncture of this sort, expressed on the film's content plane, fulfils the logical ideational metafunction and reminds us of the psychic wounds that xenophobia (its history and its ever-prevalent potential) has inflicted, and continues to inflict, on South African society (Mngxitama, 2009). Added to this, it may be argued that the agency of foreign nationals is somewhat erased on the film's content plane. Indeed, the documentary represents the safety of foreign nationals as reified only through actions taken by South African protesters. The subjectivity and agency of foreign nationals are in this sense obscured, and the discourse of South African exceptionalism becomes reinscribed in new, seemingly progressive ways.

Both Miya's and Alemu's speech seem to cohere with Kerr and colleagues' (2019) suggestion that because xenophobic violence occurs at the complex intersection of systemic forces and individual agency, we should not attempt to analyse its character or 'origin' deterministically. Rather, there is a range of socio-historical forces that need to be accounted for, many of which continue to linger well after the observable manifestations of xenophobic violence. Multimodal filmic constructions allow us to historicise, interrogate and reflect upon the various discursive planes upon which xenophobic violence operates within a broader

resistance politics. Discursive moments of this sort are important in charting a resistance politics that looks beyond structurally violent discursive logics, and that can be remembered and drawn upon in different, contextually-determined, ways (see Lykes et al., 2003; Malherbe, 2019).

In Extract 3 - which features towards the end of the documentary - Miya and Vusumuzi Dlamini, another activist and former resident of Thembelihle, attempt to discursively situate the resistance politics with which they have been involved. By taking stock of the successes of their community activism, and by looking towards the potential of this activism to engage a humanistic mode of future-building that centralises life over the economy (Poks, 2015), both participants advance a suitably complex construction of relational resistance politics that exist, have existed, and indeed can exist, in Thembelihle.

Extract 3

<table>
<tr><th>Time Frame</th><th>Visual Clip</th><th>Kinetic Action</th><th>Relevant Audio</th></tr>
<tr><td>22.08-22.17</td><td></td><td>Dlamini at the ISHS offices speaking to the camera.</td><td rowspan="2">Dlamini: “I’m proud because I see my people progressing because they’ve got houses, [and for] those who didn’t want to move from Thembelihle, today, there’s electricity.”

Miya: “Thembelihle, for me, it’s a community that lives together, that seems to say we want sanitation, we</td></tr>
<tr><td>22.43-23.23</td><td></td><td>Miya outside of his home, playing board games with neighbours.</td></tr>
</table>

			want water. I don't think that's a crime to ask that. It's not a crime. I want to, as a father, have a park where I will take my two beautiful daughters and feel like I'm part of the new South Africa."

In fulfilling both the experimental and logical ideational metafunction, Dlamini appears to discursively resist dominant neoliberal ideology surrounding protest in South Africa (see Day, Cornell et al., 2019) by connecting the material gains of community activism (named on the content plane as "houses" and "electricity") with notions of dignity and community identity (see Cornell, et al., 2019). However, at the same time, housing in Thembelihle still largely consists of shack dwellings that are without electricity (see Phala, 2016; Segodi, 2018), meaning that although the present conjuncture serves as a source of pride for activists with respect to their achievements, it also signifies the urgency of such activism to continue fighting for much-needed material justice. It is this history of activist politics (which is able to serve as a mode of contextualisation and inspiration) that is rarely acknowledged in mainstream representations of the community (see Study I).

In Extract 3, autonomy is constructed as the nucleus of a legitimate resistance politics. Those who "didn't want to move from Thembelihle" are discursively established as having resisted State relocation, and are thus crucial to the realisation of such a politics. However, at no point are those "who didn't want to move from Thembelihle" (i.e. cohere with the State's relocation mandate) denigrated, or constructed as antithetical to resistance politics. Indeed, Dlamini himself moved from Thembelihle to Lehae, but continued to involve himself in activism with and for those living in Thembelihle. Therefore, the ultimate point of a politics

of resistance was constructed as having to ensure that the multitude is afforded dignity within their living circumstances. By acknowledging the common plight and the differing trajectories of the multitude, Dlamini's expressive plane is marked by a genre that privileges humanity, rather than how people engage resistance politics. In other words, the priority of community resistance politics is to resist structural violence, not to manage each and every reaction to such violence (which may, in some cases, mean finding moments of respite and accommodation within these structures). The discourse appears attuned to the fact that transformation cannot emerge from within the frameworks of an oppressive system, indeed "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house" (Lorde, 2017, p. 19); however, the fight for justice need not deter those who are, even momentarily, seeking to survive within this system. It is possible to carve out moments of relief within systems of oppression, while continuing to oppose the fundamental inhumanity of these systems.

Differing somewhat from Dlamini's construction, by placing an accent on the context plane - and thus the discursive conjuncture - Miya, who still resides in Thembelihle, draws on an explicitly humanistic genre, proclaiming that "Thembelihle, for me, it's a community that lives together". In looking to the multimodal discourse, humanism of this sort is constructed through shots (taken from Miya's GoPro footage, as well as the shots captured by the professional filmmakers) of Miya engaged in recreational activity with other community members. These shots could be said to signpost the modes of community that exist in Thembelihle which are missing in dominant discourses, and are typically a presumed feature of more affluent communities (see Malherbe, 2019). In pairing Miya's speech with that of Dlamini, activism becomes discursively linked to a kind of humanistic vision of community that is found within the everyday, thereby connecting resistance politics to the affective and material dimensions of human life (see Study IV for more here).

In a similar manner to Dlamini, Miya constructs resistance politics as attuned to the material requirements of liberation ("water", "sanitation"). However, in looking beyond the basic material matter required for survival, the discourse also engages that which is required to live meaningfully in communities. Calling for "a park where I will take my two beautiful daughters" advances a conception of community that goes beyond mere basic services, and instead engages a humanistic striving within and for communities. In this way, the discourse's expressive plane rejects the notion that resistance politics in Thembelihle are concerned with little more than demands for basic 'service delivery' (see Study I), that is, a basic living standard established through the neoliberal rhetoric of State-facilitated consumption (see Fisher, 2009). Reminiscent of the feminist demand for "bread and roses" (see Fraser, Arruzza, & Bhattacharya, 2019), the discourse advances a resistance politics that concerns itself with aesthetics and dignity as much as it does materiality. The humanistic vision established in Miya's speech is constructed here as existing in the so-called post-apartheid "new South Africa", and yet remains unavailable to the majority of, mostly black, people living in the country. In this sense, present-day South Africa embodies the partial and racist Enlightenment project that characterised colonialism (see Mbembe, 2001). It is to this unjust social conjuncture that Miya constructs a community-driven politics of resistance as having to commit itself to fighting.

In the respective talk of Dlamini and Miya, the relationality of community activism is constructed, at different discursive moments, with reference to the achievements, contradictions, set-backs, future directions, affects, identity, humanism, and materiality that are encompassed within resistance politics in Thembelihle. Read against extracts 1 and 2, as well as Study II, resistance politics in the community are, in Extract 3, constructed in a

suitably complex manner that resists monolithically determined assessments of community activism as 'violent' or 'progressive' (see Study I) by representing the uneven political terrain on which such activism rests. It is thus not the mere fact of community voice that is able to tell us about resistance politics, but rather the manner by which this voice gives nuance to these politics. Representing resistance politics in a critical manner means historicising resistance politics (i.e. situating their history within the present) through a range of different voices (see Lorde, 2017).

Conclusion

Representational politics remain an important area of inquiry for community psychologists (Lykes et al., 2003). The visceral nature of film renders it useful in exploring the contradictions, affects, representational struggles and tensions inherent to a resistance politics that is always embedded within particular socioeconomic and historical contexts. By using multimodal critical discourse analysis to examine a participatory documentary film, the present study aims to better understand the composite terrain of resistance politics in Thembelihle. The study's critical orientation meant that although the community struggles represented in the film were historicised and engaged sensitively, their depiction was not romanticised or thought to be beyond critique. Thus, the study was challenged to avoid wholly valourising community resistance efforts (which, for many people in South Africa, form an integral part of their identity, see Cornell et al., 2019) while, at the same time, recognising the centrality of political resistance and activism in promoting the interests of marginalised communities.

The *Multifarious Struggle* discourse appeared to engage the power dynamics underwriting Thembelihle's resistance politics through a relational, as well as a community-centred,

discursive frame. For instance, police-protester relations were not constructed simplistically as "two equal sides at war", with blame implicitly ascribed to communities who choose to partake in social disruption. Rather, within this discourse, care was taken to articulate the overwhelming power that police officers embody, and how this power can be, and frequently is, abused at protest events. Although the *Multifarious Struggle* discourse inferred many of the same 'hard facts' drawn on by mainstream media reporting (indeed, protest was described - and even depicted through archival media footage - as violent), the discourse re-presented these 'facts' through a community-oriented hermeneutic that was sensitive to the plight of protesters, as well as the ethos and emancipatory thrust of their politics. In this way, protest was represented as a democratic means of engaging government and responding to structural violence. In other words, resistance politics were represented through an immanent kind of discursive logic that assessed resistance in terms of its adherence to liberation. In turn, the State's suppression of protest was constructed as working against the humanistic impulse of community resistance politics.

Employing a critical kind of reflexivity, participants' speech interrogated the violence that had been exercised towards foreign nationals living in Thembelihle during a time of intense protest. In contrast to the formal linguistic genre assumed in media coverage of xenophobia in Thembelihle (see Study I), participants in this study constructed this phenomenon as one that was intensely emotive. Further, they noted that it was protesters from the community who addressed this violence, not external mediators – as is so often suggested in news reports (see Study I). However, the activist participants employed some of the same epistemologically violent discursive frameworks when discussing foreign nationals in the community. It was also apparent when analysing the speech of the shop-owner who had experienced xenophobic violence that issues surrounding his 'belonging' in Thembelihle had

not been entirely resolved. Similarly, the agency that foreign nationals had expressed during this time was somewhat muted in the film. Nonetheless, the participants' insistence on engaging a nuanced and an anti-xenophobic resistance politics demonstrated their willingness to participate in difficult and introspective modes of reflexivity that are necessary to expand conceptions of liberation (see Lorde, 2017). Therefore, where Study II made the claim that participatory film is able to synthesise and dissolve community tensions, results from the present study suggests that the method can also assist people in leaning into these tensions, and flesh out what they mean for community resistance politics.

The manner by which the material gains of activism in Thembelihle are connected to issues of community dignity was emphasised at different moments within the discourse. In this sense, resistance politics were established as inspired and driven by their own history. By articulating how resistance politics are attuned to the requirements of a full and dignified life, the discourse also rejected the caricature of community resistance politics as concerning little more than demands for an apolitical kind of 'service delivery' (see Duncan, 2016; Robins, 2014). Indeed, communities require the kind of richness afforded by aesthetics as well as material necessities. Yet, the politics underlying activism in Thembelihle appeared never to condemn those who were not involved in fighting for social justice.

There were a number of limitations that marked this study, some of which pertain to participatory film research generally, and others that were specific to the study. Firstly, it should be emphasised that injustice is never abated by virtue of it, or resistance to it, being filmed. Aguayo (2014) notes how even though Eric Garner's[19] death at the hands of a police

[19]An unarmed African American man who was killed by a New York City Police Department officer for selling loose cigarettes. His murder was filmed by witnesses and later went viral online. A number of protests all over the world took place in reaction to this video, including various demonstrations organised by the social movement Black Lives Matter.

officer was captured on film, there was no legal retribution. Yet, at the same time, this filmic recording mobilised social justice movements across the USA and around the world. It is therefore important that the representation of resistance politics is not understood as an emancipatory end in and of itself. Rather, these representations are to be utilised to engage critically with, and build, such a politics within and beyond communities (see Study IV for more here). The participatory film in this study relied on representations that were articulated by two activists and one foreign national, all of whom know one another, meaning that a limited, potentially insular, kind of engagement with the *Multifarious Struggle* discourse was offered. Furthermore, because all of these participants identified as men, the study was inattentive to the voices of, for instance, female activists in Thembelihle (e.g. Segodi, 2018), many of whom are active members of TCC (see Nieftagodien, 2017) who face explicitly patriarchal violence in their struggles for justice. Greater effort should have been made to recruit participants from a range of gender identities. Such an omission meant that the *Multifarious Struggle* discourse was analysed in an incomplete, androcentric manner. Future studies should seek to examine and interrogate a wider range of perspectives on community resistance politics, and feminist struggles in particular. Added to this, problematic representations of resistance politics in the documentary (e.g. obscuring the agency of, as well as subtly othering, foreign nationals) can and indeed may be taken up by audiences of the film (see Lykes et al., 2003). This points to the importance of conscientisation and critical discussions within community projects concerned with representing resistance (see Freire, 1970). Participatory films should themselves be understood as important points of critical discursive engagement, rather than as wholly valourised representations of community resistance politics.

Enhancing the goals and reach of emancipatory political action cannot depend on the State-centric liberal hermeneutic that is so readily offered by the mainstream media. Participants in this study constructed resistance politics as multifarious, tense and contradictory, yet always geared towards a humanistic and expansive conception of liberation. Immanent critique - that is, engaging struggle on its own discursive terms - was central to how participants discursively implemented a community-oriented engagement with resistance politics in Thembelihle. The *Multifarious Struggle* therefore worked to embrace existing social dynamics within Thembelihle in order to uncover a common set of community concerns that are, at once, pragmatic, ethical, psychological, symbolic, affective and material. Although unevenly enacted and conceptualised, a truly expansive, community-centred and humanistic resistance politics of liberation was established by participants in this study as being willed towards the emancipation of all people.

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STUDY IV

PARTICIPATORY FILM AUDIENCING AS CRITICAL COMMUNITY-BUILDING: CHALLENGES AND POTENTIALITIES

Abstract

The community-building capacities of participatory film audiencing have received only scant analytic attention, especially from within critical community psychology. This is somewhat curious considering that throughout the participatory filmmaking process, it is the screenings which hold the greatest potential to mobilise people around certain issues, encourage critical community discussion, and foster critical consciousness between individuals and their wider community. Breaking with the kinds of instrumental and/or individualising analytical frameworks that are so often used to examine audience relations, this study endeavours to locate the capacities and limitations of participatory film audiencing within the complex processes involved in community-building. Thus, in examining four community-building modalities which are prevalent in critical community psychology (i.e. accompaniment, indigenisation, denaturalisation and Black Consciousness philosophy), I rely on a narrative-discourse approach to analyse how three video-elicitation focus groups engaged the plethora of tensions, politics, affects and obstructions inherent to community-building. Across the three focus group discussions, three themes were identified: *Representational Contestation*, *Community Agency* and *Affective Communities*. With respect to the *Representational Contestation* theme, participants constructed a nuanced kind of community identity that was marked by the interlinked histories of collaboration and struggle, thereby rejecting community ontologies characterised by victimhood and violence (see Study I). In the *Community Agency* theme, legitimate collective agency within communities was constructed

as emerging from the connections made between people's seemingly distinctive needs, struggles and demands by a leadership of the multitude. Lastly, in the *Affective Communities* theme, audiences' narrative-discourses constructed the systemic obstacles to community-building as giving way to feelings of despondency, or a radical kind of emancipatory hope. Across these three themes, participants' narrative-discourses made clear the democratic imperative underlying community-building, as well as its fundamental messiness and imprecise praxes. The results suggest that community-building projects should attempt to centralise the multitude in historiographical, political, humanistic and insurgent ways if they are to carry credence and relevance within and between communities.

Keywords: community-building; audiencing; focus groups; video elicitation; Black Consciousness; indigenisation; denaturalisation; community psychology; accompaniment

Introduction

While much research has been undertaken on participatory filmmaking (see Milne, Mitchell, & de Lange, 2012), community-building (see Minkler, 2012a), and critical audiencing (see Nightingale, 2011), these three strains seldom speak to one another. The capacities for community-building through participatory film audiencing have, in particular, received only scant analytic attention (see Catalani et al., 2012; Levine, 2007; Stadler, 2003), and - as Lazarus, Naidoo and Seedat (2017) highlight - there are almost no reflections on community-building from a critical community psychology perspective (see Heller, 1989 for a notable, albeit dated, exception). Consequentially, community psychologists lack critical frameworks by which to analyse the community-building capacities of participatory film audiencing (Mitchell, de Lange, & Moletsane, 2018). This oversight in the literature is somewhat curious when considering that within the participatory filmmaking process, it is the screenings that hold the greatest potential to mobilise people around certain issues, encourage critical community discussion, and foster critical consciousness between individuals and their wider community (Malherbe, Suffla, & Everitt-Penhale, 2019).

As with participatory filmmaking, participatory film audiencing is not emancipatory in and of itself. To the contrary, both filmmaking and audiencing can act to sustain an oppressive status quo and/or reformulate systems of exploitation through an uncritical celebration of selectively reproduced local knowledges (Walsh, 2012). It therefore remains unclear as to how, and even if, participatory film audiences can engage in fundamentally politicised modes of community-building that are action-orientated and community-driven. If community psychologists working with participatory film are to move towards a critical conception of community-building, they must develop a mode of audience analysis that is sensitive to how regressions, dominant discourses, dynamics of power, situated narratives, and micro-political

interactions unfold and shift within audience spaces. Such an approach is imperative if we are to advance a radical conception of audiencing that rejects any kind of non- or anti-politics that marks so much participatory research (see Williams, 2004), and embraces the tensions and difficulties that lie at the heart of generative community-building praxis (Minkler, 2012b).

In breaking with the forms of instrumental and/or individualising analytical frameworks that are so often used to examine audience interactions (e.g. Englehart, 2003; Stevens et al., 2014), this study looks to analyse the community-building capacities of participatory film audiencing by harnessing a narrative-discourse approach that is sensitive to power differentials as they exist *in situ*, and rejects an uncritical acceptance of "the local" (see Jacobs, 2019). In following from considerations of how participatory film is able to articulate political resistance from within community social structures (see Study II), as well as relationally, through organised social movements (see Study III), the present study explores how film audiences make community (as well as community-centred resistance) in reaction to depictions of their community as it appears in the film, *Thembelihle: Place of Hope*. Thus, by critically analysing the kinds of community-building in which participatory film audiences engage, this study seeks to develop a method for understanding the politicised, material and psychological processes inherent to community-building (see Lazarus et al., 2017). Additionally, the study endeavours to better locate the capacities and limitations of participatory film audiencing within the complex individual, collective and structural processes involved in community-building.

In what follows, I provide a brief outline of how participatory film audiencing has engaged community-building. Following this, I describe what is meant by (critical) audiencing

research. I then consider community-building and - more specifically - community-building from within critical community psychology. Proceeding this, I discuss how audiencing is able to constitute community-building praxis. I then offer what I refer to as video-elicitation focus groups as a relevant methodological framework for analysing the community-building capacities of participatory film audiencing. From here, I describe narrative-discourse analysis and its suitability within participatory audiencing research. I then analyse the ways by which participatory film audiences from Thembelihle construct community and community-building at a screening of *Thembelihle: Place of Hope*. Finally, I draw on the study's findings to demonstrate what audiencing is, and is not, able to offer critical community-building praxes.

Situating Participatory Film with Community-Building

Participatory film audiencing has the potential to build community as well as institute non-hierarchical community-building relations (Wiebe, 2015). In order to contextualise the present study, it is perhaps useful to draw out some of the ways by which community-building has been enacted through participatory film audiencing. While work of this kind is somewhat scant, especially from within community psychology, it has nonetheless been undertaken from a number of political and epistemic standpoints. For instance, in a pioneering participatory film study, which took place on Fogo Island (located offshore from Canada) in 1967, researchers produced a series of documentary films in collaboration with people living in a local fishing community. As a means of stimulating social cohesion and economic development, these films were screened to audiences on the island (see Newhook, 2010). While community-building clearly formed a central aspect of the *Fogo Island Film Project*, the project's adherence to participatory principles is questionable. It is unclear as to whether the community members themselves defined and engaged with community-building on terms that they had set. Furthermore, the project's agenda was ultimately determined by

researchers, which mirrors in greater part the top-down approach associated with community development than it does with grassroots participatory community-building (see Minkler & Wallerstein, 2012). The community audiencing space, and the modalities of community that were constructed within this, were also not given sufficient analytical attention.

