



MSc Thesis

Cinema as a Tool for Development

Investigating the Power of Mobile Cinema in the Latin American
Context

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Everything you can imagine is real

- Picasso



Abstract

During the last fifteen years, mobile cinema has sparked new interest in the cinema and development sectors. Taking cinema out of conventional theatres and bringing it to the people by transporting screening equipment on trucks, bicycles or trains and setting up ephemeral cinemas in the public space. Widening the diffusion of local films can provide strong incentives to a region or a country's cinematographic industry and stimulate the production of independent films on socially conscious themes. But the main ambition of most mobile cinema projects is to channel the power of cultural community encounters to trigger critical social reflections and pave the way for social transformation. Just as other cultural activities, gathering to watch a film can bring new inspirations and motivations, which are subjective drivers for actor-based and self-sustained community change. Research is needed to substantiate the hypothesis that mobile cinema contributes to social change in the aforementioned sense. Therefore, the present work proposes to take an investigative look into mobile cinema in order to find out the ways and the extent to which it contributes to actor-based community development.

In order to find answers, two mobile cinema projects were investigated; one in Colombia and one in Uruguay. A qualitative approach was applied, as interviews were carried out with the projects' organisers, the public, and the directors of the films screened. Data was collected on the projects' vision and organisation, on the public's immediate reactions after the screenings, and on the filmmakers' social vision and intentions. Besides, the films screened were analysed in terms of their themes and arguments, in order to identify the relationship between the films shown and local development needs.

The results brought interesting insights about the immediate impacts of mobile cinema on the beneficiary communities. It was concluded firstly that the activities carried out in the frame of the projects studied somehow stimulated participation, but that more efforts should be carried out to establish longer-term engagements within communities. Secondly, it was observed that the themes of some of the films presented by the projects were related to local development needs, but that a majority of films dealt with 'lighter' personal and social topics. Thirdly, from the impressions reported by the public, it was possible to list the different types of subjective effects that the films could generate, from reflections on one's own behaviour, to more general intellectual satisfaction and thirst. The public's interpretations corresponded with the filmmakers' intentions to a large extent, and it was observed that more complex and metaphorical films tended to evoke a larger diversity of interpretations and more intense levels of reflection. Fourthly, a synthesis of the public members' opinion of the two projects showed that although promotion methods should be stepped up, the mobile cinema events were very much valued by their beneficiaries.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

CFSC	Communication for Social Change
CNA	Cinéma Numérique Ambulant
FICCI	Festival International de Cine de Cartagena de Indias
GEO	Global Environmental Outlook
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
RECAM	Reunión Especializada de Autoridades Cinematográficas y Audiovisuales del MERCOSUR
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Protection Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

Preface

After finishing my bachelor degree in Environmental Sciences, I began to feel the lack of a more 'human' dimension in my studies. My deepest drive was the feeling of an immense responsibility towards nature, and the need to work on the resolution of the planet's daunting environmental crisis. However, I could not conceive working in a field that would not lead me into close contact with people, and I got intrigued by the social sciences. As I enrolled in my first online community development course, I discovered something that would lead me on another jump across disciplines. Without any expectations, as I was looking for activities in a new city, I landed at a documentary film festival. I attended one screening after another, as films on sensitive social and political topics from around the world were presented. Before I realised it, I was moved to tears as I realised that I had finally found something that could reconcile my need for a creative outlet with my activist drives. With my tears came out the frustration accumulated over the years, as I had gradually pushed the artistic out of my life; letting down my extra-curricular activities and abandoning my dream to become a photographer for the sake of a more conventional and promising scientific career. But through subtle changes in direction, I had reached a place where I had both the will and viable strategy to bring my professional path in tune with my inner drives.

As I began a master in Sustainable Development at the University of Utrecht, I was doubtful, wondering whether I had made the right choice and if these two years of research would not sway me once more from my creative aspirations. When I began to look for a topic on which to write my thesis, I tried to think of subjects which bring together development and film, but I was afraid of not finding neither the substance nor the support for such a research. I quite unconventionally left the Netherlands without a clearly defined research plan, and I began an investigation on the social impacts of the Havana Film Festival. During one of my stays at the film school where I was searching archives for information on social cinema in Latin America, I was lucky to meet a student who had worked in the field of mobile cinema. Through her, I got in contact with the director of a large solar powered mobile cinema project operating all over South America, and I realised that mobile cinema was precisely what I was looking for; a movement dedicated to using the power of cinema to transform communities and diffuse environmental awareness.

Through a number of fortunate encounters, I discovered the extent of the practice over the continent, and I decided to make two projects the basis for my research. From Cuba to Colombia and Uruguay, I encountered professors, filmmakers, students, and the public of mobile cinema events. They all contributed through their advices and comments to the realisation of the present work, which brings forth a message to break down the conceptual barriers which separate arts and culture from conventional approaches to socio-economic change. I am deeply grateful to all the people who helped me throughout my research, including the leaders and workers of the projects Cine en los Barrios and Ecocinema -Angela Bueno, Gonzalo Lamela and Raúl Romero, the film directors and public members who patiently answered all my questions, and the professors who advised me throughout the redaction phase, my supervisor Gery Nijenhuis and Ernesto Galarza. A special mention goes to the person whose handwriting was used to create the

font used on the cover page. The Argentinian man Guillermo, crossed four continents to end up on the streets of Barcelona after a number of misfortunes. The foundation Arells began a fundraising project based on the sale of fonts designed after the handwriting of homeless people. This project's vision and the vision of mobile cinema are similar in the sense that they both believe in the power of art to transform people and societies.

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Introduction

In a small Uruguayan village, a truck mounted with solar panels parks near the main square. Curious, people attentively watch the team as they inflate a giant screen, install the projector and set up two large speakers. The sun sets and the square fills up. The people sit down on public benches or on chairs they brought from their nearby homes, and the film begins. There are no theatres in their village, but tonight they are able to taste the joys of cinema in their home-place, and free of charge. They are impressed to see what their country's filmmakers are capable of. After the screening, they get a chance to ask questions to the director of the film, and they begin to think about the topic that has just been presented to them. Before leaving, they learn that the screening was entirely powered by the energy captured by the truck's solar panels. What many of them ignore, is that mobile cinema is an old and widespread phenomenon. Screens began to travel in the wake of the XXth century as Russian filmmaker Dziga Vertov travelled by train with a transportable cinema unit to encourage soviet revolutionaries with propaganda films (Murray-Brown, n.d.). Mobile cinema then progressively made its appearance around the globe, from African countries where it was used as a tool to educate people for the benefits of the colonial administrations in the 1930-50s, to post-revolutionary Cuba where it was used as a medium for public education, and Great Britain where it served as a means to promote the national cinematic industry in the late 1960 (Vintage Mobile Cinema, n.d.). Nowadays, mobile cinema initiatives are being carried out on all corners of the planet, from Iraq to Colombia, from Cyprus to New Zealand and from the Palestine to South Africa.

Amongst development theorists, debates about the best recipes for socio-economic advancement have led to the formulation of the actor-oriented paradigm, which holds that change is best brought about by empowering people to be the engineers of their own development. As practice began to shift from state-led, structuralist interventions to grassroots, agency-based initiatives, notions such as cultural activism (or engagement) and community arts were formulated. The idea was to foment democratic processes at the communal, regional and national levels by encouraging participation and voice through cultural activities. Culture, by existing outside of formal political structures, enjoys a freedom which allows people to question the existing socio-political order and broaden their minds to envisage new possibilities (Kjølsrød, 2013). Besides, cultural practices are engaging and attractive, since they are socially involving and are characterised by creativity, imagination, and spirituality. By getting involved in cultural activities, communities not only benefit from rising levels of wellbeing resulting from the intensifying of interactions and the growth experienced by individuals, they also become fertile grounds for critical reflection and activism (Scher, 2011). Within a community, creatively engaged, intellectually stimulated and socially connected individuals present a high potential for the prompting of endogenous and self-sustained community transformation. Manifestations of community arts can be observed all over the world, from a theatre group teaching the children of a marginal neighbourhood of Buenos Aires to a concert organised in a conflict zone (Scher, 2011; Twaalfhoven, 2011). These initiatives have in common that they take art outside of its conventional context and use it to serve society. Through their themes and their creative essence, artistic events can

transform those who perform, those who watch, and the places in which they take place. In a context of increasing materialistic aspirations, rising socio-economic inequalities, and in front of the failure of development agencies to lift up the condition of the economically, politically and culturally deprived, community based participative approaches to social change bring a new hope.

Mobile cinema differs from other community based cultural activities in the sense that the artistic contents presented are pre-produced audiovisual creations rather than interactive performances, and there is therefore a less direct type of relationship between public, artists, and their work. However, mobile cinema resembles other community arts forms in its ability to present engaging messages and lead people into a critical reflection. Although mobile cinema made its appearance more than a century ago, it began to attract more attention and expand during the last decade. Screening socially conscious films in culturally underserved places has gained popularity due mainly to its practicality and to the fact that it can easily reach large groups of people. Research has been carried out on the social impacts of films, but mostly in U.S. contexts, besides, mobile cinema involves more than the films it presents. Up until now, very limited academic research has been done on the development significance of mobile cinema; its organisation and the vision of its leaders, the contents it shows, and its concrete impacts on the field. Intuition expects that showing films with insightful contents to people has the power to inspire them to think and act differently, but is that really the case?

Bearing these considerations in mind, one can argue for the high relevance of an exploration of mobile cinema in its capacity to foster development from the grassroots level. Research is needed on its vision and organisation, the contents showed and the observable impacts on participants. This research was designed in order to shed light on the specific contributions of mobile cinema in the community development context by attempting to answer the following question:

In what ways and to what extent does mobile cinema contribute to actor-based community development?

The investigation was conducted in Colombia and Uruguay, two Latin American countries selected for their fundamentally different socio-economic, cultural and political contexts. In Colombia, research was carried out in Cartagena, in the frame of a mobile cinema project organised by the International Film Festival of Cartagena de Indias (FICCI). In Uruguay, data was collected during the screening sessions organised by Ecocinema, a project dedicated to the setting up of open air, solar powered cinemas across Latin America and Europe. In each case, data was collected through interviews with the public of the films screened, their filmmakers, as well as the projects' organisers. Another dimension of the research consisted of analysing film contents in order to assess the extent to which they correspond local development needs. By collecting and analysing data on the intellectual and emotional reactions of the public, on filmmakers' intentions, of the correspondence between films and national development needs, and on the organisation of the projects studied (including their participatory dimensions) it was possible to better understand the potential of mobile cinema in contributing to community-based development. Beyond the cases studied, studying mobile cinema can

permit the formulation of suggestions for improvement, which can guide practitioners to optimise their approach for effective and long-term social transformation. This paper first presents background information on actor-based development theories, community engagement and development, and mobile cinema. Secondly, a regional background is laid out with a presentation of the Colombian and Uruguayan development and cinematic contexts. Thirdly, the methodology of the research is presented. In the last three chapters the research's results are presented and analysed before formulating conclusions on the research questions and discussing the results obtained.

1. Literature review: the Cinema-Development connection

In order to analyse and assess the selected mobile cinema projects from the perspective of development studies, it is important to precise which development theories underpin these projects' vision and practices. In order to do so, it is necessary to begin with an exploration of the 'why' and 'how' of development, in order to identify existing rationales and successful practices. Therefore, this work's theoretical base begins with a review of selected theories of social change and development. Thereafter, the concepts of participative societies, cultural activism and community arts are presented, expanding the discussion on agency. Secondly, contemporary theories on communication, media and cinema are presented in order to provide a basis for exploring the pertinence and the potential impacts of the mobile cinema projects studied.

1.1 The formulation of alternative, actor-oriented approaches to development

1.1.1 Social change as an emerging process

Development is a type of social change. There are multiple definitions of social change, and many theories attempting to describe the process. Social change can be defined as 'the alteration of mechanisms within the social structure, characterised by changes in cultural symbols, rules of behaviour, social organisations, or value systems' and social structure as the 'distinctive, stable arrangement of institutions whereby human beings in a society interact and live together' (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2014). Thus, social change is a change in the organisation of society and/or of the value and norms to which it responds. It is thus not a discrete event, but a modification of systematic nature which perpetuates change in the future. Moreover, social change is not teleological but refers to change in any direction within the social structure. Social change can occur as evolution or revolution; evolution refers to progressive change according to a linear path, while revolution refers to a drastic change. The first one takes on a macro lens, studying changes at the general and global levels, and making conclusions on general trends and direction of change. It interprets social change as an evolutionary process occurring in predetermined and rational sequences. As a consequence, change is viewed as predictable. The second perspective takes on a micro-level lens, but considers change as an emerging phenomenon without a predictable order, sequence or direction (Huesca, 1996). As Huesca remarks, social change seems to be better implemented by people who perceive it as an emergent phenomenon than by those who see it as an emerging process, due to the fact that the first one takes on a reflexive approach and is able to respond to new circumstances. In this study, social change is understood as an emerging process, and development is theorised based on this conception.

1.1.2 Post-structuralist theories of development and human agency

Early development thinking was marked by the structuralist theoretical paradigm. Development theories and approaches of the decade following the end of the Second World War were based on the idea that social change is determined by the overarching structures of human society (i.e. economic, social and political structures and ideologies). Structuralism was translated in development practice by a focus on structures (infrastructures, institutions, ideologies etc.) and a disregard of the proactivity of individuals. Structuralist views are anti-humanistic and deterministic; they discount the

individual for being just another product of the logic of structures, a mere carrier of social forces (Durkheim, 1987). Structuralist approaches to development were widely criticised in the 1960s for holding too rigid, linear and externalist views of social change and mostly failing in their application, Long and van der Ploeg explained (1994). Different structuralist schools of thought (i.e. modernists or neo-Marxists) see development as the responsibility of the centres of power, whose function is to guide society through a succession of stages or dominant modes of production towards a predetermined goal. As a result, structuralist prescriptions deepen socio-economic inequalities and reinforce centralised control by powerful economic and political groups, institutions and enterprises (Long and van der Ploeg, 1994). Such approaches are highly limiting as they encapsulate the lives of people, reduce their autonomy and undermine local forms of cooperation and solidarity. As Meyers argued, in the structuralist mindset and under the influence of modernist, neo-colonial thinking, cinema was 'grounded in a paternalistic, if not colonial, idea of cinema as a medium for education and enlightenment' (p.57) (in Şaul & Austen, 2010).

The post-structuralist paradigm emerged from the criticism against structuralism, not as a negation of the power of structures, but as a rejection of the idea that they are the only determinants of social change. Instead, it takes a non-deterministic stance, putting ideas and human agency in the central stage and arguing that it is people's interpretations of external stimuli that determine the functions and the evolution of outside structures. Emphasis is put on subjectivity and the existence of multiple social realities, on human thought processes and interactions, and on peoples' freedom to shape the system they live in. Post-structuralism is against modern sciences which claim to establish undeniable truths, and it rejects the idea that the 'nature' or 'essence' of objects or people can be objectively defined. Instead, it argues for the constructed character of reality, the understanding of which is based on the analysis and reconstruction of discourses. Thus, post-structuralist approaches to development would tend to emphasize the importance of the characteristics of individuals and groups, their culture, symbols and the ways they construct reality.

As part of post-structuralist thinking, the actor-oriented paradigm argues for the importance of the role of citizens' interpretations of imposed structures and their reaction to those. Agency, as defined by Long and van der Ploeg (1994), is the capacity to process social experience and to organize social relations in such a way that a pre-existing state of affairs or course of events is reshaped, even under the most oppressive regimes. Structures controlled by governments impose limitations, but there is always a set of options available to people; their choice manifests their capacity to exert agency. By recognizing people's capability to alter their circumstances, macro-level structures imposed by the state are no longer seen as the main determinant of social life, which is instead shaped by bottom-up processes emerging from individuals or groups of citizens. Thus, structures do influence social organisation and activity, but only by shaping everyday life experiences and perceptions, according to agency theorists. A large part of the debate in development thinking concerns the attempt to reconcile structural and actor-oriented analysis (Long & van der Ploeg, 1994). In this debate, it is important to bear in mind that, as Giddens explained in the structuration theory (1984), there is a

circular relationship between social structure and human agency, in which social structure is both the cause and the outcome of social action. In the 1970s and 1980s, Asian, Latin American and African scholars reformulated the definition of development, manifesting a divergence from the modernist model and a belief in human agency, a position best represented by Wirmal Dissanyake and Georgette Wang's statement (CFSC, 2006):

Development is a process of social change that has as its goal the improvement in the quality of life of all or the majority of the people without doing violence to the natural and cultural environment in which they exist, and which seeks to involve the majority of the people as closely as possible in this enterprise, making them the masters of their own destiny.

Grassroots participative approaches are increasingly applied in the development field as researchers and practitioners are retreating from structural and macro approaches in favour of micro and actor-oriented approaches (Nederveen Pieterse, 2009). In recent years, voices have been raised in favour of a reconceptualization of development into what is called 'post-development'. Post-development argues for the necessity of a new decentralised and participatory development model, which asserts the rights and freedoms of individuals and is based on local knowledge (Rapley, 2007). Thus, it appears that development approaches have been changed from being authoritative, rigid and external, to being flexible, individual-focused, and acknowledging the necessity of people to design the conditions for their own well-being.

Thus, actor-oriented theories of development hold that people are agents of change. They have an innate capacity to socially interpret reality, develop ideas and strategies, and react to change their environment. Based on this conception of people and social change, new development practices were suggested. These approaches are grassroots focused and participative in both actions and ideas. At first glance, mobile cinema seems to fit the post-structuralist, actor-oriented development paradigms. Indeed, the concept is to bring films made by independent filmmakers to reduced groups of people belonging to a given community. After screenings, the public is often given the chance to enter in a discussion about what they have just seen, generally involving the filmmaker. Thus, mobile cinema transforms the public from passive spectator to active participant, and reformulates cinema from its traditional conception as unidirectional process to a more dynamic process involving feedback from its recipients. In this research, the extent to which mobile cinema does indeed fit into post-structuralist and agency development paradigms will be assessed by investigating the organisation of two distinct projects. The elements which would demonstrate that the afore-described development paradigms are applied in mobile cinema include the following:

- The encouragement of interaction and discussion between the public and filmmakers, empowering public members to express themselves
- The valuation and interest of the public's ideas and opinions demonstrated by the filmmakers and project organisers (through direct comments or observations), as this follows from the idea that the mental constructions of people matter in determining social change

- The encouragement of engagement after the film screening is over, through follow-up activities or the facilitation of contacts with other organisations

The extent to which mobile cinema fits with the post-structuralist and agency development models will be assessed in Chapter 4.

1.1.3 Cultural activism: a new avenue to participative development

As explained in the previous sub-chapter, the actor-centred development paradigm brings the focus back to the individual, conceptualising it as an agent of change instead of a passive subject. Political systems often give limited space for citizen participation, but as Bank explained, within any complex, dynamic, and unequal societies, democratic effectiveness hinges on men and women practising their freedoms-however minimally (in Kjølørød, 2013). There are many ways for people to get involved in public affairs, from traditional political involvement in school or municipal councils to more 'creative' and informal cultural associations. This research being on the relationship between a cultural practice (cinema) and development, the focus of this sub-chapter will lay on participation within the cultural sector and the development potential represented by such engagement.

Although artistic activities are usually justified by self-serving purposes and modern leisure is rarely considered in a political sense, cultural associations can be converted in an avenue for critical reflection on social themes and political consciousness raising (in Portuguese: conscientização) (Mandel Butler and Princeswal, 2010; Kjølørød, 2013). Through a study of leisure associations, Kjølørød (2013) gained a deeper insight into their internal dynamics, their personal impacts and their political dimensions. She showed that that these associations can go far beyond diversion, and encourage its members to reflect critically, express themselves, take action, grow personally and become agents of social transformation. As Kjølørød explained, by expressing themselves through their activities in the frame of non-political, informal associations, groups or individuals can participate in advancing the status quo, negotiate change, or engage in processes of resistance. Through the dialogues and activities taking place during the encounters of leisure or cultural groups, people let their voices be heard in the public space and contribute to the formation of a new culture of participation based on innovating engagement models (Mandel Butler & Princeswal, 2010). These forms of engagement bring a new dimension to the political realm, creating new, 'softer' ways for societies to exert democratic influence. Through the engagement of its citizens, a society's political life transcends proceduralism and formal representation, becoming a flexible and dynamic micro-level interaction between large scale democratic processes guided by elected leaders and the small scale social life of community members (Kjølørød, 2013).

In the 1970s community arts grew alongside the community development movement, which was defined by the United Nations as 'a movement to promote better living for the whole community with active participation and if possible on the initiative of the community' (in Craig et al., 2011, p.3). Community arts was defined by Kelly (1984) as an approach that 'involves people on a collective basis, encourages the use of a collective statement but does not neglect individual development or the need for individual expression' (p.2). Community arts, according to Erven (2013) are all about special

alliances between artists and people who would not normally come into close or intensive contact with art or artists (2013). Hence, it can be said that community arts are characterised by the social practice of a creative activity, the expression of a statement, community growth and personal growth through contact with artists and artistic practices. As an Argentinian musician, theatre artist and journalist argued, community arts reformulates the conception of art from an exclusive practice reserved to a few chosen ones to a central part of community life, an inherent part of the human condition, asking : 'who cut off the right to imagine?' (Scher, 2011, p.69). According to the same author, art can enfranchise people from the indoctrination by the power structures, which have led people into believing that injustice is something natural. Art does not have the power to directly contribute to the redistribution of wealth or social injustice, but it can challenge the belief that things are as they are and nothing can be built or changed, she stated. Thus art brings creative thinking, reflection, questioning (Scher, 2011).

In recent years, the number of programs and studies focused on the involvement of young people in the public sphere have multiplied all over the world (Flekkoy & Kaufman, 1997; Rajani, 2001; UNICEF, 2003). These programs are led by both the state and the non-governmental sectors, and increasingly take cultural forms including artistic practices such as theatre, music, dance, cinema, and photography (Mandel Butler & Princeswal, 2010). Practices include unconventional forms of artistic manifestation such as outdoor festivals, creative play, murals, community printing, radical writing, new media work, etc. (Matarasso, 2011). Around the world, members of communities are getting engaged in artistic activities, as public or as integral member of a performance. These activities all have artistic expression in common, but differ in their objectives and in their political implications. From community theatre groups in poor suburbs of Buenos Aires, to a band made of Czechs, Slovaks, Turkish, Armenian and Chinese musicians, a concert in the buffer zone that separates Greek and Turkish Cypriots and the organisation of a festival in living rooms of the Muslim Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem by a young Dutch composer (Twaalfhoven, 2011).

Leisure associations bring new opportunities for citizen participation because, as Turner explained, they enjoy a cultural freedom which allows them to express social critiques 'exposing the injustices, inefficiencies, and immoralities of the mainstream economic and political structures and organisations' (in Kjølørød, 2013, p.1220). Thus, the particularity of leisure associations is that they allow for a higher degree of freedom for people to think and speak up. Within groups, individual engagement to a cause is reinforced by the pleasant feeling generated by an encounter. Social rituals, according to Durkheim, are experiences of mutually focused attention and emotion which produce a shared reality and a sense of group membership (in Kjølørød, 2013). Beyond fostering bonding within the members of a group, gatherings connect people through symbolic representations and a sense of heightened inter-subjectivity, as Collins explained (in Kjølørød, 2013). Connections among individuals and groups catalyse the formation of collective commitments, which rarely surge from the minds of specific persons or whole populations (Kjølørød, 2013). Kjølørød suggests that although the political goals of leisure organisations are much less grandiose than those of social movements, the success of the first one might be guaranteed by its attractiveness to the general population. Indeed,

many people engage in leisure activities, but few are willing to engage in more direct forms of political engagement. Leisure associations are capable of fostering lifelong commitment, learning, reflection, and bring people to action.

Under the capitalist paradigm which values consumer choice as one of the highest types of freedom, television, mobiles and mainstream films are perceived as goods created to be consumed alone. Even in cinemas, people tend to go in small groups and often do not interact with one another. As a consequence, media consumption is a highly individual experience which often leads to isolation. In mobile cinema screenings however, the members of a community (i.e. a village, a street in a poor neighbourhood) gather to watch a film, thereby socialising the experience of cinema. Mobile cinema, in its non-governmental form, is one of the many expression of the capacity of citizens to take the public debate into their own hands. Just as other community arts forms, mobile cinema creates a platform for public discussion through the medium of films. However, mobile cinema events do not involve creative activities, as they are dedicated to the screening of artistic products which have already been made. Community video projects through which the members of a community are trained to produce their own films exist and have yielded interesting results, but they are not in the scope of this research (although attention will be paid shortly to the participativeness of the Colombian and Uruguayan filmmaking sectors in part 4.1). The participative dimensions of mobile cinema are articulated around the information exchanges which take place during screening events. These exchanges take place indirectly through the contents of the films screened, as well as directly through discussions between filmmakers and the public, and between the members of the public themselves. The 'active ingredient' of mobile cinema being the information flows it promotes through film contents and human interactions, it is interesting to look into current knowledge on and use of communication in the development field.

