

South Africa–Zimbabwe Photography Project

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1 Executive Overview

The economic and political situation in Zimbabwe has, sadly, led to it haemorrhaging an ever-increasing number of men, women and indeed children. South Africa's relative prosperity has meant that it has become the refuge of choice for many Zimbabwean migrants. Those Zimbabweans who manage to evade the Crocodiles in the Limpopo, the South African National Defence Force, the South African Police Services, armed South Africa bandits and South African farmers patrolling the border invariably are offered no respite in South African cities. Life for migrants is tough in South Africa: only a brief scan of the local newspapers will reveal the extent of xenophobia in South Africa. In part, this can be attributed to the fact that life for a large majority of South Africans is equally difficult; with rising food and oil prices, high unemployment rates, and violent crime, South African communities are forced to contend with inadequate resources and poor living conditions. The clash of migrant influx with extreme poverty has surfaced in the recent upsurge of violence against foreigners, which has been documented extensively by the local and international media. However, media stories market themselves through sensationalism, are often intended to shock the public and do not allow refugees the opportunity to communicate their own stories. Our project endeavours to fill this lacuna by allowing migrants the opportunity to share (1) their journeys from their home countries to South Africa and (2) communicate their every-day experiences to ordinary South Africans. The project also attempts to examine the other side of the story by providing a space for South Africans to air their views, fears and experiences of the refugee influx into South Africa. It is our hope that by facilitating communication between migrants and South Africans the spread of xenophobia may be arrested.

Two projects, which draw inspiration from the very successful Border Film Project (www.borderfilmproject.com), will be run in order to allow Zimbabwean and refugees from other African states to communicate their every-day and travel experiences to South Africans. Firstly, various groups of refugees and migrants living in the Cape Town area will be contacted and given disposable camera. Secondly, Zimbabweans about to migrate to South Africa from Zimbabwe will be given disposable cameras and asked to capture images of their choice from their journeys into South Africa. Thirdly, South African farmers who have organised themselves into voluntary patrol groups to stem the tide of refugees across the border will also record their experience of this contested terrain. In this way Zimbabwean refugees and South Africans will be given the opportunity to share their stories with each other and the world.

The content generated from the two aforementioned projects will be accessible through public, interactive exhibitions, our website and in a book that will draw together a selection of the images and stories collected. Our exhibitions will be unique in that they will not merely display the images but will be used as a platform for public dialogue around issues of xenophobia and migration. Viewers, participant photographers and members of the South African public will be given the opportunity to interact through facilitated workshops taking place in the exhibition space. Our website will contain all of the images which will be licensed under Creative Commons so as to allow other organisations to use our material in the battle against xenophobia. Other channels for the distribution of content include school programmes, booklets, magazine articles and film screenings.

2 Introduction

Migration is an issue that resonates deeply within the social history of South Africa. At the behest of mining and commercial farming interests, the South African authorities promulgated a series of laws at the turn of the 20th century designed to force rural, black South African men to the mines and onto white-owned farms (Johnson, 2005). But these laws were not meant to bring about the permanent urbanization of black South Africans. Black South African men were expected to oscillate between their rural homesteads and jobs on the mines. Living conditions in the mining compounds were appalling and all manner of atrocities and indignities were carried out in the compounds (Johnson, 2005). To say that the mining compounds were little more than pseudo-prisons would thus not be an overstatement. But the consequences of the migrant-labour system run deeper. Contemporary South Africa still bears the scars of the migrant-labour system and the extent to which rural households are dependent on remittances sent from the urban centers is testament to this. South Africa is thus a country deeply familiar with the destruction that “forced” migration wreaks.

Over the last decade South Africa has become home to a large, and steadily increasing, African diaspora. Civil wars have forced many Africans to leave their homes. The end of apartheid and South Africa’s economic position on the continent has made South Africa a very attractive location for other Africans looking to stave off poverty and escape from violence. More recently, the political and economic situation in Zimbabwe has resulted in many Zimbabweans migrating, both legally and illegally, to South Africa. The rapid influx comes at a time when the South African economy is experiencing its own difficulties and the country’s failure to meet the needs of its poorest is becoming apparent, especially in light of the recent food price inflation. Within this context the refugee migration is an extremely contested issue because refugees are placing strain on an already parched social landscape.

It is little wonder therefore that xenophobic attitudes abound in South Africa. The 2002 National Immigration Policy Survey, which measured citizens’ attitudes towards non-citizens and migration and refugee policy preferences, indicated that the majority of South Africans believed that migrants impact negatively on the country and should not enjoy police or legal protection. Furthermore, 80% favoured a total ban, or the placement of very strict limits on outsiders entering the country, and 85% felt that migrants should have no right to freedom of speech or movement (Crush & Pendleton, 2004). Referred to derogatively as ‘amakwerekwere’, foreigners are commonly blamed for exasperating unemployment, increasing crime and spreading diseases (Dempster, 2003; Human Rights Watch, 1998)

Around the country, groups of South Africans are taking it upon themselves to address the refugee crises in their own ways. Along the South African-Zimbabwean border, South African farmers have organized themselves into volunteer patrol groups. Patrolling the border in vehicles used to hunt game, farmers are arresting and detaining illegal immigrants and handing them over to SAPS for deportation (Consultancy Africa Intelligence, 2007). These farmers fear that the influx of African foreigners onto their land will increase the number of attacks, farm raids and murders in these isolated regions. Closer inland, South Africans in impoverished townships are also taking it upon themselves to rid their communities of foreigners and are similarly motivated by a desire to protect their well-being; impoverished communities view foreigners as a competitive threat in securing employment, housing and other resources.

