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**A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF DOCUMENTARY PRODUCTION ETHICS AND
TECHNICAL STANDARDS OF ZIMBABWE'S KEY POPULATION
DOCUMENTARIES**

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DECLARATION

I, Collins Mundondwa, declare that,

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DEDICATION

The study is dedicated to my late parents, Professor Amon Ndapota Chivatsi Mundondwa and Regina Tangireni Kandore who were my source of inspiration since childhood. I also devote this study to my brother, Webster Mundondwa who paid my A' level fees from his small business working as a shoe maker. To my wife, Agatha Shumbayawonda and my children this is for you. You have played a pivotal role in my academic pursuits.

ABSTRACT

The majority of researchers on media and its impact on representation of Key Populations have concentrated on print media and advertisement. Limited research has been undertaken to understand how electronic media represent, and projects Key Populations (KP). Based on the premise that documentarians use humans/ people as subjects and have the potential to impact the lives of these people, the study examines ethical and technical issues that abound in documentary filmmakers. It analyses six documentaries focusing on the presentation of key populations (sex workers, lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgender) (LGBT) persons in Zimbabwe. Theoretically, the study is informed by the framing theory and the social representation theory. Being qualitative in design, the study relies on observation and content analysis research methodology. The study argues that to a greater extent, most documentaries produced by Zimbabwean Non-Governmental fail to meet ethical standards such as confidentiality, consent and presentation of the subject. The reserach contends that the documentaries are subjective in their presentation of realities about the lives and circumstances of key populations. The story angle, and presentation is highly influenced by the sponsors of documentaries. Such presentations promote negativity, fuel discrimination against key populations in Zimbabwe and compromise the quality of the documentaries. The study recommends that the government of Zimbabwe, working together with the Human Rights Commission craft laws that protect key populations against discrimination by the media and society. Producers and documentary filmmakers should be capacitated on key population reporting. Film makers should also invest in professional film making equipment and widen their distribution of the films.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

CeSHHAR - Centre for Sexual Health and HIV/AIDS Research Zimbabwe.

KPs -Key Populations.

LGBT - lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender.

MSM - Men Having Sex with other Men.

NAC - National AIDS Council of Zimbabwe.

UNAIDS - United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS.

WsW – Woman Having Sex with other Women.

ZIMASSET - Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation.

ZNASP - Zimbabwe National HIV and AIDS Strategic Plan.

DEFINITION OF TERMS.

Documentary -Is a truthful and creative treatment of reality and actuality using lived experiences and real people in narrating a story.

Key Populations

Key populations are defined groups who due to specific higher-risk behaviours are at increased risk of HIV, irrespective of the epidemic type or local context. They often have legal and social issues related to their behaviours that increase their vulnerability to HIV. The five key populations are men who have sex with men, people who inject drugs, people in prisons and other closed settings, sex workers, and transgender people (UNAIDS, 14).

Sex workers and sex work: Sex workers include female, male and transgender adults (18 years of age and above) who receive money or goods in exchange for sexual services, either regularly or occasionally (UNAIDS, 14).

LGBT - lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender.

Key Population documentaries – Refers to all documentaries whose theme or objective centers around any key population category . This also include documentaries on underprivileged ,marginalised, vulnerable individuals or groups and secluded communities.

Transgender refers to people whose gender identity is different from the sex assigned at birth.

WSW is an abbreviation that stands for women who have sex with women, a term often used in public health.

Lesbian refers to women who are emotionally, physically and sexually attracted to women.

MSM is an abbreviation for men who have sex with men, a term often used in public health.

Bisexual refers to people who are emotionally, physically and sexually attracted to people of both sexes.

Gay refers to men who are emotionally, physically and sexually attracted to men (Müller, 2013)

CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH OVERVIEW

1.1. Introduction

This thesis critically assesses production ethics and technical standards of Zimbabwe's Key Populations (KPs) documentaries. Specifically, the study looks at the salient and subtle ethical violations that documentary makers wittingly and unwittingly make when unpacking KPs issues. Despite negative portrayal of key populations in Zimbabwean documentaries there has been little corresponding research effort to understand the continued existence of this practice. This study seeks to fill this lacuna by investigating how key populations are portrayed in Zimbabwean documentaries, the effect of such portrayal and the factors that militate against positive portrayal of these populations. This chapter presents the background to the study and outlines the context within which the research is premised leveraging global and regional cases. It then presents the study objectives, research questions, assumptions, delimitation and limitations.