In a study that took place in 2007, two years after Hurricane Katrina devastated communities in New Orleans, USA, Catalani and her colleagues (2012) worked with community members, filmmakers and academics to produce a participatory film on how different communities in New Orleans were affected by the disaster. The film highlighted how the State had neglected poor communities, and what was required to begin (re)building community life. During public screenings of the film, people had the opportunity to articulate the kinds of actions and resources that they felt were required for generative community-building. Many audience members claimed to have been inspired by the film and subsequently committing themselves to various community-building activities. While this project was, in many ways, highly successful, it did not set out to critically interrogate audience constructions of community-building, and thus the limitations and political tensions of 'community' were insufficiently explored. Indeed, the challenges of community-building, as well as the internal tensions and factional politics therein, were not afforded adequate analytical attention, and thus the messiness of community-building was not engaged in the study.

In considering formal politics within community-building processes, Wheeler (2012) screened a participatory film to policy-makers and community members in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, as a means of bringing community voices into policy debate. Although the project was successful in some regards, it was constrained by Brazilian State structures. In a more psychologically-oriented participatory film study on social memory in Guyana, Mistry and

Berardi (2012) found that public screenings facilitated reparative community cohesion by allowing audiences to articulate their experiences of collective trauma and State-directed violence. It was concluded that, for audiences participating in this project, community-building necessitated an intensely affective set of interpersonal processes. In another participatory film project undertaken with First Nation peoples in Canada, public screenings opened up spaces for exploring how local knowledges are able to resist imperialism (Riecken et al., 2012). Finally, in South Africa, Malherbe and colleagues (2019) created space at a participatory film screening for local grassroots activists to speak to the gendered social issues which were highlighted in a participatory film produced by high school students. While this yielded fruitful dialogue, the discursive consequences of bringing politics so explicitly into the community audiencing space were unclear. Each of these projects, while exploring different facets of community-building (policy, affect, epistemology and politics) did not critically engage with a more general conception of community-building and how this was constrained, enabled, contradicted and politicised within the audiencing space. In other words, the unique community-building capacities of participatory film audiencing were, in each case, under-considered.

It would appear that the few studies that have sought to harness participatory film audiencing for critical community-building have not necessarily done so in a critical manner. This is not to say that these studies have not been immanently successful with respect to what they set out to do (many of them certainly did have an impact on communities and the lives of different community members). However, these studies reflect a broader dearth of participatory film research that looks to critically engage community-building as it is constituted within and by the participatory film audiencing space. It seems then that there is a

need for research which explores what participatory filmmaking is, and is not, able to offer to those engaged in community-building projects.

Audiencing

Usually housed in media and culture studies (Machin & Mayr, 2012), audience studies seek to interrogate and analyse the kinds of interpretive - and therefore also cultural and material - powers of audiences (Livingstone, 2013; Rose, 2001; Smythe, 1981). In the pioneering *Payne Fund Studies* (1920-1932), audiences consisting of young people were analysed with respect to how they reacted to different films (see Sparks, 2006). From the 1960s, audience studies took on more critical formations (Wood, 2015), and tended to focus on either television (e.g. Fiske, 1987) or theatre audiences (e.g. McGrath, 1981). Today, the proliferation of technology has resulted in contemporary audiences being more widespread, atomised and constitutive of the everyday than ever before (Cowdly, 2011; Wood, 2015). Resultantly, much of today's audiencing research individualises audience members, with the very notion of 'the audience' approached as either a theoretical concept, or as a superfluous adjunctive to the media product being consumed (Martinez, 1992; Von Scheve, 2019). The data gathering methods of many contemporary audiencing studies reiterate this approach (Ang, 2006; Park-Fuller, 2003), wherein quantitative and/or ethnographic approaches that look to 'measure' audience responses are frequently advanced through observations, as well as surveys and questionnaires that are distributed to people after they have engaged with a media product (e.g. Englehart, 2003; Stevens et al., 2014).

Although audiencing is seldom considered from within discursive approaches (Machin & Mayr, 2012), there is a small but critical body of audience research that examines the interactional dynamics and witnessing capacities of audiences (Cowdly, 2011; Von Scheve,

2019). Work of this kind seeks not to produce a generalisable ‘map’ of audience activity, but rather to arrive at a historicised and contextualised understanding of how audiences are enmeshed within a complex set of social, political, economic and cultural forces (Ang, 2006). This more critically-oriented approach to audiencing research has been influential in how we interrogate the social and the political within media consumption (see Gauntlett, 1997). Park-Fuller (2003) notes that critical audience scholars (e.g. Fiske, 1987) tend to speak of “audiencing” rather than “viewing” or “spectating”, with these latter terms believed to be too one-dimensional and passive, and thus inadequately capture the sorts of interpretive work undertaken by audiences. The notion of audiencing is believed to evoke the kinds of affective, actional, empathic and resistant capacities of which audiences are capable. Audiences are, in this way, conceived as collectives (e.g. subjects, creators, institutional representatives) who overlap with other collectives (e.g. the market, the nation, different kinds of publics) (see Park-Fuller, 2003).

Critical audiencing research helps us to identify the emancipatory and community-building capacities of participatory filmmaking. For a number of thinkers (e.g. Barthes, 1977; Kelley, 2002; Marcuse, 1978), media or artistic texts are understood as progressive only insofar as they are able to radicalise audiences. In this sense, reading film, as with all texts, is a struggle for signification within hegemonic structures (Hall, 1997), and a film’s “unity lies not in its origin but in its destination” (Martinez, 1992, p. 134). However, although meaning cannot be predetermined, it is also not entirely undetermined with respect to the broader structures that inform and are drawn on in a film’s narrative (Ang, 2006; Livingstone, 2013). A challenge is thereby presented to critical audience researchers to consider how the group-individual meaning-making dialectic is engaged within and by audiences who are themselves always

situated within large social structures. It is the audience's ability to resist or conform to these structures that is crucial for considerations of participatory film audiencing.

Community-Building

Although some community development projects are indeed participatory, for the most part they tend to rely on self-help frameworks that accept the social status quo and favour consensus over social action (Minkler & Wallerstein, 2012). Such community development is oftentimes power-blind, driven by community outsiders, aligned with elite agendas, and conceptualised in accordance with imperial motives. Community-building is, conversely, undertaken by those who live in particular communities and who strive to go beyond the constrictive scope that characterises much community development (Minkler, 2012b). Community-building can be understood as a kind of orientation assumed when undertaking any practice that is focused on strengthening the capacities of communities at a systemic, as well as an individual, level. It is when people, who share a common identity and/or history, come together to address a particular set of problems that community-building has begun (Heller, 1989). Community-building activity typically seeks to promote social transformation; a collective sense of community connectedness; ecological, vocational and educational opportunities; individual and collective agency; social responsibility; as well as political participation (Lazarus et al., 2017). Howley (2005) insists that because communities are always articulated within and through various practices, institutions, politics and social agents, community-building is an ongoing task, always contingent and ever-volatile. In this sense, community-building ebbs and flows to produce varying levels of "communityness" that - at different moments - holds together and repels numerous psychosocial and material constituents of community. Such community-building is undertaken with the knowledge that change cannot be implemented in a manner that transforms entire communities. Rather, the

aim is to identify communityness and to enhance this in and across communities (Minkler, 2012b; Walter & Hyde, 2012). Thus, although community-building does not resolve problems of inequality (and can even function as an intolerant kind of scapegoat that exacerbates these problems), it can create the structures necessary for collective action (Heller, 1989).

As Mitchell and colleagues (2018) remark, community-building is intensely political, tense and contradictory, and is always guided by particular values, ideologies and paradigms (e.g. ecological, behavioural, or cultural, Lazarus et al., 2017). In critically demonstrating the contradictions and power differentials of community-building, we might look to the January 25 Revolution (which occurred in 2011 in Egypt as part of the so-called 'Arab Spring') as an example. It perhaps seems odd to speak of the pre-revolutionary activity that occurred in Cairo's Tahrir Square as "community-building" (which it certainly was), just as it is jarring to acknowledge that in addition to the gender based-violence female protesters experienced from police officers during this time, acts of sexual violence were also carried out by male protesters outside of their community-building engagement (see Sorbera, 2014). Therefore, while community-building can be transformative, it is imperative that those involved in critical community-building bring to task those who act abusively within and beyond community-building activity. A critical modality of community-building should arise from ongoing consciousness-raising efforts that look to challenge and dismantle oppressive currents of power (see Freire, 1970). Such a critical community-building strives for relevance among all community members and is driven by principles of justice.

In addition to its pragmatic elements (e.g. lobbying, public meetings, campaigning, activism, fund-raising), community-building also encompasses lesser-discussed psychological

dimensions. Pertinent here are the kinds of affective communities that relate people to one another, and create affinity and collective immediacy beyond individual, social and cultural positionalities. Collective affect, as it is embedded in the everyday, represents an important resource for community-building (Wetherell, 2015). Indeed, affect often leaves an impression of communality that can be reactivated at different moments for different purposes (Zink, 2019). Affective connections - which quasi-tie both mind and body, and thus differ from emotional connections, which are primarily mental processes (Hardt & Negri, 2004) - can also lead to mutual responsiveness, inclusion and innovation (Stark, 2012), and therefore may be considered the ‘glue’ of community-building (Catalani et al., 2012). Such affect is able to generate emotional closeness and solidify feelings of solidarity within particular groups (Heller, 1989; Zink, 2019). Connections of this kind can also increase political influence and foster people’s sense of community (Heller, 1989). We might then say that affective and pragmatic components of community-building inform and reform one another, and should thus be engaged dialectically.

The very notion of community-building - as with the terms “community” (see Williams, 2016) and “community engagement” (see Mitchell et al., 2018) - is regularly drawn on as a form of rhetoric, far removed from the actual concerns of communities. This is to say, community-building is able to function discursively as an empty signifier, denoting an uncritical and ahistorical endorsement of a community whose insurgency is confined to integrating itself within a given social order. When conceptualised in this way, community-building is made into a project of capitalist, patriarchal and racist modernity, wherein power-blind analyses are employed in the service of institutionalised reform rather than political struggle (see Maldonado-Torres, 2017; Williams, 2004). The depoliticisation of community-building is evidenced in numerous ways. Indeed, much effort has been made by elite groups

to co-opt community-building and drain it of any emancipatory change-making potential. Powerful institutions - like the World Health Organization, the World Bank, the Institute of Medicine, and the National Institutes of Health - have drawn on community-building rhetoric to justify the implementation of neo-colonial agendas (Minkler, 2012b; Walsh, 2012). Community-building of this sort endeavours to predict and control community dynamics in a social engineering effort that caters to the needs of the powerful (Lazarus et al., 2017).

How might we conceptualise a critical mode of community-building that resists elite co-option? Speaking from a critical community psychology perspective, Lazarus and colleagues (2017) argue that critical community-building should include a set of principles that reject oppressive social agendas. Such principles include promoting transformation and social justice; identifying power differentials, oppression and privilege; aggrandising individual and collective agency; creating opportunities for self-reflexivity; drawing on community-embedded knowledges; and adhering to a critical and questioning theoretical framework. In discussing community-building principles for professional development, Austin (2005) notes three clusters: cross-cultural collaboration (integrated, comprehensive and holistic), a community-based strengths orientation (assets, capacity building and mobilising community resources), as well as brokering and building local powers (establishing strong institutional partnerships). The principles outlined by Lazarus and colleagues (2017) as well as Austin (2005) suggest how we can will community-building activity towards emancipation, and how such activity can resist elite co-option.

Bettez (2011) suggests that critical community-building should provide “troubling knowledge” that builds support networks and questions social norms – especially those concerning power and oppression. In seeking to enunciate a politicised mode of community-

building that embraces, rather than glosses over, inequalities of power and internal tensions, Mitchell and colleagues (2018) advocate what they refer to as “political listening”, where conflicts and differences within community-building spaces are acknowledged and articulated in as honest a manner as possible. By ushering in a generative and potentially emancipatory kind of discomfort (Bettez, 2011), a listening of this sort is alert to existing community-building efforts, or “real utopias” (see Wright, 2010), which can offer us visions of community that are not governed by oppressive social structures. Thus, political listening does not strive towards neat resolutions, and instead offers us an honest embrace of the difficulties inherent to community-building (Freire, 1970; Martinson & Su, 2012). In short, political listening involves people working with contradiction to democratically identify common goals, mobilise community resources and implement strategies for resistance (see Minkler, 2012b).

Warren (1978) highlights that institutionally-embedded outsiders who become involved in community-building activities regularly treat communities as “client communities” to be serviced through a kind of top-down management and control. A sharp criticality should therefore mark how community outsiders involve themselves in community-building. Indeed, outsiders are always, in some way, a part of the community that they endeavour to help build (Walter & Hyde 2012), and to understand oneself as a neutral onlooker can institute a disingenuous evaluation of one’s positionality. Yet within community-building processes, outsiders are not socially located in the same ways that community residents are. This is especially pertinent in cases where outsiders have control over funds that grant them undue influence over community-building processes, including the ability to determine how, if, and when communityness and political listening should be sanctioned (Catalani et al., 2012). Community outsiders who choose to adopt a critical approach to community-building must

remain cognisant of the fact that the kinds of political power and agency required for the advancement of a politicised conception of community-building can only ever be taken by community members, and never given to them. In this sense, outsiders should not conceive of themselves as being capable of directly empowering communities (Butchart & Seedat, 1990). Community-building projects should thus strive to relegate all agenda-setting to community-based collectives, with outsiders assisting in actualising the conditions necessary for realising these agendas (Minkler 2012b).

Mitchell and colleagues (2018) stress that community outsiders must, at every stage of community-building, reflexively consider their positionality, noting always what they are able to (as well as not able to) contribute to community-building praxes. Although reflexivity cannot eradicate or even significantly diminish unequal distributions of power, it can instate the sort of discomfort and introspection required to make clear the imbalances of influence and control within community-building relations (see Pillow, 2003). Reflexive community-building therefore rejects the Alinsky (1971) approach - often taken as the golden standard (Petcoff, 2017) - which prioritises the outsider as an agitator and all-knowing leader, and attempts instead to employ political listening as a means of elevating the concerns of community members (Martinson & Su, 2012).

Community-building denotes an orientation to developing a community's capacities on terms that are set by community members. By mobilising people to address social issues, expand their political capacities, and promote positive connections between different social groups (Lazarus et al., 2017), critical community-building activity seeks to unite a number of threads (such as the individual and the collective) in addressing people's social, material, political and economic needs. As Lorde (2017, p. 18) passionately proclaims:

> Without community there is no liberation, only the most vulnerable and temporary armistice between an individual and her oppression. But community must not mean a shedding of our differences, nor the pathetic pretense that these differences do not exist.

We should therefore reject fundamentally liberalised notions of community-building that conform to a racial and patriarchal capitalist social order, and embrace the kinds of politicised tensions and inequalities of power inherent to an emancipatory and critical community-building praxis.

Critical Community-Building Pathways Offered by Critical Community Psychology

Although, as noted earlier, critical community psychology seldom engages community-building (Heller, 1989; Lazarus et al., 2017), there are a number of community-building pathways that have been developed from within critical community psychology, each of which sees community psychologists working alongside - rather than gazing at - community members (Wiebe, 2015). These pathways are, for the most part, informed by psychology's decolonial turn (see Maldonado-Torres, 2017). In this section, I identify four community-building pathways and framing devices that have been harnessed within, by and for critical community psychology, namely: accompaniment, indigenisation, denaturalisation, and Black Consciousness philosophy in South Africa (see Adams, Dobles, Gómez, Kurtiş, & Molina, 2015; Cooper & Ratele, 2018; Biko, 1978; Seedat & Lazarus, 2011). While these pathways do not represent a definitive account of community-building from within critical community psychology, they do offer a number of (often overlapping) framing orientations for activating a critical mode of community-building.

Accompaniment can be defined as a sustained encounter between community members and community psychologists. As community psychologists are typically outsiders to the communities in which they work, accompaniment serves to construct interactional and interpersonal praxes that are directed at systemic injustices (Rodríguez, Guerra, Villarreal, & Bohórquez, 2009). In this sense, an accompanied encounter can occur within a particular community and/or between different communities (Adams et al., 2015). In the context of community-building, accompaniment sees community psychologists offering their expertise, labour and solidarity to people's community-building efforts, all while calling for wider inter-community solidarities. By standing with others in struggle in this way, affect and action begin to coalesce (Sacipa, Vidales, Galindo, & Tovar, 2007).

Indigenisation draws from local and suppressed knowledges as a means of combatting epistemic violence (Adams et al., 2015), and therefore calls community psychologists to work with people to aggrandise relevant local knowledges. Indigenisation is not, it should be emphasised, what some refer to as a discourse of indigeneity, which seeks to reserve social welfare exclusively for particular peoples who are understood as indigenous (Neocosmos, 2008). Rather, indigenisation is a humanist undertaking that prioritises those in a society who are most disenfranchised. For community-building purposes, indigenisation points to how the importation of readily-defined community-building models (e.g. Alinsky, 1971) may not always speak to people's particular social circumstances. Indigenisation insists that community members should define how community-building looks and feels within their specific communities if indeed such community-building is to be effective within and gain support from these communities.

Denaturalisation requires a fundamental reappraisal of what is taken-for-granted within hegemonic social and epistemic arrangements (Watkins & Shulman, 2008). Realising and understanding the socially constructed - yet always material - nature of oppression can empower people to take action against oppression (Alexander, 2013). In connecting denaturalisation to an emancipatory politics within community-building, the imperative to address, fight and eradicate systemic oppression is made clear. In this way, community-building efforts can serve as consciousness-raising initiatives that are geared towards denaturalising injustice, and naturalising democratically conceived images of liberation (see Freire, 1970).

Finally, Black Consciousness is a philosophical orientation that emerged in 1960s South Africa. It asserts the dignity, humanity and selfhood of black people (see Introduction section of this dissertation), and rejects the racist global systems which afford humanity to whiteness and degrade blackness (Biko, 1978). In South Africa, Cooper and Ratele (2018), as well as Seedat and Lazarus (2011), have noted that Black Consciousness community-building initiatives (e.g. the Black Communities Project of the 1970s) profoundly influenced the development of critical community psychology in the 1980s. During apartheid, Alexander (2013) highlights that the Black Consciousness Movement was concerned with psychological liberation and developing an understanding of how power was distributed so that it could be taken back by communities. With its fundamental principle of ubuntu - or mutual personhood - sharing a number of principles with socialism, Black Consciousness philosophy continues to hold relevance for contemporary community-driven resistance against racial capitalism (Alexander, 2013; Ally & Ally, 2008).

Accompaniment, indigenisation, denaturalisation and Black Consciousness philosophy in South Africa offer critical community psychologists - particularly those concerned with decoloniality (see Maldonado-Torres, 2017) - a number of interconnected pathways and principles through which to consider critical community-building activity. It is with this in mind that I argue in the following section that audiencing within the context of participatory filmmaking presents an under-appreciated form of critical community-building.

Critical Community-Building through Participatory Film Audiencing

It would seem that critical audience research speaks to notions of community and community-building in a number of ways. We may even think of audiences as temporary, political, social and interpretive communities (Carpentier, 2011), with audiencing serving as a mode of community-building (Ang, 2006; Smythe, 1981; Wood, 2015). It is the task of this study to think through an under-utilised and powerfully visceral mode of community-building from within community psychology, namely: participatory film audiencing. It is believed that by centring both community and community-building, participatory film audiencing research can make relevant its findings for the audience itself (Hermes, 2009).

Englehart (2003) highlights that there is greater potential for activism and community-building at public film screenings than there is within the film production process. Certainly, with respect to participatory filmmaking, although participants are most often perceived as those who are involved in producing the film, participation can also take place *through* the film in the form of audiencing (e.g. reactions, debates, representations, and identity formations that occur at public screenings of the film). In considering Fiske's (1987) insistence that the audience is a "secondary text"; Fish's (1980) belief that audiences represent interpretive communities, and thus write filmic texts rather than statically read

them; as well as Carpentier's (2011) comment that audience participation within participatory film viewings should be considered a form of macro-participation, it becomes clear that - despite seldom being granted considerable attention in the literature - participatory film audiencing is able to facilitate an expansive mode of community-driven meaning-making which can destabilise what are often perceived as immovable audience-filmmaker binaries (Baú, 2014).