The violent xenophobic attacks that have swept across South Africa in the past month, however, are counter-productive; attempts to prevent the stream of migrants into South Africa ironically overlooks their social and economic contributions to the country. Migrants bring scarce skills and labour, many establish small business enterprises, and some even employ South Africans (INRIN, 2008; Sichone, 2003). They also diversify the South African cultural scene. Hence, Cape Town mayor, Helen Zille, when signing the Declaration on

Refugees' Rights, reminded the public that "in many cases we benefit from [migrants'] decision to make Cape Town their new home" (UNHCR, 2006). The need to raise awareness around the plight of refugees in South Africa and to simultaneously tackle xenophobic attitudes, therefore, finds justification on economic and social grounds.

There is also undoubtedly a human rights justification for intervention. In 1993 South Africa formally committed to abiding by international refugee law by signing the UNHCR basic agreement, and became party to the UN refugee conventions in 1996. It has also ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), which addresses protection against speech and racial violence, access to citizenship, administration of justice, expulsion and deportation, discrimination on the basis of citizenship and immigration, and economic, social and cultural rights. Despite formal commitment to the protection and support of refugees, however, South Africa offers little sanctuary for migrants in search of a better life.

Xenophobia, as a psychological phenomenon, is attitude-based; it relies on cognitive evaluations and judgments, categorization into us/them groupings, attention to difference and the depersonalization and dehumanization of 'the other'. However, it also consists of an emotional component; it is often fear-driven, characterized by desensitization towards the plight of refugees, and an inability to relate to their experiences. Xenophobia is also mediated through previous experiences of migrants, or the lack thereof. As the South African Human Rights Commission observed, "[t]hat many South Africans lack knowledge of and contact with foreigners is an underlying cause of xenophobia". Xenophobia interventions therefore, have focused on humanizing refugees and personalizing their stories so as to sensitize viewers to their plight; drawing attention to the similarities between 'us' and 'them'; increasing contact and addressing cognitive dimensions by creating spaces for debate and discussion.

In presenting the plight of refugees and migrants to the public, the media undoubtedly has a powerful role to play in this regard. Both the international and South African media have gone some way towards humanizing the refugee crises by featuring and documenting personalized stories of individual migrants. One online BBC news article, for example, tells the story of Sibanda from Zimbabwe and Maria Angelica from Angola (Dempster, 2003), while another documents the stories of refugees from the Congo and the Ivory Coast. Godknows Nare, a Zimbabwean filmmaker, has also followed a group of migrants across the border into South Africa and aired their story on Special Assignment (SABC, 2008). The documentation of these stories is motivated by a desire to build awareness, but is also part of a campaign to 'give voice' to the otherwise disempowered by making their stories heard.

What the media has perfected, however, is the art of speaking on behalf of others. Theirs is essentially a re-telling of a story, mediated through the interpretive lens of a journalist or filmmaker, who inevitably reaps any credit and proceeds. The final product is hardly an 'authentic', unmediated narration, but a crafted recreation, which carries the vested interests of its substitute teller. The media, in its various forms, has its own motivations for storytelling, which include profitability and marketing, awareness raising and activist lobbying. In this context, certain kinds of narratives and certain details within narrative accounts - more often the most sensational, the most unbelievable - are given pride of place, while others are silenced; the mundane and the ordinary, of which many stories are composed, still go unheard. When stories are told on behalf on another, a wealth of ethical concerns and questions regarding the 'politics of representation' are introduced (Clifford, 1986). Who owns these stories in the end and whose interests does their telling really serve? Who possesses the authority to speak on behalf of another? Is it even possible to access and authentically represent the lived experience of another? If these issues are not considered, it is easy to see how the telling of refugees and migrants stories through the media - or any other third party - can fail to achieve its original

objective and even be disempowering. It is these politics of representation that have caused social scientists and others to be wary of speaking on behalf of, and often in lieu of, their participants or the people they serve.

There is increasing ethical pressure therefore to create platforms from which refugees and migrants can tell their own stories. These platforms make no patronizing attempt to ‘give voice’, but seek rather to accentuate and elevate the voices that already exist. When given the chance to self-author their narratives, migrants are able to highlight details that are most important to them, to self-censor and to take ownership of their stories. In this way, all stories - whether sensational or subtle, violent or subdued - are allowed equal status. Apart from being a more ethical approach to storytelling and from providing the viewer with a more authentic account, self-authored stories are therefore also more empowering for the tellers.

Since narratives and stories are dialogical, every story has a counter-story. There remains a need to create platforms and spaces for South Africans to respond to the stories of migrants and to communicate their own stories to the broader public. Both the farmers patrolling the borders and people living in poverty-stricken communities that house refugees need to be heard if xenophobia is to be addressed in any effective manner.