1.2 Background to the Study.

Patricia Aufderheide and Jaszi (2009) argue that on a global scale, the work of modern documentary producers does not speak to the critical issues due to their ignorance of critical ethical considerations that inform such productions. Therefore, this study seeks to map ethics, technical standards, and perceived ethical challenges that documentary filmmakers should adhere to in their productions that represent key populations. Specifically, the research interrogates ethical and technical standards that must inform the production of professional key population documentaries in Zimbabwe with a view to understand, and deal with complex issues surrounding stigmatisation and stereotypification of KPs.

Despite the achievements made in reducing AIDS-related deaths in the past decades, and an overall decline in prevalence in most countries, research indicate that some factors that affect key populations are missed out in these projections. Studies conducted in Southern Africa have found HIV prevalence rates to be 10 –20 times higher among sex workers (SWs) than among adults in

the general population, with rates of HIV infection reaching 50% of all SWs tested, and HIV prevalence reaching 86% in one study from Zimbabwe.

A research by Rusero (2018) found that the HIV infection rate among men who have sex with men is higher than that of the general population in Southern Africa. There is no doubt that countries in the Southern Africa region have both generalized and concentrated epidemics, and the burden of the pandemic among key populations (KPs) in the concentrated epidemics is disproportionately severe in terms of infection rates, government commitment, and access to services. This calls for an interrogation of how KPs in Zimbabwe are portrayed and represented by professional documentary producers who focus on issues such as of HIV and AIDS.

The plight of KPs has been worsened by social exclusion rooted in religious, traditional and cultural norms and values that look at these groups as socially non-conforming, and therefore; unacceptable in social spaces. Unfortunately, these spaces include spaces where KPs access critical health care services like HIV treatment and prevention. This exacerbate the problem of HIV infection among KPs.

The exclusion of KPs from social spaces is an endemic problem in Zimbabwe, and documentary makers are also guilty of the same. The violation of documentary production practices in Zimbabwe by producers who focus on KPs foments structural, institutional and ideological oppression and violence. These multifaceted complexities packaged by highly esteemed Zimbabwean documentary producers. Such depictions and agenda setting do not empower marginalized communities and KPs. The documentaries packaged mostly for entertainment hardly promote a positive image about KPs and create representations and identities that ostracize these communities rather than empowering them to deal with social problems affecting their communities.

This study relies on the participatory video approach because it does not encourage the projection of victimhood and helplessness when dealing with marginalized communities. The study investigates how elements of film; cinematography, light, sound and editing play a crucial role in aiding or undermining the realization of participatory video standards. The study seeks to establish factors that affect conformity to professional participatory video production benchmarks. It examines the feasibility of conforming to ethical and technical standards of participatory video

making by reflecting on personal practice. Apart from leveraging documentaries by other producers, the researcher shall also rely on his personal experiences as a journalist understand best ways of creating documentaries that conform to professional participatory video production benchmarks.

1.2.1. Documentary Ethics and Technical Standards.

Globally, there have been widespread concerns regarding the lack of respect for production ethics, and these concerns have grown recently with technological advancements and lack of a common frame of reference for filmmakers in an industry that is in state of flux. Macaroni (2010) notes that filmmakers have an obligation towards their subjects but as Nichols (1992) argues, the obtaining rules, conventions and standards are loosely enforced. It is therefore imperative to understand that documentary filmmakers like all media practitioners are expected to religiously observe ethical principles in their productions. The prevalence of ethical infractions in documentary film making perhaps emanates from the absence of an agreed definition of a documentary. Nichols (1992) define documentaries as films that attempt to tell a story from a particular perspective but relying little on the manipulation of images and sound, at the same time; displaying a certain degree of artistry. For this reason, it is likely that documentary filmmakers will argue that they are simply telling the reality with little manipulation. However, it is the “artistry” part that is subject to conjecture and where the choice of what to do lies with the producer.

More often, unethical behaviour may emanate not from acts of commission but from acts of omission on the part of the producer. According to Ruby (2013) there is always a challenge of drawing the line between actuality and aesthetic needs of the documentary and more often, producers consider aesthetics to be above actuality thereby projecting the story of KPs in a skewed manner. The key question in documentary film making is how ethical is the mediation considering that producers are already gate keepers who decide what to put in the documentary and what to exclude.