Audiences do not necessarily trust film - documentary or otherwise - as a genre, and will often engage with its representational complexities over its content (Levine, 2007). Accordingly, community-building through audiencing should be understood as a set of situated and negotiated discursive manoeuvres, rather than an evaluative procedure (Bezdek, Foy, & Gerrig, 2013). Far from signifying a homogenous community voice, audiences engage in a cognitive and tremendously complex set of group and individual processes, and in this sense embody a series of "wandering viewpoints" that adapt to various political and rhetorical requirements (Wolfgang, 1978). Once again, we cannot presuppose the politics of audiencing. Furthermore, audiencing should not be analysed without consideration of the broader social, cultural and community context in which it occurs and to which it always speaks (Ang, 2006; Pink, 2006). At the same time, however, we cannot discount individual agency within community-building and audiencing. Each lies at a complex intersection of group, structural and individual forces, wherein the audience *in situ* engages in the co-creation of meaning, which may include a variety of interpretations, meaning management manoeuvres, and discursive remixes of 'community' (see Livingstone, 2013). Participatory film audiences in particular are rarely passive, and are likely to work through open narrative systems in order to wrestle with issues presented in a film (Levine, 2007). Thus, because the audience is grounded in material reality as well as different people's lived experiences,

audiencing builds community from a discursive space that is contradictory and fraught with tension.

Although audiencing can facilitate generative and nuanced community-building processes (Norman, 2009), it can also foster reactionary and regressive modes of community-building. This latter kind of engagement was observed in Englehart's (2003) audiencing study, which saw audience members accuse a woman of lying about her experience of gender-based violence in a participatory film. Following this, Mitchell and colleagues (2018) as well as Kindon, Hume-Cook and Woods (2012), attest that participatory film audiences occupy a number of contextually-specific and rhetorically strategic positions (Levine, 2007), each of which allow individual audience members to challenge and/or conform to the ways by which filmmakers intended their films to be read. Audiences are in this sense a part of the film text (see Fiske, 1987).

In addition to political listening, described earlier, critically approaching the community-building capacities of participatory film audiencing requires that we embrace what Mitchell and colleagues (2018) refer to as the pedagogy of discomfort, wherein an emphasis on "positive stories" is displaced for a power-sensitive focus on difficult questions, latent discomforts, silences and tensions within audiencing spaces. Together, political listening and the pedagogy of discomfort can facilitate the construction of democratic, politicised, critical and socially meaningful conceptions of community among audiences (Rogers, 2016; Williams, 2004).

The ways by which audience members engage with one another and the film carry emotional consequences that influence how community-building is perceived and enacted (McCulloch,

2011). Levine (2007) notes that in addition to being fundamentally collective, audience reactions to documentary films are always felt bodily, and are thus affective. Participatory documentary film, in particular, has been shown to open emotive dialogue among audiences (Norman, 2009), instituting an "atmosphere of engagement" (Wiebe, 2015, p. 250) that is intensely emotional and transformative. Considering modes of affectivity allow us to examine how audience members share with one another common understandings of cohesion, solidarity, the self, and the collective (Von Scheve, 2019). In this sense, a collective set of goals, values and hermeneutics are articulated for the purposes of conventional (or pragmatic) and affective community-building (Park-Fuller, 2003). It is by bearing witness and making experiences accessible that participatory films can evoke within audience members an affectively-charged, fundamentally political, sense of community (Richardson & Schankweiler, 2019).

Critical participatory film audiencing should be approached as an ever-shifting tide of active, resourceful, motivated, critical, passive, submissive, and alienated meanings which are able to approach community-building through a range of situated interactions, resistances, interpretations and reactions. Appreciating such complexity does not require the researcher, in every instance, to treat audiences as haphazardly constituted (Hermes, 2009; Park-Fuller, 2003). To the contrary, audiencing research teaches that we can study the patterning, agency and structures of audience members' reflections, embodiments and articulations of community and community-building (Howley, 2005). Participatory film audiences engaged in community-building thus present a number of interactional concerns, including how community members interpret a film text that was produced by other community members; how meaning-making apparatuses are interrogated by filmmakers and audience members;

and how various competing interpretations of the film come up against one another in the audiencing space.

The Present Study

It would seem that participatory film audiencing provides critical community psychologists with a relevant approach to understanding community-building in their work. Indeed, such an approach is able to appreciate the political, pragmatic, material, and affective modes of community-building that unfold within the audience space. In this regard, we can analytically account for the 'messiness' of community-building as it relates to the individual-structural nexus of discursive meaning-making. In departing then from the premise that such 'messiness' remains understudied from within critical community psychology, the present study develops a methodological approach to critically and comprehensively studying the affective-material dimensions of community-building as it exists within participatory film audiencing spaces.

Theoretical Coordinates

Drawing from this research's overarching theoretical framework (i.e. social constructionism, critical social theory and liberation psychology), the present study takes its theoretical coordinates in an approach that speaks back to individualising, generalisable, quantifiable and monolithic audiencing research (e.g. Englehart, 2003; Stevens et al., 2014). More specifically, relying on critical social theory, the study locates the emancipatory capacities of participatory film within audiences and therefore - with respect to community-building research - it is audiencing that must be critically analysed (Cowdly, 2011). The wandering viewpoint of a given audience (see Wolfgang, 1978), as well as the audience's dialectical engagement with various open-narrative systems, allow researchers to analyse the complex,

contradictory and fundamentally political processes inherent to community-building. We may, in this sense, understand the audience as representing a kind of socially constructed community in and of itself. Such a community encompasses various discursive struggles to articulate individual and collective agency within particular social systems. Accordingly, these struggles represent the material, affective, discursive, and political dimensions of community-building through audiencing.

In situating this study's approach to community-building within critical community psychology as well as liberation psychology paradigms (see Lazarus et al., 2017; Seedat & Lazarus, 2011), the following values guided and informed the study's theoretical coordinates: justice, reflexivity, agency, community knowledges, cross-cultural collaboration, a strengths-orientation and local power (see Austin, 2005). Added to this, attention was paid to how political listening and the pedagogy of discomfort (see Mitchell et al., 2018) shaped accompaniment, indigenisation, denaturalisation and Black Consciousness philosophy (see Adams et al., 2015; Cooper & Ratele, 2018; Biko, 1978; Seedat & Lazarus, 2011) within the participatory film audiencing space.

Aims and Objectives

In analysing participatory film audiencing by use of the narrative-discursive approach, this study aims to examine the capacities of participatory film screenings to facilitate a critically conceived, affective, discursive, materialist and politicised enactment of community-building. In other words, the study seeks to explore the ways by which agency and social systems shape how (and if) film audiences build community in reaction to the silences and latent content of a participatory film. Particular analytical attention is afforded to the emancipatory and regressive modes of community-building constructed by audiences.

In heeding Ang's (2006) insistence that audiencing must be considered within particular socio-political and cultural contexts, the discursive insights offered by Study I, Study II and Study III serve as a backdrop for how this study's data are interpreted. Against all of this, as well as insights drawn from relevant literature and the theoretical coordinates espoused above, the study is guided by four central questions:

1. In what ways do participatory film audiences' narrations and counter-narrations work to discursively construct notions of community in relation to Thembelihle?
2. How is community-building pragmatically and affectively constructed in participatory film audiencing spaces?
3. What do audiences construct as advancing community-building, and what is established as hindering community-building?
4. How do understandings of politics, power, materiality and affect influence community-building as it unfolds in the audiencing space?

Method of Data Collection

Höijer (2008) highlights that due to a host of disciplinary orthodoxies, there is a general unwillingness on the part of audience researchers (particularly those involved in qualitative research) to discuss methodology. When methodology is engaged meaningfully within this work, it is typically confined to traditional ethnographic methods, surveys or interviews. In speaking to this methodological gap in the literature, and in an effort to elevate the status of critical audience research within participatory filmmaking studies, I detail in this section the innovative data collection method that I employed in this study. The precedence for this method can be noted in the work of Henry and Fetters (2012), Pink (2006), and Collier (1975).

Adapted from the photo-elicitation interview method, where photographs - usually captured by participants - are introduced into the interview setting as a kind of discursive prompt (see Collier, 1975), this study utilised video-elicitation focus groups. Video-elicitation focus groups conceptualise participatory film audiences as a kind of focus group, wherein facilitated conversations are stimulated through the use of participatory film(s) (Wilkinson, 1998) which, in the case of the present study, constituted the documentary film *Thembelihle: Place of Hope* (see Study II and Study III). The method, as it is drawn on in this study, is situated within the social constructionist paradigm, meaning that pluriversal epistemologies, a multitude of shifting identity formations, and various discursive footing positions are considered to be pivotal elements of participants' discursive meaning-making (Lunt & Livingstone, 1996; Potter & Hepburn, 2005). Like photo-elicitation interviews, video-elicitation focus groups are able to generate - through the visual (Pink, 2006) - meaningful, detailed, enthusiastic and complex understandings of community, history and society as they relate to audience members (Langa, 2008; Rose, 2001; Wang & Burris, 1997). From participants, video-elicitation is able to produce latent - or surface-level - contextual narratives, as well as deeper, more abstract and value-laden discourses (Pauwels, 2015). As noted by Collier (1975, p. 221), the method can serve as a "can-opener into complex community involvement", and is therefore particularly useful in examining social interaction, affect, memory, politics, and the self as each interacts with one another *in situ* (Henry & Fetters, 2012).

Video-elicitation focus group discussions are able to facilitate a relatively relaxed environment within which participants can engage one another with reference to the film - rather than themselves - thus allowing for greater communicative openness (Pauwels, 2015). However, as Puchta and Potter (1999) emphasise, focus groups hold tensions within them.

Researchers typically attempt to institute a non-threatening environment where all discussion is sanctioned, while simultaneously remaining faithful to a particular (sometimes very loosely conceived) interview schedule. Following this, and in heeding recent calls from visual (see Mitchell et al., 2018) and qualitative (see Cornell, Malherbe, Suffla, & Seedat, 2019) researchers, it is important that video-elicitation focus group facilitators conduct themselves in a critically reflexive manner. Accordingly, I sought in the present study to remain attentive to my own positionality (including my socio-political location) as a relatively young, middle class, white, university-educated, able-bodied male (see Introduction section of this dissertation). I attempted at all times to steer, rather than dictate, participants' discussion, interjecting as minimally as possible, all while remaining attentive to the gendered, classed and racialised power dynamics that unfolded in the audiencing space (Mitchell & de Lange, 2011). Further, at the time of this study, my having worked with many of the audience members on a number of other community projects will likely have facilitated a degree of closeness and rapport between us (Hermes, 2009). Regardless, my personal politics will have, to some degree, influenced participants' narrative-discursive constructions; that which they were willing to share; as well as my own interpretation of the discussion. It is also likely that I prompted certain responses more than others, potentially discouraging (either implicitly or explicitly) particular discourses that I understood to be problematic. Despite these limitations, as well as others which mark focus group research (e.g. hesitance of participants to engage sensitive topics; the tendency of some participants to please interviewers and other respondents; varying levels of connectedness; and uneven participation, see Sayre, 2006), a critical and reflexive engagement, and the group's familiarity with one another as well as myself - while not altogether diminishing these limitations - were able to mitigate them somewhat by instituting a level of comfort and trust among participants.

In sum, video-elicitation focus groups conceptualise a film audience as a focus group. A film thus serves as a discursive prompt that is able to yield potentially rich responses from audiences (Pauwels, 2015). Situated within the social constructionist paradigm, the video-elicitation focus groups that were conducted in this study relied on the participatory film *Thembelihle: Place of Hope*, and sought to explore the complex ways by which people build community. I facilitated each of the video-elicitation focus group sessions, while employing a critical kind of reflexivity that attempted to make clear how my political positioning and social identities influenced the data produced during these sessions.

Enacting Critical Participatory Film Audiencing

At a meeting held at Unisa's ISHS offices, the community screening schedule for the participatory documentary film *Thembelihle: Place of Hope* (see Study II and Study III) was drawn up by residents of Thembelihle. Ten of the 12 participants involved in producing the film attended this meeting. I contacted the two who were not in attendance in order to obtain their feedback and to relay back to them that which was discussed in the meeting. In addition to these ten participants, twelve other community members, who comprised of business owners, activists, parents and youth leaders, attended the meeting. Although, to date, Unisa has hosted five community screenings of *Thembelihle: Place of Hope* (with other screenings hosted by those involved in producing the film, who each received a copy of the film), for the community-building purposes of this study, and in cohering with the views of a number of critical participatory film researchers, such as Walsh (2014), meeting attendees were insistent that caution be exercised over who is invited to the screenings that they were to host. Attendees noted that at community other events intended for community-building purposes, political leaders, as well as other elite power-holders, regularly co-opted conceptions of community, and tended to advocate mechanisms of control and/or Statist agendas over the

concerns of the community. Research has also shown that when participatory films are brought back to the communities in which they are shot, feelings of familiarity can foster among audiences a sense of pride, self-esteem and critical consciousness (Cizek, 2005), all of which are important for community-building (Lazarus et al., 2017). The meeting attendees also emphasised that the screening should be marked by an open engagement that encouraged listening, reflection and discomfort (see Mitchell et al., 2018), an atmosphere that is more challenging to instate in the presence of potentially co-opting forces. It was therefore decided by the meeting attendees that in order to explore and build upon the film's themes in a manner that emphasised community-driven hermeneutics (see Wood, 2015), invitations to the screenings would only be sent to residents of Thembelihle. In this way, the screening space represented a mode of internal discourse that encouraged reflection from the community audience (Aguayo. 2014).

In speaking to the aims of this study, meeting attendees agreed that two screenings were to be hosted, with one video-elicitation focus group conducted at the first screening, and two at the second. Attendees also decided that the two screenings would take place on Sundays so that people were less likely to have vocational commitments. Once funding was secured from Unisa, meeting attendees determined that the screenings should take place at a community hall located in walking distance from Thembelihle. The meeting attendees, as well as a community engagement officer from Unisa, invited residents from Thembelihle, Lehae and Vlakfontein (see Introduction section of this dissertation) to the two screenings. On the respective screening days, transport was provided for those who could not - or indeed did not wish to - walk to and from the venue. A total of 27 residents from Thembelihle were in attendance at the first screening, and 32 at the second. The two video-elicitation focus groups that took place at the second screening consisted of 15 participants and 17 participants

respectively. A local facilitator chaired both screenings which, as authors like Englehart (2003) emphasise, is important for fostering comfort and familiarity among audiences. At the first screening, four researchers (including myself) from Unisa and one of the professional filmmakers involved in producing the documentary film attended the screening. At the second screening, myself and two other researchers from Unisa were in attendance. After the first screening, the audience participated in a one-hour conversation (that is, a video-elicitation focus group discussion), which I audio-recorded and later transcribed. At the second screening, the two respective video-elicitation focus groups engaged in one-and-a-half hour conversations, both of which I recorded, and transcribed. Focus group facilitators were not provided with an interview schedule. Instead, discussion was prompted by asking what participants had thought of the film, particularly with respect to how it engaged notions of community. Following this, facilitators asked the group how they felt the film could be used for community purposes. This unstructured mode of interviewing did not require an interview schedule, and allowed for guided discussion which was not, as far as possible, predetermined in any way. Most of the conversation across the three focus groups was in English; however, I was provided with translation assistance for the segments that were in isiZulu. At both screenings, lunch was provided to all who had attended.

The Narrative-Discursive Analytical Approach

As is perhaps self-evident, the narrative-discursive approach combines the micro-sensitivities of narrative analysis with the macro-orientation of discourse analysis (Mavuso, Chiweshe, & Macleod, 2019). Where narrative analysis enables researchers to interpret talk with reference to numerous contextually-embedded narrative structures (e.g. form, content, rhetoric) (Gatison, 2017), discourse analysis (see Study I for more detail) is concerned with how systems of power, oppression, inequality and exploitation are reproduced, resisted and

rejected in people's talk (Van Dijk, 2008). Narrative-discursive analysis therefore attempts to showcase the manner by which personal narratives can re-present, resist, or renegotiate discursive meaning. It provides us with an analytical strategy that draws attention to subject positionalities and interactional trouble within the micro- and macro-politics of discursive contexts (Morison & Macleod, 2013), allowing us to investigate both the social (discursive) and biographical (narrative) nature of talk (Mavuso et al., 2019).

Taylor and Littleton (2006) contend that narrative-discourses represent "a construction, in talk, of sequence or consequence" (p. 95), and go on to note that there are two kinds of narratives that people work to construct within these sequences and consequences. The first of which, known as canonical narratives, are stories with which speakers are familiar and that have recognisable content and structures. Canonical narratives tend to sustain or project a particular social order that conforms to the social status quo (Reynolds & Taylor, 2005). The second kind of narrative is known as a micro-narrative, which are smaller, more specific stories that are constructed in response to a particular situation and can be used to disrupt canonical narratives. In taking seriously these two narrative forms, understanding and analysing narrative-discourses requires that we pay attention to the kinds of narrative that are employed; track the discursive ends to which narratives are utilised; consider both the macro and micro contexts of narrative; and link back to how various narrative-discourses relate to material reality (Mavuso et al., 2019). In order to engage with how speakers manage identities within and through micro- and canonical narratives, analytic attention must be afforded to speakers' arguments, use of rhetoric, continuity, interactive subtleties, repair, inconsistencies, contradictions, and ambiguities. In this sense, the analyst should be alert to how action is justified at different discursive moments (Bamberg, 2005; Taylor & Littleton, 2006), while always remaining reflexive (Mitchell et al., 2018).

For the narrative-discursive approach, it is the details - rather than the content - of a story that forms the primary analytical focus. Reynolds and Taylor (2005) refer to such detail as discursive resources, which are the fluid, culturally-specific elements of talk that are made available through the context in which the speaker is (or speakers are) situated, including community contexts. Manifesting in people's ideas, images, assumptions and expectations, discursive resources ultimately shape what can and cannot be plausibly said (Mavuso et al., 2019). When we consider discursive resources, we should not in every instance conflate the narrative self with the individual speaker. Further, the data should be approached holistically, that is, as located not in a single person's talk, but in the narrative-discursive patterns that stretch across all participants' talk.

With all of this in mind, the narrative-discursive analytical approach is willed towards two central tasks which are, it should be emphasised, deliberately referred to as *tasks* rather than *stages*, which are typically associated with quantitative analyses. These tasks do not encompass a linear or mutually exclusive sequence. Instead, they demand that the analyst continually revisit the data (Mavuso et al., 2019). The first of the two tasks involves identifying common narrative elements that occur throughout participants' talk. These elements are to be discussed in terms of available discursive resources. The second task considers these resources within the context of the larger group (or, in the case of this study, the audience), as well as the individual speaker's narrative work (including trouble and repair), which is accomplished by use of these resources (Taylor & Littleton, 2006). Throughout both tasks, analysts should employ sensitivity towards how speakers manage narrative performances that fail to replicate discursive norms, as well as to the kinds of

alternative, or micro, scripts that emerge from such narrative failure (Morison & Macleod, 2013).

In speaking to the aims of the present study, I drew on the narrative-discursive approach to examine how participatory film audiences constructed community-building narrative-discourses in accordance to Wolfgang (1978) “structure of gaps” theory, wherein audiences are understood to create meaning within the interpretive gaps that are offered by a particular filmic text. One’s interpretation thus comes to “fill the gaps” (that is, what is not explicitly stated) in the film. In explicating this conception of audience members as gap-fillers, Wolfgang (1978) notes that there are three levels at which audiences read filmic texts: 1) blanks, which are the empty spaces between various cinematic elements and perspectives; 2) vacancies, which are guiding devices that link together different themes; and finally 3) negation, which speaks to the overall content of the film and how specific cinematic elements are negated in order to pre-structure an audience’s interpretation of the film (i.e. guiding ‘normal’ as well as logically indefensible filmic interpretations). Coupling the structure of gaps theory with the narrative-discursive approach allows us to analyse audiencing in a manner that takes seriously both individual agency and broader social systems. In this way, we can critically interrogate how community-building is constricted and mediated by participatory film audiences’ narrative-discourses.