1.1.4 The use of communication in the actor-oriented development paradigm

Communication plays an important role in development processes. Information exchanges take place on every scale, from a chat between two members of a community to massive media campaigns emitted through the internet. Mobile cinema is a cultural practice which is in essence a communication platform, as its activities consist of indirect and direct information exchanges between filmmakers and the members of a public. Having discussed different approaches to development and argued in favour of participative, actor-oriented models, it is interesting to explore the meaning of participation in the field of communication.

Since the end of the Second World War, academics and development practitioners carried out research dedicated to the analysis and building of theories related to the use of communication to promote social change in developing countries (Barranquero & Sáez Baeza, 2010). Development communication studies were historically divided into two main threads: the first one bases its prescriptions on modernisation theory, while the second derives communication models from dependency theory (CFSC, 2006). Modernisation theory based models assume that underdevelopment is simply due to a lack of knowledge and sees information as the key to progress. Hence, it argues for the

dissemination of information aimed at promoting and diffusing innovation and technologies, with the ultimate goal to increase agricultural and industrial production, and give access to consumer goods to the largest number of people (Talcott Parsons, 1937; Englewood, 1971). That's why such development thinking considers that 'underdeveloped' countries are information-poor, and that information holds the key to improving their lives. Such approach to development communication perceives tradition and culture as obstacles to development, and are usually applied vertically by universities, marketing agencies and private corporations (CFSC, 2006). The idea is to follow diffusion theory and massively share innovations from knowledge centres (USA, Europe) to less-advanced rural populations in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Modernist approaches to communication have dominated international cooperation for several decades and persist in many development organisations. However, history demonstrated the limitations of the dissemination of innovation model. Particularly in Latin America where it was largely adopted, but ended up benefiting *terratenientes* [landowners] and failed to change the situation of poor peasants due to the absence of any structural changes.

Dependency-theory based models of development communication emerged from social and political struggles against colonial and dictatorial powers in developing countries (CFSC, 2006). Underdevelopment and poverty began to be seen as the consequence of structural constraints (political, economic, social, cultural and legal), and not just the result of ignorance of the recipes of economic growth (Jara, 1978). Besides, a UNESCO report pointed out in 1980 the extreme centralisation of information production on the global scale by a few powerful news agencies, most of which were based in the United States (UNESCO, 1984). Hence, information was not the miracle ingredient missing for development to begin, and the information available was highly monopolised. As a reaction, models of alternative and participatory communication emerged from unconnected experiences around the world, aimed at empowering those who were previously voiceless or seemingly invisible (CFSC, 2006). In an effort to gain control of the communication space in neo-colonial, neoliberal and repressive societies, community newspapers, radio stations, cinema clubs, and television channels were formed, and information flows became more participative. However, many of them faced repression by the State (Barranquero & Sáez Baeza, 2010).

Development communication theories have evolved since their early formulations. During the last two decades, different groups have worked in the formulation of an alternative, participatory and effective model of Communication for Social Change (CFSC). This model describes an iterative process in which 'community dialogue' and 'collective action' are channelled to produce social change in a community through the improvement of health and welfare of all its members (Figuerola, Kincaid, Rani, & Lewis, 2002). It is a communication based approach to development that proposes giving people the control of the means and content of communication processes in order to make them become the drivers of their own change (CFSC, 2006). By doing so, it enables people to design information channels in a way that allows for the expression of their opinions and desires, and the production of information which is pertinent and useful in the local

context. The approach is based on the following principles (Figueroa, Kincaid, Rani, & Lewis, 2002):

- Sustainability of social change is more likely if the individuals and communities most affected *own* the process and content of communication
- Communication for social change should be empowering, horizontal (versus top-down), give a voice to the previously unheard members of the community, and be biased towards local content and ownership.
- Communities should be the agents of their own change.
- Emphasis should shift from persuasion and the transmission of information from outside technical experts to dialogue, debate and negotiation on issues that resonate with members of the community.
- Emphasis on outcomes should go beyond individual behaviour to social norms, policies, culture and the supporting environment.

The abovementioned principles can be used as guidelines for the design of community based audiovisual projects (i.e. mobile cinema) and the assessment of their capacity to generate social change.

As Huesca (1996) explained, it is important to refer back to current theories of social change in order to design effective communication models in the frame of a development challenge. Indeed, development communication practitioners viewing social change as an emergent, non-predictable and context bound phenomena tend to be more successful than those viewing social change as an evolutionary process. The reason therefore is that the first kind tend to rely on modes of communication that are more in reactive to actual circumstances and discourses, while the second consider communication merely as a tool for consciousness raising and applied predefined, strategic prescriptions (Huesca, 1996).

Based on the theoretical findings presented in this chapter, a set of practical conclusions useful for communication based development projects (i.e. mobile cinema) can be formulated with the following points:

- Social change can emerge from large scale and general trends, but also from punctual and discreet phenomena or interventions.
- Social change seems to be better implemented by those who perceive it as an emergent phenomenon than by people who conceptualise it as an emerging process, as the first ones tend to take a more reflexive approach and are better able to respond to new circumstances.
- Structure and agency interact such that structures influence people's thoughts and behaviour, but the reverse is also true.
- If the thoughts and interactions of individuals can shape reality, communication strategies must take into account the characteristics of individuals that will shape their interpretations (gender, culture, education, etc.).
- Development interventions using communication tools should not focus only on diffusing information, but also on stimulating critical thinking, constructive dialogue and the application of the desired changes on the long term.

1.2 Promoting participatory development through mobile cinema

1.2.1 Origins and philosophy of mobile cinema around the world

The emergence of mobile cinema was spread in both time and space. What seems to be one of the earliest manifestations of mobile cinema occurred in Russia during the communist revolution of 1917. It was carried out by filmmaker Dziga Vertov amongst others, and consisted of travelling through to Bolshevik revolutionaries with a steam train and show soviet propaganda films (Murray-Brown, n.d.). In the late 1960s, mobile cinema made its apparition in Great Britain when the national Government commissioned the operationalization of seven mobile cinema units with the hope to promote the British industry (Vintage Mobile Cinema, n.d.). The project died off before long, but one unit was saved and is still in operation as Vintage Mobile Cinema.

Picture 1.1: Mobile Cinema, Ministry of Technology 1967



Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mobile_cinema#mediaviewer/File:Ministry_of_Technology_side.jpg

During the colonial period, mobile cinema became popular in Africa. In British colonies for instance, the Colonial Film Unit was in activity from 1939 to 1955, and dedicated its work to the production and exhibition of short pedagogic films in British colonies (Colonial Film, 2010). The films which were produced were aimed at educating African audiences on health, agriculture and other social matters for the benefits of the colonial administration, and diffusion took place primarily through mobile cinema vans equipped

with white screens, 16mm projectors and loudspeakers (Colonial Film, 2010). A multitude of mobile cinema initiatives emerged across Africa under colonial rule with the similar educational purposes (Ambler, 2001; Sellers, 1954).

Picture 1.2: Discussion of "Amenu's Child" in a course on child care and nutrition in 1950.



Source: <http://cinemaintransit.wordpress.com/2011/01/11/peter-morton-williams-anthropology-mobile-cinema/>

Picture 1.3: Mobile cinema van arrives in a village



Source: <http://cinemaintransit.wordpress.com/2011/01/31/mobile-cinema-van-visits-prampram-ghana/>

With the diffusion of more practical VHR video cassettes and VCR's in the 1980s, mobile cinema activities increased in Africa. Small groups began to travel with a television, a VCR and a portable generator which made it possible to set up small temporary cinemas anywhere (i.e. Ghana, assemblyman, 2009, August 9). This time, the purpose of the project were different, as the films screened were not Colonial propaganda but commercial and often U.S. productions. Across Africa currently, mobile cinema continues, but often with more 'development oriented' purposes, mixing entertainment with educational contents. The French network 'Cinéma Numérique Ambulant' (CNA) is an international network of associations based in nine African countries, and organised around the management of mobile cinema units which bring popular African films and UNICEF health messages to isolated and poor populations (UNICEF, 2005; CAN, 2013). The screenings are followed by health discussions and prizes such as mosquito nets are sometimes distributed. Many other networks operate in Africa, such as the project Kasi Movie Nights (KMN) in South Africa which is articulated around the objective to diffuse African cinema and increase popular access to cinema (SCREENAFRICA, 2012). The mobile cinema foundation MCF established in Congo in 2011 states as its mission the development of 'educational film projects for specific target audiences using Mobile Cinema technology and facilitated discussion' (Mobile Cinema Foundation, n.d.).

Mobile cinema has also been increasingly used as a tool for community development and cinema diffusion across other continents and countries. The Mera Karachi Mobile Cinema operates in Pakistan and specialises in the screening of cell phone videos in the

neighbourhoods of in which they were made (Chaudhri & Anwar, 2013). In India's early days of cinema, films were shown under tents to large numbers of people. This tradition is now being revived in Mumbai, where 'Touring talkies' or mobile cinema tents are being introduced again as Bollywood celebrates its 100th birthday (CCTV, 2013). In Iraq, the Iraqi Mobile Cinema Festival draws huge crowds each year through the organisation of film screenings in Baghdad. For a city which does not have any operating cinema's left, events such as the installation of a gigantic inflatable screen on Liberation Square are highly welcomed. Besides diffusing cinema to the population, this project embodies political messages destined to the Iraqi authorities, including the 'Iraq's Missing Campaign' to raise awareness of the high number of people missing across the country (Dogwoof, 2011, April 1st). In Europe, the International Guerilla Video Festival was founded as a non-profit arts initiative focused on making and screening moving images in the public space in order to explore new relationships between art and society (IGVfest, n.d.). During its 5th edition, the festival took place in Florence and presented the urban mobile cinema project 'film on the move'. The festival's curator Jason Waite stated in a reaction to the project that mobile cinema is a way to add content to form (speaking about the beautiful historical locations of Florence for instance), and that it is fascinating to use an exclusive medium meant for expensive settings and taking it to the public sphere, stating also: 'I want to change the concept of moving images and break them into a place of high gothic beauty' (in Goethals, 2006).

Latin America

The Latin American cinema sector presents a number of fundamental weaknesses such as the centralisation of cultural activities in capital cities, the low representation of regional and national production on audiovisual platforms at the expense of European or U.S. productions, a lack of state investments in national independent productions, and a lack of regional identity expressed in cultural productions. Although independent filmmaking is flourishing in Latin America due to the improvement of audio-visual technology, distribution opportunities are scarce outside large cities due to a high level of cultural centralisation, as explains Daniela Arias (cited in Moreno & Cifuentes, 2011). Secondly, even in places where there is a dynamic cultural scene, local audio-visual productions are eclipsed by high budget foreign films (especially U.S. American productions) due to the non-growth of screen quotas, which are legally imposed quotas for local films, and the scarceness of state subsidies (Moreno & Cifuentes, 2011). Lastly, there is often a lack of public investment in culture. Overall, a structural insufficiency in the audio-visual sector makes it difficult for independent creations to find their place on national diffusion platforms, which poses a strong limitation on the development of local cinema and the realisation of its potential psycho-social benefits (Moreno & Cifuentes, 2011).

Geographically furthering and increasing the diffusion of independent films has the power to foster the development of the local filmmaking sector, but also to bring the benefits of watching local creations to cinema-deprived communities. According to Moreno and Cifuentes, mobile cinema can bring an answer to the problem. Mobile cinemas will be defined in this research as ephemeral cinemas set up outside cultural centres (i.e. villages in the country side or marginal urban areas) for determined periods

of time for the purpose of delivering affordable or free of charge film screenings to local residents. Mobile cinema initiatives sparked up in a spontaneous and uncoordinated manner as a response to the inequity and undemocratic distribution system in the cinema sector (Morelo & Cifuentes, 2011). As Jesus Sanchez explains, it began in Cuba in the 1960s, when the first mobile cinema vehicle (camioneta) began to drive to various civic and educational institutions in Havana (cited in Moreno & Cifuentes, 2011). Mobile cinemas have then appeared in several Latin American countries, in particular Argentina and Mexico. Griselda Moreno and Viviana Gracia are the creators of the project 'cine a la intemperie' in Argentina, and state (cited in Moreno & Cifuentes, 2011):

Our mobile cinema has the goal to promote cultural diversity and to strengthen identity through the diffusion of independent audiovisual creations in localities that do not have cinema halls. The aim is on the one hand to democratise the audiovisual culture (and everything it implies) and on the other hand, to give a screen and diffusion in different contexts to films that do not have access to commercial circuits.

Mobile cinemas can benefit their public in a variety of ways. According to Moreno and Cifuentes (2011) they represent a platform for the representation of one's own traditions and culture, thereby strengthening and deepening one's sense of identity. Furthermore, diffusing cultural and/or social films from other regions or countries facilitates socio-cultural integration at the regional and global levels by allowing isolated individuals to experience the diversity of perspectives and lifestyles which exist outside their homelands (Moreno & Cifuentes, 2011). The mission of mobile cinemas often goes further than to solely expose films and includes filmmaking trainings so that the public can be converted from observer to creator and get a chance to transfer his or her own identity (Morelo & Cifuentes, 2011).

Besides the important social processes which take place around mobile cinema interventions, it is important to look into the contents of films, since those are the essence of a mobile cinema event. Next, a look will be taken into current trends in cinema genres and themes in order to find out to what extent the films produced have social and engaged contents.

1.2.2 The rise of social cinema

In this sub-part, cinema genres aimed at representing social realities or inspiring social change will be presented for the Latin American context. The invention of cinema marked the birth of the cinematographic industry. In the capitalist world, privatisation and deregulation in the private sector made cinema a platform for the representation of corporate interests, resulting in homogenised contents centred mostly on entertainment genres (Roy, 2012; Waltz, 2005). During the First World War, the power of film as means of propaganda capable of raising public support for the State's military interests was rapidly discovered by European states. In the Netherlands for instance, as explained Utrecht University researcher Klaas de Zwaan (July 2014), propaganda films were made to demonstrate to the Dutch society that although the country was declared neutral, it was well protected and public expenses were justified. In that sense, cinema reflects the

national ideology and functions as a structuralist means of influence. Despite commercial and 'industrial' dimension, and against structuralist influences, the cinema sector also reserved a space for the expression of the creativity and ideas of its makers. The auteur theory, formulated in the 1950s, expresses the idea that a film, as the oeuvre of its director, is the expression of the personality and opinions of this one (Bordwell & Thompson, 1997). Thereby, film began to be theorised as a medium capable of communicating ideas creatively to the spectator.

Latin America is characterised by a steadfast struggle against the domination of Hollywood and other foreign commercial cinema (Traverso, 2005). This domination was often the product of the complicity of local governments and institutions, and poses important obstacles to the access of audiences to national and regional films (Traverso, 2005). Historically, little state-effort has been dedicated to the support of national cinema industries, with the exception of the work of the Cuban Film Institute and the institution of Chile Films under the socialist government of Dr. Salvador Allende in the early 1970s. Largely however, filmmaking in Latin America was perceived by the state as a subversive expression that required control, leading many films and filmmakers to be banned, exiled or annihilated (Traverso, 2005). This created a legacy of rejection and destruction of the locally-made cinema, which still weighs upon the sector but is painstakingly being lifted through the success of a number of regional productions. Under the shadow of foreign productions, the region's cinema has nonetheless developed and produced a wide variety of films. Cinema emerged mainly in what are now the region's centres of production: Mexico, Argentina, Brazil and Cuba. The sector's expansion followed from the introduction of sound, which created a need for local, Spanish-spoken films and lessened the attractiveness of U.S. productions. Due to the high degree of cultural heterogeneity in what is referred to as Latin America, describing 'Latin American cinema' as a category would be an erroneous generalisation (Traverso, 2005).

However, certain movements transcended national boundaries and created cinema genres within the diverse Latin American cinema sector. Cinematic movements in Latin America arose mainly as a response to cultural imperialism and oppressive neo-colonial forces, and were strongly rooted in the Cuban Revolution (1959) (Marzano, 2009). In a context of struggle to achieve socio-economic progress in the face of economic oppression, cinema was seen as a space of contestation which could be used to expose social struggles. Social cinema became a cinematographic genre aimed at inspiring itself from social realities to denounce injustice and inspire change. Hence, cinema began to be perceived as a means instead of an end (Raúl San Julian, 2013). In the 1950s and 1960s, Third Cinema was defined in Argentina as opposed to 'first cinema' (industrial, Hollywood) and 'second cinema' (bourgeoisie, auteur cinema, European), and as part of the Third World's struggle for liberation from ex-colonial powers. Just as other similar movements, Third Cinema stood in opposition to the hegemony of Hollywood and European models of cinema which it criticised for being capitalistic, entertainment-focused and neo-colonialist (Traverso, 2005; Solanas & Getino, 1997). Indeed, commercial or 'system cinema' was seen as a promoter of neo-colonialist values and rationales which ineluctably revived and fomented subjection on the Latin American continent. Therefore, those engaged in Third Cinema argued for a cinema which was

alternative, militant, and transformative through the education of the public about the reality of socio-political circumstances (Marzano, 2009). By taking up the struggle for

Box 1: The *Manifiesto de Santa Fe* and Fernando Birri's vision of cinema

The document begins by exposing the indisputability of underdevelopment in Latin America, before presenting its cause as colonialism from outside and within. Cinema is then accused of supporting the neo-colonialist system of exploitation by representing the demagogic vision of the centres of power and occulting socio-economic reality. As a result, Latin American cinema failed to represent the reality of its people, claimed Birri. In reaction, the director supports the importance of revolutionary social documentary film. The genre aims at showing the reality of the Latin American people; to 'show things as they are (...) and not as we would like them to be (...) or how they want to make us believe (...) they are'. The aim is to denounce and criticise injustice but local films must also affirm the positive values of society. By presenting film as a means to document in order to increase knowledge and awareness of reality in contestation of 'erroneous' representations of truth, Birri presents cinema as a socio-political tool capable of cooperating with, or contesting ideologies and systems. He states that 'by being accomplice of underdevelopment, cinema becomes sub-cinema'.

Source: Birri, 1962

liberation and presenting visions that are different of those of the 'rulers', cinema becomes revolutionary and a weapon in the political and military struggle (Solanas & Getino, 1997). The struggle of filmmakers is then to, often clandestinely, produce films that recognise oppression, and construct new, decolonised and liberated personalities in its public (Solanas & Getino, 1997). Thereby, cinema is able to contribute to the decolonisation of culture and can empower individuals to initiate change in their lives (Solanas & Getino, 1997).

Fernando Birri, considered the founder of modern Argentine and Latin American documentary cinema, presented the essence of the philosophy behind the emerging social cinema (*cine social*) paradigm in his *Manifiesto de Santa Fe* (1962). The document accuses conventional cinema (even national) of being a perpetrator of neo-colonialist oppression, and advocates for the need to create a new, decolonised, and social form of documentary cinema (see Box 1). With Birri (1985), engaging in filmmaking becomes an act of 'poetico-political' resistance. Interestingly, the filmmaker's views endorse a structuralist vision of cinema, since they interpret external sources of information as agents of change, and expresses a belief in absolute truth. In this sense, cinema is seen as a tool to represent a certain interpretation of reality, but does not pay attention to the representations and needs of individuals. Nevertheless, it represents an important evolution of cinema by emphasising its capacity to influence society.

Third Cinema and *cine social* grew out of Argentina and expanded throughout South America, meeting other similar movements such as imperfect cinema and New Latin American Cinema. It was joined by other movements or adapted, with New Latin American Cinema, imperfect cinema, and guerrilla filmmaking as examples. In Brazil, Cinema Novo was led by the director Glauber Rocha, and defined a new type of cinema characterised by intellectualism and socio-political themes. In Colombia, the 'group of Cali', or Caliwod was founded in the 60s and followed the approaches of New Latin American Cinema. Until today, the diversity of cinematic expression in Latin America has been largely aimed at cultural decolonisation, identity search and political unity (Traverso, 2005; Stam, 1987). Accompanying this new model of cinema production, a new model of distribution was needed, which took into account the difficulties posed by mostly uncooperative regimes. By chance, the Latin American public manifested enthusiasm for revolutionary cinema, and an alternative diffusion platform could be created (Solanas & Getino, 1997). In Argentina, films were shown in apartments and houses to audiences of never more than 25 people, in Chile, films screenings were held in parishes, universities, and cultural centres (Solanas & Getino, 1997). However, conditions for a highly politicised cinema were often unfavourable, as shown by the brutal repression unleashed under Pinochet's regime in Chile (Guzman, in Stam, 1987). The realities of political repression and exile and the dangers of paternalism were present throughout the continent (Burton, in Stam, 1987).

1.2.3 The rhetoric of films

Having introduced the idea of social cinema and described the movement in the Latin American context, it is interesting to take a closer look into socially-minded cinema and identify its rhetorical mechanisms.

Many professionals and researchers have argued in favour of the power of film to communicate change and promote 'accelerated crowd learning' (Barrett, Shlain, cited in Gary, 2010). Specifically, much research has been done on the rhetorical tools of documentary films. Influenced by post-structuralist thinking, the conception of documentary films changed from that of the faithful representation of an objective reality, to that of an expression of a filmmaker's interpretation of external circumstances. Consequently, the idea that documentary films contained a rhetoric capable of influencing the opinions and feelings of the public emerged. Whether it is conscious and voluntary or not, the maker of a film can shape persuade its public of adopting a certain stance by making use of cinematic elements (images, sounds, dialogues). Just as rhetoric in discourses, the use of rhetoric in films can influence mindsets, behaviour, and prompt people to individual and/or collective action. As Massumi explains (2001), films provide reference points for how we live our lives; the spectator associated with the characters of the film and are led to reflect on their own behaviour. The insights provided by researchers can be used in the exploration of the rhetorical efficacy of film.

According to Hackley, films influence the public's attitudes through two strategies: powerful narratives and perceived realism (Hackley, 2012). Powerful narratives aim to persuade the audience to feel or think a certain way and can be decoded by looking at the internal consistency of the storyline, the quality of editing, and the formatting qualities of

the film (Hackley, 2012). By examining narratives, one can gain a deeper understanding of the meaning of the text, the rhetorical construction, and the effect imparted on the audience (Schowalter, 2000). As Schwartz-DuPre mentioned (2007) 'the circulation of films like the Afghan Girl can be pressed into the service of policy formation as narratives that are capable of rhetorically reframing public attitudes'. As LaMarre and Landreville put it (2009), realist narratives engage audiences the most, which is why documentary films and fictions based on real stories are so captivating. As Hackley stated (2012), the role of the critic is to identify the narratives in order to illuminate the messages that the filmmaker wishes to convey to the audience. This approach will be taken up while analysing the films projected in the frame of the mobile cinema projects studied.

In documentary films, the extent to which the filmmaker manages to convey perceived realism plays a major role in determining the credibility of the film. In other words, it is the documentalist's ability to construct reality on the screen that determines the film's persuasiveness in popular culture (Hackley, 2012). Although reality cannot be represented in its totality and unbiased on screen, documentary films are associated to expectations of realism which makes them more convincing to the audience than fiction films. As Cowen explains (2007), the reason why perceived realism makes documentary films convincing is that:

When spectators perceive the content of a stimulus as factual, it leads them to proceed the information more deeply, which in turn leads to better memory and more extensive learning of that content. Perceived factuality also has been found to play a moderating role in the intensity of emotional responses. (p. 244)

Thus, documentary films are powerful as persuasive and learning tools due to the power of perceived realism which gives them emotional appeals and credibility (Hackley, 2012). This finding is reflected in Nisbet and Auderheide's study (2009), who discovered that students displayed more learning from a documentary film than from a Hollywood film on the same subject. They concluded that since the documentary group reported the highest levels of affect, concern and learning, socio-political documentaries can play a great role in engaging citizens and shaping public opinion. Hairman and Lucaites (2008) compared documentary films to photojournalism in their capacity to 'influence people to become more or less compassionate towards another, critical of the state, motivated to demand justice, and otherwise self-aware citizens'. This capacity is due to various communicative tools which create and enhance perceived realism.

Hence, studies have evidenced that through certain tools and elements films can have a strong capacity to influence the thoughts and behaviour of their public. These tools and elements will be kept in mind when analysing the films shown in the projects investigated.

In this chapter the concept of social change was explored, and theoretical investigation led to the conclusion that this process is determined by the interaction between agents and structures. Structures hold society in a predictable state composed of a succession of long stable phases, and in which evolutionary change is directed towards the overarching system's goal. This goal may not represent the wishes of the individuals which make up society, and their living conditions might not be optimal as a result of submission to the

system in which they live. Agency relates to the ability of a system's actors to come up with their own ideas, to react against external pressures, and to influence the system. Under structural and agential pressures, society is strongly drawn towards the goals of the dominant ideologies, but it is also spotted with grass-root initiatives which combine in a significant counterforce to structural forces. These initiatives, sparking from individuals, create small movements of protest which challenge the leading ideologies and create micro-processes of social change. Together, these micro-processes can create large scale movements which protest the established order and the conventional direction of change, creating reflexive contexts which are more in tune with the intentions and desires of individuals.