The most common type of ethics in documentary film making is situational ethics as proposed by Bentham (1789) & Mill (1861). Bentham argues that an act is considered ethical when it brings the greatest amount of pleasure (to more people) but the least amount of pain. This is regarded as the utilitarian concept of ethicality. Fletcher (1966) modified the utilitarian principle and argued that something will be ethical only when it posits the greatest amount of love to the greatest number of people.

This definition of ethics poses some challenges because it is not clear who in this case constitute the greatest number of people. If these issues were to be considered from the viewpoint of KPs, it is clear that documentary filmmakers would respect public good compared to the interests of the KPs. Accordingly, Winston (2000) contends that filmmakers have a primary obligation to minimize the harms to the participants. Contrary to popular beliefs, documentaries do not offer unmediated access to the truth. This is because the very presence of an unfamiliar person (the camera person and producer) alters the behaviour of the respondent through eliciting a range of demand characteristics. In this vein, documentary film making is a form of representation that negatively affects those represented.

For this reason, film makers must minimise harm to respondents, get informed consent, and observe objectivity, anonymity and confidentiality in their productions. Informed consent occurs when the respondent gives their voluntary consent to participate in the film after all the details have been made known to them. Thus, the filmmaker has an obligation to the respondents but according to Nash (2012) it is practically difficult to explain to respondents all risks involved in participating in the research. But as Nichols (1991) notes it is not always easy to know how well to treat respondents in film and represent them accurately.

It is therefore crucial in this research to evaluate whether these ethical and technical standards are being observed by documentary producers in their depiction of KPs through an analysing six documentaries from Zimbabwe. Ethicality means that documentary filmmakers are not absolutely free in their decision making but there is a need to respect situational ethics which call for flexibility and attention to the realities of documentary production (Winston, 2000).

Some researchers have suggested that filmmakers should collaborate with their respondents when planning their productions. However, if we there is an assumption that filmmakers are artists who use cinematography as a means of storytelling, then the adoption of collaboration kills all creativity and endangers artistic freedom.

Objectivity is also considered an important component of documentary film making but producers agree that this is deficient in most productions. According to Malik (2000) producers are always not clear about their biases. In fact, if producers want to be objective they should project both sides of the story but they are under no obligation to balance the act since this may kill creativity.

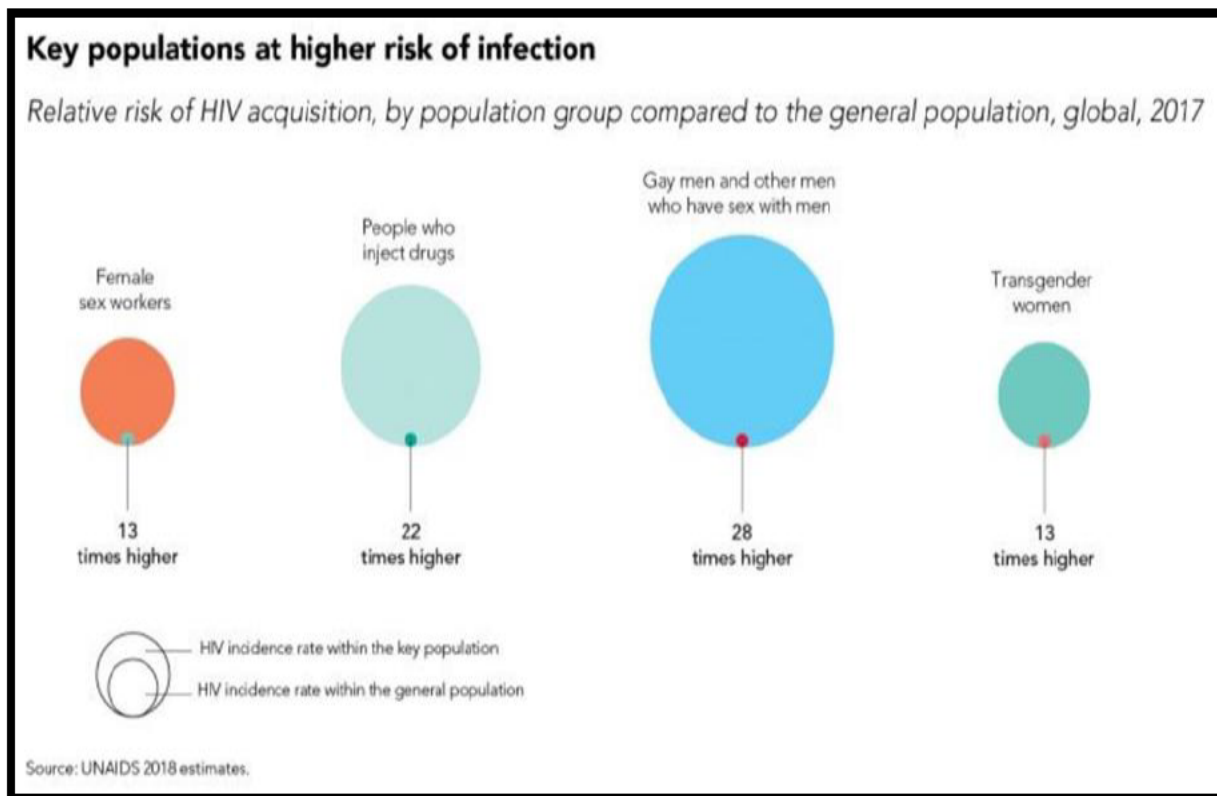
Journalists are supposed to present both sides of the story but the documentary filmmaker puts the viewer inside of an experience wherein they create the film from one point of view.