In considering the above, the present study’s analytical procedure was as follows: I identified how audience members dew on narrative elements - or discursive resources - concerning community and community-building to fill in the gaps within the documentary film *Thembelihle: Place of Hope*. This process was continually read against micro and macro discursive contexts. The various narrative elements that I had identified were then

transformed into discursive codes, which were eventually collapsed and reordered to form a smaller number of coherent themes. Moving on to the second task, I analysed the socio-political relevance and material consequences of each thematically arranged narrative-discourse. Essential here was detailing the discursive ends towards which canonical and micro-narratives functioned. Throughout this task, and in adhering to reflexive principles, I sought not to collapse into a narcissistic mode of naval-gazing (Pillow, 2003), nor to curb my own politics (Cornell et al., 2019). Instead, reflexivity served to emphasise my reading of community-building narrative-discourses as one, hopefully persuasive (see Rose, 2001), interpretation among many (Martinez, 1992). This is what Polkinghorne (1983) refers to as assertoric knowledge which, in challenging deductive logic, is premised on the fact that "some knowledge claims are better than others, but none is beyond doubt" (p. 289). Finally, my interpretations were corroborated and reformed by my two doctoral supervisors. Such reformation predominantly constituted (re)contextualising participants' narrative-discourses against the historical backdrop of Thembelihle and South Africa.

Analysing the Community-Building Capacities of Participatory Film Audiencing

Across the three video-elicitation focus groups, audiences appeared to approach community-building in a wholly positive, often idealistic, manner. This was exemplified in P3's exclamation that "[i]f we stand together we can do this thing, we can build Thembelihle!" Participants may have engaged in this sort construction for a number of reasons, including feeling that overt criticism, cynicism or unfavourable evaluation would have thwarted the potentially generative audiencing process; wishing to please researchers, other audience members and/or filmmakers; and looking to aggrandise the documentary's positive depictions of Thembelihle which, as noted in Study I, are uncommon in South Africa's broader discursive landscape. However, through a more fine-grained and critical narrative-discursive

analysis, it became clear that the tensions and politics of community-building emerged in various, sometimes subtle, ways throughout each video-elicitation focus group discussion. In what follows, the narrative-discourses on which the audiences drew are organised under three themes: *Representational Contestation*, *Community Agency* and *Affective Communities*. Taken together, these themes provide us with insights into the communicative, strategic and organisational capacities - as well as the political, representational and democratic limits - of community-building through participatory film audiencing.

Representational Contestation

As every media product embodies, to some degree, an unstable and contested representational politics (see Study III), it follows that community-building through participatory film audiencing will likely bring into focus some of the tensions that exist in particular communities. In this study, representational contestation was analysed with respect to how dominant depictions of Thembelihle (see Study I) cohered with those in the documentary, as well as audiences' interpretation of the documentary. For instance, P10's narrative-discourse highlighted popular versus community perceptions of Thembelihle:

> it felt good for me, or us as Thembelihle, just to see and show other people inside of Thembelihle that it's not all that bad, and that there is good.

Such representational contestation was echoed in P43's narrative-discourse: "[t]he pictures [in the documentary] show that we of Thembelihle, we are citizens of South Africa, we are human beings, we are here." In both extracts, narrative elements work to conflate representations of community with the self ("that for me, or us as Thembelihle" and "we of Thembelihle, we are citizens of South Africa, we are human beings, we are here"). In this way, canonical narratives of community-building - which are, typically, pragmatic in their

focus (see Alinsky, 1971) - become attentive to the human, and thus give way to a psychological as well as a material reading of community identity. Such an evocation of the collective also centres a community desire for the indigenisation of community building. Other audience members, however, read the film differently. P47, who was not involved in the participatory editing process, expressed that "when I watched that documentary something bothered me. I saw a face of poverty… where Thembelihle is the face of poverty". In this regard, problems concerning insider-outsider binaries that often define the accompanied encounter are highlighted (see Watkins, 2015). Therefore, where the narrative-discourses of P10 and P43 constructed the documentary as representing the humanistic essence of community-building in contexts of structural violence, for P47's narrative-discourse, the documentary defines Thembelihle's story against little more than structural violence, with the human character of community-building displaced through epistemologically violent representations.

Developing nuanced depictions of one's community, it would seem, is integral to community-building. Such depictions, however, need not embrace an idealistic construction of community, whereby community members are unlikely to see their lives reflected in community-building efforts. Rather, audiences emphasised that depictions of this kind should be cognisant of a community that is "not all that bad … there is good", always asserting the fundamental humanity of a community that is consistently dehumanised ("we are human beings, we are here"). Within the vacancies offered by the film, the narrative-discourses brought into notions of community-building the affective dimensions of establishing a nuanced image of community, thus elevating the status of representation in community-building processes. Indeed, audience members emphasised the imperative to denaturalise epistemologically violent images of community through the kind of humanistic community-

building associated with Black Consciousness philosophy (i.e. a rejection of whiteness through the assertion of the dignity, humanity and selfhood of black people). The repeated referrals to the humanising power of the local, however, appeared to also advocate a kind of indigenisation. It is in this sense that the documentary seemed to represent for most (but not all) audience members an important interpretive site at which to engage positive images of community which discursively reject canonical narrative binaries that situate low-income and under-serviced communities as either violent (Butchart & Seedat, 1990), or as prospering 'in the face of adversity' (Williams, 2016). The challenge then becomes how to engage individual agency and structural violence without representing low-income communities as "the face of violence" – as a minority of audience members had understood the documentary to have done (thus highlighting the shortcomings of a myopic accompaniment). Violent phenomena should be evoked not to establish the definitional core of a community, but instead with a view to understanding violence so as to eradicate it (see Tuck, 2009).

In building on the ways by which the narrative-discourses of P10 and P43 constructed positive community imaging and insurgent community identity as bases for community-building, P36 insisted that:

> I feel like this documentary should be taken to national government level so that they understand that yes, we are living in an informal settlement, but we do have a vision of a better future and, as voting citizens, we deserve a better future.

This narrative-discourse rejects canonical top-down constructions of community that locate development within Statist agendas (see Study I). Rather, community-building efforts are established as having to take stock of the "visions of a better future" articulated by

community members. Furthermore, highlighting that the documentary "should be taken to national governmental level" aligns with Alexander's (2013) insistence that in post-apartheid South Africa Black Consciousness community-building efforts need not reject the State. This also points to the emancipatory potential of a particular kind of community-State modality of accompaniment. Instead of government articulating community development, it is people's "vision of a better future" that should drive democratic conceptions of community-building. The kind of political listening and discomforting pedagogies associated with democracy are perhaps also invoked here through the mention of "voting citizens". Also articulated in this excerpt is a form of indigenisation that does not position local knowledge systems within violent social structures, but looks to use these knowledges to transform social structures. The task of community-building is then one of supporting ongoing, under-represented, autonomous community-building State services (e.g. those related to developing or improving education, infrastructure, food security, participatory budgeting institutions, community events, political education and public health), without affording definitive authority to the State over these services. Indeed, it is the community that is to direct and ultimately determine how such an accompanied community-building takes shape.

By highlighting that "yes, we are living in an informal settlement", P36's narrative-discourse draws attention to a particular blank in the film. In differing from P47's narrative-discourse, structural violence is constructed here as having been acknowledged in the film, rather than representing the core definitional element of Thembelihle. It is in this way that the narrative-discursive structure of P36's speech, as with P10's and P43's, embodies a micro-narrative formation which draws on the film's vacancies and blanks to institute a particular narrative approach to community-building, one that focuses on nuance and generativity as means of subsuming and addressing issues of struggle and violence. In other words, these three

narrative-discourses demand the kind of political listening that is systematically denied to those living in low-income areas in South Africa (see Friedman, 2019), and thus stress the need for an egalitarian mode of accompaniment that is willed towards indigenisation.

In a different focus group discussion, P2 describes how representational contestations can influence the action-orientation assumed by community-building activity.

> [w]e don't have to just ignore it [violence in the community] and say "oh, it's normal." They [community members featured in the documentary] want the best from their place. That's why there's all this action … there's this brother … that's doing a garden … he did encourage me … everything that we do, we have to take away money, always, but … he can spend it on his garden and a social group. As people, we have to care for each [other]. Don't say "no, I'm fine. I'm not poor. I'm not sick. I'm not hungry." You must be conscious!

Speaking once again to the place of representation within community-building, this narrative-discourse sets up community-building activity as having the ability to decentre violence as the singular discursive prism through which Thembelihle is read (see Study I), while - at the same time - addressing the impact of such violence on community life. More specifically, the narrative-discourse emphasises that existing community-building practices are able to denaturalise structural violence, as well as inform our approaches to addressing this kind of violence. It also locates imaginings of an emancipatory future within various "real utopias" (see Wright, 2010) that are active within the present by affording particular discursive attention to Jongilizwe Mnyanda, the farmer featured in the documentary, whose produce - in addition to being sold in the community - is regularly given away to those who cannot afford it (see Study II). By referring to this farmer as a "brother" who "did encourage me", a

personal narrative is galvanised towards collective and humanist discourses of mobilisation, recalling Black Consciousness community-building that connects one's individual humanity (which is systemically under threat) to the larger community (Seedat & Lazarus, 2011), while never ceding to oppressive ideological social standards (e.g. those set by whiteness). The various discursive resources drawn upon here thus act to bring the community into the individual farmer's mode of community-building, emphasising a kind of indigenisation. Positioning the individual against the community in this way also engages a narrative of accompaniment, where community is built by walking alongside, with and for others.

By focusing on the kinds of suffering that take place in Thembelihle, and how existing forms of community-building act to address these, P2's narrative-discourse appeals to a kind of indigenisation that disrupts canonical narratives which encourage neoliberal self-reliance. In closing her speech with "[y]ou must be conscious!", it is made clear that community-building should progress from a complex and engaged kind of social awareness that is alert to the various violences that exist in a community; how people are responding to this violence in community-centred ways; and how the self is positioned and asserts agency within structures of violence. In other words, agentic community-building is established as working against - and even in spite of - social circumstances marked by structural violence.

A number of participants' narrative-discourses critically assessed particular representations within the documentary. Although such critique pertained mostly to narrative particularities (e.g. noting that dancers in the documentary were not depicted in what was said to be traditional attire, or arguing that some school teachers did not feature enough in the documentary), across the three focus group discussions, the most salient representational issue was that of dolomite. As is noted in this dissertation's Introduction section, the

dolomitic rock on which Thembelihle is located is a highly politicised and contested issue within the community, with the official reason given by the State for relocating residents (and indeed for refusing to develop much of the community) being that the community is built on dolomitic land. Accordingly, much protest activity in the community addresses and contests the issue of dolomite (see Tselapedi & Dugard, 2013). In attempting to contextualise the symbolic place that dolomite occupies in Thembelihle, the documentary notes (in the only linguistic text featured in the film) that:

> geographic research found parts of the land to be unsafe due to the presence of dolomite. There are areas of Gauteng built on dolomitic soil. But the ANC government refused to develop the area, and a lengthy bid to relocate families began in 2000. Many families fought to stay.

Despite being approved of by various community members during the participatory editing process, audiences contested these lines of text in different ways. It should perhaps be conceded that the documentary's minimal narrative attention to the issue of dolomite may have inadvertently underplayed its political significance in Thembelihle, as well as the role that it has played in political life and community-building in the community. However, it should also be noted that dolomite had been a specific focus in previous community projects with which some of this project's participants had been involved (see Lau, Suffla, & Kgatitswe, 2017), and thus may not have been a representational priority here. Regardless, P1 argues below that:

> it is also unfortunate that it [the documentary] says in the captions there that South Africa, well Gauteng in particular, is built on dolomite in certain areas … I think with our situation, it is economic apartheid. We are being left in this situation because the government doesn't want to spend

> money to build Thembelihle on dolomite because … when you build on dolomite you have to spend more, so what the ANC government didn't want to do was to spend more … the struggle for a better Thembelihle continues as some of the people have articulated in the documentary.

This narrative-discourse appears to speak to negation within the film, that is, how the line of text concerning dolomite relates to how the documentary as a whole is read. Indeed, within the narrative-discourse, our attention is drawn to the way that the documentary depicts dolomite as context, rather than as a political symbol. Simply noting, as the documentary does, that the State "refused" to build on the land and that "[m]any families fought to stay" is constructed in this narrative-discourse as inadequate in bringing into the audiencing space the sharply politicised terrain on which community-building is situated. In this way, a larger, canonical narrative of neoliberal austerity in South Africa ("what the ANC government didn't want to do was to spend") was effectively positioned as a blank in the documentary, and was therefore discursively inserted into the audiencing space. Within P1's narrative-discourse, it was insisted that if a community-centred representational politics of community-building were to have been advanced in the documentary, it needed to have allocated greater narrative emphasis to dolomite as a micro-narrative (that is, as a contested and politically potent symbol), rather than a canonical narrative (i.e. factual background and context). Once again, the potential for accompaniment to problematically replicate insider-outsider binaries was highlighted (see Watkins, 2015).

Across the three video-elicitation focus group discussions, most audience members appeared to endorse the ways by which both generative and violent aspects of Thembelihle were depicted in the film. With greater filmic attention afforded to the community's ongoing

generative activity, a community identity marked by history, collaboration, life and struggle - rather than violence and victimhood - emerged in the audiencing space. Violence as a 'natural' facet of poor communities like Thembelihle was in this way rejected by participants' narrative-discourses, and instead a nuanced and sharply politicised representation of community was advocated as a central element of community-building. As with Black Consciousness community-building, these fundamentally humanist images of community were asserted as a means of rejecting dominant and repressive canonical narratives that seek to co-opt community-building through a neoliberal mode of community development. However, some aspects of the documentary were challenged, particularly representations of dolomite and poverty. Therefore, although participatory films can make clear a plethora of representational myopias, in doing so, they necessarily omit particular knowledges and representations, and thus ascribe to a number of other myopias. It is this dialectic that lies at the heart of accompanied community-building, and which audiences participating in this study sought to engage in various ways.

Community Agency

As with any liberatory community-building effort, issues around community agency are tremendously complex (see Batstone, Boraston, & Frenkel, 1978). There are myriad uncertainties and problems that undergird how leaders are selected; how power is distributed; vanguardism; as well as how and if a flat leadership structure (see Darlington, 2002). In this study's audiencing space, tensions were noted with respect to what constitutes community agency and the contribution that the State is able to offer agentic community activity. In other words, the documentary's narrative gap was filled with tensions surrounding notions of community agency, leadership and the State. Such tensions highlight Alexander's (2013)

challenge to contemporary Black Consciousness community-building efforts, namely to use State resources while retaining autonomy.

In an especially emotive response, P4 proclaimed that:

> I'm emotionally triggered … people [in the documentary], they stood up and they say "government, government, government" … I've lost hope in government … Community leaders, let's stop being selfish. Let's go back to us as a community. We are the ones, the gatekeepers for Thembelihle to be developed … we would qualify to do the proper job … Political leaders must step aside and allow church leaders, traditional leaders, community leaders to make sure that tomorrow we have a bright future … I'm pledging to this house: when we walk out of here, comrades and community leaders, let's have a stakeholders' meeting that involves every leader in the community; education leader, agriculture leader, sports leader. And stop inviting political leaders to these meetings.

This narrative-discourse appears to establish the speaker's disillusionment with the failure of formalised politics to build community, locating legitimate community-building beyond party politics. In connecting government - and its depersonalised, bureaucratic connotations - to the affective ("I'm emotionally triggered"), we are made aware of how the personal connects to both community-building and community agency. The Black Consciousness philosophical maxim of radical self-reliance appears to be evoked here (see Biko, 1978) and, in using the humanist discourses of community drawn on in the documentary as a kind of vacancy, or guiding device, the narrative-discourse denounces the place of government within community-building processes on the grounds of its continued dismissal of people's needs.

This also represents an affective call for indigenisation. Indeed, by casting government as illegitimate and defiant of any humanistic imperative, a sovereign kind of community-located community-building is advocated.

The internal logic of P4's discursive resource was later reiterated by P8, who noted that "[w]e can't wait for government. It's about time we stand up on our feet and we do something about it!", as well as P1, who exclaimed that caregivers depicted in the documentary "do better work than so-called [ward] councillors". Oppressive community-State accompaniment is, in these instances, rejected. However, although these narrative-discourses appear to endorse the indigenisation of community-building by advocating radical self-reliance, they also reinscribe a number of canonical narratives of Thembelihle (noted in Study I), albeit for emancipatory purposes. By conflating leadership and community agency with the State, community empowerment and anti-Statism come to inadvertently absolve the State of responsibility for low-income communities like Thembelihle. Nonetheless, there is a generative, democratic impulse animating P4's narrative-discourse, with various discursive resources working to expand conventional understandings of community agency, where leadership is not confined to a particular 'all-knowing' vanguardist group or individual (see Batstone et al., 1978), but rather includes "church leaders, traditional leaders" as well as "education leader[s], agriculture leader[s], sports leader[s]". In short, anyone living in Thembelihle who is in some way involved in building the community is constructed as a potential leader, able to galvanise individual and collective agency. Engaging leadership in this way (what we think of as a leadership of the multitude that is willed towards indigenisation) calls for radical modes of community-based reliance, autonomy and economic assertion *a la* Black Consciousness philosophy (Ally & Ally, 2008).

In addressing P8, P1 and P4, P5 highlights that it is possible for State apparatuses to take seriously community struggle, community-building and community agency:

> I don't agree [that] the community of Thembelihle must do things for themselves. In communities in other areas, government is sponsoring them. In the community in Vlakfontein [where the State has suggested residents of Thembelihle relocate], government is doing something for them … if they don't do something for the people in Thembelihle [then] they must come with something that will convince Thembelihle … beyond [a] doubt that we cannot assist because of certain things … [but] there is funds for these things. Sponsor culture! Culture also plays a role in the economy. Culture starts from language. They must [support] language. They must support local wisdom and people must be developed. Government must provide them with financial assistance

P5's narrative-discourse appears to challenge the ways by which the discursive resources drawn on by P8, P1 and P4 work to make incompatible State intervention with radically democratic community-building. Unlike the other three narrative-discourses, P5's does not absolve the State of responsibility and, in this way, representations of the State as an inadequate channel through which to conduct community-building are discursively realigned so that the supportive potential of government within community-building projects is emphasised. What is then established as illegitimate are the specific ways by which the State functions (or rather, does not function) in contemporary community-building activities. In short, P5's narrative-discourse furnishes the State with *potential* legitimacy. The discursive resources drawn on to bring about this construction evoke a kind of *realpolitik*, where Vlakfontein (whose ontological status has been recognised by the State to a greater degree than that of Thembelihle, see Introduction section of this dissertation) is used to demonstrate

that the State can and does engage in community-building activities, and therefore has the potential to embody an egalitarian form of accompaniment. Here, Vlakfontein is rhetorically utilised in the narrative-discourse as a symbolically potent symbol, representing the kinds of State-directed injustices to which Thembelihle has been subject, and against which community-building efforts should fight. The goal of these efforts thus becomes gaining State support for community-led initiatives and indigenisation, rather than accepting or embracing the withdrawal of such support. Lastly, in calling for the State to sponsor tradition and cultural practice in Thembelihle, P5's narrative-discourse connects to the humanistic calls of P4's narrative-discourse by placing value in the systemically devalued indigenising capacities of the community (see Study I). In this sense, the State is constructed as having the capacity to assist with a fundamentally humanising and community-centred mode of accompanied community-building. Certainly, "politics is too important to be left to politicians alone" (Neocosmos, 2008, p. 592); however, P5's narrative-discourse emphasises that this should not translate into rendering the State unaccountable. Nonetheless, we should also not make a fetish of the State within community-building activity. Under neoliberal capitalism, systems of oppression are no longer centralised, and an expansive mode of community should be assumed that is attentive to how currents of oppression operate through big business, culture and government (see Fisher, 2009). In this way, the indigenisation imperative should be made central to community-building.