2. Regional framework: development challenges and mobile cinema Colombia and Uruguay

The first objective of this chapter is to present the contextual elements of the two research countries which justify the need for mobile cinema. Therefore, the political, socio-economic and cultural contexts of the research countries will be briefly presented, as well as their respective development challenges. Particular attention will be given to the situation of the cultural sector in Colombia and Uruguay, local socio-economic and environmental problematics. In a second part, the general characteristics of cinematic production and consumption in the research countries and in their broader region will be presented as a background to the study of mobile cinema.

2.1 Colombia and Uruguay: regional and national development contexts

2.1.1 General political contexts

In the 1960s and 1970s, the activities of Marxist guerrilla groups (including the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, FARC) hurled the country into a highly mediatised era of violence and instability (Infoplease, 2014a). In order to finance their activities, guerrillas as much as right-wing paramilitary groups resorted to kidnappings and drug-trafficking. Between 1998 and 1999, Colombia and the U.S. developed an aid program referred to as Plan Colombia and which objectives are to increase the country's counternarcotic capabilities, to expand and consolidate government presence while fostering democratic processes, to fight human rights abuses and precarity by providing sustainable social and economic opportunities, to strengthen the rule of law and to make governance more transparent, participatory and accountable (U.S. Embassy, n.d.). In 2004 however, the UN announced that Colombia's long waging drug war had created the worst humanitarian crisis in the Western Hemisphere, with more than 2 million displaced people and several Indian tribes risking extinction (Infoplease, 2014a). In the last decade, peace talks between the government and rebel groups have brought some results, although moderate. Current government keeps fighting against the FARC and working on the strengthening of military and economic relationships with the United States.

In Uruguay, although of different nature, a series of armed conflicts also plagued the country in the XIXth century. After a period of relative prosperity marked by the creation of a welfare state, economic decline stroke back in the 1950s, and resulted in left-wing terrorist activity (Infoplease, 2014b). The civilian government was ousted by a military coup in 1973, which marked the beginning of a twelve years military dictatorship (Infoplease, 2014b). Under a regime of fear and terror, thousands of political prisoners were held until the restauration of full political and civil rights in 1984 (Infoplease, 2014b). In the late 1980s, Uruguay's economy was largely privatised through new economic reforms. Influenced by neighbouring Argentina, the country nevertheless went through a major economic recession (Infoplease, 2014b). Uruguay's economic health began to recover in 2003, and the government engaged in a number of progressive reforms and legislative actions -the legalisation of Marijuana and same-sex marriage, and the sentencing of members of the military dictatorship to prison, making it one of the most modern democracies in Latin America.

2.1.2 Cultural dependency and access to culture

Hereafter, the cultural sectors and socio-economic situations of the two research countries will be described in order to corroborate the need for accessible, community-based cultural aiming for social change.

After their decolonisation, Colombia and Uruguay remained entrenched in neo-colonial dominations which were manifested at the economic, technological and cultural levels (Myrdal, 1973). An economic dependency was maintained through maintaining of a system based on the exportation of primary products to European countries and the U.S. The economic dependency fomented a cultural dependency which began to influence all of the region's artistic manifestations through 'social reproduction' (Bourdieu, 1980), the mechanism through which the culture of the central countries is imported by the local hegemonic classes and reproduced in the rest of society through passive cultural practices. Colombia and Uruguay differ however in the extent to which their societies reacted to economic and cultural hegemony. After the Second World War, a process of academic reform and student politicisation spread from Argentina throughout South America. Uruguay was largely influenced by this phenomenon, which constituted the basis of the country's homogeneous and high level of education. More educated and politically engaged, the Uruguayan society was better able to climb the socio-economic ladder, let its voice be heard and engage in creative activities, thereby exerting a counterweight to neo-colonial influence. Colombia however, was only marginally involved in the reformation and politicization movements of the academic sector, and conserved important inequalities in access and levels of education. Consequently, its society was not able to engage in political and cultural processes to a large extent and remained largely submitted to hegemonic influences. Besides macro-dependencies, colonial history produced a highly unequal development model within Latin America societies, in which instead of being evenly distributed amongst the population, power and wealth are concentrated in the hands of a reduced part of society. Poverty and political isolation results in limited access to education and cultural activities. When opportunities for social inclusion are low, socio-economic deprivations are translated into educational deprivation.

However, changes have been taking place recently, as since the year 2000 sustained economic growth and rising employment rates have increased economic mobility in many Latin American societies (Banco Mundial, 2012a). GDP growth being the principal driver of income mobility, economic growth was translated into middle-class growth (Ferreira, Messina, Rigolini, López-Calva, Lugo & Vakis, 2013). The middle class, which was historically the most reduced social class in Latin America, has presented a record 50% growth between 2003 and 2009 and now represents 30% of the region's population (Ferreira et al., 2013; World Bank, 2012). According to the World Bank, converting Latin America in a region with a growing middle class has positive repercussions for governance, social cohesion and economic growth (Banco Mundial, 2012b). Overall economic mobility is correlated with public health and education spending, as well as targeted progressive social protection programs (Ferreira et al., 2013). Consequently, educational mobility also improved in Latin America in the past two decades (Ferreira et al., 2013). The growth of the middle class also brings in political changes, as well as new

cultural practice and consumption patterns. The middle class is characterised by democratic values, having no direct political power but aspiring to get involved in public administration affairs in order to make its voice be heard and trigger social change (Giddens, 1973; Oporto, 2012). In terms of culture, although cultural consumption patterns of poorer classes are generally limited to mass entertainment products, the middle class consumes mass cultural products with a certain depth and looks up to non-mass cultural products (Bourdieu, 1990; Wortman, 2001). Moreover, due to its education, the middle class has a great capacity of reaction against the system when it feels that its living conditions must change. Thus, the middle class is a potential medium for cultural interventions in society aimed at promoting social change, and a growing middle class offers new opportunities for participative cultural and/or development projects.

However, despite the growth trend Latin America's middle class remains small on average, and due to historical reasons, the process through which the elevation of the socio-economic status of a part of the population fosters stability and prosperity at the national level has not been fully realised in Latin America (Banco Mundial, 2012b). Moreover, due to the worsening of global economic conditions, many of the new members of Latin America's middle class risk being expelled back to poverty (Banco Mundial, 2012a).

Looking at Colombia and Uruguay specifically, it can be said that their development paths exemplify two very different models of Latino American societies. In the XXth century, with Brazil and Argentina, Uruguay transited with a relatively high success into the region's modernising enterprise, and became one of the most prosperous, democratic and stable Latin American countries. Consequently, the Uruguayan society has already long been characterised by a fairly high economic homogeneity, which translates in the existence of a middle class comprising of more than 60% of the national population and a poor class including 12.4% of the population (Banco Mundial, 2013; World Bank, 2014c). The World Bank revealed that in 2004, the country passed a point of inflexion as it made major progress in the fight against moderate poverty, managed to almost completely eradicate extreme poverty, and achieved a better distribution of income (Banco Mundial, 2013). According to the World Bank's Indice of Human Opportunity, Uruguay has reached a high level of equality of opportunities in terms of access to basic services such as education, drinkable water, electricity and hygiene (Banco Mundial, 2014).

Colombia however, participated only marginally in this process, and ended up frustrated in the 1950s due to the collapse of its State (Fals Borda, Gúzman & Umaña Luna, 2005). This crisis engendered a political immobility during the three following decades, as well as an advance of the illegal economy and drug trafficking, the extended violence and the absence of sustained social development. From the economic perspective, the Colombian society is characterised by a profound polarization in the distribution of wealth. Although Colombia presents one of the highest economic mobility rates of the region (54% of the population improved its economic status between 1992 and 2008), inequality remains high. An important 32.7% of the population lives under the national poverty line, and poverty rates are highly volatile as shown by the fact that 60% of households were poor

in 2000 (World Bank, 2012; World Bank, 2014c; Núñez Mendez & Ramírez, 2002). Reflecting their different political, economic and social contexts, Colombia and Uruguay have different levels of total economic wealth, as demonstrated by the two countries GNI per capita, which are US\$ 11,380 for Colombia and US\$ 17,740 for Uruguay (World Bank, 2012b; World Bank 2012c). These different economic bases resulted in the elitization of education and of the access to cultural markets in Colombia, and the opposite phenomenon in Uruguay (Zamudio, 2011). As a consequence of different socio-economic structures and national income, spending on education and years of schooling are very different in the two countries. Furthermore, as Abril argued (2008), Colombia suffers from a loss of regional identity. In William Ospina's words, that the country's population acts as a colonised society ashamed of itself and afraid to get to know itself (cited in Abril, 2008).

Colombia and Uruguay are both in need for socio-economic development, but the limited access to culture and education of a large number of people makes it difficult to tap into the power of community arts. The growth of the two countries' middle class, although different in their intensity, have led to the emergence of larger middle classes, which are predisposed for cultural activism. This expresses a paradox; better off people are more inclined to engage in cultural activities and seek to exert democratic influence, but it is the poorest of our societies that are most in need for change. This raises the necessity of tapping into the middle class' demands for culture and engagement, but also of looking for ways to render activism and non-mass cultural practices attractive to the less well-off. Besides, Colombia and to a less extent Uruguay are characterised by a need for the affirmation of their local cultures to overcome neo-colonial cultural domination, which can be attended by the multiplication of community initiatives based on local cultural products. According to Abril (2008), cultural goods and products, when managed adequately and persistently, can be major forces of symbolic transformation producing great progress.

2.1.3 Unsustainable development

Hereafter, the environmental situation of Colombia, Uruguay and their region will be explored in order to identify the two country's development needs in terms of environmental sustainability. As much as socio-economic development needs, environmental development needs matter for this study since they are the contextual determinants of the pertinence of the films presented by mobile cinema projects.

Latin America's wealth of natural resources reflects its geographic diversity, but the economic capital it represents makes it the subject of tension, and its poor management constitutes a major environmental threat. Most of the region follows the global capitalist tendency to solve growing consumerist demands by deepening the exploitation of natural resources. Through this process Latin America was reaffirmed as an exporter of primary resources to central countries, generating what is nowadays conceptualised as 'primarisation'. This phenomenon combines the direct extraction of minerals and hydrocarbons with the expansion of the agricultural frontier of monocultures, particularly soy, and the consequent destruction of local ecosystems (Secretaría de Ambiente y Desarrollo Sustentable, 2012; Abascal, Alfonsín, & Amarilla, 2013).

Consequently, the major environmental obstacle in Latin America on the path to sustainable development is the misuse of land, which brings about erosion and the loss of fertility of soils, desertification, deforestation, the degradation of pastures, salinization, the alkalisation of irrigated lands, along with the underutilisation of high quality agricultural land (Sala, Saucedo, & Sarandós, 1992). However, this situation and its consequences on the environmental level, as much as on the social level, only recently began to be demonstrated. This is most likely due to the fact that many Latin American governments have persistently drawn attention to their achievements in terms of social development throughout the last ten years, dispelling criticism of their other political endeavours. Most national governments held post-neoliberal discourses by reaffirming the economist logic above sustainable development. The statement of Ecuadorian president Rafael Correa (cited in Tereschuk, 2013) illustrates this process: 'We cannot be beggars seated on golden bags. We will exploit our country's mining potential' (p.8).

Despite the fact that Plan Colombia's seventh point presents a comprehensive environmental protection strategy including the concept of alternative development and the conservation of forests, already about a million hectares of forest were destroyed since 1974 (United States Institute for Peace, 2000). Colombia occupies the 85th position in the Environmental Performance Index ranking (EPI) out of 178 countries (Yale University, 2014). The country scored particularly low on indicators of fishery and forest management, and waste water management, amongst others (Redacción Vida de Hoy, 2014). The 'economic opening' of the early 90s and the Free Trade Agreements signed and to be signed have precipitated the deindustrialisation of the country in favour of an extractivist model which principal expressions are, on the one hand, the appearance of agribusiness and the consequential appropriation and concentration of property of wide land areas of the regions' (Colmenares, 2013). Furthermore transnational mining techniques are highly destructive for the environment due amongst others to the technique of open air exploitation. According to the same authors, the Colombia's environmental crisis is associated to the constant expansion of capitalism and the country's inclusion in the global neoliberal economic system. The Colombian territory, being rich in mining resources such as gold, copper, iron, and nickel is the target of many trans-national mining companies. Large scale extractivist practices prevent Colombia from achieving a social transition based on the use of sustainable energies and the protection of its enormous natural and cultural wealth.

Uruguay performs somewhat better on environmental indicators, occupying the 70th rank on the EPI (Yale University, 2014). According to the Global Environmental Outlook (GEO) report for Uruguay of 2007, the country's main environmental problems are the bad condition of landfills, the gradual increase of pollution, the lack of control of land use, the poor treatment of industrial, hospital and dangerous waste, the lack of protected areas, the foreignisation of land, the poor management of information, the increase of monocultures, the increasingly consumerist culture, and the lack of intergovernmental coordination (UNEP, 2007). Besides the increasing erosion of its ground, Uruguay is typical case of a country which receives the ecological costs externalised by central countries. In this case, the increase of environmental activism in the United States, Canada and Europe directed against the paper industry and monoculture lead to their

displacement to countries such as Uruguay. Indeed, following legislative changes in the 60s and 80s, the development of forest monocultures was promoted in cooperation with the Japanese Government, showing the endorsement of the Uruguayan state of unsustainable exploitation of natural habitat (Carrere, 2006). In a few years, the cultivation area reached 750.000 hectares. The wood is not transformed in Uruguay, but sent to European factories owned by the companies running the forestry activities in Uruguay (Carrere, 2006). The growing primarisation of the Uruguayan economy is reflected by the nature of its principal exportations: meat, cereals, wood, cellulose, livestock, dairy; as well as the initiation of open air mining (Uruguay XXI, 2013). Thus, Uruguay is no exception to the primarisation trend of Latin America and the environmental threats it brings on.

Thus, growing primarisation and the deepening of extractivism in the Latin American economies is leading to a complex situation. It generates state incomes by improving their macroeconomic balances and concentrating capital. However, it leads to a concentration of property and the expulsion of small producers (Scaletta, 2014). Hence, from a social perspective, it contradicts the basic principle of homogenisation, since it promotes growing levels of economic disparity and as a consequence, educative and cultural inequality (Scaletta, 2014). The tendency of primarisation across the region contradicts two basic principles of sustainable development based on the definition given by the IUCN (1991). These principles are the necessity to conserve the ecological systems which sustain life and the reduction to a minimum of the exhaustion of non-renewable resources. Hence, it appears that the transformations reported in Latin America's productive base are not orientated towards sustainable development. On the contrary, they reaffirm the region's intention to reinsert itself in the global market and follow the unsustainable development model of the central countries. Considering the theory which states that knowledge is key to change, and that knowledge of the scientific kind is accused of being the cause of unsustainable development, it can be suggested that our societies must seek to produce and distribute an alternative type of knowledge which would lead to widespread awareness raising and changes in behaviour with respect to the use of natural resources (Aledo & Dominguez, 1999).

2.1.4 Synthesis of national development challenges

The following table presents the developmental challenges identified as national issues for Colombia and Uruguay. It is important to note that this list is a synthesis of the most conspicuous national challenges; it does not claim to be exhaustive and might exclude a number of localised issues.

Table 2.1: Synthesis of development issues in Colombia and Uruguay

Colombia	Uruguay
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drug trafficking and armed conflict • Loss of state control over conflicted regions • Narcotic and paramilitary activity induced environmental degradation • Internal displacement of a large proportion of the national population (migration) • Extinction of tribes • Lack of participative, democratic processes • High poverty rate, precarity • Socio-economic inequality • Unequal access to education and culture and discrimination (i.e. racism, machism) • Neo-colonialist cultural domination • Neo-colonialist economic domination leading to economic dependency • Unrestrained capitalistic and neo-liberal drives leading to poor management of environmental resources (extractivism, natural habitat destruction) and waste 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neo-colonial cultural domination • High levels of consumerism • Unrestrained capitalistic and neo-liberal objectives leading to poor management of environmental resources (extractivism, foreignisation of land, lack of protected areas, monocultures) and waste (poor treatment of waste, increasing pollution) • Weak intergovernmental coordination

2.2 The Colombian and Uruguayan cinema sectors

In Colombia particularly, early national cinema was based on themes such as nature, folklore and nationalism. The introduction of foreign films, which were favoured by the audience, but also the absence of means, education and technology put a halt to the nascent national cinema attempts. Despite attempts by Gabriel García Márquez and Enrique Grau to breathe a new life into Colombian cinema in the 1950s, the sector was almost inexistent until the 1970s, when the Cinematographic Fomenting Fund was created in 1977. Its modest success ended in 1993 with its liquidation following cases of corruption. In 1997, as a response to the poor performance of the Colombian film industry, the Colombian congress approved Law 397 of Article 46 or the General Law of Culture. This law aimed to support the development of Colombian cinema by creating the film promotion fund Corporación PROIMAGENES en Movimiento. The Law of Cinema was then approved by the congress in 2003 and strengthened the government's support for the sector. However, Colombian cinema still largely suffers from the lack of public

investment in culture, and the the national fund for the development of cinema (FDC) tends to favour national and foreign commercial productions over smaller and more independent works (J. Lotero, personal communication, 2014). As a result, independent cinema is still in its infancy in Colombia, and national cinema still has a very limited presence in international events.

Within Colombian cinema, a number of socially engaged films were produced despite unfavourable production circumstances. The Colombian couple of documentarians Marta Rodríguez and Jorge Silva are leading figures of anthropological documentary film in Latin America, having reported on agrarian movements, students, indigenous people, workers conditions and afro-Colombian culture (Fundación cine documental, 2011). In the introduction of his book, Sergio Becerra (2008) describes the type of cinema referred to as cine social as a cinema that converts itself in the hands of a growing and multiple public, in a material not only for aesthetic enjoyment but in an instrument; of work, consciousness, and mobilization. Social films were, from the 1960s in Colombia, exhibited in alternative locations such as cine-clubs, universities, syndicates and citizen groups. The films of Jorge Silva and Marta Rodríguez form a large part of this movement. They came out of urgency and difficulty, circulated unconventionally, and had a significant resonance and public acceptance. By presenting their works and promoting other documentary filmmakers, these authors brought anthropological and social documentary films from individual initiatives to a coordinated movement which transcended the continent by getting European support. Cineasts of the cine social movement reported a wide array of social themes, from the struggle for the ownership of land, civil violence, exile, they try to give a place to those without a voice and fight oblivion. Currently, statistics show that the average frequency of cinema attendance is of 0.46 films per year for the Colombian population (based on 2000-2010 data), which is low compared to countries such as Argentina, Spain or the combination of the United States and Canada, which respectively presented average frequencies of 0.9, 2.9, and 4.3 (PROIMAGENES Colombia, 2011). Nevertheless, number of screens and attendance levels are both growing in Colombia. Just as in several other Latin American countries, attendance was duplicated in Colombia between 2005 and 2010, while the frequency of cinema attendance exhibited an overall reduction in the USA and Spain during the same period (PROIMAGENES Colombia, 2011). Since the promulgation of the Law of Cinema, national cinematographic productions were the object of 5.3% of total attendance on average, and PROIMAGENES Colombia (2011) appears optimistic on the trend of national cinema attendance, stating that this percentage reached 11% during the first half of 2011.

The situation in Uruguay is very different, due to different socio-economic conditions, politics and cultural history. The first Uruguayan feature film was released in 1923, but the industry took a long time to develop due to the great depression of the 1930s, Argentine film imports and extensive censorship. Until the 1960s, national filmmaking was limited to documentaries, newsreels, and light-hearted comedies and musicals (wiki). The shift in social awareness that took place in the western world in the 1960s did not bypass Uruguay, swiftly influencing cultural production. Inspired by external forces, but also by the Uruguayan documentary film tradition, the number of films aimed at raising social awareness grew. However, under oppressive political conditions, a number

of filmmakers suffered persecution, such as Handler who was forced to exile himself to Venezuela. Repression caused filmmakers to refrain from overtly expressing social criticism in their films and return to more conventional subjects. The end of the dictatorship in 1984 marked the beginning of an era of politically controversial titles. The national government and the city of Montevideo set forth to support and encourage the growing film industry by creating INA and FONIA, two funds designed to subsidize local projects. Currently, Uruguayan cinema has a modest but non-negligible presence in the Latin American film landscape, with a production of four to six national films per year and several co-productions (UNESCO, 2009).

Nowadays, cinema, just as many other cultural activities, is highly concentrated in the country's capital while half of the country's population, which lives outside the capital has no access to many cultural goods. The situation is evolving for various art forms, but cinema is still virtually absent in many areas (Moreno & Cifuentes, 2011). Recently, the government of Montevideo published *Locaciones Montevideanas*, a guide presenting filmic locations throughout the city for interested filmmakers and producers (Oficina de Locaciones Montevideanas, 2012). Concerning cinema attendance, the Uruguayan public presents a yearly index of 0.68, which is higher than the Colombian index but much lower than the index reported in developed countries such as Spain, the U.S. and Canada (RECAM, 2006). Thus cinema attendance is still low in Colombia and Uruguay, but numbers of spectators are reported to rise across Latin America. In Uruguay, it was estimated that in 2010, national cinema represented 21% of the films watched in the country's cinemas according to the National Report of Consumption and Cultural Behaviour (ICAU) (in Ximena & Solomita, 2011).



3. Methodology

3.1 Research objective and questions

The objective of this research was to investigate the potential for mobile cinema to be a space of expression and dialogue through which communities can begin to think critically about their social circumstances and find the motivation to engage in development processes. In other words, the aim was to find out whether mobile cinema can be a motor of social change, as well as the ways in which, and what type of change can be brought about. Due to limitations in time, financial resources and scope, it was not possible to investigate long term development impacts of mobile cinema projects in this research, since this would have required multiple research phases spread out through months or years. Instead, the research consists of an exploration of the immediate public's response to film screenings, and an analysis of the project's organisation as indicators of mobile cinema's immediate subjective impact, and potential long term community impact. More concretely, the goals are to gain understanding on the relationship between the public's interpretation and filmmakers' intentions, to describe the public's immediate emotional and intellectual reactions following screenings, to compare film contents and narratives to national development issues, to study the organisation of the studied mobile cinema projects, and lastly, to investigate the participative dimensions of the projects. This research' question is thus a relational one, meaning that asks about the relationship between two or more variables, in this case the activities carried out within the mobile cinema projects on the one hand, and on the other hand, people's interpretations, social dialogue and change. The research question and sub-questions are the following:

Research question

⇒ In what ways and to what extent does mobile cinema contribute to actor-based community development?

Sub-Questions

Sub-question 1: What are the opportunities and limitations for local filmmakers to create independent films in terms of institutional support and social demand?

Sub-question 2: What are the visions and characteristics of the mobile cinema projects investigated? Do they encourage participatory processes by letting the public interact with filmmakers and/or presenting opportunities for action?

Sub-question 3: What themes are presented in the films screened? Do the films contain 'development' contents and how do these contents relate to national problematics?

Sub-question 4: How does the public understand and react to the films screened? How similar are the public's interpretation to the intentions reported by filmmakers? And what does the public think of the mobile cinema projects?

Sub-question 5: Based on development and communication theories, what conjectures can be made on the long term development impacts of mobile cinema projects?

3.2 Conceptual model

Based on the theoretical framework developed in Chapter 2 for post-structural, communication based development interventions, relationships between the different concepts at hand can be represented by the following model:

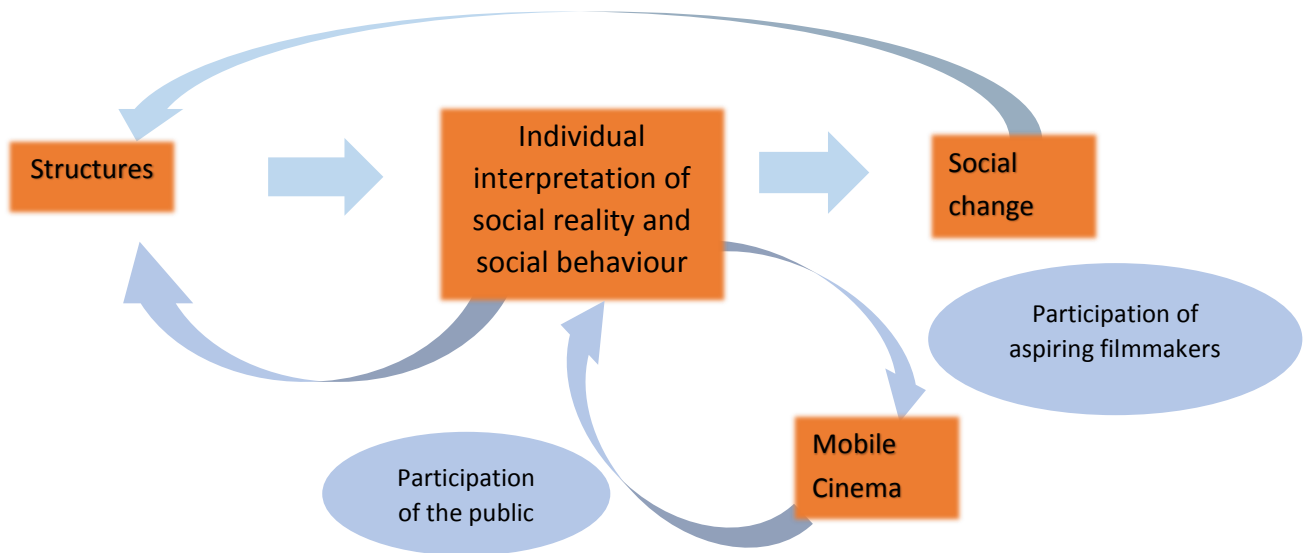


Figure 3.1: Conceptual model of mobile cinema and development

As explained in chapter 2, structures and individual interpretations of these structures interact and determine social order or the change in that order (incl. development). Mobile cinema intervenes in this relationship by being a platform for the expression, development and sharing of interpretations of reality, and thus plays a role both in the formation of social representations of reality and in the determination of the structures within which social activity takes place.