This means that the approach that often works in news making does not work in documentaries where objectivity is not the goal. In making films about key populations, it may not be necessary to seek balance. This is because while journalism tells of reality wherever it's happening a documentary has the expansive quality of commentary. Objectivity tends to reduce depth of issues that often arise from disaggregated data hence filmmakers contend that they are free from the obligations towards objectivity and this is what makes film making interesting. However, despite the above, it is imperative for documentary filmmakers to be guided by human ethics in all their productions so that they build lasting relationships with their characters.

1.2.2. Conceptualizing Key Populations in Zimbabwe.

The National AIDS Council of Zimbabwe (NAC) (2019) argues that the term key populations is used in relation to female sex workers, gay and bisexual men as well as men having sex with other men (MSM). They argue that the prevalence of HIV and AIDS is highest among these KPs and a range of factors account for this statistic but chief among them is the issue of stigma. These KPs carry a disproportionate burden of HIV and AIDS among other health complications such as TB. They are also subject to pervasive stigmas, exclusion, harassment and violence because of their perceived abnormality. This also comes against the backdrop of discriminatory laws and policies that criminalize sex work, drug use and same sex conduct which all congregate to lower KPs' access to health services. Ultimately, KPs end up facing a cycle of abuse, high morbidity and poor health outcomes according to UNAIDS (2018) (See Figure 1.1).

Figure 1: 1 Higher risk of infections among KPs.



Source: UNAIDS (2017).

As shown above, KPs combined face the highest probability of infection compared to other sectors of the population who are considered “normal” because the systems in place support those people who are considered conventional. This means that key communities of conscience such as the family, the media, church, school, workplace and the government are set against the interests of KPs further worsening their plight.

It is against this background that the study seeks to review the ethical and technical standards of documentary film making in Zimbabwe and understand how they answer the key questions surrounding KPs and HIV and AIDS. Several factors increase the vulnerability of KPs to HIV and AIDS and these include stigma, uncontrolled violence and the discriminatory laws and lack of equitable access to preventive measures as well as lack of reliable data at a global, regional and local level.

1.2.3 Sex Workers and gays and lesbians.

The term key population covered in this study encompasses female sex workers who receive money or goods in exchange for sex either regularly or occasionally. These women were also considered alongside men who have sex with other men (MSM) or women who have sex with other women whether or not they had sexual relations across the sexual divide. Regardless of their identity, it is largely believed that such vulnerable groups are susceptible to HIV infection because they have frequent risky sex or because they share risky equipment such as needles or syringes. Thus, risky behaviour is a continuous spectrum but there is no uniformity of pattern in terms of behaviour alone. This creates challenges in arriving at a universal definition of KPs. From an epidemiological point of view, those with higher risks of acquiring and transmitting HIV and AIDS should be prioritized for both prevention, care and treatment activities.