The creation of a platform for self-authored stories is creatively and effectively demonstrated in the Border Film Project undertaken across the US-Mexican border. In order to show the human face of migration, Brett Huneycutt, Victoria Criado and Rudy Adler distributed disposable cameras on both sides of the US-Mexico border. Cameras were handed to groups of Mexicans about to embark on their journey into the US, and to American Minutemen who patrol the border in the hope of preventing the Mexican migrants from successfully crossing over into the US. Both groups were therefore encouraged to document their own experiences of the border, and the activities that surround it and make it the socially significant space that it is. Pre-addressed envelopes and gift cards from Walmart (for Mexican migrants) and Shell (for American Minutemen) accompanied the cameras in order to encourage the return of the cameras. The Walmart and Shell gift cards were credited with fifty dollars upon receipt of the cameras. Brett, Victoria and Rudy have received seventy-three cameras since the project was started in 2005 and have held, and continue to hold, many very successful exhibitions all across America. Some of the best photos have also been compiled into a book, which is available from Amazon, Barnes and Noble and many more book retailers in the US. The project has also proved to be popular amongst leading news publications with the Financial Times, Wall Street Journal, BBC, CNN, FOX NEWS and YAHOO running stories on its success. It has also been successful in stimulating debate and discussion around border control and immigration, and in opening up the space for self-authored stories. Detailed information of this project and its outputs can be found at www.borderfilmproject.com

Building on the work undertaken by the Border Film Project team, our project extends the exposure of migration experiences to the Zimbabwe-South African border. Maintaining a focus on self-authored narratives and the creation of a platform for storytelling, debate and discussion this project hopes to tackle the xenophobic climate with which migrants are introduced upon entering South Africa.

3 Strategic Direction

3.1 Project Mission Statement

The South Africa-Zimbabwe Photography Project intends to educate the public in issues around migration and refugees, to stimulate debate and discussion and target xenophobic attitudes. while empowering refugees

through the development of skills required for the creative industries.

3.2 Strategic Objectives

3.2.1 Public education

- **Provide a platform for South Africans to express their concerns and opinions around the influx of foreigners:** Although refugee stories have been given prominence in light of the recent attacks, South Africans' feelings and opinions, which undoubtedly feed into their treatment of foreigners, have not been given equal weight in media exposure.
- **Humanize the refugee and migration crisis:** With hundred of refugees crossing the border into SA on a daily basis, the public has become desensitized to the plight of refugees and migrants. By painting a human face onto the numbers, the South Africa-Zimbabwe Photography Project aims to personalize the crises and generate wider public concern.
- **Bring about changes in South African's xenophobic attitudes towards migrants and refugees:** Xenophobia towards migrants is an escalating problem in SA and has roots in various misconceptions and fears, depersonalization of refugees, and lack of personal contact with refugee populations. It manifests in discrimination, violence and human rights violations constituting a threatening social problem.
- **Raise awareness around human rights violations at the Zimbabwe/South African border:** Human rights abuses at the border have been reported informally, but no systematic investigations have taken place. By exposing these violations, the South Africa-Zimbabwe Photography Project hopes to draw attention to the situation, demanding intervention.
- **Use interactive visual aids and personal stories to facilitate debate and discussion:** Visual aids are useful for moving viewers at an affective level, but debate and discussion encourage cognitive engagement which is necessary for attitude change.
- **Draw public attention to Zimbabwe crises.**
- **Document experiences of border migration:** Due to the political climate in Zimbabwe at present, journalistic efforts in and around the country have been halted. As a result, there has been little documentation of border migration.
- **Support local refugee organizations in lobbying for, and securing, better services for refugees in South Africa:** Photographs and content generated by the South Africa-Zimbabwe Photography Project can be used to draw attention to the efforts of refugee organizations, but can also serve to legitimize further activism.

3.2.2 Empowerment

- **Provide exposure for participant photographers through exhibitions of their work.**
- **Increase employability of participants through nurturing skills (visual literacy, photographic skills, management, organizational and marketing skills) useful for creative industries.**
- **Psychologically empower participants through the telling of self-authored narratives:** There is a wealth of documentation about the plight of refugees in South Africa and many journalists have documented refugee and migrants' stories. However, there are few opportunities for migrants and

refugees to document and tell their own stories. There is an increasing ethical need to shift from speaking on behalf of others, to creating platforms for people to speak for themselves.

4 Project overview

4.1 Preparatory Activities

The initial stage of the project, which extends over the period 12 May to 8 June, consists of research, preliminary data and content collection, and project planning. These preliminary activities will inform the strategic direction of the projects that follow.

4.1.1 Project planning and administration

Preparatory planning for all three projects will be undertaken during this one month period. This includes the booking of tickets and logistical planning for two trips to Zimbabwe, sourcing and hiring equipment, buying of cameras, setting up incentives and establishing administrative systems.

4.1.2 Desk research

Over the period of two weeks, relevant literature on refugee populations, the Zimbabwe crises, migration and diasporas, and xenophobia in South Africa will be sourced. Although some of this literature will consist of academic, theoretical and research articles or books, the objectives of the project are not of an academic nature and thus the focus of the literature review will be instrumental and practical. Literature will be scanned primarily to identify logistical possibilities and barriers; to ascertain border crossing routes, meeting points, to collect possible contacts, to predict risks and dangers to both the project team and participants, and to consider contingency plans.