3.3 Research methods

3.3.1 Approach

A mostly qualitative approach was taken for this research, with a few quantitative components. Quantitative data was collected on the organisation of the projects investigated since certain variables were counted numerically. For other organisational variables, as well as the experience and interpretations of the public and filmmakers, and the contents of the films shown, qualitative data was researched. The choice of using qualitative research methods for the largest part of the research is due to the fact that most of the information researched is of qualitative nature; meanings, symbols, emotions, values etc.

3.3.2 Research area and projects

Research took place in two South American localities. In Colombia, data collection was carried out in Cartagena during the course of a film festival. In the frame of the

International Film Festival of Cartagena de Indias (FICCI), investigation was carried out on the project called *Cine en los Barrios* (cinema in the neighbourhoods), which consists of organising punctual screening sessions in outdoor community spaces (i.e. street, beach or parks) and schools of marginal neighbourhoods usually characterised by poverty, insecurity and isolation. Through this project, many people who would normally not be able or motivated to access the festival’s main activities are able to watch films free of charge and interact with filmmakers. The second research phase took place in Uruguay, and was dedicated to the investigation of the project ECO CINEMA. This project stems from a cooperation with the Dutch project Solar World Cinema and is dedicated to bringing solar powered ephemeral cinemas to isolated communities of South America, from Mexico to Ecuador, Chile, Uruguay and Brazil. In order to reach their beneficiaries, the workers of ECO CINEMA spend several months a year driving around their countries in trucks equipped with solar panels which electricity production is used to power sound and image equipment (including an inflatable screen). Screenings take place on squares, streets, in parks and community centres. Research on this project was conducted in Uruguay by visiting a number of mobile cinema sessions taking place in the country side. The different research locations are specified and briefly described in the following table:

Table 3.1: Research locations

Cartagena, Colombia	Pozón	One of the most marginal neighbourhoods of Cartagena, situated on the Isle of Leon, at the fringe of the city and populated by displaced people, most people live in shabby homes and many are homeless
	La Maria	A suburb of Cartagena characterised by low incomes and a high level of insecurity, the zone is classified as ‘red zone’ by the municipality
	La Boquilla	A neighbourhood of Cartagena characterised by low incomes and poor housing conditions
	High School 1	A poor suburb of Cartagena
	High School 2	A poor suburb of Cartagena
San Jose province, Uruguay	San Jose de Mayo	Capital of the San Jose province, located 90 kilometres from the centre of Montevideo and home to a population of about 35,000 people
	Libertad	Village of about 10,000 people located in the vicinity of San Jose de Mayo
	Villa Rodriguez	Village of about 2,500 people located in the vicinity of San Jose de Mayo

3.3.3 Population and sampling

Data was collected from several population samples. The first (group 1) consists of members having attended one of the mobile cinema screening sessions where research was conducted. These respondents were selected through non-probability, convenience sampling. This sampling method was used since members of the public showed up spontaneously and usually left rapidly after screenings, and it was therefore impossible to apply any probability sampling method. In order to limit the respondent bias which would be caused by working only with volunteering and interested subjects, participants were arbitrarily approached by the researcher (note: no one refused to participate). In one screening only, which took place in a Colombian school, a group of students was gathered by a professor and thus presumably less arbitrarily chosen. Another population sample (group 2) is made up of the seven filmmakers interviewed, each of whom had directed one of the films presented by the projects. The last group (group 3) consists of the directors of the two projects studied and a worker of the project ECO CINEMA. Thus, a total of 42 people participated in this research.

3.3.4 Type of data collected

In order to analyse the public's reaction to the films screened, it was necessary to record their interpretations and impressions after film screenings. The intentions and interpretations of filmmakers also needed to be collected. In order to answer sub-questions 2, 3, 4 and 5, information on the respondents were gathered (age, sex, education, etc.), as well as on the organisation of the mobile cinema projects in terms of frequencies of screenings, film contents, geographical reach, side activities and follow-up. Based on the operationalization of the concepts tackled in this study, the following list of variables was drafted (Table 3.4). These variables indicate the data categories around which the research was articulated.

Table 3.2: Variables investigated

Research objective	Variable	Variable type
Characterizing the projects: vision, objectives reach, activities, participatory dimensions	Mission and objectives of the project	Qualitative
	Duration of activity per year	Quantitative Interval
	Number of workers	Quantitative
	Number of screenings per year	Quantitative
	Means of promotion	Qualitative
	Number of people reached	Quantitative
	Financing	Qualitative
	Frequency of discussions after the screenings	Quantitative/Qualitative
Engagement with communities beyond screenings	Qualitative	
Film contents and local needs	Film's theme	Qualitative
	Film's argument	Qualitative
	Relationship between film content to local issues	Qualitative
	The films presents solutions to local problems	Qualitative
Public's perception of films and project	Personal characteristics: age, gender, origin and education	Qualitative
	Source of information about the project	Qualitative
	Short summary of the film and message understood	Qualitative
	Interpretation matches filmmaker's intention	Quantitative (yes/no)
	Emotional reaction reported after seeing the film	Qualitative
	Strength of emotional reaction	Quantitative
	Expression of an intention to change behaviour	Qualitative
Opinion of the project and critiques	Qualitative	
Filmmakers' intentions	Origin of the idea for the film	Qualitative
	Intention when making the film	Qualitative
	Message or reaction hoped to be caused in the public	Qualitative

3.3.5 Instrument or method for data collection

In order to collect the data needed, three semi-structured questionnaires were made. The first one was designed for respondents of the first group; it is made up of eighteen questions, of which two were closed (one categorical and one numerical), and twelve were open-ended. Questions for the public deal with their experience and understanding of the films screened, their motivation(s) to attend mobile cinema screenings and their opinion on the project's organisation (Annex A). The second questionnaire was destined to filmmakers. Questions for filmmakers touch upon the artists' intentions when making their films, their perception of the value of being included in mobile cinema projects, and

the expected impact of their film on the public and on the topics they deal with (Annex B). Lastly, a questionnaire was designed for project organisers (one worker and the directors of each project), with questions on the projects' organisation in terms of the frequency and quantity of sessions held, the methods of promotion, attendance to the sessions, the types of films screened, the project's vision and objectives, including its participative dimensions (Annex C).

3.3.6 Administration of instrument or method

The questionnaires were administered to the research' subjects through semi-structured interviews. During interviews, the questionnaires were used as a basis, and depending on circumstances and the flow of conversation, questions were added or omitted. Interviews with the members of the public took place immediately after the film screenings and on the spot (sometimes various screenings of the same film were attended), while interviews with filmmakers and project organisers took place before screening sessions, after, and sometimes by email when the people were not physically available. Interviews with members of the public typically lasted between 5 and 15 minutes, while interviews with project organisers and filmmakers lasted between 20 and 60 minutes.

3.3.7 Data analysis

The qualitative data obtained was analysed manually and quantitative data was analysed by calculating averages when necessary.

3.3.8 Reliability and validity

Data concerning the characteristics and organisation of the projects investigated was objective and unambiguous, and thus presented high levels of reliability and validity. However, a large part of the data collected (mostly the interviews with the public) consisted of personal reports of thoughts and opinions. These elements are highly subjective, complex and changeable. Therefore, validity and reliability could be an issue for this part of the data collection. Moreover, due to organisational constraints, only a limited number of people were interviewed (<50), which posed further limitations on reliability. In order to optimise reliability and validity, questions were formulated in an unambiguous way and respondents were given time to expand their answers in an 'open question' format. Moreover, the interviewer ensured that respondents were not influenced, by posing questions in the most neutral way possible, avoiding expressing personal opinions and not framing the questions. Lastly, it was important to keep in mind that since a part of the research consists of subjective elements, not all findings could be generalised, but instead should be read as context-bound conclusions.



4. Inclusion in the Colombian and Uruguayan filmmaking sector and presentation of the mobile cinema projects in terms of organisation and contents

Hereafter, in order to be able to draw conclusions on the developmental power of mobile cinema, it will first be necessary to briefly analyse the national cinematic production sectors of the two research countries. This analysis is included following a reflection on the relationship between inclusion in the national filmmaking processes and development, in the sense that cinema can only represent the society it emerges from if opportunities for cinematic production are fairly distributed across society. Once participativeness in the Colombian and Uruguayan filmmaking has been analysed based on information obtained through interviews with filmmakers, the characteristics of the diffusion of regional and foreign films as it is done in the frame of the two mobile cinema projects studied will be presented in terms of their vision, organisation, participativeness, and the contents of the films screened. In this presentation, an attempt will be made to take an analytical lens and identify (as well as compare) elements which can be linked to potential development impacts.

4.1 Opportunities and limitations for independent filmmaking in Colombia and Uruguay: institutional support and financing

In order to engage an analysis of the participativeness of the mobile cinema projects researched, it is important to understand the distinction between participation in cinematic production, and the interactivity of cinematic consumption. A cinema project can increase social impact by making its public participate in discussions and activities preceding and following the screening of a film (interactive cinematic consumption). However, participativeness in the case of cinema is determined by the participativeness of local cinema production processes, or in other words the extent to which filmmaking has been democratised. The wider and the less biased opportunities for citizens to get included in the creative processes of filmmaking are, the more participative film production will be. By increasing inclusion in a country's or a locality's cinematic production, the pool of films created becomes more representative of the diversity of opinions, hopes, and desires of communities. Then, in order to gain direct insight on the degree of participativeness of Colombia and Uruguay's cinematic production, the filmmakers from both countries were asked about the opportunities and limitations in terms of institutional support and financing opportunities.

Before presenting the results obtained through the filmmakers' interviews, a synthesis of relevant literature findings will first be presented. To sum up, as explained in Chapter 1, although political conditions were long hostile to independent filmmaking in any Latin American countries, independent filmmaking is now rising through increased government support and the democratisation of visual technology (see 1.2). In Colombia and Uruguay, rising government support for filmmakers is manifested by the creation of new cinema laws and funds by national governments as well as municipalities. Nevertheless, research also demonstrated that many limitations still weight on the Latin American independent cinema sector. Although new funds have appeared, in the Colombian case those often favour commercial productions instead of small and

independent projects (see 1.2). The overshadowing of low budget, non-commercial films by commercial and often foreign productions is a problem across Latin America. Furthermore, besides the low availability of production resources, low demand and opportunities for distribution also hold back independent filmmakers. Indeed, distribution platforms are highly dominated by commercial and foreign films, which conceals independent filmmakers from the public (see 1.2). Moreover, cinema attendance is relatively low in Latin America, although rising trends have been reported. These phenomena is part of a negative feedback loop in which low diffusion and attendance prevents the public from getting to know local filmmakers and keeps the demand for local independent films low, which reduces motivation to produce local independent films and gives a negative production incentive (see 1.2).

In the following table (Table 4.1), the filmmakers interviewed in the frame of this research are presented. All but one, who worked in another country (Ecuador), were interviewed about the opportunities and limitations they have encountered in their work in Colombia and Uruguay.

Table 4.1: Filmmakers interviewed and their films

Name	Nationality/ working base	Film	Details
Cesar Castro Prada	Colombia	Abel & Maria	Genre: Fiction Production: Katapulta/Formato 19K Colombia Running time: 7 min.
Rafael Loayza Sánchez	Colombia	Juancho el Pajarero	Genre: Fiction Production: PAVOREAL Colectivo Audiovisual y PUNTAMULATA Producciones Colombia Release year: 2013 Running time: 17'
Diego Andrés Ulloa Alvear	Ecuador	Osito de Peluche 13min	Genre: Fiction Production: INCINE Ecuador Release year: 2012 Running time: 13'
Josef Wladyka	U.S.	Manos Sucias	Genre: Fiction Production: Colombia/U.S. Release year: 2014 Running time: 83 min
Chris Gude	U.S.	Mambo Cool	Production: La Pesebrera Colombia/U.S. Release year: 2013 Running time: 63 min.
Guillermo Rocamora	Uruguay	Solo	Genre: Fiction Production: Uruguay/Argentina/Netherlands Release year: 2013 Running time: 90'
Luis Ara Hermida	Uruguay	Jugadores con Patente	Genre: Documentary Film co-directed with Luis Ara Hermida Release year: 2013 Running time: 80'

According to Chris Gude, director of Mambo Cool, the opportunities for independent filmmaking in Colombia are 'the enthusiasm and the will of the people, the environmental wealth and the richness of sounds, as well as the existence of state funds for promotion' (personal communication, April 2014). Through the dedication of the people he worked with the young director managed to work independently and with a minimal budget throughout the whole production process. Thanks to a small collaboration with a local producer, the team could register as a Colombian film with the ministry of Culture and obtain a stimulus from the national production fund Proimágenes, which supported the costs of festival participation (travelling costs, exhibition copies, promotion, etc.). However, as Chris explains, the government support mechanisms are also part of the limitation for filmmakers due to the high level of bureaucracy in place to access them, which tend to generate 'chaos and confusion'. According to Julio Cesar Castro, director of

Abel y Maria, 'new technologies have been a revolution in the democratisation of alternative cinema' (personal communication, April 2014). He also explained that in his context, a poor suburb of Bogota, government support is difficult to access for a young filmmaker. The funds are usually directed and granted to experienced companies, and there is little available for alternative and community processes. In his experience, funds are sometimes when pressure is made on institutions, but the amounts and resources given are low. Nevertheless, the filmmaker also saw the indifference of institutions and the financial limitations as an opportunity to work more creatively. He recalled a time when he spoke to the local bakery and convinced them to offer bread to feed his crew, and stated that he was proud to have managed to realise the film with a budget of under US\$500.

In Uruguay, there are many opportunities for filmmakers, due to the high human potential; plenty of motivated directors, good technicians, performant actors, creative screen writers, and 'thousands of stories to tell' (F. Lemos, personal communication, June 2014; G. Rocamora, personal communication, May 2014). However, according to Frederico Lemos, co-director of *Jugadores con Patentes*, making independent cinema in Uruguay is very difficult, just as in the rest of Latin America (personal communication, June 2014). This position is also held by Nicolás Alvarez Moya (2013), Uruguayan film critique who states 'we all know how difficult it is to produce something here'. The problem, according to Lemos, is the difficulty of accessing funds. Cinema institutions offer more support than they used to, but the demand for financial support is still much lower than the demand. Filmmakers must thus compromise themselves and seek to co-produce or look for funds from companies, which is according to the Lemos difficult to manage. Guillermo Rocamora, director of *Solo* shares Lemos' view, stating: 'the major limitation we have in Uruguay is economical' (personal communication, May 2014). In his opinion, there is no cinematographic industry in Uruguay, and public funds are scarce. However, he mentions, progress is being made since 2008, when 'Law of Cinema' allocating a fixed part of GDP to cinema production was passed. According to Lemos, despite current difficulties, there is potential for progress since the Uruguayan society is beginning to perceive cinema as an interesting product which deserves investment (personal communication, June 2014).

Thus, although there is a high filmmaking potential in Colombia and Uruguay, it is often difficult to realise production projects due to the limitation of funding in Uruguay, and the skewness of funding attribution for commercial, high-budget films in Colombia. Nevertheless, the two States have recently implemented Cinema laws, which demonstrates a concern with the growth of national cinema from the part of the State. What must be hoped for in this context is that emerging filmmakers with original ideas and limited anchor in the sector would get as much funding opportunity as established directors. Only then could the cinema sector become a platform for critical and inclusive dialogue, and a potential agent for change modelled on the needs of society.

4.2 Characteristics of the projects investigated and their contents

4.2.1 The projects' visions and objectives

The project *Cine en los Barrios* originated from its founders' dream to create an alternative space of encounter between communities, cinema and its makers (FICCI, 2014). The vision of this project is thus to include those who are generally excluded of the cinema sector, by ensuring that they get to watch films and meet filmmakers. As project director Angela Bueno explains, her major motivation is to give an opportunity to people to experience and to enjoy the cultural activities of their cities, and to reap the cultural benefits large cultural events bring along (personal communication, May 2014). In her own words, the project's mission is to 'open doors and minds through cinema' (personal communication, May 2014). Situated in the frame of the FICCI, *Cine en los barrios* thus aims to bring communities contact with cinema by making them connect with the festival. The films presented deal with social themes as well as the environment, and therefore it can be said that the project includes both dimensions in its scope of action, but environmental awareness raising is not listed as a main objective.

The project *Ecocinema* however, is primarily focused on raising environmental awareness. The project was launched in 2012 after the encounter of the Uruguayan production house *Medio&Medio* and the Dutch proprietorship *Solar World Cinema*, an enterprise dedicated to the organisation of 100% solar powered open-air film screenings in the public space, the curation of films suitable for outdoor screenings and the production of video and film projects (*Solar Cinema*, n.d.). *Ecocinema* was founded as an international joint venture which ambitious vision is to become a worldwide network of outdoor sustainable cinemas. By screening films using solar energy, but also by presenting films on environmental issues and offering workshops, *Ecocinema* aims to instil social change towards the use of more sustainable energy (G. Lamela, personal communication, April 2014). In Latin America, according to Lamela, the use of renewable has not been popularised yet, it is perceived as 'something from another world, something of large companies, but not like something easy and economical' people can use in their own households (personal communication, April 2014). What is missing to promote renewable energy use is education, both theoretical and practical (G. Lamela, personal communication, April 2014). There is thus an important lack of information in the region, and cinema can be used as an 'excuse to diffuse the theme of sustainable energy' (G. Lamela, personal communication, April 2014).

The mission of *Medio&Medio's* original mobile cinema initiative (*Ecocinema's* antecedent) was to bring cinema to the people and to create a window of exhibition for local filmmakers, but these have been relegated to secondary objectives in *Ecocinema's* strategy. The social objectives of *Medio&Medio Films* and those of *Ecocinema* are to develop professional platforms of free itinerant national cinema screening, with the aim of creating and strengthening bonds between people around easily accessible cultural activities (*Ecocinema*, n.d.). This is important, according to current executive director of *Ecocinema* in Latin America Gonzalo Lamela, since half of Uruguay's population is concentrated in the country's capital, leaving the rest of the country lowly populated and mostly lacking cultural infrastructures (only three provincial departments have cinemas) (personal communication, April 2014). By forming new audiences, the production

company hopes to complement the scope of commercial theatres circuits and expand the window of national audiovisual products (Ecocinema, n.d.). This is of major importance in Uruguay due to the domination of the audiovisual sector by foreign cinema (especially Argentine) and the fact that there is great filmmaking potential in the country (R. Romero, personal communication, April 2014). Besides bringing cinema where there is none, the aim was to create an outlet for Uruguayan films which were largely underrepresented in the conventional cinema halls (G. Lamela, personal communication, April 2014). Thus, Ecocinema's secondary objectives are to offer a chance for people from the Uruguayan country-side to enjoy films while fostering the exposure and the demand for local films.

Thus, the projects have similar objectives, but their order of importance differ. For *Cine en los Barrios* the main objective is to increase the access to cinema in marginalised communities and to foster positive social change. While supporting environmental sustainability is not the primary concern of this project, it is for Ecocinema, which mission is to raise awareness about the use of renewable energy. Bringing cinema to the people and facilitating social change is included in the project's mission statement, but takes a secondary importance according to the director of the project. Both initiatives include the promotion of national cinematic industries as their secondary objectives.

4.2.2 Organisation of the projects investigated

Hereafter, the organisation of the mobile cinema projects studied will be described in terms of human resources, procedures, planning, reach, and financing.

Cine en los Barrios

Cine en los Barrios is part of the FICCI, which is the main event organised by the Corporation *Festival Internacional de Cine de Cartagena*, which was founded in 1959 with the objective to provide cultural, communication and technical services in the field of cinematography and audiovisual arts (FICCI, 2014b). The mobile cinema project is led by Angela Bueno, who before beginning her work with the FICCI and up until now, works for the production of art exhibitions such as the Biennale of Contemporary Art of Cartagena as well as commercials for television and print. The project is ran by about 10 people and the people collaborating with the project in each intervention location. The work of *Cine en los Barrios* begins in October with the visits of potential screening locations, and goes on until March when the festival takes place. The project includes two main activities, *Cine en los Barrios* which consists of setting up film screenings in marginalised neighbourhoods and municipalities, but also *Barrios al Cine* which consists of bringing people from those marginalised neighbourhoods to main festival's screenings. Screenings in the *Barrios* are organised in the city of Cartagena, and in municipalities of the Bolívar Department, by the workers of *Cine en los Barrios* and local organisations (NGOs, schools, community workers...). A wide variety of location types are reached, as screenings are held in schools, universities, foundations, prisons, hospitals, churches, libraries, asylums, cultural centres, or outdoors public spaces (i.e. streets, squares and beaches) (FICCI, 2014a). The selection of the project localities is made after careful study and a number of awareness raising campaigns on the importance of participating in *Cine en los Barrios* involving visits to locations and telephonic communication (A. Bueno, personal

communication, May 2014). A few months before the festival, community organisations (e.g. schools, churches, NGOs, etc.) are invited to apply for participation in the project through the distribution of flyers, posters and direct contact. The organisations who wish to organise a screening can then come to one of the festival's offices and receive a package containing screening and print material. The first screening attended in the frame of this study took place in the neighbourhood of *el Pozón* and was organised by the NGO *un Techo para mi País* which was involved with house building activities. The NGO invited the festival to come to the poor neighbourhood, promoted the event, organised a children's music performance before the screening and distributed a snack to children once the short films were over. Throughout the year, *Cine en los Barrios* works with other departments of the FICCI to obtain funds for the financing of projects involving communities of Bolívar. Examples given by the project's director were mainly projects in collaboration with national and departmental educational institutions.

Outdoor screenings are set up through a mobile cinema truck, which is loaded with sound and projection equipment, and on the side of which a screen can be unfolded (see Picture 4 & 5). When screenings are held indoors, projections are ran using the place's sound and image materials, or, in the case that no equipment is available on the spot the project organisers bring them along. The project organisers do their best to bring people who have participated in the realisation of the films shown to the screening (i.e. director, producer, main actors...) and invite them to enter in a discussion with the public after the film has been shown. As was observed during fieldwork, the discussions which took place after the screenings attended gave a much more impactful dimension to the experience. Indeed, by entering into conversations with the filmmakers, producers and/or actors of the films the members of the public got highly enthusiastic, engaged, and reflexive. This can be linked to the fact that the presence of the crew made the film much more 'real', accessible and interesting to the spectators. Besides the film screening, additional activities are sometimes presented. This year, screenings were held in 250 places for a public reaching an estimated 40,000 people (A. Bueno, personal communication, May 2014). As one of the FICCI's activities, *Cine en los Barrios* is indirectly sponsored by the festival's general sponsors. Those include embassies, government entities such as the Colombian Ministry of Culture, the governance of Bolívar, and the municipality of Cartagena), but also private funds and companies such as Volkswagen, the television and radio company RCN and the Cinema company *Cine Colombia*.

Picture 4.1: Truck with foldable screen used in *Cine en los Barrios*



Source: Fieldwork

Picture 4.2: Screening in the neighbourhood *el Pozón*



Source: Fieldwork

The films shown are mostly short fiction films and documentaries selected by a curator, but a few feature films from or outside of the festival's competition are occasionally presented (A. Bueno, personal communication, May 2014). As Cine en los Barrios' director mentioned during our first meeting, the curator selects films on social, cultural or environmental topics which transmit a positive message (A. Bueno, personal communication, March 2014). This year, 70 short films from around the world were chosen to be part of the project's programme schedule (FICCI, 2014a). These films were provided by various filmmakers and partners, including a children television program of Señal Colombia, an animation festival (LOOP), and a Mexican based international documentary film festival (FICCI, 2014a). The last contributor, called Festival Ambulante formulates its objective as the amplification of traditional exhibition circuits for documentary films in order to amplify the outlet opportunities and the reach of this type of cinema across social classes and geographic locations (Festival Ambulante, n.d.). Importantly, this project specifies as one of its goals, the transmission of tools for a possible transformation of reality and the contribution to the formation of a participative society (Festival Ambulante, n.d.). Cine en los Barrios also presented works brought by a diversity of national community video initiatives, such as *Historias de Barrío* (Stories of Neighbourhood) of Barranquilla, a mobile cinemateque from Bogota (*Cinemateca Rodante*) and the program *Imaginando Nuestra Imagen* (Imagining Our Image) initiated by the Colombian ministry of Culture and aimed at promoting the formation of new filmmakers across the country (FICCI, 2014a). The contribution of these projects permits the expansion of exhibition opportunities for the country's emergent filmmakers (FICCI, 2014a).