1.2.3.1 Female sex workers.

This relates to women who have premarital or extra marital sex for some financial or other benefit and they are sometimes called prostitutes. They also face the highest risk of exposure to HIV because of their frequent sexual contact with multiple partners (UNAIDS, 2009)

1.2.3.2 Men who have sex with men and women who have sex with women.

It has been argued that men or women who have sex with other men or women more often face the risk of infection and the highest risk sub set are men who have anal sex with other men due to the fragility of the anal region. Being a lesbian or having sex with other men or women is considered highly illegal in most countries. In Sub Saharan Africa, patriarchal influence leads to total condemnation of such behaviour which in turn locks out gays from support services relative to health.

1.2.4 A brief survey of KPs productions in Zimbabwe.

Sex work, commonly referred to as prostitution in Zimbabwe, as well as related acts including solicitation, procuring, and keeping a brothel, and are illegal but thriving. It is a criminal offence for one to engage in sex work as provided for in Part III of the Criminal Law (Codification and

Reform) Act 2004. According to the Act, the police can arrest any woman walking (in the streets) after 7pm for suspicion of engaging in sex work.

Besides the criminalization of sex work, it is also condemned in society. Society does not approve of sex work. Stigma, ridicule and disrespect follow those who engage in sex work, especially women. In 2011, an MDC-T MP, Thabitha Khumalo lobbied for the decriminalization of commercial sex work in Zimbabwe. She argued that decriminalizing commercial sex work would address common problems such as corruption, women rights violations and HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe. However, this is still to be done and sex workers continue to be seen as criminals by society.

The same obtains for homosexuality in Zimbabwe. According to Shoko (2018), lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) persons in Zimbabwe face legal challenges not experienced by non-LGBT residents. This means that LGBTs are considered criminals. Since 1995, the Zimbabwe Government has carried out campaigns against LGBT rights, and the society regards homosexuality as out-rightly perverse.

Common law prohibitions in Zimbabwe include sodomy, defined as "unlawful and deliberate sexual intercourse through anal between two human beings," as well as unnatural offences, defined as one person's unlawful and deliberate conduct of an unnatural sexual act with another (Shoko, 2018). Section 11 of the Censorship and Entertainment Control Act, which specifies that no individual shall import, print, publish, distribute or retain for sale any unauthorized publication (defined as "indecent or obscene or offensive to public morals or likely to be contrary to public health") has also been used to intimidate LGBT persons and activists.

In 2006, the government passed a "sexual deviancy" law that criminalized any actions "perceived as homosexual" - in theory making it a criminal offence for two people of the same sex to hold hands or kiss. Penalties included fines and up to ten years in prison. Following former president Robert Mugabe's resignation in 2017, the country's new and current president, Emmerson Mnangagwa, has made it clear that changing the country's laws on same-sex activity is not on his agenda hence the continued criminalization of homosexuality.

Homosexuality is frowned upon, and there have been reports of abuse of LGBT persons. According to Shoko (2018), a 2018 survey indicated that 50% of gay men in Zimbabwe had been physically assaulted and 64% had been disowned by their families. 27% of lesbians also reported disownment. This points to the negative perception about LGBT persons by both societies.

1.3 Statement of the Problem.

Key populations are negatively projected and portrayed in Zimbabwean communities due to little to no understanding of their realities. These negative portrayals have the potential to make multi-sectorial efforts and interventions on HIV and AIDS, stigmatization, stereotypification, and victimization fruitless and ineffective. The media has a duty to shed light on what is actually happening on the ground. A documentary film features human beings as subjects and, as Hartzell (2003) argues, has the potential to impact on the actual lives of people. Filmmaking holds great power to affect people, not only the viewer, but also the individuals and the communities whose images the film uses to make its point (Hartzell, 2003). Along with this power that documentary film holds to change people's lives, comes great responsibility for the filmmaker.

Documentary filmmakers use a variety of techniques to try to effectively bring viewers into contact with a subject, whether it be famine, family ordeals, or farmers confronting hoof-and-mouth disease. At the core of any approach is the presentation of compelling evidence. Gathering of this evidence, as well as its framing and presentation, requires the documentary filmmakers to consider, and adhere to ethical principles.