4.1.3 Establishing contacts and consultations

Within the month of May, consultations will be conducted with potential partners, stakeholders, knowledgeable individuals and refugee support organizations. These consultations will assist the team in gathering information on the plight of refugees in South Africa and the difficulties they face during border crossing, and in gaining access to refugees in the Cape Town area as well as across the border. Given the action-focused orientation of the South Africa-Zimbabwe Photography Project and that the project objectives include supporting local refugee organizations in their efforts by providing them with content for lobbying, it is important that the project foster close and mutually beneficial relationships with these organizations from the onset. At the time of writing this proposal, some of these consultations have already taken place.

Consultations will also be conducted with photographers and film makers who have already undertaken similar projects in documenting Zimbabwe/South Africa border crossings. Examples of such individuals include photographer, Mark Hutchings, from Reuters and filmmaker, Godknows Nare, from SABC Special Assignment. These consultations will provide the team with logistical information on border crossing, with brainstorming ideas and best practices for the project, with predicting possible barriers and risks, and with all photographic and film queries.

It is intended, furthermore, that although consultations will be rigorously undertaken in the first three weeks of the project, they will in fact continue to take place across the period of project implementation.

4.1.4 Discourse collection and analysis

According to discursive psychology, patterns of discourse - ways of speaking, acting, relating and representing through images and texts - position people in relationships of power, based on identity categories (race, gender, nationality). The constructs of “the refugee” and “the migrant” are distinct social categories of identity, which are created through, and attached to, a wealth of cultural assumptions, associations and prejudices in South Africa. These emerge subtly in the many kinds of texts and images we encounter daily (Burman et al, 1996).

Newspaper and magazine articles, cartoons, letters to the editor, images, radio and television broadcasts, and other discursive products will be collected over the course of two weeks. Discourse analysis, as outlined by Parker (2005), will be used to investigate the construction of “the refugee” and “the migrant” in popular culture, with the aim of exposing the underlying discourses that maintain xenophobic attitudes in the popular imagination. The analysis will be guided by the following questions:

- How is the category of “the refugee” or “the migrant” represented in popular media?
- What discourses construct the category and what associations do they carry?
- What are the implications of these discourses for popular attitudes? Do they legitimize or delegitimize xenophobic attitudes?
- How might the category be constructed and represented in a way that minimizes xenophobic attitudes?

These articles, photographs, cartoons and other products will be made available via the project website. They will also be incorporated into the project exhibition in a visual manner that enables the analysis to be self-evident to viewers.

4.1.5 Interviews with refugees

Narrative interviews will be conducted with 20 refugees currently residing in the Western Province. Participants will be sourced via consulted organizations and personal contacts, and the interview space will also be used to distribute disposable cameras for the Cape Town Project, described below.

These interviews will focus on gathering data in two primary areas:

- Refugees and migrants’ daily lives in South Africa (see The Cape Town Project below)
- Retrospective accounts of their travels into South Africa

Both forms of data will feed into the Cape Town Project and the extracts from the narrative accounts will be exhibited alongside photography in project exhibitions. Retrospective accounts of refugees’ migration will also serve as foundational research for the project team and assist with gathering inside information into major border crossing routes and danger areas, thereby informing strategic direction.

Narrative interviews are commonly used for the gathering of stories that centre on a particular event. Instigated by the feminist movement and frequently used with disempowered participants, this interview strategy is intended to restore agency to the author of a narrative. It foregrounds the interpretation and cultural lens of the teller or interviewee, and is conducted with minimal intervention, direction or probing by the interviewer. As such it is the most ethical and useful interview technique to employ with disempowered migrants to gather self-authored stories of their travels.

4.1.6 Baseline attitude interviews

One of the primary objectives of the South Africa-Zimbabwe Photography Project is to target xenophobia and initiate attitude change in this area of prejudice. To monitor and evaluate the projects success in meeting this objective, baseline data on xenophobic attitudes will need to be gathered prior to project implementation.

The project team intends to conduct brief, semi-structured interviews with approximately 30 members of the public who reside in areas with high numbers of refugees (e.g. Muizenberg, Rondebosch and Athlone). Over the course of a weekend, the project team will enter into these areas with audio recording equipment and go door to door requesting participants. A further 50 questionnaires will also be distributed in these areas, together with prepaid, addressed return enveloped. It is hoped that at least 15 of these questionnaires will be returned. Interview and questionnaire schedules will both be brief and consist of only two or three questions, which probe attitudes towards and perceptions of refugees and migrants. Examples of such questions might include the following:

- How do you feel about having refugees in your community?
- How much of a choice do you think refugees have in leaving their country?
- What do you think should be done with all the refugees entering South Africa?
- Do you think the government should be doing more to support refugees?

Participants will be informed that their responses will remain anonymous in all project outputs. However, should they be willing, participants names and contact details will be recorded. These participants will then be invited to project exhibitions and dialogue events. Data from follow-up interviews, conducted during or directly after exhibition, can then be compared with baseline data to assess the degree of attitude change and the success of the intervention.