Picture 4.3: *Manos Sucias'* film crew and actors answering the students' questions



Source: Fieldwork

Picture 4.5: Producer (left) and protagonist (right) of *Mambo Cool* speaking with students



Source: Fieldwork

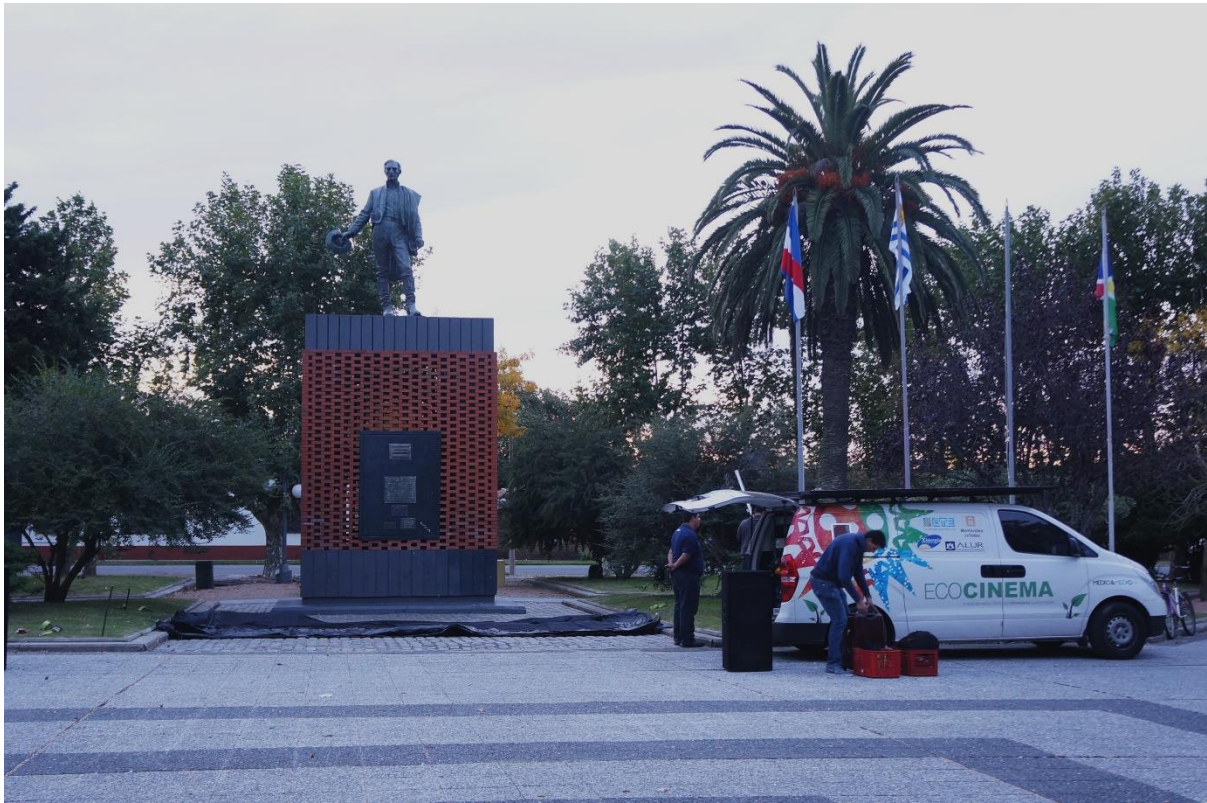
Concerning the impacts of *Cine en los Barrios* the organisers mention several aspects. By screening films from outside Bolívar and by bringing in outsiders, the project hopes to contribute to the building of a bridge between the region and the rest of the world (A. Bueno, personal communication, May 2014). It aims to stimulate filmmakers by offering a platform for the display of their works, but most importantly, it aims to impact the minds of those who come to watch (FICCI, 2014). Furthermore, as the project director explains, mobile cinema gives the possibility to reach beyond the borders of the locations where the screenings are held (personal communication, May 2014). She explains: 'I know from experience that if we work with the community, little by little we manage to achieve positive change in any city'. Expanding on this, Bueno explained that she sees a clear difference between neighbourhoods that have participated in *Cine en los Barrios* and those who have not. The first kind has a more open mind towards cinema, she stated, and there are already communities making their own videos which have been presented in the frame of *Cine en los Barrios*. According to Bueno, what is needed to achieve higher results is to begin working all year long on the project rather than a few months a year only. According to the organiser of another mobile cinema project in Colombia, mobile cinema has a special impact in violent areas of Colombia, where it encourages people to come out at night again and reclaim the public space, but also contributes to the restoration of damaged community relationships (personal communication, March 2014). According to her, mobile cinema is a 'cheap and effective too for change' and therefore it is increasingly being introduced throughout the country.

Ecocinema

The Latin American branch of Ecocinema is led by Gonzalo Lamela, who is also the executive producer of documentary and fiction films, and a partner at the production house Medio&Medio Films. Ecocinema was launched in 2012 and has grown exponentially since then; from the Uruguayan initiative, activities were expanded to Mexico, Brazil, Ecuador and Colombia, employing a total of 25 people (G. Lamela, personal communication, April 2014). The screenings are held during tours, which are led by a small group of country-specific workers, who leave with the Ecocinema truck for a number of months hold projections in pre-planned locations along the way. The tours are schedules according to climatic conditions, in Uruguay for instance they are carried out annually during the warmest months of the year. During the tours, large distances are covered, in Uruguay, the team travels about 20,000 kilometres per year (R. Romero, personal communication, April 2014). In each country, the same type of solar powered truck is used, and the energy produced serves to aliment 100% of sound and image equipment needs during projections. The autonomy of the screening equipment running on the solar energy stored in the truck is about five hours, according to the leader of the Ecocinema tour attended (R. Romero, personal communication, April 2014). This enables the mobile cinemas to be entirely self-sufficient, and facilitates screening in places where electricity outlets are scarce or unpractical (i.e. beaches, parks, village square, etc.). Screenings are directed to all publics, and a large part of spectators are children (G. Lamela, personal communication, April 2014).

When the truck arrives on its screening location, the equipment is taken out, the large screen is inflated, and loud music is played on the speakers to attract the attention of locals. Depending on the location, people sit on public benches, bring their own chairs or use the carton seats provided by Ecocinema, or remain in their car in the case that the screening takes place in a large open space. During the hour preceding the main film screening, short films on environmental topics and sustainable energies are presented. Then, one of the project catalogue's feature films is screened, and occasionally a discussion with the filmmakers and/or actors follows. The films screened in each country are mostly local films, except for countries with a low film production (i.e. Ecuador) where films of other Latin American localities are often shown (G. Lamela, personal communication, April 2014). Ecocinema is only limited by national or municipal restrictions in the choice of its contents. It does its own curating work with the assistance of each country's producer associate. As much as possible, new films are searched in order to promote them (G. Lamela, personal communication, April 2014). While in Chile more restrictions are imposed, more freedom is granted in Brazil, Mexico and Uruguay. Due to the age variety of the public, both children films and more complex films destined to adults are screened (G. Lamela, personal communication, April 2014). The directors of the films presented occasionally participate in the projections and answer questions after the screening. At times, Ecocinema organises special screenings followed by an extended debate, explained Lamela. In order to make environmental teaching more tangible and durable, a children's book on sustainable energy was created and is being distributed through schools in Uruguay and soon in other project countries. Ecocinema was set up with the financial support of the Dutch foundation *Stichting Doen*. The project has greatly expanded since its creation, and is now financed by international donors as well as by national funds from the countries where the project takes place, roughly 50% are public (i.e. municipalities, culture ministries, cinema institutions, etc.) and 50% private companies (G. Lamela, personal communication, April 2014). Current plans are to expand Ecocinema to Spain, Tunisia and Argentina, mentioned Lamela (personal communication, April 2014).

Picture 4.6: Ecocinema truck preparing to take out screening equipment



Source: Fieldwork

The project has reached a large number of places and people. Screenings were held throughout Latin America and Europe, and attendance was approximately 80,000 people (G. Lamela, personal communication, April 2014). Ecocinema also estimate indirect impact, or the number of people who attended screenings plus those who stopped by and walked away, considering that simply witnessing the project can have an impact. Together, direct and indirect impact reaches about 1,000,000 people estimated director Gonzalo Lamela. According to him, the launching of Ecocinema in Tunisia this year would bring the total number of screenings per year to 1,200 (personal communication, April 2014). Ecocinema gets deep into society and geographic locations, reaching people who have had little to no contact with cinema before. Anecdotes from the field illustrates the depth of the project's reach and the novelty of the cultural products presented in certain localities. During the interview, project leader Raúl Romero (personal communication, April 2014) recorded a time when a fifty years old teacher who had never seen a film before attended the screening before, 'laughed and enjoyed more than the children'. In another village, he told, a grandfather of about seventy years old and his grandson who had never gone to the cinema 'gathered for the first time to see cinema'.

Picture 4.7: Young members of the public sitting on carton board chairs



Source: Fieldwork

Through the films screened and the activities organised, Ecocinema strives to raise awareness on environmental issues, but also aims to promote positive social change. In order to ensure that the films shown in the localities visited fit local development needs, cultural territories are marked based on their prominent environmental problems, and the thematic of that region's tour is adapted to that issue (G. Lamela, personal communication, April 2014). For instance, in Oaxaca, Mexico, a region where water scarcity is a problem, a documentary about a region facing the same issues in Australia was presented. In order to ensure impact, the public is encouraged to discuss the themes presented in the films seen. Besides raising environmental awareness, Ecocinema envisions being a catalyst of social change, according to the principles of 'outreach and engagement', a concept on producing documentary films with social thematic and ensuring their diffusion (G. Lamela, personal communication, April 2014). Some of the films shown would not have attracted a large audience in movie theatres due to the heavy social problem they treat, but presenting them during free outdoor mobile cinema sessions can dramatically enhance their exhibition window (G. Lamela, personal communication, April 2014). An example given by Lamela is a documentary called 12 hours 2 minutes, which deals with organ transplants. This film had only 1,200 paying spectators when released in cinemas, but through a specific Ecocinema tour, 150,000 people got to watch it. Attracting a large non-paying public does not provide financial gains, but helps raising awareness and does justice to films dealing with crucial social topics. This example also illustrates the potential of mobile cinema as a way of expanding

the window of independent films. The production of independent films is increasing due to more easily accessible technology, but it needs to be met with the development of an alternative to the commercial cinema circuit to be encouraged and maintained (G. Lamela, personal communication, April 2014). In Lamela's words, 'you cannot try with an independent film to compete against the publicity of American films, I think we need to find other alternatives' (personal communication, April 2014).

Furthermore, besides the impact of the films watched themselves, Ecocinema has an important role as promoter of community and family interaction. As Lamela explained, while most of the time people watch films on their own, a screening in a public space is an opportunity to socialise the experience (personal communication, April 2014). By watching is with their families, friends and neighbours, people experience the film in different manner and comment on it afterwards. This social interaction can strengthen social bonds and encourage reflection on the films seen. The personal impacts on the project workers were also investigated through interviews. According to tour leader Raúl Romero although there are many difficulties while working for Ecocinema (i.e. bad weather conditions, long trips) but the satisfaction brought by the positive reactions and comments of the publics encountered, and the feeling of being part of an important project for the advance of Uruguayan independent cinema are highly gratifying (R. Romero, personal communication, April 2014). 'The people come to congratulate you, they ask you when you will come back'. In order to analytically compare the two projects investigated in terms of their characteristics, organisation, activities, reach and impacts, the following table was elaborated:

Table 4.2: Comparison between the two projects studied in terms of management, human resources, locations, timing, activities, reach, films, and the social impacts observed by organisers

	<i>Cine en los Barrios</i>	Ecocinema
Backing institution	The Corporation <i>Festival Internacional de Cine de Cartagena</i> a Colombian cultural Enterprise dedicated mostly to the organisation of the FICCI	The Dutch organisation Solar World Cinema and the Uruguayan production house Medio&Medio Films
Human resources	Led by Angela Bueno, producer of art projects and commercials Includes also 10 workers Partnership with local and community organisations (i.e. NGO's, schools, churches)	Led by film producer Gonzalo Lamela and 25 workers
Locations	In schools, universities, foundations, prisons, hospitals, churches, libraries, asylums, cultural centres, or outdoors public spaces of marginalised neighbourhoods of Cartagena and municipalities of Bolivar	Outdoors, across the project's countries, including villages, towns and marginal neighbourhoods of large cities
Timing	Six months a year on the project and the rest of the year support to community development projects	Year long, a few months a year in each of the project's countries
Activities	Indoor screenings using the materials of the location or the project's screening equipment Outdoor screenings using the project's truck, screen and sound equipment Discussions with filmmakers after the screenings	Outdoor screenings with solar powered screen, and projection equipment Workshops on renewable energies at schools Occasional discussions with filmmakers
Films	More than 60 films in 2014 Mostly short films, a few feature films from the festival's program	10 regional feature films included in Ecocinema's 2014 catalogue for Latin America Short environmental films shown before the main screening
Reach	Approximately 40,000 people this year	Approximately 80,000 people in Europe and Latin America in 2014
Social impact reported by project leaders	Raising awareness on environmental and social topics Increased socialisation, family and community bonding Reclaiming the public space	

Through this table, the similarities and differences between the two projects investigated in terms of management, human resources, locations, timing, activities, reach, films, and the social impacts observed by organisers were highlighted. *Cine en los Barrios* and Ecocinema are led by different types of organisational units, on the one side a Colombian film festival corporation and the other side the cooperation between a Uruguayan production house and a Dutch enterprise. This difference already predicts different orientations in the projects' visions and in the nature of their activities, as the first organisation is a film festival without a specific thematic focus, but the Dutch founder of Ecocinema follows an alternative, 'sustainable' cinema concept. In the localities where screenings are held, *Cine en los Barrios* often cooperates with community associations or NGO's, which are the ones taking care of promoting the event. Ecocinema however rely less on local organisations as they are usually the ones deciding where screenings are held and operate auto-sufficiently. This difference is interesting to remark, as the fact that *Cine en los Barrios* operates with the cooperation of local associations shows a deeper engagement with established community organisations (both socially and time-wise), which can lead to more deeply rooted and more long term impacts. This can be expected from the fact that community associations remain after the mobile cinema crew has left, are then able to work as a binding factor between people having watched attended a mobile cinema session, and as a catalyst of further discussion and collective action.

Concerning locations, both project focus on culturally underserved places, which are generally outside the centres of the capital cities. The difference is the geographic reach, as the first project is limited to a department of Colombia, while the second one takes place in a wide number of countries and across two continents. Due to different cinema concepts and screening equipment, *Cine en los Barrios* is versatile in its screening procedures, realising as much indoor screenings as outdoors screenings. Ecocinema however focuses on outdoors screenings, which becomes strictly limiting in case of rainy weather due to the risk of short circuit. Nevertheless, cases were reported of moving a screening indoors (i.e. a local church) when the weather was too hostile (Respondent 18, personal communication, April 2014). Besides the main film screenings, interventions almost always include discussions with filmmakers and film protagonists in the case of *Cine en los Barrios* and occasionally for Ecocinema. The systematic presence of discussions after screenings is a strong point of *Cine en los Barrios* since discussions can be expected to increase and deepen the social processing of information by the public, and increase chances of psychological and behavioural impact. Moreover, as observed during fieldwork, the public's enthusiasm for the film watched generally grows when they meet the film crew, which can also be expected to strengthen learning. Besides discussions, Ecocinema include other elements in their interventions. Environmental short film are always screened before the main film, and the project often organise workshops on renewable energies at the schools of the localities visited. The environmental short films provide theoretical learning, while workshops offer a chance for people to learn about renewable energies 'hands-on', which is generally an element absent from cinema projects, and can be seen as a valuable addition to the project.

Concerning the types and number of films screened, it can be seen that in *Cine en los Barrios*, mainly short films are screened, which is one of the reasons why many more films are shown than in the other project. The breadth of *Cine en los Barrios* program allows for the exhibition of the work of a large number of filmmakers and themes. Nevertheless, choosing to screen feature films only in the main program has the advantage that long films are more familiar to people, and therefore might be more accessible and attractive. Concerning reach, although the geographic reach of the second project is much wider, the number of people reached is only double, with 80,000 against 40,000. The impacts reported by the workers of both projects overlapped, and were therefore listed together.

4.2.3 Relationship between film themes and national development challenges

In order to investigate the link between mobile cinema and development, it is necessary to take a look at the contents of the films screened in the frame of the projects studied, and to identify their developmental dimensions. In this process, it is interesting to find out what themes are dealt with in the films shown, whether the filmmakers interviewed had intentions to present or influence developmental issues, and whether the issues dealt with in the films correspond to the challenges faced by the research countries. In order to answer sub-question 3 and draw conclusions about the developmental content of films and on the fitness of the projects' film programs to local development needs, the different themes presented in those programs must be explored. The 2014 program of *Cine en los Barrios* and the 2014 program of *Ecocinema for Latin America* were used as a basis for this analysis. For a selection of 7 films (5 from the Colombian program and 2 from the Uruguayan program), an in depth analysis was made with the help of interviews with their directors.

Cine en los Barrios

The main part of the 2014 program of *Cine en los Barrios* was composed of 60 short films, which were organised according to four age categories (children, pre-adolescents, adolescents and adults). Additionally, 4 feature films of this year's festival program were presented in schools from the *Barrios*. The films came mostly from Colombia, but also from other countries around the world, including Spain, Thailand, the U.S., Mexico, and New Zealand. As the project's director stated, all films had a positive content, since the aim of the project is to bring hope and inspiration to the beneficiary communities. This information however is not sufficient to make conclusions on the developmental pertinence of the films screened. The following table shows a synthesis of themes for each category of the short films program and a few examples of synopsis, then a few films will be analysed in-depth (including two feature films), and lastly conclusions on the relationship between the program's films and national development needs will be formulated.

Table 4.3: Synopsis and themes of the 2014 program of *Cine en los Barrios*

Category	Synopsis	Themes
Children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A paper boat goes travelling. • A series of animated shorts dealing with common children's struggles: the birth of a brother, the fear of darkness, the loss of the first tooth... • Tomi, an emigrant Colombian child shares his experiences with other children who have gone to live in other places. • Two brothers transform their daily lives by the power of their imagination. • Science and nature explained to children. • Animals at a talk show speak about how to deal with conflicts. 	Family, adventure, environmental protection, fears and childhood conflicts, Colombian culture and migration, yoga, animals, imagination
Pre-adolescents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Luisa asks her father why it is important to protect nature. • A mother suggests her son a new game: moving things with his mind. • A little mischievous boy falls in love with a good little girl and begins to change. • A little Inuit boy goes fishing. • A little boy loses his mother in the undergrounds of a large city. • Two farmers must go and hunt a coyote. 	Environmental protection, indigenous traditions, imagination, misbehaviour, education, food, farming, identity, romance
Adolescents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A boy dreams to be a footballer, another one wants his own business, the third one just dreams to go to a better place. • A group of friends living in a dangerous neighbourhood spend their time committing mischiefs. • Martin is in love with a woman on a poster and tries to make space for a real woman. • Antonio is white. Christen is black. • In a post-nuclear world, a station of war planes and a city maintain a meaningless self-destructive war. 	Migration, ambitions and career, arts, solidarity, street violence, guerrillas, corruption, traffic, racism, family life, love and relationships
Adults	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A Chinese family living in Mexico, the son dreams to become mariachi. • A group of women work at the dangerous silver and zinc mine and strive to survive in this horrible place. • A girl finally gets to know her father and discovers they are two very different people, she nevertheless accepts to visit his favourite place. • A young girl enters prostitution and discovers about the dark side of sexuality. • The history of a friendship between two old man, of which one has Alzheimer. • Popular Caribbean tale. • A barber takes justice in his own hands when the dictator enters into his practice. 	Culture and traditions, machismo, social welfare, family conflicts, personal development, leadership, communication, modern technology, prostitution, local culture, sickness, fear and relationships, democracy

Of the short films presented by Cine en los Barrios, three were selected to be analysed in the frame of this research. As part of the analysis, interviews were conducted with the filmmakers in order to identify their motivations, the messages intended in their films, as well as the cinematic symbols and tools they used to communicate these messages. This information facilitates a better understanding of the film, of the filmmakers' viewpoint, and particularly of the films meaning in a developmental perspective. The films analysed and the interview results are briefly presented hereafter.

Abel y Maria

Director: Cesar Castro Prada
Fiction/Colombia/2013

Themes: precarity, elderly, injustice, loss

Presentation: A poor old couple devises a strategy to avoid being evicted from their house. The woman fakes dying in front of the government employee ordered to supervise the eviction. As the old man celebrates his victory, he discovers that his wife has really died. This story leaves the public with a sense of injustice at the fate of two old people abandoned in a state of poverty by their families, society and the state.

In an interview, the filmmaker explained his motivations to make the film as well as the techniques he used and his opinion on the result obtained. Cesar Castro Prada explained that the idea for the film came as he witnessed a case of social injustice, namely the eviction of his mother's neighbour who lived in a popular neighbourhood of Bogota (personal communication, April 2014). This neighbour, Lilia, had received a notification of eviction and the filmmaker witnessed firsthand her sadness as her appeals were rejected and she finally had to move back to her family's village. More broadly speaking, Castro Prada explained that he was inspired by his fascination for old people, their stories, and the fact that society often fails to treat them with the respect they deserve, asking: 'where did human beings get to with so much coldness?' According to Castro, failing to care for the elderly is highly prejudicial for a country, and he hopes to make transmit a message that could impact minds and change people's behaviour towards the seniors surrounding them. In order to impact the public, he used special lighting techniques and a narrative twist. From the reactions he has received from people having watched the film, he concludes that the ending is effective in achieving his purpose. By showing the ingeniousness and deep concern of the protagonists, the film manages to create a sense of closeness and sympathy for these old people from the public's part.

From the statements made by the filmmaker, it is thus possible to say that the film was made with an intention to denounce the failure of the state in caring for the nation's seniors and the deplorable results thereof, and on a social level, the poor regards paid to old people, and the economic as well as psychological difficulties they face. Based on this critique, the film hoped to make a case for a better treatment of the elderly. The precarity of the elderly, just as the precarity of any social group, is a common issue of social development, and one identified for Colombia (see 1.1.5).

Osito de Peluche

Director: Diego Andrés Ulloa Alvear
Fiction/Ecuador/2012

Themes: separation, abandon, fatherhood, parenting, social classes

Presentation: A young girl meets her father after many years of absence. The two spend a day together, childishly playing and trying to reconnect. At the end, the father leaves again and brings along the teddy bear he and his daughter had won. This film shows the difficulty for a child and a parent to reconnect after a long separation, and brings attention to the irresponsibility of certain parents.

Director Diego Andrés Ulloa Alvear explained that the idea for the film came from his interest for the role of fathers and their relationship with their children (personal communication, April 2014). The plot was inspired by the experience of a cousin of his who had never met her father, and who once received a visit from her father and then never saw this one again. After hearing this story, he often contemplated about the difficulty of being a father, especially for young men. According to him, society puts much emphasis on the role of mothers and often forgets about the significance of the father figure. When asked whether his film addresses societal problems, Ulloa answered that it deals with the differences between social classes. He stated that he does not want to try to communicate message or offer solutions to societal problems through his films, because this would be moralising. Instead, he believes it is more powerful to lead the public into thinking and questioning themselves about a given topic. Concerning the film's ending, Ulloa explained that the father's departure with the girl's teddy bear and the fact that the girl runs after the vehicle in order to get the bear back symbolises the fact that the relationship did not function.

Thus, this film deals mainly with the difficulties of the father-daughter relationship and abandon, which is not considered a typical development topic. It is nevertheless an influential factor in social development since it relates to family cohesion and psychological health.

Juancho el Pajarero

Director: Rafael Loayza Sánchez
Fiction/Colombia/2013

Themes: animal rights, parenting, rebellion, freedom

Presentation: A boy sets off to hunt for a rare bird. He finally finds it and receives everyone's praise. However, as everybody is celebrate and the bird remains sadly encaged, the boy decides to free it against everyone's opinion. Literally, this short film makes a case for animal protection, metaphorically, it is a story of rebellion and freedom.

In the interview, Rafael Loayza Sánchez mentioned that this film was a debt to his uncle, the writer David Sánchez Juliao who was the author of the tale and with whom he had talked about a cinematic adaptation (personal communication, May 2014). The film's main themes, according to the director, are freedom and rebellion, and the message is

that 'as human beings you have to be free to choose the way you want to go during the rest of your life', in other words, the importance of the freedom to determine one's own path in life. In this sense, the film condemns the interference of family and society on a young person's aspirations and personal decisions. This claim, according to Rafael, was rooted in the opposition of his grandfather to his uncle's dream to become a writer, and was thus mainly directed to artists. The film also presents environmental sub-themes, such as the illegal harvest of flora and fauna and the necessity to prevent it. Although the filmmaker mentions thematic content and formulates messages, he states that his film is not meant to offer answers, but instead to stimulate questioning and the search for one's own answers. When asked about the obstacles encountered during the realisation of the film, Rafael mentioned the fact that it was important for him to only use actors of the region where the film was shot (the Siný), but that this was a challenge since there are only few trained actors there.