Ethical considerations in the framing and presentation of KPs affects how the audience perceive the persons. Literature on documentary filmmakers' ethical considerations in Zimbabwe is lacking, hence a gap exists in understanding what ethical issues are taken into account by filmmakers in the production of KPs documentaries. This is the lacuna that this study seeks to fill through examining ethical issues that abound in documentary filmmakers and how these affect the presentation of sex workers and LGBT persons in Zimbabwe.

1.4 Research Objectives.

The research aimed:

1. To explore ethical issues that documentary filmmakers focusing on key populations in Zimbabwe take into consideration.
2. To examine how consideration of these ethical issues affect the framing and presentation of subjects in the documentary film
3. To assess the impact of this framing and presentation of subjects in the films from an audience perceptive.

4. To proffer recommendations on enhancing ethical framing and presentation of key populations in Zimbabwean documentaries.

1.5 Research Questions.

1. What ethical issues should be taken into consideration by documentary filmmakers who focus on key populations in Zimbabwe?
2. How does consideration of these ethical issues affect the framing and presentation of subjects documentary films?
3. What is the audience perspective on the impact of this framing and presentation of subjects in films?
4. In what ways can ethical framing and presentation of key populations in Zimbabwean documentaries be enhanced?

1.6. Assumptions of the Study.

- a. A documentary film is very objective, the information on the screen is unmediated and more reliable.
- b. Key population documentaries have the potential to alter the perception of society on issues affecting sex workers and LGBT persons.
- c. The documentary filmmaker has a responsibility to the persons featured in the film as well as to the audience who watch the film.
- d. Ethics should be considered by filmmakers as these affect how they frame and present subjects.
- e. Violation of documentary production ethics is a result of ignorance.

1.7 Scope of the Study.

The study was conducted in Zimbabwe within the confines of documentary productions on KPs. The research acknowledges that KPs are broad in number and classification but the study restricted itself only to Sex Workers (SW), Women having Sex with Women (WSW, and Men having Sex with Men (MSM). A total number of six documentaries were conveniently selected to offer a synopsis of ethical and technical documentary production practices in Zimbabwe. These KPs were

selected because they are the focus of most of the local productions hence information on is widely available.

1.8 Significance of the Study.

The researcher investigates the implications of technical and ethical violations in contemporary commercial sex workers and LGBT documentaries in Zimbabwe so as to understand the complex ways in which HIV&AIDS is spread in these highly complex populations. Media programs, especially documentaries play a pivotal role in shaping people's opinions, decision-making process and educating the masses hence the research outlines ideal ethical pillars that documentarians and directors should adhere to in their craft. This study stirs debate on production ethics and standards.

In the midst of financial pressures to have a low budget production and increase profitability, documentarians need to balance ethical responsibilities against practical considerations. Producers want to script, shoot, and voice and narrate prostitution's stories to the satisfaction of funders at the expense of the best practices in documentary production. This study can inform policy and interventions to assist KPs. Implications of such unethical tendencies result in audiences and viewers consuming subjective productions that are casually acceptable as the norm. At worst, these documentaries celebrate victimhood and do not give currency to empowerment and recognition of fundamental rights of KPs. It is against this background that this research seeks to problematize issues of ethical and technical violations in HIV& AIDS documentary practice which continues to portray prostitutes as helpless victims, powerless, and as subjects and not active participants and participants who can be empowered to be part and parcel of the problem-solving agents. The research, therefore; seeks to add to existing literature on the effect of failure by documentary producers to adhere to ethical and technical standards when doing productions on KPs.

There is dire need for modern producers to use participatory video approach in their productions as participatory video can shift power from researchers to participants in social science research by giving the latter a more authoritative voice than conventional research methods do. This power shift can allow participants to reflect on their lives and provide new insight into data. Conversely, it can enable researchers to gain access to richer data than what they can create alone thus

engendering participatory communication among people and prompt them to find solutions to problems affecting KPs.

This approach, as a form of cultural practice, blurs the distinction between media producer and consumer by urging people to create their own media. It can disrupt the prevailing, top-down media production practice and allow them to find their voice and shape their culture. In brief, participatory video can engage people in cultural work and can make a significant contribution to community-based adult education. Incidental learning (Foley, 2001) is a useful concept to describe the type of learning that participatory video can catalyze. It refers to a mode of learning that adults experience while performing activities that are not necessarily to be educational; because of the tacit and incidental nature of the learning, adults do not usually realize that they are engaged in learning when it occurs.