Most of the above narrative-discourses implicitly and explicitly construct legitimate community agency as having to emerge from a democratic community base. Leaders are constructed as having to represent a dialogic relation to the variety of needs of the multitude, and as having to work to make connections between these different needs (see Darlington, 2002). However, audience members seemed to disagree on the State's role in activating

community-building and community agency. Due to the failure of government to recognise the existence and the humanity of Thembelihle (see Study II and Study III), let alone adequately provide services and modes of dignity to its residents (see Introduction section and Study I), many audience members expressed the desire to harness community-building activities through autonomous community structures that reject the State entirely. This view was countered by a minority of narrative-discourses that constructed the State as able to support an accompanied community-building as it is articulated by community members (i.e. the multitude). Such disparate views represent the pedagogy of discomfort in that although a resolution was not reached among audiences, they discursively interrogated the kinds of tensions that are so fundamental to community-building, yet are rarely explored in participatory film audiencing research.

Affective Communities

Although challenging to analyse, a central facet of community-building and audiencing is the notion of affective communities, which indicate how affect creates visceral and temporary feelings of connectedness between people (Zink, 2019). While affect served to inform many of the above narrative-discursive constructions, various narrative-discourses were organised around particular affective communities, which pointed to the kinds of material and metaphysical conditions to which community-building in Thembelihle could direct itself.

As noted earlier, some audience members' narrative-discourses levelled criticism towards the documentary (particularly around representations of dolomite and poverty), the film was - on the whole - received with praise from audiences. Following this praise, however, most speakers in the first video-elicitation focus group discussion expressed disappointment at the number of audience members in attendance. In examining how this disappointment was

constructed and elaborated by individual audience members, we can begin to see how an affective community marked by despondency took hold, morphed and organised different narrative-discourses within the audience. P6's narrative-discourse, which was one of the first to note that "I am disappointed in the attendance. Attendance is very poor", sought to explicitly enunciate this affective space of despondency. He goes on to say:

> the question is: what can we do because we've seen the documentary? We've seen the challenges, but how do we fix it? We still have [to develop] a programme and we still have a lot to do in Thembelihle.

We are presented here with the kinds of psychological hurdles that accompany initial stages of community-building. Although conscientisation, with its well-documented generative capacities, is crucial to the embryonic stages of community-building (see Freire, 1970; Martinson & Su, 2012), in making clear the scale of systemic violence, conscientisation can also foster an overwhelming sense of dejection. In asking "what can we do because we've seen the documentary? We've seen the challenges, but how do we fix it?", P6's narrative-discourse emphasises the challenge of speaking sufficiently to the myriad, structural and widespread problems faced by people living in Thembelihle. In closing with "we still have a lot to do in Thembelihle", P6's narrative-discourse acts to subvert many of the direct calls to action offered by other participants by offering a more despondent form of inaction that is unable to get a handle on or locate an entry point to the overwhelming nature of community-building. This is mirrored in P44's narrative-discourse which, in speaking to experiences of healthcare workers in Thembelihle, accounts how:

> we go to houses [and] we take [the patients'] details but at the end of the day there's no helping [them] because we find out that there's no food … and they're not going to school.

The material barriers faced by community-building efforts (e.g. “no food” and “not going to school”) are constructed here as bringing about feelings of defeat and hopelessness. With both P6 and P44 drawing on narrative-discourses guided by despondency - and no readily discernible answer given to the question “how do we fix it?” - it may also be said that participatory filmmaking (including its audiencing component) cannot be understood as having accomplished a particular form of community-building *a priori*. Rather, the method serves to pronounce and draw attention to the particular issues that should inform community-building strategies (or the “programme”), and can therefore be used to activate modalities of accompaniment, indigenisation, denaturalisation and Black Consciousness within community-building. In this way, participatory filmmaking represents an early stage of community organising that is constitutive of broader community-building activities (see Minkler, 2012b).

In returning to the issues of low participant turnout, P5’s narrative-discourse appears to move from feelings of despondency towards radical kind of political hope:

> I’m disappointed in the people who received [an] invitation but are not here. That shows that people, like this young boy [pointing to P4] … they don’t want to be participants of the discussion. And then when I looked at this film, I saw many things, and I saw [the] lives of a farmer, a dancer, and of community workers. I saw that you have shown us the water and the mud. These are things that are affecting people psychologically.

That there is a lower number of audience attendees than expected appears to be constructed here as evidence for the sorts of challenges facing community-building. Indeed, with most of

the community members that were invited to this particular screening event not in attendance (due to a host of reasons, including competing priorities and insufficient marketing of the event by community members as well as the ISHS), the despondent affective atmosphere is established as mimetic of the audiencing space itself. This despondency is, however, engaged dialectically. In stating that "I saw lives of a farmer, a dancer, and of community workers", it becomes clear that there is a range of community-building activities highlighted in the documentary that counter wholly despondent affects. The task then becomes not only to create possibilities for community-building within audiencing spaces, but to bring community-building as it already exists into these spaces, that is, to foster modes of accompaniment and indigenisation through audiencing.

In stating that the documentary depicts both "the water and the mud" - that is, modes of generativity as well as violence in the community (see Study II and Study III) - the narrative-discourse highlights that the conscientisation process which accompanies participatory film audiencing can overwhelm people while simultaneously pointing them towards the existing "water" which, it may be argued, is able to dilute - while also becoming contaminated by - the "mud". By embracing that which is "affecting people psychologically" and abandoning an exclusive focus on materiality (e.g. the number of audience members and definitive community-building programmes), P5's narrative-discourse looks beyond the despondent affective community established by other audience members. Thus, while not diminishing despondent affect altogether, what appears to emerge here is what Eagleton (2015) refers to as *hope without optimism*. In other words, with the film facilitating a kind of affective witnessing (see Richardson & Schankweiler, 2019), P5's narrative-discourse was able to evoke the potential for radical hope.

In the narrative-discourse below, P46 constructs hope with reference to State support for activist community-building.

> I want to appreciate [activists in Thembelihle]. They identified criminal elements [within their movements] … so that kind of leadership is needed in the whole of South Africa, whereby the leaders can show that who we are calling foreigners, we must respect them … Those people [in government] who are employed to address that, it's not just. The only thing we can do is protest for those people to do their job … Then there's this thing of economic development [which] is affecting whole parts of life in Thembelihle … First, there are many people who are not employed because of underdevelopment. Second, there are these health issues, underdevelopment is affecting life. Third, there is this thing of safety in Thembelihle … Both community and officials of government, we must come together to try to solve this problem. There is no problem that is unsolvable … There are many elders … who are at this present moment, even if you are talking with them about life and football, they take you and discuss underdevelopment because this thing is affecting them, mentally, spiritually - it is psychological - and in other ways.

The narrative-discourse locates hope primarily in community-building activism in Thembelihle. However, driving community-building through local activism exclusively is established as unsustainable. Indeed, there are people in government "employed" to work with communities to improve living standards. Far from rejecting the State, the emancipatory capacities of government are highlighted in the narrative-discourse, with grassroots movements made responsible in the activation of such capacities. In a similar manner to the narrative-discourse drawn on by P5 earlier, by stressing the potential for a fruitful,

collaborative, indigenised, accompanied and community-driven mode of community-building, P46's narrative-discourse offers a hopeful vision of liberation that, while not inevitable, should be fought for. By filling in the film's blanks in this way, the narrative-discourse emphasises the kinds of psychological strength that can be obtained through State support of community-building activity. Noteworthy here is that the narrative-discourse does not look to the State for affirmation or recognition, as it is the agency of the community that is emphasised as the primary driver of community-building activity.

Speaking to underdevelopment in Thembelihle - which, as Rodney (1972) argues, highlights the deliberate and systemic (and therefore changeable) nature of poverty - P46's narrative-discourse constructs both the personal and material dimensions of structural violence, noting that "it is psychological" in addition to causing "health issues", unemployment and a generalised deterioration of living standards. Hope, in this way, is constructed as speaking to the materiality of people's lives, and in this sense resembles Eagleton's (2015) hope without optimism. For those engaged in community-building - and especially those activists who identified and addressed xenophobic violence in the community (see Study III) - the everyday psycho-material realities are at stake with respect to how community-building is enacted. The expansive scope of community-building, which includes its material, spiritual and psychological character, is therefore constructed as an emancipatory micro-narrative in response to those calling for a purely pragmatic kind of community-building that sees no use for the State.

For the narrative-discourses organised under the *Affective Communities* theme, affective communities of despondency were identified in the immediate audiencing environment, the community of Thembelihle and South Africa more broadly. Indeed, attempting to engage in

community-building through affective communities can bring about a sense of hopelessness, and consequent inaction. Yet, the presence of affective communities can also point to their dialectical opposite, that is, a generative sort of hope without optimism (see Eagleton, 2015) which is grounded in existing community-building practices and that seeks not to collapse into debilitation and despondency. Affect can therefore deflate as well as embolden community-building potential. Participatory film audiencing research which concerns itself with community-building should remain attentive to affect if it is to harness a radical modality of hope that is always alert to - but does not take to be natural - the magnitude and scale of the violences which characterise people's psycho-material realities. Such hope may speak back to canonical narratives which construct low-income communities ahistorically (see Study I), and as essentially hopeless, one-dimensional and ruined areas (Tuck, 2009).

Conclusion

Speaking against audiencing research which relies on quantitative and/or monolithic hermeneutic frameworks, this study situates itself critically by acknowledging the audience (itself a community of sorts) as signifying a host of shifting, contested, contradictory and fundamentally political currents that are located simultaneously at the level of the individual, the group and the social. Rooted in four conceptions of community-building that have been influential in critical community psychology (i.e. accompaniment, indigenisation, denaturalisation and Black Consciousness philosophy), as well as a number of approaches and values offered by critical community psychology (i.e. justice, reflexivity, agency, community knowledges, cross-cultural collaboration, a strengths-orientation, local power, the pedagogy of discomfort and political listening), I examine in this study how narrative-discourses produced by participatory film audiences engage the complex array of tensions, politics, systemic hindrances, affects and power differentials inherent to community-building

activity. Organised under three themes, *Representational Contestation*, *Community Agency* and *Affective Communities*, the audiences' narrative-discourses constructed community-building as facing systemic violence; political impotency; conflicts of representation; psychological barriers; intra-community tensions; as well as struggles involving community leadership, solidarity, collective agency and the State. However, community-building was - at the same time - constructed as already being enacted in Thembelihle in various ways.

It appeared that, for audiences, the participatory film highlighted the role that representation - as well as representational politics and contestations more broadly (see Study III) - play in community-building. Audience members noted that the community should not be presented as inherently generative or fundamentally violent, but as encompassing elements of both, with community-building efforts moving between and addressing each dialectically. In this way, a kind of accompaniment that is driven by indigenisation was called for. Indeed, most audience members emphasised that pertinent community-building issues (dolomite and poverty, in the case of Thembelihle) should be represented in a suitably politicised fashion that is articulated by the community itself, and not merely offered as context and/or as a definitive characteristic of a community. Community issues such as these - particularly when read through the medium of film - are able to signify to community outsiders how power is distributed and struggled for within a particular community, which is crucial for enacting egalitarian modes of accompaniment. In addition then to their material nature, the specific problems facing a community also represent politically useful symbols that are able to denaturalise violence through a form of narrative-discursive historicisation. By drawing on these symbols, we may advance a humanistic, insurgent and properly politicised mode of community-building that coheres with Black Consciousness philosophy.

By continually interrogating and contesting the role of the State in community-building activity, audience members made clear that within community-building, tensions should not be ignored, hurriedly 'resolved' and/or deferred to charismatic leaders (see Wiebe, 2015). Rather, these antagonisms should be embraced and worked through by community members as a form of democratic community agency in action (see Darlington, 2012). It is in this way that an accompanied community-building can begin to embody the leadership of the multitude, as well as champion collective agency and indigenisation. At the same time, perhaps through such accompanied encounters, care should be taken not to capitulate to the potentially stagnating or regressive properties of collective tension. As recognised by Freire (1970), there is much potential here for public pedagogical engagement through accompanied community-building initiatives that rely on innovative, visual methodologies. Certainly, community-centred psycho-material issues should be constituted as educational imperatives, with visual methods allowing for different, and potentially insightful, modalities of articulation to those afforded by linguistic, or conventional, teaching methods.

A central contribution of this study involved generating a means by which to locate the limitations and the political capacities of participatory film in community-building processes. With respect to both structural violence and grassroots resistance, audience members appeared to endorse the visceral and representational properties of film, while also noting how the film did (and did not) articulate directions for inter- as well as intra-community-building. Accompanied community-building must seek not to reproduce insider-outsider binaries (see Watkins, 2015). Yet, as was highlighted by a number of audience members, the participatory film signified only an initial organisational step towards more long-term community-building. Indeed, although the film was able to present to audiences various affective issues that are constitutive of community-building (and are rarely considered within

the kinds of pragmatically-oriented approaches to community-building, see Alinsky, 1971), it could not, in and of itself, actualise these concerns within existing community-building efforts. In this regard, the documentary served only to clarify and articulate the affective dimensions of community-building in relation to the community's material concerns. Taking seriously the ways by which this material-affective synthesis is enunciated can assist us in situating - for State-assisted and community-guided community-building efforts - the specific goals of a broader project of community-building. By remaining sensitive to various affective communities, projects seeking to realise these goals may then attract wider support. Seemingly negative affect, such as despondency, should not be understood here as inconsequential or wholly regressive within community-building, but should instead be used to explore the material conditions out of which such affect arises. Community-building efforts may then attend to these conditions in order to give rise to other potentially generative sorts of affect, such as a radical kind of hope without optimism (see Eagleton, 2015).

As community-building consists of a tremendously complex set of psychosocial processes (see Minkler, 2012a), a number of limitations were apparent in this study. With audiencing research restricted to a particular time and space, it cannot track community-building capacities beyond its specific confines. Those involved in producing *Thembelihle: Place of Hope* independently hosted screenings within and beyond Thembelihle (e.g. at political meetings and for vocational purposes) where I was not permitted to record the audiencing processes. There is therefore a need for future research to facilitate other participatory audiencing spaces that are geared towards community-building, and to compare these with different intra-community discussions. Added to this, State actors should be present at future screenings. Although this presence is likely to deter certain kinds of dialogue (see Walsh, 2014), it may also enable others. It could then be said that for future projects, rigorous and/or

targeted screening event marketing may assist in securing a more diverse audience. Regarding audiencing as it occurred in this study, as has been observed in focus group research more generally (see Wilkinson, 1998), some participants dominated the video-elicitation focus group discussions. Furthermore, the visceral nature on which community-building through participatory film audiencing relies was somewhat diminished for anyone in the audience who may have been visually impaired. Future studies should thus seek to pair participatory film audiencing with other, more inclusive, community-building prompts and articulations.

Although participatory filmmaking has shown itself to be especially useful within specific community-building projects (see Catalani et al., 2012; Newhook, 2010; Wheeler, 2012), the method is rarely drawn on to flesh out the complexities, tensions, affects and politics that mark a more general conception of community-building. The present study attempts to demonstrate how participatory film audiencing is uniquely situated in its capacity to draw out these complexities, and indeed to utilise them in enhancing the democratic character of community-building. While the audiencing space did not achieve reconciliation (nor did it endeavour to do so), it did establish a discursive space in which to address a common set of community concerns from a number of - sometimes conflicting - perspectives (Wiebe, 2015). In this sense, a mode of community-building was developed which was sensitive to representation, materiality, agency, history and the contradictions and multitudinous interests that characterise the very notion of community.

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CONCLUSION

Situated within critical community psychology, and drawing from cultural and media studies, visual research, social movement studies, violence studies, political science and discourse studies, I seek in this research to analyse the discursive composition of violence and resistance in South Africa. In particular, my research assumes theoretical and paradigmatic framing in social constructionism, critical social theory and liberation psychology in order to understand how the community of Thembelihle is discursively constructed in dominant newspaper discourse, and how those living in the community use participatory documentary film to enact counter-hegemonies that resist violence and build community.

My research's particular focus on discourse sought to facilitate a critical interrogation into the dimensions of power, community, hegemony, counter-hegemony, and ideology that undergird violence, as well as the violent historical tropes surrounding gender, race and collective insurgency in South Africa (see Foster, Haupt, & de Beer, 2005). Throughout my research, I rely on an expansive conception of violence, wherein violence is understood as at once systemic and interpersonal; symbolic and material; temporal and spatial; political and historical; and as always being met with plural modalities of resistance that refuse the apparent inevitability of violence (see Foucault, 1978; Stein, Seedat, & Emsley, 2002). Accordingly, I approach the notions of violence and, importantly, resistance to violence, through a conceptual lens that articulates five interlocking formations of violence: structural, direct, epistemic, cultural and symbolic. Considering violence through materiality, symbol, affect and anti-violence in this way attempts to resist damage-centred and outputs-focused research without delegitimising the corrosive psycho-social consequences of violence (see Parker, 2015; Tuck, 2009).

In this Conclusion section, I attempt to make links between the research's four studies. I begin by providing a summary of each study's findings, and consider how these speak to the research's broader theoretical framework. I then elaborate on the research's limitations, after which I reflect on what each study is able to offer violence scholarship as well as critical community psychology. After ruminating on some of the possible directions for future research, I offer a short concluding comment.

Summary of Research Findings

Study I

Using discursive psychology to analyse 377 newspaper reports written on Thembelihle, I identified two discourses in this study, namely *Signifying Legitimacy* and *Containing the Protest Community*. The *Signifying Legitimacy* discourse appeared to establish a legitimacy-illegitimacy binary against which Thembelihle was assessed. This binary was drawn on in the news articles to produce ahistorical and moralist readings of Thembelihle, most of which functioned to decontextualise activism and struggle in the community by making each appear baselessly violent (i.e. illegitimate) and divorced from structurally violent social conditions. In turn, disproportionately violent responses by the State to community activist efforts were presented in most articles as legitimate, so long as they were enacted along liberalised notions of (Statist) respectability. Articles drawing on the *Containing the Protest Community* discourse constructed Thembelihle in two ways. Firstly, whenever residents from the community participated in protest action of any sort, Thembelihle was discursively established as a monolithic and personified entity enacting a wholly violent and often directionless mode of protest. Secondly, Thembelihle as a 'protest community' was constructed by establishing community protest (which, across the articles, served as the

definitional core of the community) as concerning little more than 'service delivery', a notion that is vague, State-centric and usually de-politicising (see Alexander, 2013). As with the *Signifying Legitimacy* discourse, the State is constructed here as the only legitimate means of containing and educating the 'unruly' and 'violent' (i.e. illegitimate) community of Thembelihle.

Both of the discourses, whether drawing on 'liberal' or 'reactionary' rhetoric, worked to construct Thembelihle as a monolithic, geo-cultural space whose newsworthiness (and perhaps also, more subtly, its ontological density) is predicated on its relationship to violence (e.g. violent insurgency, enduring violence, the potential for and histories of violence). Although various newspaper articles appeared to be sympathetic to the systemic injustices faced by those living in Thembelihle, these articles were in the minority, and were established as opinion rather than fact. Like the most epistemologically violent of the news articles, these seemed unable to locate an interpretive frame outside of a hermeneutic characterised by violence and homogenous suffering (see Williams, 2016).

Study II

In acknowledging the fundamental unrepresentablity of 'community' (Hall, 1997), participants who featured in the participatory documentary film *Thembelihle: Place of Hope* offered community-oriented understandings of everyday life and quotidian resistance. Violence - in its numerous formations - formed a central focus here. However, unlike the newspaper discourses examined in Study I, the multimodal discourses analysed in this study surfaced notions of resistance, community-centredness and humanity (see Said, 1993), and thus sought to tell a fuller, more nuanced story of Thembelihle. Across four modes of economic activity (namely: farming, brick-making, teaching and nursing) participants drew

on the *Entrepreneurship of the Multitude* discourse to construct a kind of anti-capitalist process of economic production and distribution which was shot through with the multitudinous character of community life, rather than profit-making (see Hardt & Negri, 2017).