Thus, the film deals mostly with the idea of personal development and liberation from social constraints. This is not identified as a typical development issue, but from an agency perspective, it is possible to say that an individual freed from social oppression can be expected to have a stronger capacity to exert agency and make change in his or her environment. The environmental theme of animal poaching and captivity was also not distinguished as a national developmental issue. The fact that the director strived to use local actors for his film may be for filmic purposes only, but may also be a sign that the filmmaker tried to give opportunities for locals. In any case, employing local people for the production of a film is a factor with a developmental significance, as participating in a film project can bring economic, social and personal change in the lives of people, including incomes, learning new skills, connecting with others, gaining self-confidence, etc.

In addition to the short films, a few feature length films were screened by Cine en los Barrios. Two of those were watched and used in this investigation, *Manos Sucias* and *Mambo Cool*. Interestingly, they were two of the four films made by U.S. American filmmakers presented at the FICCI, and both treated the theme of drugs and drug trafficking, albeit in a very different manner. The two films are briefly presented hereafter.

Manos Sucias

Director: Josef Wladyka

Fiction/Colombia-U.S./2014

Themes: drug trafficking, poverty, loss, crime, death, racism, solidarity, culture of the Colombian Pacific coast

Presentation: A desperate young man and his brother looking for an opportunity to get out of misery get involved in drug trafficking. The film stages their dangerous journey on a shabby fishing boat pulling a cocaine-filled torpedo. As they struggle to avoid getting caught by the police and bring their order to destination, the story depicts the men's heartbreaking personal struggles. The story is set in the Buenaventura region of Colombia, an area known for violence, paramilitary activity and drug-trafficking. In the

film, the local culture and the real struggles of the people of Buenaventura are reflected in an authentic fashion (Cohen, 2014). The characters relate stories of military oppression, death, economic struggle, and are victim of racist discrimination. *Manos Sucias* shows drug trade from an unconventional perspective, focusing on the hopelessness and on the humaneness of the people engaging in these activities. As Cohen explains, the film sheds light on the fact that the 'socially and politically destitute have no choice but to live a life of crime because the options left are so few as to be practically non-existent'.

The motivation for the film, explained director Josef Wladyka, came from the realisation that the richness of the region of Buenaventura in terms of culture and community had never been represented cinematically before (personal communication, April 2014). The film was made in order to bring this wealth to the screen, but also to present the region's deep-seated issues, such as drug-trafficking. In this respect, the objective was to 'give a voice to the individuals caught in the cocaine trade', because although there is a high global concern on the issue few people know about the lives of drug-traffickers. The issues dealt with are local ones, but also global ones, according to Wladyka. The message that the film hoped to bring across was that 'the people entrapped in this vicious cycle are regular, everyday people with families, hobbies, and normal lives'. In other words, the main objective of the film was to change the public's perception of drug-traffickers, to fight their demonization and to encourage understanding. When asked about what impact his team hoped to have on the public and on the community of Buenaventura, Wladyka explained that they hoped to spur a dialogue on the problems of Buenaventura and on cocaine trade in general. This dialogue, he hopes, will include a questioning on the social dynamics of drug trafficking, and of the exploitation of many people who engage in it. The film, he stated, will bring Buenaventura to the attention of people around the world.

The process of making the film was challenging, explained Wladyka, since the subject matter is a delicate one and it because it was difficult to earn the trust of the communities within which he wished to work. The crew however did its best to work closely with the community leaders in order to guarantee respect to the communities, give them opportunities to collaborate, but also for the benefit of the film. Indeed, gaining the trust of locals would improve access to locations and people, as well as increase the level of authenticity of the film. In order to facilitate the work and gain access to sensitive locations, the crew worked long on establishing relationships with the locals they knew, maintaining open conversations and including some of them in the production process. They also tried to be as discreet as possible in the creative process, and used the least cinematic artifices as possible to capture the places and people in their natural state. Local human resources were mostly tapped into for the realisation of the film -as much for the acting and the creative tasks as for the technical work. The filmmaker explained hoping to impact the local people engaged in the creation process and the artistic sector of Buenaventura, as he said 'there much artistic talent in the region and many stories to be told (J. Wladyka, personal communication, April 2014). Furthermore, an interesting project was initiated in order to give back to the community, consisting of filmmaking workshops directed to the people of Buenaventura. Workshops were held weekly for a

duration of five weeks, and the scripts written were filmed on camera phones. This aspect of the work, mentions Josef, was a very satisfying and positive experience. Through this long and deep engagement with the community of Buenaventura, the director established relationships with locals, and mentions that he keeps in touch with many people nowadays through social networks. He mentions that through Youtube he has been able to watch videos made by their 'students' after the film crew departed.

Thus, from the message communicated to the realisation processes, the filmmaking team showed an interest in contributing to local and national development processes. Firstly, it strived to raise awareness on the issue of drug trafficking, which is one of the country's main development challenge as it affects national and international political processes as much as the nation's socio-economic wellbeing. Secondly, the team worked towards the forging of a positive identity feeling for locals and recognition by the rest of the world by bringing to the screen the people of Buenaventura and their culture in an authentic fashion. Thirdly, it demonstrated an interest in making a positive contribution to the place where the film was made. This effort was made by offering chances to work and learn to community members. The relationships built with the community and the creative activities done with its members are being followed up, which is a sign that the crew's work is having an impact beyond the production time frame.

Mambo Cool

Director: Chris Gude

Documentary/Colombia-U.S./2013

Themes: drugs, addiction, desperation, poverty, imprisonment, madness, death, friendship, imagination, music

Presentation: Mambo Cool was presented as a poetic delirium by the FICCI (2014). It is set in Medellin, Colombia in a decaying underworld of marijuana, cocaine and crack, and shows seemingly incoherent events and conversations that animate the lives of the main characters. These people express their pains and worries but also speak about music, dancing and friendship. Through laughter, humour and dancing, the characters show the contrast between the darkness and poverty of their drug-filled lives and their humanity.

The idea for Mambo Cool, explained Chris Gude, grew from his friendship with the protagonists and their idea to make a film about them and music (personal communication, April 2014). The filmmaker explained that it was not his intention to communicate a specific message to the public, but rather to create a space where the viewer can listen to the poetry and music of the places brought to the screen. He hopes that the spectators will 'see a world different from their own, yet similar, and that they appreciate the values that these characters have, values that most sectors of western society don't have anymore'. In other words, the director wishes for his film to be a tool for outsiders to get a different glimpse of the world of homelessness and drug-addiction, not only to change their perception of it but also to let them learn from it. Instead of focusing on the negativity and the fallen-ness of the situation represented in the film, the director decided to use it as a basis to explore universal and existential issues, recalling the words of Argentine poet Alejandra Pizarnik, who wrote: 'A view from the gutter can

be a vision of the world.' The intention was thus not to frame the argument within the local situation, but to include it in a broader reflection. As Gude stated (personal communication, April 2014):

The politics of the film lay in its very non-politicalness, and in the fact that it was made outside of the normal division of labor of image production and systems of representation and outside of the discourse of the 'marginal.'

Throughout the cinematic process, the crew attached importance to the conservation of the authenticity of the people, the location, and their idiosyncrasies, and to avoid forcing preconceived notions on them. The realisation of the film was difficult due to the fact that the work was entirely done with natural actors and in their natural environment, and thus facing the difficult circumstances attached to these people and places. When asked about the observed impact on the people participating in the film, the Gude shared his observation that they changed during the process of filming, and that they were highly impacted when watching themselves on a cinema screen. This first contact with acting became a 'process of self-empowerment, pride, and ownership of the film'. One of the actors was encouraged to work on a new project with the filmmaker when seeing himself for the first time on screen. The public's reaction was fascinating to the director, who expressed interest in learning about the interpretations of each spectator.

Thus, the director of *Mambo Cool* did not strive to present a clear message on a development related theme. Nevertheless, by staging the lives of homeless drug-addicts, his work cannot avoid to present arguments on the issues of poverty, social inequality and drugs. Gude, however, did not present his characters in a documentary fashion. Instead, the crew let them act and dance, showing their humaneness, their humour and their talent. Thereby, the film leads the public into thinking differently about the lives of the 'marginal', and lets it connect to them on an emotional level. Through his close work with natural actors who were originally his friends, the filmmaker made a statement against a common social stigma and a case for including and understanding those who are often rejected by society. Bringing the lives of these people to the screen not only sheds a different light on poverty, drug-use and social inequality, it can also have transformative impacts for them. In a sense, *Mambo Cool* could facilitate the inclusion of its protagonists into the rest of society, and simultaneously draw the rest of society closer to their cause, thereby making a contribution to national social cohesion.

Synthesis

From this overview of films, it is possible to conclude that a wide variety of themes were included in the programme of Cine en los Barrios. The following table identifies 8 thematic categories and synthesises the themes presented.

Table 4.4: Synthesis of the themes present in the 2014 programme of Cine en los Barrios

Category	Themes
Personal development	Health and emotions (sickness, fear, loss), education, behaviour, imagination, ambitions, career, leadership, adventure, rebellion, identity, freedom, addiction
Family	Family conflicts, separation, abandon, parenting behaviour
Gender	Women and machismo
Relationships	Romance, communication, friendship, solidarity
Society, politics and conflict	Migration, corruption, guerrillas, drug-trafficking, prostitution, racism, poverty, solidarity, injustice, failure of the social welfare system
Culture	Local cultures, arts, indigenous traditions, foreign cultures (e.g. yoga)
Environment	Animals, animal rights, environmental protection, food and agriculture
Technology	Modern technology

Based on this synthesis, a comparison with national development problematics could be made. The category ‘other film themes’ consists of the themes present in the film programme but not identified as national development problematics.

Table 4.5: Comparative table of film themes with national development issues for Cine en los Barrios

Themes present in films	Themes not directly represented in films	Other film themes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Migration and displacement • Corruption • Guerrillas • Drug-trafficking • Social welfare (and lack thereof) • Poverty • Racism and injustice • Economic and gender inequality • Education • Local culture • Environmental protection 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Democracy and participation • neo-colonialist economic domination and capitalist expansion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health, addiction, emotions • Freedom, rebellion • Identity • Imagination, adventure • Career, ambition • Family, parenting and relationships • Animal rights • Technology

In order to gain a clearer idea of the developmental pertinence of the program's films, statistics of occurrence were calculated for the different themes. The following table (Table 4.6) presents the occurrence of themes according to five categories, next, conclusions on the occurrence of developmental film themes and the perspectives presented on those themes are formulated.

Table 4.6: Occurrence of themes per category

National development themes: armed conflict, drug-trafficking and displacement	National development themes: education and local cultures	Environment	Personal development, family and relationships	Other
21%	14%	8%	53%	4%

Conclusions

- As a general observation, it is possible to mention that national developmental issues as identified in Chapter 1, such as the armed conflict, drug-trafficking, displacement, poverty, education, environmental degradation and the extinction of cultures, are present in about a third of the films (35%).
- Of all the development themes present in the films, the topics most dealt with are the armed conflict, drug trafficking and displacement which are addressed in the feature films and in 8 short films, representing 21% of the program. In 4 short films, these problems are not dealt with directly but metaphorically, which makes interpretation highly subjective.
- In the feature films analysed, the themes of drug-trafficking and poverty were addressed. Drug trade and consumption were presented by bringing the public 'face to face' with the people who deal with drugs in order to communicate their humanity and the contexts. Presenting the topics in this way has the potential to change the public's perception of drug traffickers and consumers and lead to a reconsideration of the origins of the problem and its solutions. By bringing poverty to the screen without romanticising it, the filmmakers were capable of establishing a personal closeness between the public and the materially deprived, and incite concern and compassion. Besides, filming in poor places with the help of locals introduced new economic and learning opportunities.
- Local cultures were represented in those films, specifically that of the Colombian Pacific coast, and an offshoot of Cuban culture as expressed in the Mambo music and dance. These films, however, did not make culture their primary focus. Seven films were found to focus directly on cultural themes, of which 4 dealt with Colombian cultures, including indigenous ones. The cultural theme was not addressed by presenting problems such as the extinction of cultures or the neo-colonist domination of the national cultural sector, but by representing elements of local cultures, which can be seen as a way of affirming them and encouraging their protection. This manifests Angela Bueno's idea that films should present positive contents, and illustrates a positive approach to social change.
- Of all the films presented, about 14% presented elements of another country, and thereby transmitted information about a foreign culture to the public.

- The theme of education was present, but not by presenting the difficulties encountered by the country. Instead, educational contents was delivered in some of the short films addressed to children, and education was promoted in others. Hence, once more a development issue is not addressed directly in the films screened, but incentives are given to make progress towards change.
- There was a low occurrence of environmental themes, with only 5 short films on the topics of nature and environmental protection, representing about 8% of the program. Of these films, one presented a concrete case of national environmental degradation by showing the life of miners in a zinc mine. The other films presented teachings about nature, or advocated for environmental protection as a general principle.
- A majority of films (53%) presented themes categorised as ‘personal development’, ‘family’ and ‘relationships’, dealing with topics such as parenting, friendship, work, travelling, and health. Those topics are not considered national development themes, but bearing in mind considerations on agency and the importance of individual interpretations and actions, it is possible to make a case for the significance of personal development processes in development at the macro-level.

Themes of Ecocinema’s 2014 programme

Hereafter, the films curated and presented by Ecocinema in 2014 are briefly presented in terms of their main storyline and their essential themes. The films were all released between 2010 and 2014. All but one are Latin American films, of which four have been co-produced with a European country (Netherlands, Portugal, and Germany). The other film is an Italian remake of the French film *Bienvenue chez les Ch’tis*. An extended presentation is first given for the films *Jugadores con Patentes* and *Solo* since those were analysed in-depth.

Jugadores con Patente

Directors: Luis Ara Hermida & Frederico Lemos
 Documentary/Uruguay/2013

Themes: Friendship, rivalry, joy, cooperation, art, local culture

Presentation: This film presents the work of two football players, who play in rival teams but are friends in life and participate together in the direction of a traditionally Uruguayan musical theatre group performing at Carnivals and named ‘Murga’. Their passion and their friendship transcend their love of football and the colours they wear on the field (Ecocinema, 2014). The message transmitted is thus one of mutual respect, friendship, cooperation, and love to local culture.

During his interview, Luis Ara Hermida, director of *Jugadores con Patentes* recalled the moment when he got inspired to make the film, which was when he heard that two members of the two principal and rival football clubs of Uruguay had begun working together on the direction of a Murga ensemble. Ara saw potential in the story, believing that it contained a beautiful message which he wanted to discover and to communicate. This message, according to him, is that friendship is above any sportive rivalry. The story of these football players symbolised this message so clearly that the director decided to

content himself with the documentation of their activities and stories. The film indirectly deals with the problem of violence in sports, which it approaches by bringing forth a story in which rivalry and its associated violence are transcended by friendship. More broadly, the film deals with patterns of social relationships, making a case against rivalry and promoting positive interactions, as Ara stated 'friendship, joy, family' (personal communication, April 2014).

Thus, *Jugadores con Patentes* does not deal with typical development themes but more with 'soft' themes. Nevertheless, the theme of friendship can be expanded to peace and respect, which are social factors capable of catalysing development processes. Indeed, fluid and positive interactions within the social matrix can improve communities' psycho-social health, foster participation and encourage collective action (Kjolsrod, 2013). The film also presents a cultural element, the artistic practice of Murgas, which serves to affirm the local culture against neo-colonial domination, a national development issue identified in Chapter 1. Moreover, non-materialistic values such as friendship and creativity can provide a remedy to excessive materialism and consumerism, which are also identified as national development challenges (see Chapter 1).

Solo

Director: Guillermo Rocamora

Dramatic Comedy/Uruguay-Netherlands/2014

Themes: military life, professional ambitions, family conflicts, national music, arts, following one's passion

Presentation: Nelson has been playing trumpet for more than twenty years in the band of the Air Force. He feels unaccomplished, having long stifled his artistic penchants, and decides to sign up to a national song writing contest. However, his musical pursuit is rapidly detained by the demands of military life. This film deals with the conflict between dreams and rigid professional and social demands (Ecocinema, 2014).

As director Guillermo Rocamora explained, the idea for the film came from two sides. Firstly, it was an encounter with the air force's music band during one of their performances. The filmmaker reported being impacted by this experience, and being marked by the fact that the military band not only played military songs, but also popular music and 'songs to dance' as they say. This realisation made Rocamora wonder about the artistic inclinations of these musicians, and about the way they manage to bring together such different things as the military and music. Secondly, the script developed from an old idea he had discussed with his friend and co-scriptwriter. This idea was that of a 45 years old man who feels unaccomplished and feels that he has little time to pursue his dreams, yet refuses to do so. Combining these two threads, the film's plot took its shape. In *Solo*, Rocamora and his crew were interested in transmitting certain feelings, and a message on the courage to live a life one desires, risk taking, and second changes. Besides the universal reflection on self-realisation and the limitations imposed by society, the film represents aspects of the Uruguayan culture. As Rocamora explained, the reality and peculiarities of the Air Force Band of Uruguay are shown in the film, as well as the difficulties of the Uruguayan military band who receives low incomes and struggle to

combine the military with their other works as musicians. Although it is a fiction film, in order to create a feeling of proximity and authenticity of the subject matter and the characters presented, the crew used codes of the documentary genre.

Thus, *Solo* deals with a topic identified in Chapter 1 as a national development challenge: the neo-colonialist cultural domination by Europe, and the lack of local cultural expression. By bringing to the screen the Air Force band and its traditional music, Rocamora managed to show something 'typically Uruguayan'. The themes of solitude and pursuing one's dreams relate to relationships and personal development. As explained in the thematic discussion of *Cine en los Barrios*, individual and social wellbeing are also determinants of development from an agency perspective, since they encourage critical thinking, expression and social action. Hereafter, the 8 other films of the 2014 Ecocinema program for Latin America are presented along short synopsis and lists of themes.

Table 4.7: Other films of the 2014 Ecocinema program for Latin America

Film	Synopsis	Themes
<p>Tanta Agua <i>Directors:</i> Leticia Jorge and Ana Guevara Comedy/Uruguay-Mexico-Netherlands/2013</p>	<p>A divorced father takes his children on holiday and tries to reconnect with them. This film shows how disconnected parents and children who carry the burden of past conflicts can learn to get beyond their discomfort and heal their relationship (Ecocinema, 2014).</p>	<p>Divorce, family, communication, teenage, conflict resolution, understanding</p>
<p>El Rincon de Darwin <i>Director:</i> Diego "Parker" Fernández Dramatic Comedy/Uruguay-Portugal/2013</p>	<p>Gaston travels with two strange companions to a country-side house he inherited. The house is in the place where the English naturalist Charles Darwin conducted his research in 1833. A film about travelling, conflicts, friendship and history (Ecocinema, 2014).</p>	<p>Travelling, conflict, friendship, history</p>
<p>Benvenuti al Sud <i>Director:</i> Luca Miniero Comedy/Italy/2010</p>	<p>Alberto is shifted to a small village of Southern Italy. He arrives filled with prejudice but is surprised by the friendliness of the place he discovers (Ecocinema, 2014). A message of tolerance and open-mindedness.</p>	<p>Regionalism, prejudice, tolerance</p>
<p>12 Horas 2 Minutos <i>Director:</i> Luis Ara Hermida & Frederico Lemos Documental/Uruguay/2012</p>	<p>A documentary film about a man who receives a heart transplant. The film is a story of hope, and aims to raise awareness about a theme on which there is much ignorance and fear amongst the Uruguayan society, explained director Luis Ara Hermida (in Montevideo Portal, 2012).</p>	<p>Organ transplant, solidarity, life and death</p>
<p>Rambleras <i>Director:</i> Daniela Speranza Comedy/Uruguay-Germany/2014</p>	<p>Three single women share their grief and loneliness, finding relief and learning to accept others as <i>much</i> as themselves (Ecocinema, 2014; Guazú Media, 2014). A film about universal struggles, stated film critique Hernández Sanjorge explains (2013).</p>	<p>Solitude, loss, introspection, friendship, relationships</p>
<p>El Tiempo y el Viento <i>Director:</i> Jayme Monjardim Drama/Brasil/2013</p>	<p>The story takes place in the XIXth century and stages the conflict between two families of the region of Rio Grande do Sul. Underlying the epic story is a profound discussion about the significance of existence and human resistance during wars, as well as a presentation of historical events (Monjardim, 2011).</p>	<p>War, resistance, family, life</p>
<p>Mato Sem Cachorro <i>Director:</i> Pedro Amorim Comedy/Brasil/2013</p>	<p>A romantic comedy showing the love and conflicts of a couple.</p>	<p>Love, relationships, conflict</p>
<p>Asteroide <i>Director:</i> Marcelo Tobar Drama/Mexico/2014</p>	<p>Cristina returns to her childhood home and enters in conflict with her brother. A film about 'the idea that the people who love you the most, can hurt you the most, and usually do' as Tobar explained (in Castillon, 2014).</p>	<p>Family relationships, resentment, hurt, self-destruction</p>

Synthesis

From this overview, it is possible to conclude that a wide variety of themes were included in this year's Latin American programme of Ecocinema. The following table identifies six thematic categories and synthesises the themes presented.

Table 4.8: Synthesis of the themes present in the 2014 programme of Ecocinema

Category	Themes
Personal development	Solitude, loss, hurt, joy, rebellion, introspection, resentment, teenage, following one's passion, travelling, self-destruction
Health	Organ transplant, life and death
Family	Family relationships and conflicts, divorce, conflict resolution, reconciliation, communication
Relationships	Romance, rivalry, communication, understanding, friendship, cooperation
Society, politics and conflict	Solidarity, war, resistance, prejudice, regionalism, tolerance, history, military
Culture	Local and national culture, music, arts

Based on the synthesis of themes a comparison with national development problematics could be made. The category 'other film themes' consists of the themes present in the film programme but not identified as national development problematics. Then conclusions are formulated on the pertinence of Ecocinema's films considering Uruguayan development challenges.

Table 4.9: Comparative table of film themes with national development issues for Ecocinema

Themes presented in films	Themes not directly represented in films	Other film themes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local culture Non-materialistic values such as the value of friendship and artistic pursuits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Consumerism Neo-cultural domination The capitalist expansion and its associated environmental degradation Weak intergovernmental coordination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Personal development Solitude, hurt, self-destruction Introspection, passions, travelling, self-destruction Relationships, family, conflict resolution, friendship, communication

Conclusions

- None of the development problematics identified for Uruguay is directly represented in the films of Ecocinema's programme. However, several topics are indirectly present, meaning that instead of referring to problems directly, some of the films deal with themes which are related to these problems but generally their opposite (i.e. non-materialistic values vs. consumerism, local culture vs. neo-colonial domination).
- As in the case of *Cine en los Barrios*, the theme of neo-cultural domination is dealt with indirectly. Instead of giving representations of this domination, elements of local culture and Latin American culture (e.g. music, carnival) are given the central place in several films. By presenting national and regional films with strong cultural components, films can contribute to the reinforcement of national and regional cultural expression and identity, and thereby exert a counterforce to neo-colonial cultural forces.
- The themes of consumerism and capitalist expansion are also indirectly addressed by films which deal with non-materialistic values, such as friendship and arts.
- Environmental films were not presented in the film program, but as the project organisers explained, by running screenings on solar energy and screening local short films on the environment and sustainable development the project contains in a strong environmental content. Once more, instead of discussing and representing problems of the environmental thematic, the short films presented generally showed positive sustainable development alternatives.

This analysis of the relationship between film contents and national development problematics is only a brief and general overview of the matter. An attempt to identify themes as objectively as possible was made, but it is important to note that all filmic interpretations are subjective, especially since films often contain suggestive and metaphorical content. Therefore, it is important to explore the interpretations reported by the members of the public (see 4.3.1). Lastly film screenings bring other impactful factors besides contents. Indeed, the evasion, thinking, and social experience triggered during film screenings are independent from contents but can impact a community and must therefore be valued as well (Kjolsrod, 2013, see 2.4).



5. Public's reaction to the films screened and the project

After having described what is being offered to the public of the two mobile cinema projects studied in terms of activities and contents, it is interesting to explore the reactions and opinions collected from the members of the public. Firstly, the public's interpretations and reactions to films will be presented, analysed and compared to the filmmakers' intentions (4.2.3), and secondly the public's general opinions on the project will be analysed. By exploring these reports, it will be possible to formulate an answer to sub-question 4.