1.9 Limitations

Zimbabwe has for long witnessed stigmatization, violation and rampant discrimination of KPs. The administration of the former president Robert Mugabe was unashamedly clear in its total disregard for KPs rights. Mugabe described WsW and MsM as ‘worse than pigs. This thinking is still rampant in Zimbabwe, practically making it difficult for a researcher to carry research on related activities and issues.

During the process of collecting data, especially looking for suitable documentaries, some organisations and or individuals misconstrued the researcher as one of the KPs, and in the process; stigmatized and frowned upon the researcher. In other instances, data retrieval of electronic storage files required money as there is a misguided belief that any research related to KPs brings with it benefits to anyone participating.

The research was also conducted under a cloud of political uncertainty in Zimbabwe making the whole process of access and retrieval of information difficult. At the time of the research, Zimbabwe was experiencing excessive electrical power interruptions which impacted on decoding of documentaries.

Table 1: Organisation of the study.

Task	Time frame
1. Background to the Problem, Review of Literature and Theoretical Concepts	February- July 2019
2. Research Design	August –September 2019
3. Data Collection	November 2019-February 2020
4. Data Analysis and Presentation of Findings	February-June 2020
5. Submission of First draft and corrections	July -August 2020
6. Corrections and Final Submission of Examination:	October 2020

1.11 Chapter Summary.

This chapter looked at the background to the study. It also presented the statement of the problem, objectives and research questions. The next chapter focusses on reviewing literature by other scholars in the area of the study. This will bring current research into the orbit of existing theory relative to the portrayal of key populations in documentary films in general.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction.

This chapter looks at literature by Zimbabwean authors, writers, film producers and the documentary experts in Africa and beyond. Several studies have been conducted in Zimbabwe to look at the effects of documentaries, TV on the audience and their power in reinforcing gender stereotypes among other attended effects (Mukwara, 2015).

Peruvemba (2011) focused on understanding identity construction. He combined his own experience with the theoretical underpinnings of post-colonial theory, social identity theory in examining two films. Chivandikwa & Muwonwa (2006) argued that “the identity of a person is constructed through different social tools that are visually appealing like documentaries.” Chivandikwa & Muwonwa (2006) wrote on the impact of political and ideological power of the media on the human mind. Mboti (2010) also argued that “television is a medium of power and significance in and for everyday life.” Chivandikwa, (2010); Mboti, (2010); Ravengai, (2011) focused on dramatic texts, soap operas and films. Collectively, their studies looked at the dramatic Zimbabwe Information Services in the post-colonial period.” During the colonial era, documentaries were used as ideological tools by the Smith government to denigrate African cultural aesthetics and to depict the European culture as enviable, superior and representative of the ideal.

In post independent Zimbabwe, the government took decisive steps to promote films that glorified African value systems and marketed the country. Mboti (2016) states that “The first decade of independence saw the government of Zimbabwe, through the Ministry of Information, promote

the country as a location for foreign productions. As a result, films such as *King Solomon's Mines* (1985), *Cry Freedom* (1987), *Mandela* (1987) *A World Apart* (1988), *White Hunter Black Heart* (1990) and *The Power of One* (1992), were shot in Zimbabwe. Hollywood Studios was contracted to produce documentaries. But, when the project failed, outsourcing expertise to do national productions was shelved.

According to other scholars, this would mark the beginning of the fall of the industry as it coincided with the introduction of structural adjustment programs. According to Mboti (2017) "the Zimbabwe film industry has been an orphan since. In other words, documentaries and other forms of film productions were now being done outside the support from the government." He adds: "for about a decade, the orphaned industry found a foster mother in western-sponsored NGOs which used the film industry as a chalkboard to teach message-heavy morality films." This was made possible through the Media for Development Trust. But, the support also dried when Harare fell out of favour with its erstwhile colonizers in the year 2000 over the controversial land reform programme.

These problems spawned a new industry besieged by a plethora of problems. Mboti (2016) (ibid) says "the end of the NGO-film paved way for the current state of affairs which can be described as a three-layered coexistence. Middling state and NGO support of the film industry, on the one hand, co-exists with increasingly confident independent filmmaking clusters, on the other hand. Many such individuals who joined the flagging industry were, and are chancers who hardly have any training in documentary production beyond camera basics.