4.1.7 Fieldwork

One week of ethnographic fieldwork will be conducted along the Zimbabwe/South African border and at Messina. Guided by information gathered through consultations, desk research and interviews, two project team members will spend this time establishing contacts with organizations and individuals based at and near the border, and identifying the spots on the Zimbabwe side of the border at which migrants mobilize for the crossing.

At the time of writing, one team member has already spent a weekend at the Zimbabwe/South Africa border to ascertain the feasibility of undertaking the project.

4.2 Project 1: The Cape Town Project

The Cape Town Project is designed as a minor project within which to test the data collection methods and content distribution techniques of the major Border Project. As such, it could be considered a ‘pilot’ project, yet is coherent enough to stand as an independent project in its own right.

4.2.1 Motivation

Cape Town itself has approximately 10 000 recognised refugees and about four-times as many asylum seekers waiting for a decision (Reddon, 2007). Many of these refugees come to the Cape to secure a better life for themselves; they find work as car-guards, security guards or taxi drivers, or otherwise establish their own

small trading enterprises. In their efforts to reform their lives, they are met with multiple challenges, including xenophobia, administrative bungling and poverty.

There have been a number of photographic exhibitions in the Cape Town area which focus on local refugees. Most of these have displayed sensationalistic photographic images of xenophobic discrimination with the aim of exposing and drawing public attention to these human rights abuses. The Cape Town Project, however, aims to provide a space for refugees and migrants to document and display images from their everyday lives and makes no prescriptions about what these images should include. It is likely that abuse and brutal discrimination may surface in refugees' daily lives, but it is also likely that it is slotted in amongst a wide variety of other experiences - many of them rather ordinary. In his paper, 'The Rediscovery of the Ordinary', Njabulo Ndebele (1986) makes a compelling argument for resisting sensationalism in publicizing discrimination and prejudice. He advocates for increased recognition of the ways in which prejudice and discrimination spill into ordinary mundane activities - the unnoticed crevices of the everyday. He suggests that we learn to listen to the soft and nuanced ways in which the macro sociopolitical context speaks within the microcosms of individual lives.

Focusing on the everyday lives of refugees is also strategic, given the project's objectives. Displaying the ordinary as opposed to the sensational, foregrounds the humanness of refugees as opposed to their victimhood. Furthermore, resilience often finds expression in the everyday - in the ways that the disempowered rise above their circumstances in order to survive. An exhibition of this kind celebrates their efforts and casts them as survivors rather than helpless victims. Finally, viewers are more likely to identify with and relate to everyday experiences, than to sensationalism. Drawing out the similarities between viewers and participant photographers breaks down us-them distinctions which underlie prejudices.

Daily life is, after all, the ultimate goal of migration; migrants crossing the border into South Africa will be entering into the kinds of daily experiences that characterize the lives of current refugees in Cape Town and elsewhere.

4.2.2 Participants

Snowball sampling will be used to recruit participants for this project; refugees and migrants will be sourced via refugee support organizations like ARESTA and PASOP, through personal contacts and approached directly. The participant sample will not be restricted to Zimbabwean migrants, but instead will consist of all nationalities of refugees in the Cape Town area.

4.2.3 Methodology

Disposable cameras will be handed out to all 20 refugees with whom interviews are conducted. A further 10 cameras will be distributed to additional refugees. Participants will also be provided with a pre-addressed and paid envelop in which the camera is to be sent to the project team. The names and contact details of all participants will be recorded and participants will be followed-up with reminders to return the camera. As an incentive, participants who return the cameras will be offered R100.

4.2.4 Content display and distribution

Participants will be fully included in all decisions of how to exhibit their work and in the planning of the exhibition and public dialogue, should they wish.

Given that this is a minor project, there will only be one exhibition and public dialogue, which may be

reproduced depending on its success. The exhibition of the Cape Town Project will follow similar lines to the major Border Project exhibitions, with an interactive focus and combined with a facilitated public dialogue (see below).

In the exhibition of refugees' daily lives, however, there will be a number of elements that introduce and foreshadow the topic of migration so as to lay the path for the major Border Project. Excerpts from the narrative accounts of participant photographers' border-crossing stories will be displayed alongside the photographs. The geographical regions of photographs will also be marked (e.g. Rondebosch or Muizenberg) and similarities and differences between regional works will be highlighted. As such, the exhibition will foreground the relationship between geography, space and regional border-crossing, and identities, experiences and everyday lives, in anticipation of the major BRP project.

4.3 Project 2: Border Project

Although the Border Project is more extensive and has a different focus to the Cape Town project, the process of its implementation and its fundamental objectives are similar.

4.3.1 Motivation

The consequences of the political impasse in Zimbabwe are multidimensional. Inflation figures, opposition parties and election results receive the headlines while, alas, the ways in which the political and economic crisis seeps into the daily lives of ordinary Zimbabweans goes unnoticed. Migration, invariably forced, is of course a very real consequence of the meltdown in Zimbabwe. Many ordinary Zimbabweans leave their homes, friends and communities in search of more agreeable climes. South Africa is one of Africa's wealthiest economies, and naturally perceived as the greener grass on the other side of the proverbial fence for many migrants in Africa. But the journey from Zimbabwe to South Africa is by all accounts extremely trying with crooks all too often posing as guides and Crocodiles in the Limpopo River baying for blood. Sadly, for those who manage to breach the border there is no respite. Armed bandits, farmers patrolling the border (Plaasweg), the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) and the South African Police Services (SAPS) all have to be sidestepped.