5.1 Interpretations, learning and emotional reactions reported by the public

Interviews were carried out with the public of the seven films for which an in-depth analysis was performed in the frame of this research. A total of 32 screening attendants were interviewed in Colombia and Uruguay. 19 people were interviewed in Cartagena, of which 3 were aged in between 8 and 15 years old, 10 were aged between 15 and 18, and 6 were aged between 24 and 60. In Uruguay, 13 people were interviewed, of which all were aged between 24 and 60 years old. Out of the total number of respondents, 57% were females and 42% were males. In terms of occupation, 13 were school students, 4 were unemployed (of which 2 were mothers), 2 were retired and the other 13 people were employed in jobs such as hairdresser, construction, teaching and retail.

In correspondence with the films' themes, the films generated interpretations, learning, and emotional reactions along distinct thematic lines. All films generated reactions and reflections on the topic of social behaviour in both the private and the public spheres (e.g. good conduct, parenting, tolerance, respect, etc.). These reflections often implicated moral considerations and varying degrees of introspection as will be exemplified hereafter. Two women who watched the short film *Abel y Maria* reported having understood the film as a lesson against lying and trying to escape responsibilities (Respondent 1 & 2, personal communication, March 2014). Lying can bring on bad luck, one of them explained, just as in the film when the old couple lies to their lawyer eventually pay for it with the old woman's death. The short film *Juancho el Pajarero* provoked a reflection on parenting by one of the respondents interviewed in the *Pozón*, who reported understanding the film to convey a message to parents, which is that they should support their children as long as their intentions are good (Respondent 2, personal communication, April 2014). In the film, she explained, the boy failed to obtain his father's support, but this support is important for children. She stated: 'I got a message as a mother, a wakeup call, am I fulfilling my role of mother well?' Through this interpretation and in the previous one concerning the short film *Abel y Maria*, this respondent showed a tendency to interpret the film she sees in a very personal sense, taking behavioural lessons for herself. Another short film, *Osito de Peluche*, also provoked a reflection on parenting in one of the respondents. Indeed, a woman interviewed on the beach where the short film was screened explained in a lengthy and enthusiastic speech that in her opinion, the film teaches about good parenting behaviour (Respondent 5, personal communication, March 2014). In her view, the father represented in the film succeeded in connecting with a daughter she'd never met by adopting the codes and languages of children. She told about how this is precisely what she had tried to do with

Box 2: Anecdote showing a woman's reflection on her own behaviour after watching the short film *Osito de Peluche*

After watching the short film *Osito de Peluche* at a screening of *Cine en los Barrios* organised on a beach of Cartagena, a woman shared her reactions to the film. She understood the behaviour of the father portrayed in the film as a positive example demonstrating how a parent should behave with his or her children, stating that 'the best way to get closer to kids is to become a kid again'. She then related her own experience with this interpretation. She related the story of her daughter, who used to be disinterested from everything, never did her homework and got kicked out from four different schools. Desperate, the woman had decided to change approach her daughter in an unconventional way, by trying to understand her instead of punishing her. She began to support her daughter and encouraged her in her passion for crafts, also joining her in these activities. Slowly, her daughter deepened her interest and passion for craft and even for school, becoming successful in both. The woman concluded that parents who have problematic children should become their accomplices and encourage them without being afraid of other people's opinions.

Source: Respondent 5, personal communication, April 2014

her own daughters and that the results had been very positive (see Box 2). This reaction shows that this respondent identified with the character presented in the film. Just as in the case of Respondents 1 and 2, this woman interpreted the film not in a general sense but in relationship with her own life. Thus, several members of the public seemed to analyse their own morals and social behaviour based on the protagonists' actions, which resulted in either a confirmation that they are 'doing the right things' or an instruction of good behaviour.

The woman's daughter, aged 10, was also interviewed. She contemplated on the fact that the father acted wrongly by 'stealing' the teddy bear from his daughter and stated that the story served as a warning against theft (Respondent 6, personal communication, March 2014). This demonstrates once more a reflection on social behaviour, the focus being this time on the behaviour of ill-intended others, but also including an introspective dimension demonstrated by the perception of a warning for one's own behaviour. After watching *Solo* a member of the public interviewed reported perceiving a message about loneliness, and about the fact that 'we can be surrounded by people and feel alone'. By this statement, she showed a reflection on a social phenomenon, and an application to her own life. Hence, this film also conveyed a message which people could receive introspectively or as an encouragement for social awareness. In the aforementioned cases, people related the messages they perceived from the films to their own lives and used them as references for the analysis of their own behaviour in both public and private social contexts. For two films, more general interpretations, expressing a reflection on social phenomena but excluding references to the self, were reported. For

instance, after watching *Manos Sucias*, a student explained that she interpreted the struggle of the two poor men to make a living despite their desperate living conditions as a message against discrimination based on race, culture and social class, and in favour of the equality of chances. After seeing *Mambo Cool*, a young man explained that according to him, the meaning of the film is clearly 'the value of friendship, and of the other valuable things of life'. Finally, a young man interviewed after the screening of *Jugadores con Patentes* reported understanding the film's message as a critique of rivalry and violence in sports. Thus, all films elicited thoughts on social behaviour and phenomena from the part of the public members interviewed, and an analysis of the respondent's own social behaviour was expressed in a number of cases.

Another type of reflection reported by the public deals with the notion of personal development. Three respondents interviewed in San Jose de Mayo after the screening of *Solo* reported that the film made them reflect on the difficulty of balancing work and one's passions (Respondents 25, 26 & 27, personal communication, April 2014). One of the women interviewed reported receiving from the film a message about loneliness, and about the difficulty of balancing dreams and work (Respondent 27, personal communication, April 2014). The idea that the film incarnates the Uruguayan tendency to 'play it safe' was expressed by the last interviewee, a 54 years old woman who described the historical reasons of this tendency. She explained that under the dictatorship, people faced such oppression and uncertainty that they had to ensure financial stability above all costs and avoided all risks. She also said that this tendency is now changing, and that the youth, who grew up under different conditions, tends to be more daring and give less importance to financial security, which she perceived as a positive change (Respondent 32, personal communication, April 2014). By these statements, the interviewee showed a reflection on affirmation and decision-making, and the valuing of the idea of 'following one's dreams' against strictly obeying social demands. A student interviewed after the screening of *Mambo Cool* explained that for her, the film conveyed a message on good ways of living, free from drugs, which she can adapt to her life and all young people can learn from (Respondent 16, personal communication, March 2014). One of the young men interviewed after the screening of *Manos Sucias* reported perceiving the film as a lesson on 'how to make a decent living' (Respondent 17, personal communication, March 2014). A woman interviewed after the screening of *Juancho el Pajarero* in the neighbourhood of *Pozón*, Cartagena, explained that she understood the film as the symbolisation of the boy's oppression, who is metaphorically locked in a cage just as the bird, but seizes back his freedom when he releases the bird (Respondent 2, personal communication, March 2014). This report demonstrates once more a reflection on personal growth and affirmation.

Two films caused reactions by the public which indicated learning about other living circumstances, cultures and localities. In a conversation with the students who attended the screening of *Manos Sucias* at their high school in Cartagena, different ideas and interpretations were evoked. The film was valued by one of the young man interviewed for the fact that it takes an unusual perspective of drug-trafficking and does not promote violence. He explained that the film sheds light on the lives of drug-traffickers and shows that 'sometimes people look for the wrong way because they have to' (Respondent 19,

personal communication, March 2014). This young man and another one agreed that one of the film's main value lay in the fact that it represents the reality of a place they do not know, including its landscapes and hard socio-economic reality. One of the girls interviewed joined the young men's opinion, explaining that the film was good because it showed a reality they ignore, stating: 'we need to know what those people go through' (Respondent 18, personal communication, March 2014). One of the girls and a young man reported being deeply impacted on an emotional level by different scenes of the film, one in which a boy who stole the drug filled torpedo is killed, and another one in which the protagonists recalled the death of his son in the hands of paramilitaries. These reports show that the students interviewed experienced empathy for the people involved in drug-trafficking and victim of paramilitary activity appearing or being referred to in the film. Thus, by watching films about places and people they do not know, the spectators not only reported learning at an intellectual level, but also developing a sense of empathy and emotional closeness with these 'others'. The same was noticed after watching *Mambo Cool*, as a student reported seeing the film is a window to the life of the low-class, and people struggling with drug-addiction. He reported a sympathy with these people's struggle, saying that 'it is difficult to get out of them' and that he felt the actor was managing to get rid of his addiction (Respondent 15, personal communication, March 2014). Through these statements, the student exhibited a reflection on the lives of people belonging to another social class and a manifestation of empathy.

Another type of learning and reflection was displayed by some of the spectators interviewed, this time this learning does not relate to another culture but to their own. After watching *Solo*, a member of the public reported being impacted by the film's music, and especially by the protagonist's voice. He explained that he enjoyed the fact that elements of Uruguay and the national culture were represented in the film (Respondent 26, personal communication, April 2014). These statements can be interpreted as an indicator that the film made the respondent discover an aspect of his national culture and feel a certain degree of 'cultural pride'. For another interviewee, the film was 'good for being local cinema'. The man, he explained, makes a conservative decision which he sees as 'typically Uruguayan'. He also found the music very interesting, and was proud to see the high performance of the Air Force band, which he interpreted as an indicator of Uruguay's progress (Respondent 25, personal communication, April 2014). These statements also express a discovery concerning national culture, as well as a degree of cultural and national pride. After watching *Jugadores con Patentes*, an old woman reported having been very interested by learning about national football and her country's carnival traditions (respondent 28, personal communication, April 2014). These different statements display the spectators' enjoyment and insights caused by watching films which represent elements of their own culture. Beyond learning, such content can cause positive feelings of cultural identification.

One of the films, *Juancho el Pajarero*, led two interviewees from the public into a reflection on animal rights. According to one of the respondents, the message is that animals deserve the same freedom as people and have a right to live in their natural environment. A man interviewed in the neighbourhood of la Maria understood the message as a promotion of animal's right to freedom (Respondent 10, personal communication, March

2014). This interpretation was reported by a twelve years old girl after the same screening (Respondent 11, personal communication, March 2014).

Beyond the topics evoked in the public's reactions, it is interesting to consider the intense and critical reflections reported by some spectators. Deep levels of analysis and a strong intellectual satisfaction were expressed amongst the students interviewed after the screening of *Mambo Cool*. The reflections they developed were complex and rich, due most probably to both the complexity and originality of the film and to the intellectual predispositions of the students interviewed. The young people agreed on having experienced difficulties with following and understanding the film at first (some stating that they first found it boring), but all reported having progressively 'connected' with the film and experienced intense levels of reflection, analysis and introspection as a result (Respondents 13, 14, 15 & 16, personal communication, March 2014). The first student interviewed reflected on the film saying that it showed him that 'nothing is easy' and that 'one has to fight for the things he want and fight against addiction' (Respondent 14, personal communication, March 2014). The same respondent showed a high level of appreciation of the film's photography, especially the light which he associated with a 'kind of uncertainty, euphoria, and mystery'. Another student demonstrated an important capacity of abstraction, by explaining the scenes in which the actors describe the characteristics of rats as a metaphor of vice and addiction. She stated: 'it seems to me that this is the film's message, I could write thousands of essays about that'. For her, it was important to keep analysing the film, recall its arguments and the 'concepts' it generates, and deduce life lessons from those (Respondent 16, personal communication, March 2014). Another girl interviewed demonstrated a similarly intense intellectual response, expressing her desire to watch the film again, 'to understand it better' (Respondent 13, personal communication, March 2014). She reported appreciating the creativity and the poetry present in the film, preferring them to the violence usually represented on screen. On a more general note, the young man reported the difficulty but also the intellectual satisfaction induced by the film's density and degree of abstraction. The same respondent also showed interest in the lives of the actors appearing in the film, speculating that the film might have given them a chance to do something new and creative which could help them to move forward in life.

The following table summarises the types of reactions reported by the public members interviewed:

Table 5.1: Types of reactions reported by the public after attending mobile cinema sessions

Type of reaction	Reaction
Reflection on social behaviour	For all films, reflections on specific social behaviours were reported at both the introspective and general levels.
Reflection on personal development	Four films provoked reflections on personal growth, decisions, and behaviour.
Learning about other living circumstances, cultures and places	Learning on the lives of distant others and their culture were reported by the public after two different projects.
Learning about one's own culture, developing a sense of identify and pride	Two films taught the public members interviewed about their own culture, evoking interest and a certain degree of pride.
Reflection on the rights of animals	One of the short films was reported to evoke an ethical reflection on animal rights.
Critical thinking, intense and creative reflection, and intellectual enjoyment	The students interviewed after the screening of <i>Mambo Cool</i> all reported being satisfied with the deep analysis the film had triggered in them.

5.2 Relationship between the public's interpretation and filmmaker's intentions

Several films generated interpretations along the lines of the filmmaker's meanings. After the screening of *Juancho el Pajarero*, literal interpretations (understanding the film as advocacy for animal rights) as well as metaphorical interpretations were collected. The people who reported understanding the story in a symbolic sense, as a metaphor of the liberation from parental and societal oppression can be said to have understood the underlying message intended by the filmmaker. The literal interpretation, however, also reflects the filmmaker's secondary intention as reported in 4.2.3. The public's interpretations and reactions collected after the screening of *Manos Sucias* were faithful to the filmmaker's arguments and intentions as stated in his interview. The students valued the film for showing them the reality of Buenaventura, which they ignored, and showing a new, human perspective on drug-trafficking. A comment from one of the students expressed an interpretation which had not been mentioned by the filmmaker, being that the story gives a message against discrimination based on socio-economic status and race. The message of *Jugadores con Patentes* was understood by the public members interviewed in agreement with the filmmakers' intentions, which was to show a story that promotes friendship above rivalry in sports. The director of the film *Mambo Cool* explained not having a clear message to transmit to the public. Nevertheless he spoke about the fact that his film showed the poetry and values of the lives of the people brought to the screen. These elements have been mentioned by the students interviewed,

who spoke about the film's creativity, poetry, and the fact that it gives a message on the value of friendship. A multiplicity of complex and abstract interpretations were collected during the interviews carried out with students. The interpretations given ranged from positive messages on friendship to a critique of drug use. The breadth of interpretations is interesting to mention, and can be linked to the film's complexity and to the absence of a dominant argument.

For other films a mixture of similar and contrasting interpretations were reported. The public's reactions collected for the short film *Abel y Maria* differed greatly from the filmmaker's argument. Indeed, the two public members interviewed reported understanding the film as a message against lying, and thus interpreting negatively the behaviour of the protagonists. From the director's interview however, the protagonists appear to be presented as the victims of an unfair social welfare system. The interpretation shared by the woman interviewed after the screening of *Osito de Peluche* also differed from the filmmaker's meanings. Indeed, the public perceived the film as a lesson on parenting, and understood it as a confirmation that it is best to get to the level of a child in order to help him or her develop. The message she received was thus one of successful communication, parental understanding and support. However, although he did not clearly formulate a message for his film, the filmmaker explained that the ending symbolises the failure of the young man to establish a relationship with his daughter. Hence in this case, the father's playfulness is perceived as irresponsibility and ineffective parenting. The film *Solo* provoked mixed interpretations amongst the public. The filmmaker's intention was received by several interviewees amongst the public, who reported reflections on the tension between professional pursuits and one's dreams. One of the respondents however perceived the film's ending very differently from what the filmmaker had intended to communicate. According to this respondent, the ending had a positive connotation (travelling to Antarctica being perceived as a chance to travel and expand his horizons for the protagonist), while according to the filmmaker it symbolises the protagonists' refusal to risk himself at following his artistic dream.

Thus, comparing the intentions and meanings of the filmmakers interviewed with the interpretations reported by the people who watched their films gives us several insights on the transmission of meaning through film as manifested in the cases studied. As could be expected, films with a clear and straightforward message generated interpretations which were in tune with the filmmakers' interpretations. However, films which had even a slight ambiguity in their contents sometimes generated interpretations which greatly differed from the filmmaker's intention. In the case of *Solo*, the public member who reported a different interpretation of the ending that of the filmmaker showed that he did not understand message intended in the film. Nonetheless, the message he took home, being that travelling and opening one's horizons is a positive experience, may have a personal value and can thus not be discarded as 'wrong'. The most interesting remark made in this analysis is that filmmakers who do not intend to communicate a clear message seem to produce films which generate the most enthusiastic, personal and deep reflections amongst the public, as could be seen in the cases of *Mambo Cool* and *Osito de Peluche* (see 5.1). Although the points discussed by the public members interviewed were not always related to the ideas expressed by the filmmakers, the reflections and

intellectual experience reported were rich, insightful and highly positive. As one of the students explained, more complex films generate reflexions which are deeper and learning which is more durable (see 5.3). Considering these insights on the way the interpretations made by the public relate to the filmmaker's intentions, it is interesting to wonder about the way filmmakers reflect on and integrate the reactions expressed by their public.

5.3 Filmmaker's evaluation and valuation of public's interpretations and reaction

Considering the differences between the public's interpretations and the intentions of filmmakers, it is interesting to wonder whether filmmakers reflected on the public's reaction to their film, and whether they show an interest in taking into account the public's comments in their future work. By including comments and reactions from the public, filmmakers would demonstrate a concern for the opinions and aspirations of the communities to which they display their work, and a desire for their future work to serve their societies better. By being able to interact with the work of their filmmakers, a society would be able to participate indirectly in its cinematic production. In this case, independent cinema could be developing into a more participative and socially constructive cultural sector. The director of *Abel y Maria*, Cesar Castro Prada, shared his satisfaction concerning the public's response, and the fact that in his opinion the story was well understood and that the ending was effective. This reflection shows that the director listened to comments on his film and experiences a certain level of concern about the way people understand his story. Diego Ulloa, director of *Osito de Peluche* expressed a different perspective on the public's interpretation of his film. He enjoyed hearing the comments people made, but did not interpret them in terms of whether they understood the film or not. Instead, in his conceptualisation, people each drew their own interpretation of the film and each interpretation was equally valid. A similar opinion was held by Rafael Loayza Sánchez, director of *Juancho el Pajarero*, who stated that 'a cinematic story generates as many interpretations as there are people watching it' (personal communication, May 2014). According to him, there is a message for each one and each person interprets a story according to his or her own experiences. He was pleased to receive many positive comments about his film, but also took into consideration the criticism he received, demonstrating a reactivity to the public's opinion. He stated: 'There is much left to learn, and listening to the people who see your work is a great help for that'.

The directors of the feature films included in this research also shared their opinions on the public's reaction to their film. Josef Wladyka, director of *Manos Sucias* was pleased to receive many positive reactions. He was especially satisfied with the fact that the film had moved the people emotionally, they 'laughed cried, and even danced along'. This type of reaction, according to him, is highly rewarding and a sign of approval amongst the national audience. Thereby, the filmmaker demonstrated an interest in knowing whether his film, which deals with sensitive issues affecting the Colombian society, would be accepted by this society. Chris Gude, director of *Mambo Cool* expressed a deep interest in the public's opinions, stating: 'we love hearing what they have to say about the film, they teach us what the film is really about; not what we tried to make it about'. According to

this statement, it is possible to deduce that the filmmaking crew is attentive to the public's interpretations, and willing to respond to it. Guillermo Rocamora, director of *Solo* was equally interested in the public's reaction, particularly in the fact that reactions were different in every country. Luis Ara, director of *Jugadores con Patentes* referred to the public's reaction as 'excellent', he was pleased to witness that the film made people reflect about the problem it presents. This comment shows a concern in the film's efficacy in contributing to social change.

5.4 Public's perception and opinions on projects and cinema

The reactions collected from the public members interviewed were in general very positive, but criticism was occasionally expressed. Hereafter, general impressions, reported benefits, requests and critiques reported by the public will be presented.

General impressions

Interviewees in *el Pozón* reported that this was the first time a screening took place in their neighbourhood. Most people there had not believed the event would really take place because they had never seen a cinema screen. The women interviewed had learned about the project through the workers of the NGO *Techo para mi País*, who were the ones inviting *Cine en los Barrios* and promoting the event. The fact that *Cine en los Barrios* and the NGO *Techo para mi País* organised an event in their neighbourhood highly touched the women interviewed. They stated 'we are so thankful because they took us into account, and through them the kids had a great time, and the adults too, we laughed, we would love them to come more regularly', and 'thank you for remembering us' (Respondents 2 & 3, personal communication, March 2014). In *la Boquilla* enthusiasm was also expressed by the interviewees, one of which stated 'many congratulations to you, thank you for doing this because it brings opportunities to the children, especially those who are in a zone with little resources where dreams are almost impossible' (Respondent 12, personal communication, March 2014). In Uruguay, interviewees also expressed positive opinions of the project. They appreciated the fact that the films shown were Uruguayan films, and several respondents stated having never seen a national film before. A man interviewed stated: 'it impacted us that it is our reality, not fiction', showing that he felt positive about seeing elements of his country on screen instead of a distant and unknown reality (Respondent 26, personal communication, March 2014).

Reported benefits

A woman interviewed in *el Pozón* opined that the project gives young people something to occupy themselves and join in community activities, but also that it brings families together around a cultural event. Mobile cinema, she stated, is a good way to break everyday routine, be outside instead of being 'locked in the house watching TV' (Respondent 2, personal communication, March 2014). According to her friend, cinema can help the many 'children who are lost', a learning tool but also a motivation to study. According to the same woman, mobile cinema can help building a link between parents and children. Without such free cultural events, parents are generally not able to take their children out due to financial restrictions. With the limited resources of most inhabitants of *el Pozón* there is usually just enough money to purchase enough food for

the family. The interviewees expressed an appreciation for the entertainingness of the event, which they expected to be a serious one and not 'a party' (a children *reggaeton* band cheered up the atmosphere before the films began). According to the same interviewee, the fact that there were environmental contents in the films was good, since teaching children about the environment from an early age can be effective in influencing their behaviour.

Respondents of *la Maria* were equally enthusiastic about the Project, as a woman aged sixty stated: 'this is good for all the people of *la Maria*', 'they chose this spot well' and 'what they showed was very good' (Respondent 12, personal communication, March 2014). She explained the poor security situation of the neighbourhood, and the

Box 3: A woman's description of *la Maria*'s safety situation and statement on the power of mobile cinema

'What they showed was very good, this is good for all the people of *la Maria*. This is a dangerous neighbourhood, they killed someone recently. They are trying to clean up the neighbourhood now; there is much violence here, and kids see that, they kill people, harass, this is a weak zone, it's all dangerous. These kids don't respect the police, they threaten those who speak to the police, so no one dares to talk. They don't work, they smoke marijuana and this affects them. Only few of them watched these videos. They fight, with broken bottles, stab, they are young, from twelve to twenty-five more or less. I didn't know about this project, I came here, and I saw many nice things. They chose well the spot to put up the screening. I sat my grandchildren here, one of them is eleven and he is very misbehaved. He doesn't want to go to school, he only plays video games. Children learn from what they see at home. The psychologist said to the mum that if she doesn't take care of him he'll become a bandit. I was very happy this project came here.'

Source: Respondent 12, personal communication, April 2014

significance of positive cultural projects such as the event she had just attended as a means to provide positive incentives for the youth (See box 3). She explained that the reason why children fall into delinquency is the lack of a positive stimulation, and that the films screened that evening had the capacity to provide this type of stimulus. She wants her grandchildren to be positively influenced and explained that she made sure her misbehaving eleven years old grandson would attend the screening.

At the high school where *Manos Sucias* was screened, the students expressed positive attitudes on the project and the film they watched. According to two of them, it important to see films as the one they had just seen, in order to get a glimpse of the reality of their country. This student explained that often films show only the good, or a distorted version of reality, but that in his opinion films should show reality as faithfully as possible. For

the people and places brought to the screen, watching a film representing their reality can have an awareness raising effect and lead them to reflect and react to their living situation. By participating in a film, they could change, and maybe even discover a passion for cinema or any other creative activity ('creativity has to be expressed'), explained a student. The project, another student opined, is a way to access culture and learn. All of the students interviewed expressed a desire for more activities of this type, because it constitutes a 'great learning opportunity' (personal communication, March 2014). After the screening of *Mambo Cool* at the other high school, the students interviewed shared their enthusiastic opinions about the mobile cinema project and independent cinema. They agreed on the fact that the most valuable films are the ones that have a certain degree of complexity, depth and originality. They contrasted conventional entertainment films that we 'watch and forget' (being superficially processed) to films that 'teach us something'. A student stated (Respondent 16, personal communication, March 2014):

We are all used to them giving us things easily and not to think. If everything flows, we don't need to work through mental puzzles, that our brain works, and at the end there is no learning, at the end it's just entertainment and a waste of time.

By this statement, she pointed out her appreciation for an artistic, complex and intellectual type of cinema, and specified the potential outcome of watching films of this kind. Another student contrasted this statement by saying that films should have a depth of contents, but also dramatic components to keep us interested.