The *Entrepreneurship of the Multitude* discourse was engaged in different ways by each participant. For example, the farmer grew crops with the community in mind, providing produce free-of-charge to those in the community who could not afford to pay for it. At the point of production, the brick-makers adhered to a business model that is sometimes referred to by economists as a workers' cooperative (see Wolff, 2019). Here, workers distributed the profits and labour equally among themselves, with the brick-making work with which they were involved strongly tied to structural development efforts in Thembelihle. With respect to the teacher, her work focused primarily on promoting a kind of pedagogic culture in the community, all while seeking to get State recognition of and support for such a culture. Finally, the two nurses connected their biopolitical labour - which remains largely invisiblised and degraded under patriarchal capitalism (Fraser, Arruzza, & Bhattacharya, 2019; Hardt & Negri, 2004) - to the health of Thembelihle itself. Each of these instances of anti-capitalist quotidian resistance was, however, constrained by the very neoliberal economic system that it sought to challenge. Nonetheless, the discourse offered visions of an egalitarian future that were to emerge from the present (see Wright, 2010). These visions rejected a capitalist realism that attempts to foreclose people's liberatory imaginings (Fisher, 2009).

Study III

Where Study II concerned itself with examining constructions of everyday intra-community resistance, in Study III I examined relational community resistance politics, much of which were collective and organised. As with Study II, I did not attempt in this study to understand or represent resistance politics in full. Rather, I sought to flesh out the material, discursive, affective, contradictory, symbolic, and temporal complexities of such a politics. Throughout this study, activist politics in Thembelihle were not fetishised (see Fourie & Terre Blanche, 2018). Yet, at the same time, the analysis was sympathetic to the emancipatory thrust of these politics (see Burton, Kagan, & Duckett, 2012; Moane, 2003).

Through the *Multifarious Struggle* discourse, participants constructed resistance politics in Thembelihle in a suitably nuanced fashion. It was highlighted by a shop-owner (whose participation in the documentary was facilitated by two activist participants) that he, along with other foreign nationals in the community, had faced xenophobic violence during moments of community protest. Such violence was, however, addressed by activists in the community, a fact that was notably absent in news media discourse (see Study I). Participants also constructed resistance politics in Thembelihle as encompassing an expansive and fundamentally humanist vision of liberation, where demands for basic material goods (partially encapsulated by the somewhat stifling discourses surrounding 'service delivery') were complemented by a desire for an aesthetically pleasing and joyful mode of living in the community, that is, a demand for bread as well as for roses (see Fraser et al., 2019). Such demands were made for all residents of Thembelihle, even those whose politics did not align with - and were even opposed to - those of activists in the community. In short, the *Multifarious Struggle* discourse represented resistance politics in Thembelihle through community-oriented terms of engagement which rejected hegemonic Statist rhetoric (see

Hall, 1997). Protest thus became assessed on grounds of humanism and democracy, which emphasised the centrality of protest in achieving material justice and informing collective identity in Thembelihle (see Cornell, Malherbe, Suffla, & Seedat, 2019).

Study IV

In examining four modalities of community-building that are prevalent in critical community psychology (i.e. accompaniment, indigenisation, denaturalisation and Black Consciousness philosophy) (see Adams, Dobles, Gómez, Kurtiş, & Molina, 2015; Biko, 1978; Seedat & Lazarus, 2011), I used a narrative-discourse approach in this study to examine how audiences of *Thembelihle: Place of Hope* engaged the plethora of tensions, politics, affects and obstructions inherent to community-building (see Minkler, 2012). Across the three video-elicitation focus groups, narrative-discourses were organised under three themes: *Representational Contestation*, *Community Agency* and *Affective Communities*. It was found that across these themes, participants' narrative-discourses constructed existing and potential community-building activity as facing a number of constraints relating to, for example, structural violence; political impotency; representational tension; psychological barriers; competing interests; as well as issues of leadership, solidarity and collective agency.

With respect to the narrative-discourses organised under the *Representational Contestation* theme, community-building was constructed as in flux; always contested through a plethora of, sometimes contradictory, voices. These voices did not seek to neatly resolve tensions surrounding representation, but rather to articulate and move towards contradiction within community-building efforts (see Hardt & Negri, 2004). Narrative-discourses organised under the *Community Agency* theme constructed legitimate collective agency within communities as having to emerge from a democratically conceived mode of community leadership that

sought to make connections between seemingly distinctive needs, struggles and demands (see Hardt & Negri, 2017). Lastly, within the *Affective Communities* theme, audiences' narrative-discourses constructed a particular kind of despondency surrounding community-building. This either cleared the way for inaction and feelings of hopelessness, or generated a radical kind of emancipatory hope that was attuned to the material realities of structural violence (Eagleton, 2015; Williams, 2016). In sum, the narrative-discourses organised under the three themes identified in this study make clear the communicative, strategic and organisational capacities - as well as the political, representational and democratic limits - of community-building through participatory film audiencing. In this way, participants emphasised the democratic imperative underlying community-building, as well as its fundamental messiness and imprecise praxis.

Summary: The Malleable Politics of Community

When considered against this research's theoretical framework (i.e. social constructionism, critical social theory and liberation psychology), the results of these four studies point towards the material and political consequences of community as a discursive construct (see Howarth, 2001). Within dominant newspaper discourse, community was drawn upon - in fundamentally negative as well as positive formations - to confine Thembelihle to a liberal politics of respectability and to render illegitimate any socially just, community-driven insurgent action. However, in aligning with the teachings of critical social theory, those who featured in and produced *Thembelihle: Place of Hope* appeared to destabilise such essentialist and epistemologically violent discursive renderings of community. Indeed, the multimodal discourses drawn upon in the film sought to remould community to suit the purposes of democratically conceived notions of quotidian life and relational resistance. Thus, at screenings of the film, participants engaged in building community through an immensely

troubled conception of community that was willed towards participation and psychosocial justice, thereby activating a kind of liberation psychology. In this way, the discursive tools and knowledges that were employed for epistemologically violent ends in the newspaper articles were co-opted and repurposed by participants. Although one could make the argument that community oftentimes represents an empty signifier, used for whatever oppressive rhetorical purposes one may desire, it is this same discursive malleability that can be drawn into a democratically constructed counter-hegemonic politics of resistance. These four studies demonstrate that community can be filled with liberatory content, which is able to inform larger epistemological and political processes of emancipation.

Research Limitations

While particular limitations marked each of the four studies, there were a number of limitations that seemed to cut across all of them. Certainly, with respect to Study II, Study III and Study IV, despite various efforts to develop rapport among participants and myself (e.g. through a series of project conceptualisation meetings), participants' discursive constructions were likely to have been prone to various social desirability biases. For instance, with regards to Study IV, the participatory film may have made some audience responses appear inappropriate or 'incorrect', thereby encouraging a kind of self-censorship from individual audience members whose views did not cohere with these imagined expectations. I may have also unwittingly encouraged and dissuaded particular responses.

Issues of sample representation were noted across the different studies. In Study I, for example, local newspapers were not examined due to their being insufficiently archived and not as discursively potent as national newspapers. However, these smaller newspapers are undoubtedly important to how Thembelihle is constructed, especially in the Lenasia area. In

Study II and Study III, people who were uncomfortable speaking on camera were not considered (nor would they likely have wished to be) for participation, meaning that a very particular sample was relied upon, which undoubtedly influenced the kind of data that were produced.

Some study limitations related specifically to issues of locatedness and accessibility. The lack of anonymity afforded by the film (a decision taken by participants), as well as the fact that community members could recognise one another at screening events (see Study IV), may have prohibited participants from engaging particular discourses. Added to this, my status as an outsider in the community might have also caused some participants to feel uncomfortable in my presence. While almost all participants across the studies spoke English fluently, and a translator was present for those who could not, English was a second and sometimes third language for participants, which likely hindered their expressive capacities to some degree. Finally, the reliance on visual methodologies excluded those with visual impairments from fully participating in the participatory filmmaking and audiencing processes.

While I attempted to undertake this research's four respective analyses in a reflexive manner (i.e. stressing that each reading of the data represented a single, hopefully convincing, interpretation, marked by my own biases and personal experiences) (Rose, 2001), I could have made my own ontological position, as well as political and epistemic biases, more explicit. For instance, my training, and thus comfort, in linguistic discourse analysis may have resulted in a diminished consideration of the visual discourses drawn upon in Study II and Study III. It is certainly possible that other personal biases predetermined the particular themes and discourses that I identified in the different data sets. Although attempts were made to account for a large portion of the respective data sets (e.g. Table 1 in Study I, as well

as devoting Study II and Study III to analysing the participatory film), it was impossible to have presented an analysis of all of the data, meaning that my subjective biases determined which data were fruitful and which were not. I may have also misinterpreted particular norms and customs with which I was unfamiliar. While my interpretation of the data was corroborated with participants through a process of respondent validation, and participants exercised a degree of control in the knowledge-making processes, they were not involved in the primary analyses, which diminished the research's overall participatory enactment. In this sense, I retained, even if only partially, the role of 'expert outsider' which I had sought to destabilise (see Introduction section of this dissertation). Although I sought to take up Heller's (1989) challenge to situate notions of community within critical community psychology, my research's exclusive focus on Thembelihle may have inadvertently perpetuated the widely held - and problematic - idea that community psychology is concerned exclusively with poor, majority-black communities (see Carolissen, Rohleder, Bozalek, Swartz, & Leibowitz, 2010), thus ignoring the complicity of affluent communities in the maintaining of oppressive social systems (Malherbe, 2018).

With respect to my research's aim of elaborating on and critically engaging the individual-systemic dialectical constitution of violence, a myopia may have been apparent in my reliance on visuals. Indeed, specific discourses on direct violence - and gender-based violence in particular, which sees inordinately high levels in South Africa (see Abrahams, Jewkes, Martin, Mathews, Vetten, & Lombard, 2009; Gqola, 2015) - might have been prohibited as participants may have felt unsafe in sharing these kinds of stories. Certainly, an especially notable omission within research in low-income South African communities is the silence imposed by the fact that survivors of violence very often know their assailants (Dinan, McCall, & Gibson, 2004).

Regarding the immediate consequences of this research, the kinds of long-term engagement required to make meaningful social and policy change were not permitted. In this sense, each study represents only a point in larger processes of community organising. Additionally, I was not able to track the manner by which participants and others in the community utilised the participatory film - what is sometimes referred to as media 'spreadability' (see Jenkins, Ford, & Green, 2013) - and thus could not provide an analysis of the film's social, activist and vocational utility.

Notwithstanding the above limitations, the research results offer a number of implications - both theoretical and practice-related - for violence studies as well as critical community psychology. Below, I consider what my research is able to offer to these two, oftentimes related, areas of scholarly inquiry.

Implications for Violence Studies

In taking up the call by Bowman, Whitehead and Raymond (2018) to connect rather than simply collect data on violence, my research avails a number of insights into the structural, direct, epistemic, symbolic and cultural currents that operate alongside and through violence, as well as resistance to violence. A connecting mode of violence research, I argue, seeks not to approach communities as monolithic geo-cultural spaces (Dinan et al., 2004; Manyema et al., 2018), but rather to examine how the systemic character of violence informs violent particularities - and subsequent resistances - within communities (Bowman, Stevens, Eagle, & Matzopoulos, 2015). In advancing scholarship of this kind, my research - framed theoretically by social constructionism, critical social theory and liberation psychology - sought to bring political economy into the study of violence in a number of ways.

Power and Hegemony

Study I offers to violence scholarship a somewhat novel means of approaching the contexts in which violence occurs, that is, by not simply engaging statistics or official community histories, but to interrogate dominant discursive landscapes. By taking discourse seriously, we can begin to make connections between social constructions of community and the manner by which violence is interpreted, legitimised, experienced and enacted. Certainly, as various scholars have demonstrated (e.g. Seedat, 1999; Williams, 2016), it is dominant discourse that influences how authorities and violence prevention programmes engage particular communities. It follows then that through the study of dominant discourse we are able to challenge and move beyond the discursive limitations imposed on communities as well as interventions into violence. In the case of Thembelihle, it was apparent that within most newspaper reports, the community and its residents were permitted humanity and legitimacy only through their adherence to the liberal status quo that had failed them for decades. In this way, studying the functioning of dominant discourses surrounding Thembelihle (which need not take the form of newspaper articles, but could have encompassed, for instance, policy briefs, legislation, court hearings and parliamentary speeches) facilitated linkages between epistemic, structural and direct violence, and thus worked to advance an emancipatory meta-theoretical approach to studying violence *a la* critical social theory.

Understanding the dominant discursive landscape in which a community is situated is also able to inform the politics of community-engaged research. In line with the liberation psychology paradigm, such research should not strive towards impartiality, but should make explicit its political orientation. Progressive violence scholarship, I posit, seeks to resist dominant profit-oriented discourses and representations by working with and through new,

radical modes of articulation. For example, whether damage to property and police brutality are both considered violent is of little concern to research of this kind. Rather, the task of such progressive academic inquiry is to make clear the enormous power differentials at play here, and what these mean in relation to challenging violence and the systems that sustain it. In this way, such research, relying on critical social theory, is able to advance a critical kind of literacy, where an understanding of the mechanics and social consequences of hegemonic discourse is drawn on to inform and develop counter-hegemonic action.

Politics and the Everyday

In order to engage the individual-systemic dialectical constitution of violence, I argue that violence scholarship should take seriously the quotidian modes of resistance that have been socially constructed in reaction to violent social systems. Indeed, embedding resistance within the everyday suggests that people invest into such resistance considerable meaning and social value, and thus points violence research towards relevant areas of scholarly inquiry. However, it is precisely because resistance of this sort is rooted in the everyday that it can be difficult to articulate, let alone study. How does one speak that which is habitual, and in some instances even instinctual? Study II explores how participatory filmmaking can uncover particular kinds of resistance that exist within the everyday. Using innovative, participatory and visceral methods like participatory documentary filmmaking can make clear the contours of everyday - or intra-community - resistance, which may include interpersonal relations, culture, structures of feeling and informal economies, all of which are crucial in the formation of violence and resistance, but are rarely engaged in a sustained way by violence researchers due to difficulties of articulation (see Bowman et al., 2015; Malherbe, 2019; Williams, 2016). Here, we can begin to act on liberation psychology's will towards engaging the psychosocial in order to advance emancipatory ways of being, living and knowing.

Study II presents an image of how violence scholarship can move away from damage-centred, top-down research approaches (see Tuck, 2009), and towards working with people to engage already existing intra-community resistances. In following critical social theory's approach to understanding the social systems which bolster and marginalise particular epistemes, I note that it is the form of intra-community resistance that suggests to violence scholars how under-considered, but nonetheless meaningful, modes of constructing and discursively (re)deploying community can act in the service of emancipation. In Study II, the centring of community within economic activity became a way of rejecting the corporatism, competition and individualism that mark capitalist economic relations. Violence research and prevention initiatives, I argue, should work with people to win political support for such attempts to construct socially just communities from within communities themselves. In this regard, a truly expansive and politicised kind of violence scholarship is enacted.

Political Commitment and Representation

While a considerable body of academic research exists on violence, social movements and protest in South Africa, there is little work that explores the contradictory nature of community resistance politics in this respect. Yet, if violence interventions and scholarship are to retain relevance, they cannot ignore the politics of the very social movements that have, throughout history, been more effective than any other force in combatting violent social systems. Violence researchers, as many drawing from the liberation psychology paradigm have done, should work with and be guided by community activists as a means of communicating and interrogating resistance politics in a manner that speaks against the kinds of epistemic violence that characterise dominant discourse. In this way, an immanent assessment of resistance can be advanced, communicated and - in building on critical social

theory - reified through knowledge. At the same time, however, I argue that violence scholarship should itself adopt a progressive politics when studying resistance, and that such scholarship ought to abandon any positivist pretence of 'objectivity' by assuming an approach that is fundamentally critical yet ever-partial to the emancipatory political thrust of community activism.

In communicating resistance politics in a manner that is both critical and partial, violence scholarship - taking its cue from a tradition long established in cultural studies and social constructionism (see Hall, 1997) - need not seek to represent such a politics in full. Indeed, attempting to do so diminishes the democratic and ever-shifting nature of these politics. It is perhaps more useful for scholars to examine the material unfolding of resistance politics as well as their regressions, successes, and engagements with various kinds of violence. Once again, innovative and alternative methods like participatory filmmaking can be useful here, particularly with respect to fleshing out the nuances and contradictions of resistance, and what these mean for studying and preventing violence. Methods of this sort can, in themselves, represent a kind of counter-violence that transfigures the undesirable into images which are shaped by the multitude's emancipatory desires. Utilising such 'force' - which, ironically, could be said to underpin violence - for emancipatory ends may then point towards nonviolent, egalitarian futures. It is perhaps the force of such desire that drove me and participants within this project. I posit that politically committed research into violence should strive to understand, with the assistance of activists, what is being done to advance anti-violent social justice agendas, in what ways people are able to extend their solidarity with these efforts, how research can serve these movements, and how it hinders them.

Psycho-Community and Justice

While Study II and Study III engage violence through existing anti-violent and community-oriented resistances, Study IV situates the study of violence within emergent forms of community-building. Thus, fixed solutions are not ascribed to idealised notions of community. Rather, communities are worked with democratically to develop relevant kinds of violence intervention and prevention strategies which draw on community assets as well as State resources. In this sense, the research focus falls on deploying the troubled construct of community for purposes of conceiving and enacting social justice democratically. Here, critical social theory and liberation psychology are brought together to interpret and address violence, with any expertise that researchers are able to offer understood as one, among many, potentially valuable skillsets in designing participatory community-building initiatives.

The manner by which participants in Study IV constructed affective communities, as well as engaged and contested one another from within these communities, highlights the importance of considering people's psychological experiences when studying the consequences of violence and collective resistance to violence. Certainly, the shared nature of affect points towards the systemic functioning of direct violence as well as potential pathways for community solidarity. People's affective responses to violence also present to researchers a relevant mode of engaging political economy which does not substitute the individual for a focus on the systemic, but instead works with individual lifeworlds as a means of exploring the psychosocial constitution of violence. Aligning then with the liberation psychology paradigm, we can begin to draw on people's psychological experiences to inform the material changes that we wish to make through activism and scholarship.

Implications for Critical Community Psychology Praxis

Following Fine's (2006) critical conception of qualitative generalisability as both theoretical (i.e. how theoretical notions and dynamics move from one context to another) and provocative (i.e. how research can provoke us to imagine a more socially just world), I consider in this section the generalisability of my research findings for critical community psychologists whose work approaches questions of liberation through engaging the intersections of violence and discourse.

Incomplete Representation and Legitimising Struggle

Like many of the newspaper articles examined in Study I, community psychologists oftentimes deploy community in a parochial, epistemologically violent and institutionally-sanctioned manner, paternally setting up State-directed solutions as the most legitimate and socially just antidote to systemically violent social circumstances (see Butchart & Seedat, 1990; Ratele, Cornell, Dlamini, Helman, Malherbe, & Titi, 2018). Indeed, where many newspaper articles delegitimise community resistance efforts through Statist rhetoric, community psychologists are similarly able to enact such delegitimisation through psychologising protesters and their politics, as well as rendering communities responsible for the systemic and direct violences experienced by their residents (Parker, 2015).

Studying newspapers assists critical community psychologists in understanding hegemonic discursive practices. Such an understanding may then inform community psychology's engagement with "stories from below", that is, the kinds of violence to which communities have been subjected, and how this violence has been resisted, including victories from which to be inspired and setbacks from which to learn (see Malherbe, 2019). While community members are likely to be intimately familiar with histories and hegemony of this sort,

community psychologists - who are usually outsiders to the communities within which they work - have a duty to become acquainted with the psycho-material, ever-shifting and relational contours of dominant power (Fisher, Sonn, & Evans, 2007; Foucault, 1978). Certainly, if social change is the point of departure for critical community psychology (Evans, Duckett, Lawthom, & Kivell, 2017), then studying the interpretive repertoires drawn on in newspaper articles avails important insights into the strategies employed by hegemonic efforts to delegitimise community struggle (see Malherbe, 2019). In other words, analyses of this kind allow for insights into how systemic oppression (discursively articulated and materially enacted) can be effectively countered by grassroots resistance efforts.