The Border Project aims to provide migrants with the means to document this difficult journey from Zimbabwe to South Africa, and creating a platform for them to communicate their experiences to the South Africans among whom they will live. It also intends to document and tell the stories of vigilante farmers and others who wish to prevent migrants from entering South Africa. It is hoped that the pictures may facilitate dialogue between South Africans and Zimbabweans, thus, hopefully reducing the levels of animosity and suspicion on both sides. Moreover, it is our hope that the pictures will tell a story that urgently needs to be told and focus media attention on the struggles of ordinary Zimbabweans.

4.3.2 Participants

Our fieldwork will equip us with a clear understanding of the routes taken by Zimbabwean migrants, the locations in Zimbabwe at which migrants congregate before coming over into South Africa and rich list of contacts. With this information, and through snowball sampling, we will be able to identify groups of Zimbabweans who are about to migrate to South Africa.

4.3.3 Methodology

Border Project

The project team will spend two to three weeks in Zimbabwe distributing disposable cameras to the groups of migrants about to cross the border into South Africa. Cameras will also be distributed to vigilante farmers who have taken it upon themselves to patrol the border. To ensure that a substantial number of cameras are returned to us, pre-addressed, paid envelopes will come with the cameras and economic incentives will be provided to migrants and farmers agreeing to participate. Zimbabwean migrants will be issued with either Spar or Pick n Pay store cards which will be credited with an amount of R200 upon receipt of the cameras. Farmers will be remunerated with a gift package worth R200.

4.3.4 Content packaging and distribution

We intend using the images that emerge from the Border Project as creatively as possible, bearing in mind that our aim is not merely to display the images but to use them as a foundation for dialogue and debate. We also intend to distribute the content as widely as possible, making it easily accessible so as to reach target populations. For this reason, all content will be licensed under Creative Commons so that it can be freely downloaded and distributed for non-commercial purposes. The following platforms will be used to present the images and content:

Interactive Exhibitions and public dialogues

Public dialogues and conventional exhibitions will be combined to create interactive exhibitions. The opening night of each exhibition will be reserved for public dialogue. Migrant photographers (either from the Cape Town or Border projects) will be allowed the opportunity to share their travel stories, after which time the floor will be open for dialogue and debate. An experienced facilitator will be used to ensure that things run smoothly. At every exhibition there will be a blank pin board to which viewers may attach travel narratives or their own photographs. This, we believe, will allow viewers the opportunity to leave a trace of their own stories behind.

A few large exhibitions will take place at art galleries throughout South Africa. However, our primary concern is that exhibitions target communities in which refugees live and in which high levels of xenophobia have been noted. In this regard, we intend making use of community centres, schools and recreational spaces such as malls, youth centres or shabeens to ensure that exhibitions touch the lives of those who are affected by and champion xenophobia.

School Programme

Using the border crossing film and the photographic images, a programme will be designed to specifically cater for high school learners and will travel around schools initially in the Western Cape, and eventually around South Africa. The multimedia programme will include speakers, hip-hop artists and performers, film and photography, and will aim to install respect for difference, emphasis on shared humanity and promote anti-xenophobic attitudes from a young age.

Website

One of the first steps in the project planning process will be the design and set up of a project website. Although the photographic content generated from the project will only be uploaded once cameras are returned, the website should be functioning from the onset of the project and will document the process of project implementation.

The website is intended to keep funders up to date with project activities and progress, but also as a means of reaching the public and targeting xenophobic attitudes through digital exhibitions. As such, the website will perform the same function and have similar objectives to project exhibitions.

This format of the website will be similar to that of the US-Mexican Border Film Project which can be viewed at www.borderfilmproject.com. It will include an overview of the project, the project team, donors and sponsors; a list of links to media articles about the project; a catalogue of project products that can be purchased; a collection of relevant articles on migration and border crossing and links to related websites; an exhibition of photographs; and a forum for public debate.

Book

Selected images from all of the projects, interview data and snippets from newspaper articles will be compiled into a book. Many of the original participants involved in the project will be contacted and asked to assist us in compilation and authorship. It is important to us that participants be given the opportunity to inform, shape and in a sense co-author the book. Proceeds of sales will also go to migrants who participated in the project.

Booklets and pamphlets

The content generated from all of the projects will also be used to create smaller booklets and pamphlets, which will convey the same anti-xenophobic message of the book. These smaller booklets and pamphlets will be distributed within communities with high levels of xenophobia.

Magazine articles

Articles about the project will also be written and submitted to leading magazine publications to increase awareness around the plight of refugees and migrants in South Africa.

Media attention

Leading international and South African broadcasting agencies will be contacted and asked to run news stories on both projects. Given the significant amount of media attention that the USA-Mexico Border Film Project succeeded in attracting, we are confident that the Cape Town Project and the Zimbabwean Border Project will be similarly successful in this regard.