In *San Jose de Mayo*, Uruguay, one of the public members interviewed thought that Uruguayan cinema has improved a lot recently, and opined promoting it can promote the country on an international level. By these statements he showed that he values mobile cinema as a tool to promote national cinema. Another benefit noted by the respondents of San Jose is that mobile cinema brings cinema screenings to localities without cinema halls. There are no cinemas in the department of San Jose, one of them explained, and the closest cinemas are located in the capital city Montevideo. Going to the capital costs money and time, which was reported as a discouraging factor. The people interviewed there reported low or moderate frequencies of cinema attendance (never for one respondent, a few times a year, and 3 times a month for the different respondents) (Respondents 25, 26 & 27, personal communication, March 2014). Criticism of cable TV was expressed, mainly due to the fact that the contents are not judged interesting enough and perceived as 'imposed' instead of freely chosen. Overall thus, a lack of cinema was felt outside the country's capital. As an interviewee described, at a screening in a nearby village people who can never go to the cinema could finally see a film thanks to the coming of Ecocinema. She expressed the need for mobile cinema by stating (Respondent 32, personal communication, March 2014):

I heard that there are places where nothing reaches, there are places where cinema is a great event because they are isolated villages, there is no money there and no people doing it. This is great (...) culture has to get to every corner and above all Uruguayan films.

The same interviewee expressed the view that mobile cinema is a tool to increase the diffusion platform for local filmmakers and stimulate them in their work. In Villa

Rodríguez, a public member interviewed expressed her perspective that mobile cinema is beneficial since it brings culture to villages and allows people to get closer to their own history. In this sense, mobile cinema and local films are seen as a way for people to develop their knowledge and their sense of regional and/or national identity.

Criticism

In Cartagena as much as in San Jose de Mayo and the nearby villages, the public members interviewed expressed critiques about the project. In *el Pozón*, a woman commented that some films addressed to children were too complicated for them (Respondent 3, personal communication, March 2014). For both projects, people complained about poor promotion. In *la Maria*, respondent 12 commented that no promotion had been made for the event; she had not seen any poster and the only reason why she learned about the project was that it was next to her house (personal communication, March 2014). In *la Boquilla*, respondent 5 also mentioned the fact that promotion efforts had been weak; most people had not heard about the screening and the ones who had heard of it ignored its location. She believed that the project's teams should have handed out flyers at schools. In San Jose de Mayo, an interviewee expressed the feeling that the effort deployed had been too weak and that the project should be better promoted the following year. Another respondent in the same location explained having heard from the project through the internet, which suggests that a diversification of promotion media might be beneficial. The same respondent also suggested that the screening be held at an earlier time on another occasion, due to the cold night temperature at this time of the year and the fact that fewer people are in the park where the event took place at night. After conversing with the project organisers, it was discovered that the reason why the screenings attended were held during the autumn and not during a warmer time of the year was that the screenings had had to be reported since the summer due to heavy rainfall.

Requests

In the interviews, public members also formulated hopes and requests concerning the project and cinema in general. In *el Pozón*, a woman shared her enthusiasm on the project and expressed the wish for mobile cinema screenings to be organised more often in marginal neighbourhoods such as hers. Another woman also wished film screenings would be more regular, and stated that she wants to 'always have access to cinema, and watch as many films as possible (respondent 3, personal communication, March 2014). The same respondent argued about the urgency of the environmental crisis and the importance of teaching children about ecology. This statement can be interpreted as a wish for more films with environmental contents in the project's program. In *Libertad*, Uruguay, the public members interviewed expressed a desire for more opportunities to attend cinematic events in their communities. A young man explained that he does not go to the cinema because 'that's for the rich people', but said that he nevertheless would like to watch films (respondent 30, personal communication, April 2014). From this statement, it is possible to infer that there is a need to democratise cinema in Uruguay, to which more frequent mobile cinema activities or the setting up of permanent cinema structures can bring an answer.



6. Conclusions

In the previous chapters, the results of several months of investigation on the power of mobile cinema as a tool for community-based development in the case of two socio-politically very different Latin American countries have been presented. The developmental status of Colombia and Uruguay was first briefly presented, including information about the political, socio-economic, cultural as well as environmental situations. Then theories on social change, communication, film and the relationship between them were presented. Once background information and relevant theories had been laid out, the research methods and the results obtained during fieldwork were presented. To answer the research' question, it can be said that mobile cinema, in the case of the two projects studied, has been found to influence the public in a number of ways. Amongst others, the projects were found to induce different kinds of reflections on social and environmental topics which were often relevant to national development problematics. These reflections included the questioning of certain behaviours and social phenomena, which indicates a potential for new convictions which can only be conjectured to lead to behavioural and social changes. In order to look more in depth into the study's findings, the results obtained in chapters 4 and 5 can be synthesised in order to formulate answers to the research' sub-questions.

Sub-question 1: Inclusiveness of the Colombian and Uruguayan filmmaking sectors

The improvement of the accessibility of cinematic technologies, local artistic talent and the abundance of 'stories to tell' are strong incentives for filmmakers in Colombia and Uruguay. Besides, the governments of the two countries have implemented cinema laws in the last ten years, which are fomenting state support to the cinematic sector. Demand from the public for national films has also been noticed to rise in recent years. Nevertheless, in Colombia the government's mechanisms of support are difficult to access by emergent filmmakers, as they tend to favour high budget productions and involve a lot of bureaucracy. In Uruguay, funds are scarce and the competition with foreign productions is high. According to the filmmakers interviewed, the relatively low national production produces a negative feedback loop in which low production leads to limited diffusion and demand by the Uruguayan society. For the filmmaking sector of Colombia and Uruguay to become truly participative, what must be hoped for in the current context is that emerging filmmakers with original ideas and limited anchor in the sector would get as much funding opportunity as established directors. Only then could the cinema sector become a platform for critical and inclusive dialogue, and a potential agent for change modelled on the needs of society.

Sub-question 2: The projects studied and public participation

The projects have similar objectives, but their order of importance differ. The project *Cine en los Barrios* has a predominantly social mission, which is to bring culture to marginalised communities in order to stimulate positive change in their lives. The project Ecocinema's primary goal is to raise awareness on renewable energy use, and its secondary goals are to create an outlet for the diffusion of regional cinema, and to enrich the lives of people with no access to cinema. Its main goal is pursued through the

presentation of a relatively simple solar powered system (the cinema itself) and the screening of environmental short films before the main film screenings. Bringing cinema to the people and facilitating social change is included in the project's mission statement, but takes a secondary importance according to the director of Ecocinema. Both initiatives include the promotion of national cinematic industries as their secondary objectives.

Concerning the organisation and nature of activities, the two projects differ somehow. It was remarked that *Cine en los Barrios* puts more emphasis on post-screening discussions between the public and the film crews, as discussions are almost always held after the project's screenings but only often held after screenings held by Ecocinema. During discussions with the film crew, it was noted that the public became more enthusiastic, focused and engaged (people stopped talking, listened and many of them asked questions). Thus discussions seem to deepen the reflection of the public members and can be expected to enhance learning. Ecocinema, however, was the only one to present additional activities besides the film screenings, demonstrating a long-term vision of the intervention. Additional activities include the organisation of workshops on renewable energies at schools, and the distribution of an educational book to school children, which can be used as a tangible learning material once the Ecocinema truck is gone. *Cine en los Barrios* does not include follow up activities. Nevertheless, the fact that screenings are often repeated in the same locations each year, and organised in cooperation with local NGO's permits gives the project a chance for a deeper and longer-term impact on communities. When cinema leaves the community associations remain and can work as catalyst for further discussion and action.

Ecocinema is reaches a broader geographic reach, but proportionally it does not reach more people. *Cine en los Barrios* operates within one department of Colombia and reached about 40,000 people in 2014. Ecocinema was estimated to reach 80,000 people combining the different screening locations across Latin America and Europe. Expansion plans are being worked on, as the project hopes to add Spain, Tunisia and Argentina to its list of destinations. Organisers report raising awareness on environmental and social topics, increased socialisation, family and community bonding, and reclaiming the public space.

To conclude, it can be said that the activities carried out in the frame of the projects studied encourage mobilisation in the public, but that more efforts should be carry out to establish longer-term engagement within communities once the cinema vehicle has left.

Sub-question 3: Film themes and pertinence to national development issues

On a general note, it was remarked that most of the films of the *Cine en los Barrios* program had a positive content, giving encouragement and hope rather than showing problems. This fitted the project's goal to bring hope into the lives of marginalised communities through cinema. In the case of Ecocinema, it was interesting to learn that in order to optimise social impact in the regions visited, regional contexts are studied and specific tours are occasionally organised to present films corresponding to local development issues.

This year's program for *Cine en los Barrios* included a wide variety of themes, but only a third of the films conveyed the main national political, social and environmental issues. The national issues represented the most were the armed conflict, drug-trafficking, poverty and displacement. It was remarked that these topics were mostly addressed by representing the people involved in 'crimes' or victim of injustice, and emphasising their humaneness, their values, their ingeniousness, and their humour. This human perspective has the power to trigger emotional closeness and sympathy from the public's part, and can be expected to raise questions and a reflection on the social dynamics of the problems at hand. By giving the public an idea of the human circumstances behind their country's crisis, films may provide an incentive for the development of new, more grassroots approaches to problem solving. Ecocinema's program also addressed a broad variety of themes, but again, few of the themes identified as national development issues were represented. Nevertheless, it was interesting to notice that in the two programs a number of films dealt indirectly with national development issues although they did not make any of the development issues listed in 1.1.5 their focus. Indeed, in both *Cine en los Barrios* and Ecocinema, developmental problems were often indirectly addressed by representing themes which are somehow 'remedies' to the problems faced (i.e. non-materialistic values vs. consumerism, local culture vs. neo-colonial domination, sustainable initiatives vs. environmental problems, educational contents vs. unequal access to education).

In both projects, most films dealt with themes of personal development and relationships. Those topics are not considered national development themes, but bearing in mind considerations on agency and the importance of individual interpretations and actions, it is possible to make a case for the significance of personal development processes in development at the macro-level. Beyond the developmental themes presented in the films, the processes of filmmaking in poor localities brought opportunities to the people living there, in terms of incomes, social connections and learning mostly.

Sub-question 4: Public's reaction and interpretations, filmmakers' intentions, and public's appreciation of mobile cinema projects

Throughout the interviews carried out with the public, different types of reactions were collected. The first one consists of reflections on social behaviour at introspective and general levels. When the reflection was framed introspectively, the members of the public interviewed seem to analyse their own morals and behaviour based on the protagonists' actions, which results in either a confirmation that they are 'doing the right things' or in an incentive to change. Another type of reactions were reflections on topics of personal development (e.g. personal growth, decisions, and behaviour). Other films generated learning about other living circumstances and places, or learning about one's own culture. Learning about one's own culture seemed to generate a sense of identity and pride. The last, and more abstract type of reaction which was reported by the public is purely intellectual: critical thinking, intense and creative reflection, the enjoyment thereof, and a desire to learn more.

When comparing the filmmaker's intentions and meanings and the interpretations reported by the public, judging a given interpretation as right or wrong would be

normative, but the correspondence between the two could be assessed. The results showed that most of the time the message intended by the filmmaker was received and expressed by the members of the public interviewed. For two films however, some public members expressed interpretations which greatly differed from the filmmakers' intended meaning. More interestingly, it was remarked that for the two films which makers did not express clear argumentative intentions, the interpretations expressed by the public were deeper and more varied. Thus it seems that the films with a less linear plot and argument generated more profound and more personal levels of reflection. As a conclusion, it can be said that based on this study's results, it appears that the more clearly the argument was presented in the film the more linear the interpretation, and the more complex and symbolic the more diverse and elaborated the interpretations were. If reflections are deeper and more personal, it could be that they are also more adapted to personal needs.

The filmmakers demonstrated interest in knowing about the reaction of their public. Some of them expressed tolerance and openness to interpretations different than their own. This shows openness and empowerment of the public. A director even said that the public teaches him what the film is about, this shows a certain malleability, flexibility from the filmmaker who is willing to learn from his public! So not only one way process of learning, more participative.

All members of the public interviewed expressed a high level of appreciation for the project. Several people expressed their gratefulness to the project organisers and explained feeling moved by the attention they received. The benefits reported by the interviewees are that the screening contributed to breaking unproductive routines such as watching television, helped bring the family together and bond, provided a chance for entertainment and learning to a community with poor access to culture. The necessity of improving promotion was suggested by respondents of the two projects, who often explained not having heard about the event, or not having received any practical details such as screening location. Enthusiast, most people expressed a desire for more frequent mobile cinema activities.

Sub-question 5: Application of communication and community development theories in the projects studied

Recalling the points synthesised in 1.1.4, we can assess the extent to which the projects apply current development theories in the fields of communication for social change and actor-oriented development. Based on this assessment the following conjectures can be made:

- Mobile cinema screenings are grassroots, discreet interventions, and in this sense the practice is more reflexive than structural interventions, and thus has a greater power for social change (Huesca, 1996).
- Mobile cinema intervenes at the individual and community levels by influencing people's thoughts. If thoughts get translated into action, its impacts can result in structural changes.
- By encouraging critical thinking, discussions and by presenting a few opportunities and mechanisms for longer term engagement, the two mobile

cinema projects investigated embody important aspects of the CFSC approach and can be expected to be conducive to social change. However, more follow-up activities and systematic discussions are needed to stimulate community engagement on the long term and increase development impacts.

- In the choice of films, attention was paid to the public's age in the two projects, but not to other characteristics. However, through the discussions taking place after the screenings, the project organisers and the filmmakers can react to the public on an individual level, which increases the likeliness that communication will be tailored to the beneficiary community, and contributes to the reinforcement of the project's influence.

Based on the results obtained in this study, it is possible to suggest potential developments of the sector which could lead to more development efficacy.

Suggestion 1: Considering inequality of chances in the acquisition of funds for film production projects, it is necessary to advocate for fair chances for filmmakers. By giving chances to emerging filmmakers working on low budgets, a more diverse and objective variety of points of view will emerge in national cinematic productions, allowing for the development of a more participative and democratic cultural sector. Increasing participativeness in the cinema sector can permit the intensification of dialogue on local and regional developmental issues and catalyse change.

Suggestion 2: Investigation in local, national and regional development needs should be done by the project's curators in order to improve the fit between the contents of the films they screen and local problematics. The way in which a theme is presented in a film matters, and based on discussion with project leaders, filmmakers and personal reflection, it is possible to opine that film contents should trigger a reflection about social/environmental problems in the viewer. In order to stimulate reflection, the content must not be moralising and lay out a message too linearly. Instead, it should bring a problem to the awareness of the viewer and encourage him or her to think critically and constructively about the issue. Therefore, using narrative and visual metaphors will often be highly impactful. Sometimes, presenting an issue directly in a film will not be efficient in encouraging constructive social action, and presenting contents which stimulate critical reflection in a general sense or the formation of certain values in the public might be more conducive (refer to the case of 'personal development' films and films on family).

Suggestion 3: In order to foster long term change, the projects should encourage dialogue after screenings and encourage follow-up activities or link people to other organisations and projects. For instance, after a screening about animal abuse, people should be given a chance to discuss the problem, and inspired to put the new motivations they may have acquired into practice, by for instance giving them an information pamphlet on a local animal protection organisation.

Suggestion 4: Considering recent, post-structuralist development theories, it is possible to say that mobile cinema is a progress towards a more effective cinema sector in terms of development impacts. This is due to the fact that mobile cinema contributes to the intensification of independent cinema production (by creating a platform) as well as independent cinema consumption. Thereby, cinema becomes a more inclusive sector,

which is better owned by society and has therefore a higher potential to serve its purposes. However, much improvement must be achieved to make mobile cinema a truly 'post-structuralist cultural development tool'. Indeed, filmmaking is still a relatively linear and one-way process, in which the film director owns the creative process and dictates what will be presented to the public. This would not be a problem if all voices could participate in the elaboration of a film's concept and plot, but this is not the case since the public is generally a passive receptor of information. Participative, community forms of cinema production and consumption can be suggested in order to create a cinematic sector optimised for social benefits (e.g. *Festival Ambulante*, n.d.).

The present study has a number of limitations that should be kept in mind when reflecting on the results obtained. Firstly, the fact that small samples were used for the study in both research projects means that findings may not be representative of the actual population of people attending mobile cinema events, and can thus not be generalised. Research on larger samples would be needed to formulate general conclusions. Secondly, there might be a recency bias in the public members interviewed, through which the fact that they have just watched the film leads them to react very positively and to manifest a high level of comprehension and reflection. Interviews at a later time would be needed to find out about the longer term emotional and intellectual impacts generated by the films watched, in other words, the sustainability of the awareness generated among the public. Ideally, a long term study measuring values and opinions before and after the screenings should be done in order to scientifically and precisely assess the subjective impact of films. Such a study however would require more time and a different methodology. In further research, it would also be interesting to compare different projects and films in terms of impact in order to identify the organisational and filmic elements which increase the chances of durable social impact.



7. Discussion

This research aimed to shed light on the performance of two mobile cinema projects in terms of their contributions to social and sustainable development in the Colombian and Uruguayan contexts. Hereafter, a critical reflection based on the results obtained through this investigation will be articulated. By 'taking a step back', it is possible to unravel opportunities for further reflection and research on the power of cinema as a tool for development.

This research was carried out to verify the implicit hypothesis that mobile cinema can contribute to development. This premise would imply that cinema is able to generate social awareness, and that this awareness gets translated into concrete actions which lead to development. The results of this research have indicated the types and the intensity of the impacts generated by mobile cinema projects on their public, but it could (for methodological and time reasons) not yield a firm proof of the power of cinema to transform communities. This connects to a broader debate: the difficulty of assessing the capacity of the arts to transform individuals and societies, and the question whether attempts to use art as an instrument of change is legitimate (Thornton, 2012). As art sociologist Thornton pointed out (2012), there are many claims that art can transform lives and communities, but these claims are often unsubstantiated. Indeed, a plethora of authors interested in community arts have published studies which present the potentialities of the medium to de-familiarise the status quo, and show us that established structures might not be natural but constructs which have been designed by men and can be altered and create new dissenting narratives (e.g. Holderness, 1992). Many people investigated the processes through which art leads to social change, for instance Matarasso who listed fifty personal and social benefits all related to community transformation (in Thornton, 2012). There is however debate on the efficacy and the legitimacy of engaging so much efforts in artistic community-development projects. These 'calls for less grandiose claims' are articulated mainly around two elements: the contextuality of impact and the ethical issues of 'arts for social change' practices (Thornton, 2012).

Concerning efficacy, due to the subjectivism and symbolism of the arts it is first and foremost difficult if not impossible to measure impact and give proofs for the expected benefits (Research in Drama Education, 2006). Some authors reject entirely the instrumentalisation of arts, criticising the 'great paradigm of the efficiency of arts' (Rancière, 2010, p.135-137). In the case of theatre, this paradigm was radically opposed by Kelleher (2009, p.57), who stated that 'theatre's instrumentalism, its use as a means of guiding our actions and changing the world, does not work – never did, never will'. More moderated voices recognise the potential benefits of arts, but suggest that the impacts of art projects are highly context-dependent and unpredictable (e.g. Prentki & Preston, 2009). According to McGrath, 'theatre alone cannot achieve any social change. At best it can voice the demands of forces already in motion, or strongly desired' (in Thornton, 2012). Hence, as opined several authors (e.g. Barucha, 2011), community arts interventions should be accompanied by strategic work to create a fertile environment for potential impacts to be realised. As Thornton stated for the case of community theatre, it does not cause change in itself, but if the conditions are right, theatre can provoke

people to cause change. These critiques help us to realise that community based artistic interventions such as mobile cinema should not aspire to be the magic and sufficient ingredients for change, but must be carefully planned and included in a broader strategy with more practical interventions.

Another debate on community arts concerns the ethicalness of its vision and approaches. As Thornton explained (2012), oppositions from an ethical standpoint stem mostly from its imperialist, paternalistic, and liberalist connotations. The idea that the artist holds the power to improve the lives of the poor and culturally illiterate people is disempowering and exclusive according to Prentki & Preston (2009). While intervening artists want to inspire critical thinking and change, the imperialist model of intervention could play against this objective and instead reinforce the established structures (i.e. cultural and economic hierarchies) (Thornton, 2012). This ethical debate does not deny the power of art to change society but warns us about the potential negative influences of one's vision of this process. As Cohen-Cruz theorised (2005), there are two kinds of artists; the liberal artist works with communities to try to change their lives and hopefully influence the system, and the radical artist understand a deeper political context of the work and seeks ways of working with communities to challenge and change the systems we live under.

The discussion on the power of arts does not refute the validity and the importance of looking into the power of creative expression, critical reflection and socialised play to provide an innovative approach to the difficult development challenges faced by our societies; it gives us a warning and should serve to guide our vision and approaches. Eventually, arts does not need to be seen as discipline separate from other more pragmatic fields of practice and research, and it does not need to be injected 'imperialistically' into disempowered communities. Instead, arts can and should be given back their place as inherent and necessary part of man's life, which should be harmoniously combined with 'less-creative', strategic and structural work in order to bring forth the transformations we hope to see in our communities.

In the case of mobile cinema, unethical, 'imperialistic' approaches can be avoided and the chances for the awareness raising to be converted into concrete socio-economic changes can be fostered by a radical reformulation of the conventional community arts approach. Mobile cinema is an attempt to make cinema more participative by not limiting it to a one-way transmission process but by using it to invite collective reflection and discussion amongst spectators. It is more difficult for cinema to be participative and reactive than for other art forms which can be performed live. However, as was seen throughout this paper, there are possibilities to do so, and these can yield many benefits. By including people in debates after the film has been shown, and by engaging them in activities before and after screenings to encourage them to pursue their reflection and seek ways to get engaged. This is only being done to a limited extent in mobile cinema and should be done more. But it may require the reshaping of paradigms and practices in the field of cinema in order to shift from seeing it as a finished product to considering it as a dynamic product which takes meaning as it is interpreted by its audience. Thereby, the audience would escape from its role as passive or nearly passive receptor and take a new place in the cinematic creation process.

In order to reshape mobile cinema into a more participative, more ethical and more effective tool, a reconceptualization is necessary. In this report's conclusions, it was stated that to make mobile cinema more effective, participation from the public should be deepened, as well as the inclusion of aspiring filmmakers in the cinematic production sector. Until now, mobile cinema has relocated the projection of films outside usual settings (i.e. cinema halls) but that a next, more ambitious step would be to also relocate the realisation process outside of usual settings (e.g. studio, film school). The idea would then be to let the communities we seek to transform realise their own films.

A comprehensive mobile cinema project could include the following steps:

1. Reaching a place where there is no cinema
2. Screening a film on a relevant topic
3. Promoting discussion after the screening
4. Remain in the community and organise an audiovisual production workshop open to everyone until the members of the community have realised a small film
5. Showing the film to the community
6. Promoting the development of audiovisual creation workshops for school children and adults

This transition is already emerging as community video projects aiming to empower community members to realise their own short films and videos are multiplying around the world, encouraged by the increasing affordability and transportability of small audiovisual technologies (cameras, telephones, etc.). An example of such a project is the Tiziano Project, which provides community members in conflict and post-conflict regions with the equipment and training necessary to produce their own short films (The Tiziano Project, 2014). By empowering communities to create their own contents instead of simply receiving products made by others, chances for community-based contestation and change are reinforced. This claim is based on the idea that in matters of education, simply transmitting knowledge from teacher to student will not generate change but only a reproduction of existing structures. However, predisposing and allowing the student to question or even reject the teaching imparted, will generate new knowledge and contribute to the transformation of current situations. The same principle is valid for cinema. If cinema limits itself to screening films to audiences, but does not allow these audiences to reformulate what they have been exposed to by realising their own films, there are little chances for new ideas to emerge. Including discussions after screenings and follow-up activities is a first step to foster reflection and engagement from the part of the public, but empowerment and change could be much greater if the cinematic creation process itself was handed over to communities.

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Annex A

Example interview questions for the public

1. Age:
2. Gender:
3. Occupation:
4. Origin:

5. Why did you decide to come to the film screening?

6. Did you enjoy attending this event?

7. What did you think of the film?

8. Can you summarize the film in a few sentences for me?

9. What is the main message of the film? What do you think was the intention of the filmmaker?

10. Did the film make you change the way you feel about certain issues? In what way?

11. What aspects of the film impacted you the most?

12. Did the film make you want to change something in your behaviour?

13. Did the film teach you something you didn't know?

14. Did the film make you feel proud of your culture/country/region?

15. What do you think of this project?

16. Will you come back?

17. What could be improved?

Annex B

Example interview questions for filmmakers

1. Why did you decide to make this film? What message did you want to communicate?
2. What impact(s) do you wish to trigger in the spectator and on the topic/locality/people starred?
3. Do you think your film addresses local problems and needs?
4. What tools and methods did you use in your film to bring about the intended effects?
5. What were the main obstacles encountered during the realisation of the film?
6. What do you think of the public's reaction so far?
7. Would you do anything differently if you had to make the film again?

Annex C

Preliminary survey for mobile cinema project leaders

1. When was the project initiated?
2. How did it begin and what is its mission?
3. How are the screenings organised in terms of frequency?
4. How is the project advertised amongst beneficiary populations?
5. How is the project funded?
6. What is the average number of spectators attending a film screening? Does attendance vary a lot? What is it influenced by?
7. What types of films do you choose? Why? How is the contact with filmmakers?
8. What are the main obstacles encountered in the accomplishment of the project's goals?
9. How could the project be improved?