If critical community psychologists embrace the inherent incompleteness that characterises representations of community (see Hall, 1997), our task becomes not to capture the essence of community, but to legitimise its interconnecting struggles. In other words, the impossible - even undesirable - task of representing *the* community compels critical community psychology praxes to build and enhance significations of community that act against monolithic and dominant constructions which are grounded in empty and Statist conceptions of (il)legitimacy. In this sense, community psychology avoids collapsing into the same damaging depictions of community that are relied upon in so many newspaper articles. Amplifying a multitude of, often contradicting, voices can create a basis of common community concerns (see Hardt & Negri, 2017), and articulate these concerns to and for audiences within and beyond the community. Such a pluriversality of voices may then orient critical community psychology towards people's shared building-community goals, rather than working from static understandings of *the* community and its presumed desires (see Walter & Hyde, 2012).

Analysing primary definitions that are imposed onto communities suggests to critical community psychologists how to work beyond such definitions in legitimising resistance and struggle through nuanced, historicised and community-oriented conceptions of community. Here, we should speak out against myopic characterisations (e.g. the 'protest community') while noting that insurgent community action should not be assessed in a singular fashion. We may then open up space for collective discursive reconstitution (e.g. re-signifying what is legitimate and what is illegitimate community action) while simultaneously foreclosing oppressive discursive spaces (e.g. debates regarding the responsibility of individuals for their structurally violent circumstances). Work of this kind is also able to contribute to dismantling constructions of communities as wholly violent and essentially Other geo-specific places (a construction that oftentimes operates in tandem with discourses that define communities as violent *because* they are Other).

Working against strategies which deem the neoliberal State 'rational', and any resistance to its functioning 'irrational', means that critical community psychologists should work beyond the confines of primary definitions (which, for newspapers, are determined in most cases by advertising stipulations). This requires a degree of courageousness that is not available to those adhering in every instance to institutional requirements. The non-linear character of community-engaged work should be embraced, and efforts should be made to raise the profile of this work in popular discourse. Conscientisation is therefore not only a process that exposes the falsehood of what Martín-Baró (1994) calls the "Social Lie" (also see Friedman, 2019), but also represents an attempt to build and develop new vocabularies that speak against those of primary definers. This is not to say, as is suggested by some (e.g. Alinsky, 1971), that community members should attempt to operate outside of ideology, no doubt an impossible task (Eagleton, 1991). Rather, as noted earlier, critical community psychologists

should work with people of varying political commitments to articulate and make legitimate liberatory ways of countering structural violence. In the case of Thembelihle, this would mean taking seriously the plethora of plausible reasons for which people may not wish to relocate to surrounding communities (e.g. psychological attachment; a sense of home won through struggle; aversion to apartheid-style 'development' tactics), just as there are numerous legitimate reasons for which residents channel their anger through protest action (see Canham, 2018). It is in this sense that critical community psychologists should embrace and work with the affective dimensions of community that are so often degraded and established as illogical in mainstream media discourse. Indeed, it is affect that can form the basis of mobilising public support for community struggle (Zink, 2019). Movement building should therefore not only seek to counter oppressive discursive regimes, but also look to construct new emancipatory, affective and historically-grounded interpretive repertoires that do not rely on the discursive logic of oppressive powers (see, e.g., Kelley, 2002; Wetherell, 2015).

Although the voices of community activists are, on occasion, considered in news media discourse (see Segodi, 2018), such inclusion is too sporadic to constitute a discursively potent kind of counter-hegemony. While discursive activism should not serve as a surrogate for grassroots resistance, the two can work in conjunction with one another to facilitate a stronger community voice and present community protest to a broader public as a legitimate and necessary form of democratic expression. Critical community psychologists are able to draw on numerous institutional resources to enhance community voices within the media, which may, in turn, encourage a kind of news reporting that moves beyond the limited sourcing practices observed in most mainstream media outlets, particularly in South Africa (see Duncan, 2016). This is to say, critical community psychologists can assist community

members in re-storying community insurgence; advancing a conception of their lives and struggles on their own terms; and dismantling the false equivalences, moralism, static binaries and paternal ethic that structure so many media depictions, and consequent public interpretations, of low-income communities.

Combining organised political activism with discursive resistance is able to play an important role in establishing counter-hegemonies within and for communities. Indeed, community voices - both in media discourse and through popular protest - can contextualise and make available to a broader public different community issues, how these issues are being resisted, and channels for solidarity. By studying discursive resistance as well as epistemic violence, community psychologists can engage in a wider project of legitimising community activism; spreading the reach of such activism on terms set by activists themselves (rather than those imposed onto activism by mainstream media reports). In this way, we speak to, recode and creature ruptures within epistemologically and symbolically violent news media discourse.

Forging Solidarities and Representing the Everyday

Everyday resistance, that is, the manner by which people reject oppressive social systems, institutions and actions within the quotidian, is tremendously complex. While there has been important research in this area (e.g. Dutta, Andzenge, & Walkling, 2016; Scott, 1985), it remains a somewhat challenging site of scholarship due to the problems of articulation mentioned earlier. Participatory filmmaking - and the multimodal discourses that this produces - presents community psychologists with a useful mode of studying everyday resistance. Through film, participants are quite literally able to capture their everyday lives in ways which can highlight that which may, through habituation, appear invisible to them, or that might not be as clearly articulated through linguistic discourse. For critical community

psychologists looking to analyse everyday resistance, participatory filmmaking enables a mode of representation that is able to retain the multitudinous - even contradictory - character of community voice and resistance. Following this, multimodal discourse analysis facilitates a sustained and an emotive engagement with how resistance politics operate and move through the everyday (see Foucault, 1978). In this sense, analysing multimodal discourse also allows for insights into the emancipatory limits of everyday resistance.

Studying everyday resistance impels community psychologists who work with people engaged in community resistances to connect these efforts to other political, organised and everyday resistance efforts (Bayat, 1997). However, with everyday resistance so often occurring at the level of the individual, it can be difficult to build these kinds of solidarities and coalitions. For instance, at community screenings of *Thembelihle: Place of Hope* it was clear that most residents from Thembelihle were not aware of the alternative, community-centred economic activity that was taking place in their community. Communication of this kind can conscientise people with respect to the resistances that take place around them, and which reject fetishised attachments to both political failure and an ever-defeated marginality (Fisher, 2009). It is, however, crucial that everyday resistance is not romanticised. Rather, critical community psychologists should work with people to extract the kernels of emancipation within everyday practice, rather than uncritically engage all alternative quotidian practice as *a priori* liberatory.

With respect to the individual-systemic dialectic of violence, Study II's use of participatory documentary filmmaking offers researchers a number of insights. Indeed, the method allows for research participation beyond the geographic confines of a particular project (i.e. participants can shoot, for an extended period of time, different aspects of their lives in a

number of locations). In this regard, participants are afforded the opportunity to viscerally construct the lived minutiae of structural violence in ways that surveys and even qualitative interviewing may not allow. It is thus through participatory film that we are afforded understandings into how violence as an expansive and intrusive social phenomenon is experienced, normalised and resisted by people in explicit and subtle ways.

In turning to the specific results of Study II, the *Entrepreneurship of the Multitude* discourse presents community psychologists with a number of considerations concerning anti-capitalist resistance at the level of the everyday. Through existing forms of socially just economic relations, participants constructed an emancipatory mode of future-building which has been under-considered within much academic literature, particularly violence research. Quotidian resistance of this sort can assist us in seeing beyond the seemingly invincible system of capitalism. As Fisher (2009) highlights, even the smallest glimmers of alternative, more just socioeconomic arrangements can have enormous effects. However, because those who engage in community-centred economic relations do so within a capitalist system, they are susceptible to structural constraints which disincentive any move away from the exploitative demands of capital. It is because of this that such liberatory economic visions, or 'real utopias' (see Wright, 2010), should inform our demands for social justice. Indeed, the *Entrepreneurship of the Multitude* discourse serves as an important kind of de-ideologisation, where people can take inspiration from real utopias that begin to sketch out a society that pivots on equality and community rather than profit-making. Accordingly, critical community psychologists looking to move beyond fatalistic currents within their work (see Martín-Baró, 1994) should seek to engage those who are not necessarily involved in formalised political resistance, but are nonetheless crafting emancipatory - yet systemically constrained - social arrangements.

Entrepreneurship of the multitude is perhaps most action-oriented when conceived within Gramsci's (1971) notion of the "war of position", where slow and incremental counter-hegemonic activity can begin to challenge and erode an oppressive system from within, slowly clearing the way for radical modalities of social change, which he refers to as the "war of manoeuvre". In the South African context, Alexander (2013) highlights that the war of position presents a considerable history in the anti-apartheid Black Consciousness community development programmes, many of which came to influence critical community psychology in the country (see Seedat & Lazarus, 2011). As Bayat (1997) highlights, it is the slow encroachment of the ordinary that can effect broader social change, especially in contexts where institutional mechanisms are lacking. By conceptualising everyday resistance not as an end in itself, but as a process in the war of position, critical community psychologists can, even within their institutional confines, work with people to advance a radically-oriented project of "transformative reform" (see Goldscheid, 2014). For instance, the entrepreneurship of the multitude can serve as a step in organising around socially just economic activity, and demanding that this become a legitimate political priority. While transformative reform of this kind certainly does not resolve economic inequality, it can constitute part of a broader project that promotes economic justice (see Wolff, 2019).

Engaging Politics and Reflexivity through Community

An understanding of resistance politics is able to make clear for community psychologists which issues are especially sensitive and/or pertinent within the communities in which they work; the modes of identity-making that exist in these communities; how injustice is perceived and felt within communities; how justice is being, and has been, fought for; and how those who are not involved in resistance politics (including vulnerable social groups)

experience such a politics. However, engaging a politics of collective resistance can also pose a number of problems for community psychologists. For instance, the histories, internal factures, tactics and bureaucratic constitution of activist movements can be difficult to map and even understand when one has not been intimately involved with these movements. Furthermore, community psychologists have a history of co-opting activist efforts, psychologising subversive politics and/or engaging these politics in partial and myopic ways so as not to displease funders (Parker, 2015; Ratele et al., 2018). This is not to say that community psychologists should not participate in community struggles in their capacity as citizens (see Gokani & Walsh, 2017), but rather that if community psychologists *qua* community psychologists are to engage community struggles in an emancipatory manner, the limitations of their discipline must be kept in mind. It is community members who should determine how, if at all, community psychology can be of use to their struggles. Study III seeks to contribute to this somewhat contradictory imperative (i.e. harnessing the voices of activists while also facing institutional constraints) by attempting to critically interrogate resistance politics in Thembelihle in a manner that is sympathetic to these politics.

Study III demonstrates how community psychology can begin to engage resistance politics beyond empty rhetoric. Participants' discourse worked to dispel the myopic characterisation of activism in Thembelihle as violent 'service delivery protest', and instead constructed an expansive and humanistic political vision underlying these protests. Such representations are significant as they communicate and engage critically with activist politics outside of the constricting discursive boundaries that have been set by dominant discourse and primary definers. In this way, community psychologists can work with people to reject political representations that align with the very structures and discursive logics against which community resistance efforts are fighting. A politicisation of sorts thus occurs, where

community-oriented discourses constructed by political actors are able to make clear that the taken-for-granted is, in fact, up-for-grabs (Fisher, 2009).

A critical perspective means that community psychologists should work with people to interrogate any politically regressive activity that occurs within or alongside resistance efforts. This does not serve as a means of demonising community activism, but looks to work with activists to address and learn from anti-liberation currents that may or may not be associated with their social movements. However, critical community psychologists should also work to articulate to wider audiences the ways by which people resist violence within their communities. For instance, despite being almost completely ignored by mainstream media, xenophobic violence has been condemned by many community activists throughout South Africa, as was noted in the community-led anti-xenophobic initiatives driven by activists in Thembelihle (see Tselapedi & Dugard, 2013), as well as the anti-xenophobic statements released by Abahlali baseMjondolo (see Neocosmos, 2008). Community psychologists are in a position to work with activists to communicate such activist action to a wide audience, potentially garnering these efforts greater public support and legitimacy.

Study III's use of the participatory documentary filmmaking method offers a number of insights to critical community psychologists looking to engage the visual within political activism. Film is able to represent how power, politics and resistance intersect within the various discursive, affective, contradictory, symbolic, and temporal spheres of meaning-making. In Study III, supplementing protesters' narrative accounts of struggle with archive footage of community protest allowed me to work with activists to construct visceral and affect-laden resistance historiographies. By depicting police firing live ammunition at protesters who were armed only with stones, the film allowed for a power-sensitive visual

reading of the State's presence within low-income communities. In this way, the study contributes to a public discourse that recognises the centrality of resistance and activism in promoting community interests and social justice, while at the same time rejects victim-saviour narratives that are so often used to characterise low-income communities in capitalist societies. Such discourse can also point to how value, pride, justice, and worth (rather than pathology) are created through social activism.

Democratising and Actioning the Community-Building Enterprise

Although community-building represents a more community-oriented means of engaging collective power than is offered by paternalistic 'empowerment' initiatives (Heller, 1989), it remains under-considered from the critical community psychology perspective (Lazarus, Naidoo, & Seedat, 2017). In its discursive engagement with community-building, Study IV looks beyond the pragmatic, outputs-focus of Alinsky's (1971) community engagement model, and towards the contradictions, representational plurality, democratic impulse and materialist ethics that undergird the building of community by the multitude (see Hardt & Negri, 2004). Certainly, although there is likely to be much cross-over with respect to people's visions of a just society, there will also be considerable contestation here. The discursive approach allows people to critically assess and incorporate these debates into different modalities of community-building that, as Heller (1989) highlights, community psychologists are well-suited to facilitate through developing trust and familiarity between people. While a clear agenda or programme for community-building is unlikely to emerge from this approach, it enables community psychology work to flesh out the contradictory and multitudinous nature of community-building.

Critical community psychologists should, however, not only facilitate the reproduction of the plurality of meanings surrounding community and community-building. Instead, they are urged to engage this discursive space in an actional manner that looks towards emancipation by working with people to dispel potentially violent visions of and for community. Here, community psychologists should reject the top-down approaches offered by community development models (Minkler & Wallerstein, 2012), as well as the managerial methodologies observed in many mainstream community psychology interventions (Fourie & Terre Blanche, 2018). Rather, by facilitating space to democratically articulate an emancipatory mode of community-building, community psychologists can begin working with groups of people to build coalitions as well as foster collective powers within and between communities (see Heller, 1989; Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995). Critical community psychologists need not position themselves within these spaces as wholly silent and/or without opinion (see Cornell et al., 2019). They should contribute to discussions when they are drawn into them by community members, offer their skills where necessary (Burton et al., 2012), and seek to enact a critical form of accompaniment (Watkins & Shulman, 2008). It is crucial that these discussions seek to win over - rather than alienate - those who are of reactionary or conservative political persuasions by taking seriously the material concerns from which their politics arise (see Eagleton, 1991). It is in this way that community psychology can contribute to sustaining a radically democratic kind of community-building praxis which has the potential to foster people's sense of community, raise their collective critical consciousness, and enhance their political influence (Freire, 1970; Heller, 1989).

Study IV contributes to the almost completely neglected literature on participatory film audiencing as a democratic mode of community-building. Film can serve as a visceral and an emotive kind of springboard for engaging numerous voices in a manner that refuses the logic

and ideologies of discourses that construct low-income communities as entirely singular or monolithic. We are in this sense able to draw out the complexities of community-building in a manner that does not necessarily seek to resolve its contradictions in a neat or predetermined fashion, but that fosters an ongoing engagement with the kinds of community structures that can begin to address people's varying concerns. This includes how participants enact democracy, self-determination, sovereignty and leadership (e.g. in Study IV debates around the role of the State in community-building).

The results of Study IV also point to the role of affect, and thus the potential utility of community psychologists, within community-building practice. Certainly, affects are able to foster solidarity through drawing out the humanistic imperatives that underlie shared histories of struggle. Further, as highlighted earlier, studying affect offers pathways into understanding the individual-systemic dialectical constitution of structural violence. In Study IV, the seeming omnipresence of systemic violence was said to evoke within participants a despondent affect that immobilised their community-building efforts. However, participants also constructed a radical kind of hope (see Eagleton, 2015) that sought to galvanise a collective community-building, while remaining attentive to the enormous challenges facing those engaged in community-building efforts. Harnessing affect in sensitive ways can thus allow for modes of community connectedness that are not hierarchically oriented or imposed from above, but that rely on a community's emotional resources and affective interactional capacities.

Lastly, participatory documentary films are able to highlight to viewers the kinds of politically important community-building symbols which may not always be immediately apparent to community outsiders. In the case of Study IV, it became clear that the issue of

dolomite was, for some audience members, not represented in the documentary in a sufficiently politicised manner. Symbols should thus be engaged in ways that are historically nuanced, sensitive to collective affect, and politically astute. Participatory film audiencing provides community members with a discursive space to make clear for themselves and community outsiders the different kinds of meaning attached to specific symbols. Accordingly, participatory film audiencing is perhaps one of the more suitable methods in bringing such symbolic and relatedly affective issues to the fore of community-building projects.

Some Reflexive Commentary

Cutting across each of the four studies were a number of tensions, discomforts and ambiguities relating to my personal and embodied privileges. While I considered in the Introduction of the dissertation the epistemological and ontological implications of these privileges, it is perhaps worth reflecting on how the tensions inherent to my positionality became manifest in the research itself. My intention here is not to offer resolutions to these tensions, but to consider what the messy, incohesive nature of relationality and identity might mean within the context of community-engaged research.

In each of the four studies, my subjectivity seemed to influence the research process in more complex ways than I had anticipated. For instance, some participants expressed their discomfort with my presence at the public screening events. One man in particular proclaimed that white people had, for so long, played a central role in disenfranchising his community, and that spaces such as these felt inauthentic when they were facilitated by a white person (i.e. me) who was so removed from the community's linguistic, cultural and material realities. The participant's discomfort alerted me not only to how my presence - no matter how 'silent' - within community-building spaces is never neutral, but also to the

violent potentialities of analysis. Indeed, because of my privileged position, my analyses - and their presentation within this PhD dissertation - are likely to accrue more potency and cultural capital than most other knowledge forms, even those that are constructed by people living in Thembelihle.

Despite reading about Thembelihle and its history, as well as working with a number of residents over the last few years, my linguistic, bodied and cultural positionality exacerbated my outsiderness in the community. At the same time, however, it was because of this outsiderness that a number of participants were moved to explain their everyday lives to me in greater detail than they may have to a fellow community member. Added to this, I identified with a number of participants in different ways. For instance, I shared many of the same political outlooks as the community activists, and held some common cultural interests with the young dancers. Therefore, throughout my interactions with participants, I noted a relational vacillation between humanistic connection and disidentification.

It may be said that in working with those who participated in this research, various kinds of connections were forged, all of which were marked by moments of allyship, distrust, identification and difference. In many respects, these connections are not a product of the research, but in fact *are* the research. Humanistic community work should seek to explicitly reflect on these connections, and what they mean at each stage of research.

Directions for Future Research

In what follows, I consider the broad directions for future research as suggested by the specific findings and implications of my four studies. In order to assess contextually-specific contours of violence and resistance; foster solidarities; engage activist strategies and tactics;

make connections between seemingly distinct arenas of struggle; and advance a more rigorous systems-focused analysis, it would be useful to interrogate dominant and community-driven discourses across a number of different South African communities ranging in affluence, geo-historical location and size. These findings could then be engaged by residents from the various communities (e.g. at public screenings, exhibitions, dialogue sessions and/or focus group discussions) in ways that are inclusive and sensitive to dynamics of power. In this regard, community psychologists can begin to engage the multitude by working with people to build upon resistance politics within and beyond communities in ways that endeavour not only to take power, but to take power differently, that is, to build more egalitarian social arrangements, rather than invert or slightly reform the current oppressive social order (Hardt & Negri, 2017). In this sense, critical social theory and liberation psychology become imbued with a strong materialist centre through critical community work.