5 Monitoring and Evaluation

The following methods will be used to monitor the project on an ongoing basis and to evaluate the success of its intervention.

5.1 Website feedback

The project website will include a portal for anonymous feedback. Since the website will be established at the onset of the project, rather than as a product of the project, this feedback will meaningfully inform strategic direction and be worked into proceeding phases of the project plan.

5.2 Attitude change interviews

As already described earlier in this proposal, baseline interviews and questionnaires will probe members of the public about their attitudes towards, and perceptions of migrants and refugees living in their communities. Those interviewed and questioned will be invited to attend all public dialogues and exhibitions. Team members will conduct brief follow-up interviews with at least half of these viewers. Data from follow-up interviews will be compared against baseline data to measure degree of xenophobic attitude change instigated by the public dialogue and exhibition.

5.3 Questionnaires for exhibition viewers

Questionnaires will be distributed to all visitors at exhibitions and public dialogue events. Items will probe viewers and participants' attitudes towards migrants and refugees living in South Africa, the effect of the exhibition or public dialogue on these attitudes, and their opinions on the exhibition in general.

5.4 Questionnaires for participants

All migrants and refugees who participate in this project as photographers will be given a brief questionnaire to fill out, either upon return of the camera, or during exhibitions and public dialogues. The questionnaire will be designed to gather feedback on their experiences of the project, on whether or not the telling of their story proved meaningful to them and whether they felt empowered by the process.

5.5 Impact report

All feedback will be integrated into an impact report that will be made available to all funders and donors. Results of questionnaires, follow-up interviews and website feedback will be made available to the public via the website. All respondents, however, will remain anonymous.

6 Risks and contingency plans

The Cape Town project and the Border Project both have risks involved and contingency plans need to be established before implementation.

Risks	Contingencies
Given the current political sensitivity around journalistic activity in Zimbabwe, providing participants with cameras may place them in danger.	The project team will ensure that thorough research is undertaken on the Zimbabwean side of the border to identify risks to participants and the safest spots for camera distribution. Contacts and partnerships, established during fieldwork, will guide the team on the safest possible measures. Cameras will be distributed as close to the border as possible to ensure that migrants do not have cameras in Zimbabwe for long periods of time.
Since the team is not affiliated to any media organization, an unaccredited presence in Zimbabwe could be potentially dangerous for the project team.	The team will punt the project as a social art project, rather than a media project.
The project team may receive back fewer cameras than anticipated.	The team will distribute three times more cameras than what is needed. Incentives will be offered for the return of cameras.
The output of the project may end up being little more than an artistic voyeuristic exposure of trauma and suffering.	From its onset, the project is intended to be action-focused, with an aim of instigating xenophobic attitude change. To ensure this objective, the project team will maintain close partnerships and regular communication with refugee organizations and change-work initiatives.

7 Logistics

7.1 Action plan and timeframe

For a detailed timeline of project activities, please refer to Appendix A.

7.2 Budget

For a detailed overall budget, as well as a breakdown for each project, please refer to Appendix B.

7.3 Project Organization

It is proposed that the project be jointly managed by Roscoe Roman and Leanne Johansson. Both will be responsible for the administrative management and strategic direction of the project. They will be assisted in their work by a project team, consisting of students, activists and professionals each with particular areas of expertise.

Roscoe Roman—project manager

At the end of 2007 Roscoe Roman graduated from the University of Cape Town with a Bachelor of Business Science(hons) degree in Economics. Economic development in rural South Africa is an issue that is close to his heart and during his long paper, under the excellent supervision of Associate Professor Martin Wittenberg, he looked at (or rather attempted to look at) the impact of electricity and water infrastructure rollout on the time-use patterns of rural South Africans. In September, Roscoe will head up to Oxford University to read for a M.Phil in Economics at St John's college as South Africa-at-large Rhodes scholar.

In his lighter moments, Roscoe is a keen sportsman. He is currently a member of the Green Point Exiles soccer club and wondering when their patience with him will run out. During a more ambitious and fitter period of his life, he rowed for the University of Cape Town. Not unlike most young South Africans, Roscoe enjoys bite-sized portions of South African media and wishes that they would stop trying to convince him that South Africa's political and economic demise is just around the corner. When not wading knee-deep in Rushdie, Marquez, or Kundera's brilliance, Roscoe enjoys South African fiction (Incidentally, the Native Commissioner by Shaun Johnson is a South African masterpiece).

Roscoe is immensely proud to be a South African and exceptionally excited about playing a role in her bid to bring prosperity and happiness to all of her citizens.

Leanne Johansson—project manager

Leanne Johansson grew up around South Africa and matriculated from Wynberg Girls' High in 2002. She took a gap year travelling in Europe, before completing her undergraduate BSocSci with majors in Social Anthropology, Psychology and English. As a Mandela Rhodes Scholar, in 2007, she graduated with BSocSci(hons) in Psychology. Leanne holds numerous awards for leadership and academic excellence, including the Monica Wilson Award and the international Goldman-Sachs Global Leadership Award. She has co-founded and chaired student societies at UCT and in the US; coordinated Community Arts Development projects; and worked with refugees in Adult Education Programmes in Cape Town. Taking a year off from studying in 2008, she is presently working as a consultant for the Western Cape Education Department advising on Arts Education, job creation and the development of creative industries. She is also working as a researcher for two projects that aim to increase access to knowledge in developing countries in Africa. Leanne plans to undertake a Masters Degree in Development Studies or a related area. Her interests are wide and diverse, spanning the Arts, the development sector and the social sciences.