In looking to extend its reach and legislative impact, future community-engaged research on violence may look to engage not only multiple communities, but also State actors, media personnel and policy-makers. Public screenings, for example, are able to serve as important dialogic platforms between these different actors. Spaces such as these should seek to resist elite co-option while representing the action-oriented, affect-laden and power-sensitive modes of community-building which rarely receive meaningful consideration in community psychology work (see Lazarus et al., 2017). However, while participatory film presents an especially visceral way of discursively engaging diverse audiences, it should be paired with other innovative methodologies (e.g. Photovoice, participatory theatre, drawing, body-mapping, life writing, asset mapping, radio broadcasting, archiving and digital storytelling) (see Seedat, Suffla, & Christie, 2017) so as to articulate a plethora of actual and potential

ways through which to build community. Bringing the visual into violence research in these ways holds the potential to map out novel pathways for community engagement. Engaging a multitude of communities in this way also extends the boundaries of what is meant by 'community' within mainstream community psychology. Certainly, creating interactive spaces for activist, governmental and civic communities - all of whom are located in different geo-spatial communities - can work to disrupt the neat, or essentialist, terms by which community is so often deployed within community psychology (see Butchart & Seedat, 1990). Community can thus be drawn on for strategic liberatory ends, rather than designated for purposes of neoliberal taxonomy.

As noted earlier, my research was not even in its participatory commitment. Future research should involve participants in greater part in the analysis process. This is not to advocate for an overly-romanticised vision of community voice, but rather to attempt a dialogic and democratic mode of interpreting data, perhaps even in some cases allowing the data to stand as analysis. Added to this, future studies should allocate sufficient time to training participants in participatory film editing, which may enable a greater number of community members to become involved in the filmmaking process. In this way, the principles of social constructionism are brought into the orbit of community engagement.

Thembelihle: Place of Hope was screened at various activist meetings and for particular entrepreneurial purposes, yet I was not permitted to record the audiencing processes at these events. Thus, as noted earlier, future research should seek to track the spreadability of participatory media (see Jenkins et al., 2013). Indeed, researchers could look to track the ways by which participatory films are used and made meaningful by participants beyond research project parameters. This may include analysing audiencing at community-hosted

public screenings, as well as focusing on more private modes of engagement (e.g. distributing the film to different family members as a way of depicting daily living in one's community, as one participant in my research had done). Tracking spreadability in this way would require future research to take on a longitudinal kind of community engagement. Added to this, participants should be involved with how the film product spreads beyond their own networks. Considerations around confidentiality, intellectual property and permissions, for example, may well be of greater concern to researchers and their affiliated institutions, than they are to participants. Research of this kind, if it is to embody participatory principles, should seek to spread the film product in accordance to how participants envision this, and not to academic bureaucracy.

The approach that I took in my research emphasises the difficulty of remaining sensitive to the historical particularities of violence - and resistances to violence - within communities, while seeking not to interpret communities through a hermeneutic prism of violence. Thus, future research into violence is urged to take on the conceptual lens used in this research to understand violence (as well as anti-violence resistance), and to remain attentive not only to histories of violence, but also to the material - and sometimes violent - consequences inherent to discursive representations of violence. In other words, violence scholarship should look to study the historiographical, material, symbolic, systemic, multimodal and representational character of violence, which means advancing an inherently transdisciplinary research frame. For participatory researchers, this requires taking seriously the theoretical currents that are drawn on by the grassroots social movements with which they work. Such a frame, I argue, heeds the call made by Bowman and colleagues (2015) to engage the systemic-individual composition of violence, and to connect situational violent circumstances to wider social patterns, institutions and structures (see Bowman et al., 2018). In addition then to improving

policy and implementing more just legislation, violence research should engage the social and discursive as a means of understanding the subtle ways by which violence entrenches itself in the quotidian of people's lives.

The conceptual lens used in this study may guide future research in not only adopting an expansive approach to understanding violence, but also to assume a nuanced engagement with anti-violence resistance. In the case of my research, resistance was constructed by participants as being formed in the quotidian as well as through protest – both of which were accompanied by the kinds of factures, contradictions and systemic hurdles that are characteristic of multitudinous community activity. As resistance of this kind is so intimately intertwined with the identities and everyday lives of community members, insights into such resistance can afford to community psychologists a contextually-sensitive mode of community engagement. Similarly, violence research should look to develop intervention measures that harness and support multitudinous resistances. At the same time, critical researchers should not wholly valourise each and every enactment of resistance merely on the grounds of its subversive potential. Community members should be encouraged to engage community resistance efforts in critical ways that function not to make resistance illegitimate (as is the case in much mainstream discourse), but to enhance its emancipatory properties. Yet, as was noted throughout my research, reflexive critique of this kind is already taking place within communities. Researchers should thus work with people to bring such critique into public fora and potentially push it even further by involving a greater range of voices that are attuned with and sympathetic to struggles for justice. This is especially important when addressing affectively-charged and loaded research topics - such as xenophobia - which violence researchers often explore ineffectively when working with and in communities (see Kerr, Durrheim, & Dixon, 2019).

Concluding Comments

In his 1973 book *Revolutionaries*, Hobsbawm reflects that:

> the nature of hope is such that there is truth even in the lies of capitalism. The desire for a 'happy end', however commercially exploited, is [our] desire for the good life; our ever-deceived optimism, superior to unconditional pessimism, the belief that something can be done about it (p. 166).

Violence in South Africa is *near* omnipotent. However, we consider violent phenomena incompletely if we neglect the parallel history of resistance to violence. The residue of these twinned histories of violence and anti-violence resistance (the latter of which is regularly coded as fundamentally violent in dominant discourse) is noted in various ways within contemporary South Africa's deeply turbulent social moment. In advancing a necessarily expansive conception of violence, in my research I interrogate the social, psychological, systemic, material, symbolic, temporal, and spatial constitution of violence and resistance. Those who participated in the four studies demonstrated how the material and discursive consequences of violent social systems are being, and indeed can be, resisted through democratic, political, community, organised and quotidian formations, all of which present to us the kinds of incremental changes that, coupled with solidarity-making and coalition-building, contribute to a politically committed vision of liberation. It is this vision - rather than top-down, managerial provisions - towards which critical violence and community psychology researchers and activists should strive. We may, in this way, then begin to undertake community-engaged research praxes that are subservient to and driven by people's emancipatory needs and collective will, and not the other way around.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Ethical Clearance Certificate

RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE: DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH STUDIES
REC-012714-039 (NHERC)

4 April 2018

Dear Nick Malherbe

Decision: Ethics Approval

HSHDC/849 /2018
Nick Malherbe

Student no: 6196-088-37
Supervisor: Prof M Mohamed
Qualification: PhD
Joint Supervisor: Prof S Suffla

Name Nick Malherbe

Proposal: Using Collaborative Documentary Film-making as a Participatory Social Mobilisation Methodology

Qualification: DPMIT00 - PhD

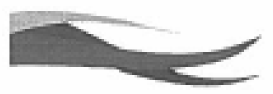
Thank you for the application for research ethics approval from the Research Ethics Committee: Department of Health Studies, for the above mentioned research. Final approval is granted from 4 April 2018 to 4 April 2022.

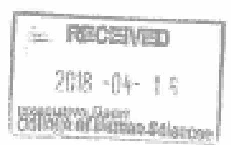
The application was reviewed in compliance with the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics by the Research Ethics Committee: Department of Health Studies on7 February 2018.

The proposed research may now commence with the proviso that:

1) *The researcher/s will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.*

2) *Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study, as well as changes in the methodology, should be communicated in writing to the Research Ethics Review Committee, Department of Health Studies. An amended application could be requested if there are substantial changes from the existing proposal, especially if those changes affect any of the study-related risks for the research participants.*





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4) You are required to submit an annual report by 30 January of each year that the study is active. Reports should be submitted to the administrator, HSREC@unisa.ac.za. Should the reports not be forthcoming the ethical permission might be revoked until such time as the reports are presented.

Note:
The reference numbers [top middle and right corner of this communiqué] should be clearly indicated on all forms of communication [e.g. Webmail, E-mail messages, letters] with the intended research participants, as well as with the Research Ethics Committee: Department of Health Studies.

Kind regards,

Prof JE Maritz
CHAIRPERSON
maritje@unisa.ac.za

Prof LV Monareng
ACTING ACADEMIC CHAIRPERSON
monarlv@unisa.ac.za

Prof A Phillips
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Appendix B: Information Sheet

Purpose

The purpose of this Information Sheet is to provide people with an understanding of how the Thembelihle documentary will be shared with others.

The documentary film is a collaborative project between the UNISA Institute for Social & Health Sciences (ISHS), SAMRC-UNISA Violence & Injury Prevention Unit (VIPRU), Chronicle - a film production company that focuses on storytelling - and residents of Thembelihle. The aim of the documentary is to look at personal stories that relate to other struggles in South Africa. We hope that the documentary helps with violence and injury prevention, promoting safety, peace and social justice, and challenging the way that Thembelihle is described in the news and by politicians. The project will try:

1. To look at everyday meanings in a way that empowers storytellers.
2. To create non-violent spaces in which people can communicate with each other.
3. To create spaces that allow people to challenge how Thembelihle has been shown and described.
4. To look at different community concerns.
5. To use the film for social action.
6. To look at how storytellers speak about violence, and how this is able to challenge portrayals of Thembelihle.
7. To look at how audiences understand the film.

Terms of Agreement / Conditions for Sharing and Distribution of the Documentary

The participants and UNISA own the documentary film. What follows are guidelines to sharing the film:

1. Sharing the documentary must benefit the participants and their community. It is less important who else benefits from the sharing of the film.

2. In sharing the film on a website and at public screenings, participants must understand that they may be recognised by others. There are some difficulties that come with this, and participants must know that they have the right to remove any information from the film. Participants are also able to withdraw from the film project at any stage.
3. Each participant should have seen the film before it is shared or screened.
4. Participants must decide how the film will be shared, including where it will be shared and the language that will be used in the film. Participants will be told about the options that are available to them around sharing the film.
5. The place in which the film is shared, how it is shared, and the reason that it is being shared must always be clear to the participants.
6. Participants must have a say in how the film is shared online.
7. Although participants will be able to decide which audiences they would like to share the film with, it is beyond anyone's control as to who will come into contact with the film once it has been shared.
8. Participants have the right to emotional support if they request this.
9. Participants have the right to withdraw their consent to use their story at any time.
10. Participants have the right to share the film for their own purposes and in whichever way they choose, as long as this is not intended to injure, harm or damage people and property.
11. Both the participants and UNISA should take a register of all people who view the film at public screenings. The purpose of this is to see how the film has been used.
12. Anyone wanting to use the film outside of the community and UNISA will have to place a request to these two parties. These requests will then be reviewed individually.

Appendix C: Participatory Film Consent Form

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the Information Sheet explaining this research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to do so. If I wish to withdraw, I may contact the researcher at any time.

3. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my responses. In the case of being recognisable in the film product itself, I understand that I may at any point request to be edited out, anonymised or completely removed from the film.

4. I agree to be interviewed, and for this interview to be audio recorded and video recorded. I understand that these audio and video recordings will be stored on a password-protected computer, and that only the researcher and his 2 supervisors will have access to these recordings.

5. I agree for the data collected from me, or produced by me, to be used in future research.

6. I agree to take part in the film training workshop.

7. I agree to have any photographs taken - by myself or others - during the process.

8. I give consent to be featured in the public documentary and/or the online website and/or have the footage that I shoot featured in the documentary film.

9. There are no direct risks or benefits to me if I participate in this study, but I understand indirect risks include being recognised by others in the film, as well as psychological stress. In the case of psychological stress, I understand that I will be referred to a health professional. I also understand that indirect benefits to me and my community include the development and/or strengthening of skills, such as public-speaking and the use of camera equipment, as well as the use of the documentary to advocate for the social, health, welfare and economic needs of Thembelihle.

10. I will not receive any remuneration for my participation. However, refreshments will be provided and transport costs related to my participation in the study will be covered. ☐

Name of Participant (*or legal representative*)	Date	Signature

Researcher (*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*)	Date	Signature

If participants cannot read the form themselves, a witness must sign below. The participant will make a thumbprint or mark in the box below.

☐

I was present when information about the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research was explained to the above individual. All questions were answered and the participant has agreed to take part in the research.

Name of Witness	Date	Signature

Researcher (*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*)	Date	Signature

Researcher:	**Supervisor/CoD:**

Appendix D: Film Equipment Release Form

Details

Name:

___

Address:

___

Email:

___

Telephone Number:

___

Item/s to be Returned	
Date of Intended Return	
Time of Intended Return	
Place at which Item/s will be Returned	
Additional Comments	

I will ensure that the items:

- Are returned in the same condition as I received them.
- Remain only in my possession.
- Are used strictly for the purposes of this project.
- Are returned on the stipulated date.

Name of Participant (*or legal representative*)	Date	Signature

Researcher (*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*)	Date	Signature

If participants cannot read the form themselves, a witness must sign below. The participant will make a thumbprint or mark in the box below.

I was present when information about the release and return of the film equipment was shared with the participant. All questions were answered and the participant has agreed to take part in the research.

Name of Witness	Date	Signature

Researcher (*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*)	Date	Signature

Researcher:

Supervisor/CoD:

Appendix E: Indemnity Agreement

Indemnity Agreement, between Nick Malherbe (name of the Indemnifying Party) and ____ (name of the Indemnitee).

By signing this form, it is agreed upon that the Indemnifying Party is not responsible for any action, liability, loss, costs, charges, damage or suit on the part of the Indemnitee in connection with the transportation that has been provided.

This agreement shall be binding to all parties and their representatives.

________________________ ______________ ___________________

Name of Indemnitee Date Signature

________________________ ______________ ___________________

Name of Indemnifying Party Date Signature

(*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*)

If Indemnitees cannot read the form themselves, a witness must sign below. The Indemnitee will make a thumbprint or mark in the box below.

I was present when indemnity was explained to the above individual. All questions were answered and the Indemnitee has agreed to that stipulated in the above indemnity form.

____________________	____________	____________________
Name of Witness	Date	Signature

____________________	____________	____________________
Name of Indemnifying Party	Date	Signature

(*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*)

Researcher:	**Supervisor/CoD:**

Appendix F: Information Sheet for Audience Participation

Dear Potential Participant,

We are researchers from the South African Medical Research Council-University of South Africa Violence, Injury and Peace Research Unit and the University of South Africa's Institute for Social and Health Sciences.

What is the research project about?
The study will involve viewing a documentary that explores violence and resistance in Thembelihle. The documentary was collaboratively produced with people from Thembelihle. We will audio record your reactions to this documentary in order to get an understanding of how the broader community engages with the documentary and its themes, and allow for a range of voices to tell a different, more complicated story of this community from the perspective of those who know it best. It is hoped that the screening also allows for collaboration and social action.

Purpose
By recording audience reactions to the documentary, we are hoping to increase the number of voices that tell the story of Thembelihle. It is hoped that at this screening we can begin to create community connectedness as well as different kinds of solidarity and cohesion. Ultimately, this project aims to promote safety, peace and social justice, and challenge the way that Thembelihle is seen by those outside of the community. Therefore, the screening will attempt:

1. To look at everyday meanings in a way that empowers people from Thembelihle.
2. To create non-violent spaces in which people can communicate with each other.
3. To create spaces that allow people to challenge how Thembelihle has been shown and described.
4. To look at different community concerns.
5. To examine how to use the documentary for social action.
6. To look at how people speak about violence.
7. To look at how audiences understand the documentary.

Why have you been invited to take part in this research project?
It is believed that, as a resident of Thembelihle, your voice, stories and perspectives are important in gaining insight into life in Thembelihle and creating new stories from the views

of those who know the community best. It is also hoped that your voice can be used for justice and community change programmes.

What are you expected to do if you agree to participate?
You will be expected to watch the documentary, which will take place in a venue near to Thembelihle. The screening itself will be about half an hour long, after which we will have about an hour and a half for audience comments and questions. Transport will be provided to you and refreshments will be served at the venue. Although you are encouraged to participate, you do not have to. You are welcome to just watch the documentary without speaking about it.

Do you have to be in this research and may you stop participating at any time?
Your decision to participate in this study is entirely voluntary. You are free to leave the venue at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences.

Will your participation in this project be kept confidential?
Only the primary researchers on the project will listen to the recordings of the audience reactions to this film. You will be anonymised in all reports or presentations that are written up on the screenings, meaning that no one will recognise you.

The audio recordings will be stored under lock and key at the VIPRU and ISHS office. Only the research team will have access to this.

What are the risks of this research?
There are limited risks associated with participating in this research project. A member of our research team will however be available to talk with you in the case of any psychological distress and, if required or requested by you, we will then refer you to a suitable social support service.

What are the benefits of this research?
By participating in this study, you will be given the opportunity to share your experiences and to engage and develop your public speaking skills. However, there are no direct and immediate personal benefits for you in participating in the study.

How will I be informed of the research findings?
If you would like to be informed of the final research findings, please contact the ISHS office on 011 670 9600 and ask for Professor Mohamed Seedat. Alternatively, you can email Nick Malherbe at nicholas.malherbe@mrc.ac.za. Later, we will host a workshop explaining the research findings to participants.

Does this project have ethical clearance?

This research adheres to the Declaration of Helsinki (2013). The proposal for the project has been reviewed and approved by the research ethics committee of the Department of Health Studies in the College of Health Sciences at Unisa, which is a committee whose task it is to make sure that research participants are protected from harm. If you wish to find out more about the research, please contact Nick Malherbe on 021 938 0903 or nicholas.malherbe@mrc.ac.za. A copy of Unisa's Policy on Research Ethics can be provided to you on request. In addition, a copy of the ethics approval letter can be obtained from the researcher if you so wish.

What if I have questions?

If you have any questions, please contact Nick Malherbe on 021 938-0903 or nicholas.malherbe@mrc.ac.za. You can also contact the Chairperson of the Research Ethics Committee of the Department of Health Studies in the College of Health Sciences at Unisa, Professor Jeanette Maritz, on 012 429-6338 or maritje@unisa.ac.za if you have any ethical concerns.

Appendix G: Audience Consent Form

Please mark box

1. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline. If I wish to withdraw, I may contact the lead researcher at any time. ☐

2. I understand that my responses and personal data will be kept strictly confidential where possible. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the reports or publications that result from the research. ☐

3. I agree for the data collected from me, or produced by me, to be used in this research. ☐

4. There are no direct risks or benefits to me if I participate in this study but I understand that indirect risks include psychological stress. In the case of psychological stress, I understand that I will be referred to a health professional. I also understand that indirect benefits to me include the opportunity to have my views and opinions expressed in a public forum. ☐

5. I will not receive any remuneration for my participation. However, refreshments will be provided. ☐

Agree	Disagree	What we're asking of you
		I agree to take part in the study which has been described to me.
		I agree to be audio recorded for the study.

________________________ ____________ _____________________

Name of Participant Date Signature

________________________ ____________ _____________________

Researcher Date Signature

(*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*)

If participants cannot read the form themselves, a witness must sign below. The participant will make a thumbprint or mark in the box below.

I was present when information about the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research was explained to the above individual. All questions were answered and the participant has agreed to take part in the research.

__________________ ____________ _____________________

Name of Witness Date Signature

________________________ ____________ _____________________

Researcher Date Signature

(*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*)

Researcher:

Supervisor/CoD:

Appendix H: Semi-structured Interview Schedule

1. Tell me about yourself. What do you do in Thembelihle day-to-day?
2. What has been your experience of living in Thembelihle?
3. Tell me about the [mode of activity/vocation] that you are doing in Thembelihle.
4. What inspired/motivated/influenced you to do this?
5. From your time living here, can you say how Thembelihle came about?
6. What were your hopes/wishes/ideals when you came here?
7. What were you looking/hoping for/hoping to find when you came here?
8. Do you feel you are achieving your hopes and wishes? If yes, say more about that. If not, can you say why not?
9. In your view, what are some of the struggles that you and others face living here?
10. How do you see the community?
11. Do people get along in Thembelihle?
12. Is the community divided in any way?
13. How do you see Thembelihle in comparison to other places in South Africa?
14. Do you feel that those in Thembelihle are able to effectively communicate with those outside of the community?