Sahba El Basha—finance administrator

Sabah El-Basha will act as project accountant. Her responsibilities will include managing the budget, daily income and expenditure of the project and producing a monthly financial report as well as a final report at the end of the project.

Sabah El-Basha grew up in Sudan and Mozambique, and came to South Africa when she was 17 years old to study at the University of Cape Town. She is currently in her final year of studying towards a BCom in Accounting. She intends to continue with her studies and become a chartered accountant, although she would also like to undertake a postgraduate degree in Development Studies. She is particularly interested in the ways in which business and development intersect, and has experience working as a volunteer with various outreach organizations in Cape Town.

Braam Hanekom

Braam Hanekom, a human rights activist, was born in Zimbabwe, where he spent the first 19 years of his

life, but now lives in Cape Town. He speaks fluent Shona and has a political background (born into an ANC family), he writes a weekly column in the Zimbabwean (a newspaper sold in Zimbabwe, South Africa and the UK). After being mortified by the corruption within the Department of Home Affairs Foreshore Office, Braam spearheaded PASSOP (People Against Suffering, Suppression, Oppression and Poverty) in March 2007, an NGO that advocates for the rights of refugees. PASSOP has held several protests centered on refugee concerns and issues such as police brutality, xenophobia and corruption, has helped initiate sister organizations UCT-PASSOP and the Adonis Musati Project and has several future projects planned for 2008. Passop has advocated for the rights of immigrants and has gained a lot of ground. Following the media attention from PASSOP's protests, Braam educated himself about the struggles, rights and issues of refugees and has made himself an expert in this field. He has been featured in countless newspaper articles, radio shows, BBC, New York Times and an SABC news special, addressing refugee concerns.

Rumbi Goredema

Rumbi Goredema spent her childhood in Zimbabwe and came to South Africa when she was 7 years old. She finished high school at the International School of Cape Town, graduating top of her class. In 2006, as a Mellon Mays Undergrad Fellow, she graduated from a BSocSci with majors in history, psychology and sociology. As a Mandela Rhodes Scholar she completed her BSocSci(hons) in Diversity Studies and is currently studying towards a Masters in the same field at UCT. Rumbi has considerable experience working with student development organizations; she is ex-chairperson of the Township Debating League (TDL) and presently sits on the board of Ubunye. She is a self-declared feminist, has a particular interest in the empowerment of women in Africa, and hopes to work in development organizations for this purpose.

7.4 Contact details

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Leanne Johansson

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7.5 Current and potential partners

Potential partners and useful contacts include:

- People Against Suppression, Oppression and Poverty (PASOP)
- Border Film Project: US-Mexico
- Agency for Refugee Skills, Education and Advocacy
- Gale Shoeman (photographer and Filmmaker)
- Godknows Nare (Zimbabwean Filmmaker)
- Zimbabwe Civic Action Support Group
- Cape Town Refugee Centre

- Transvaal Agricultural Union

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8 Appendix

A Budget

	Cape Town Project			Border Project			Total
	No of items	Cost per item	Sub total	No of items	Cost per item	Sub total	
Planning and research							
Website design and setup				1	R 20,000	R 20,000	R 20,000
Content collection							
Cameras	30	R 40	1200	200	R 40	8000	R 9,200
Incentives	30	R 100	3000	200	R 250	50000	R 53,000
Envelopes and postage	30	R 10	300	200	R 10	2000	R 2,300
Camera equipment and maintenance						0	
Accommodation				3	R 3,000	9000	R 9,000
Food supplies				3	R 1,000	3000	R 3,000
Transportation						0	
1. Flights				3	R 1,500	4500	R 4,500
2. Petrol	2	R 200	400	1	R 2,000	2000	R 2,400
3. Public transport						0	
4. Car hire				12	R 600	7200	R 7,200
						0	
						0	
Content preparation							
Printing of photographs	30	R 75	2250	200	R 75	15000	R 17,250
Large-scale exhibition prints	30	R 100	3000	40	R 100	4000	R 7,000
Book production				1	R 3,000	3000	R 3,000
Book publication				100	R 50	5000	R 5,000
Public dialogue exhibition							
Marketing	1	R 500	500	5	R 500	2500	R 3,000
Venue hire	1	R 2,000	2000	5	R 2,000	10000	R 12,000
Equipment				5	R 2,000	10000	R 10,000
Refreshments	60	R 30	1800	500	R 30	15000	R 16,800
Facilitation fees	1	R 300	300	5	R 300	1500	R 1,800
Migrant speakers remuneration fees	3	R 100	300	15	R 100	1500	R 1,800
Distribution							
Campaign booklet design and printin	100	R 15	1500	1000	R 15	15000	R 16,500
Schools programme				10	R 2,500	25000	R 25,000
Project totals			R16,550			R 213,200	R 229,750

B Timeline