Mboti argues,

"Cheaper cameras and editing equipment, added to a nascent straight-to-DVD model somewhat mirroring the production of Bongo films in Tanzania and those of Nollywood, have seen the Zimbabwean film industry emerge anew in a digitally-based third coming."

It is this new crop of filmmakers, most of whom are prostituting into the industry who, due to lack of training, produce biased productions that perpetuated victimization of KPs.

A number of modern scholars generally believe that Zimbabwean films are "sub-standard." While it is generally agreed that lack of funding led to the death of the industry, and subsequent poor productions, Mukwara (2015) argues that, in recent times, Zimbabwe did not realize the wealth and treasure that lies in film industry and did not promote it in its ZIMASSET (2013) policy document. Film production is a catalytic vehicle for job creation and economic growth. This lack

of interest by investing in the industry can be viewed as a contributing factor to poorly produced KPs documentaries.

If producers are struggling to come up with quality productions for sectors that are not strictly regulated by law, what more when making productions about KPs, which are suppressed? In recent times, more and more people have established media organisations and are, without enough knowledge, delving in documentary production hence the high levels of ethical infractions.

2.3 The Documentary Format and its Impact on Portrayal of Key Populations.

Documentaries come in different forms and formats. As a result, it is difficult to define what they are with precision. However, scholars are agreed that they are a nonfiction form of art that expresses real-life situations. Researchers have tussled with the question since the 1920s. The closer they have come to defining it is differentiating it from fictional films and journalism. All definitions, however, point out that a documentary captures real life situations and is a work of art that projects reality.

Grierson (1933) and Khrustaleva (2014) state that a “documentary captures the living scene and the living story.” Communication scholar James Carey concurs by saying “reality is not what is out there but what we know, understand, and share with each other of what is out there.” In other words, reality is socially constructed by a people who have a shared field of experience.

The reference to reality is, however, problematic as some scholars argue that, documentaries are not real-life depictions. They are portraits of real life, using real life as their raw material, constructed by artists and technicians who make myriad decisions about what story to tell to whom, and for what purpose (Aufderheide; 2007, p. 2). Therefore, a documentary according to Aufderheide (ibid), “tells the story about real life, with claims to truthfulness. The argument is corroborated by Barnouw (1993) who states that “a documentary film itself cannot be considered “the truth” but instead the evidence or testimony of a fact, a situation of historical process.” Again, the use of the word “claim” insinuates that it is not a representation of absolute truth as some items of it are manipulated by the filmmaker. This is particular so in KPs documentaries where filmmakers edit out material that they deem “unfit” for publishing and which, according to Zimbabwean laws of censorship, amount to criminal nuisance.

Zimbabwean filmmakers manipulate reality through re-enactments, editing, and choice of music, characterization, shots and animation graphics. Bill Nichols a film scholar as cited by Plantinga (2015), proposes six sub-genres or modes of the documentary: expository, observational, poetic, participatory, reflexive, and performative. From this presentation, it is apparent that because of their different formats, documentaries are complex.

One of Nichols' popular definitions says a documentary is the "creative treatment of actuality." It is, therefore, the actuality that distinguishes the documentary from the fiction film, which is a depiction of imagined life incidences and serves as an entertainment production. Rather, a documentary informs, educates and has the power to influence attitudes and change mind sets because of its truthful representation of reality.

Implicit in the above definition by Nichols is that a documentary chronicles a real-life story and its authors do not manufacture or massage reality. It is this portrayal of real-life situations, people's way of life, and how they relate to others; that makes a documentary an important tool for influencing individual thought processes and ultimately behaviour. The definition is, however; deficient in the sense that it is concerned more about the portrayal of life and not characterization. It is arguably true to argue that Nichols's definition of the documentary refers to the use of conventional means to refer to, represent, or make claims about historical reality. While this is true about what documentaries are, regrettably producers in Zimbabwe, out of ignorance of the rights of these groups of people and/ or social conditioning caused by the society's conservative culture, often disregard the aforementioned considerations, and in the process; negatively portray KP in ways that increases their vulnerability in a society that already loathes such expressions and regard such individuals as contemptible.

This ignorance is confirmed by Aufderheide & Jaszi (2009) who argued that modern documentary producers do not tackle pertinent issues that affect the lives of people due to lack of adherence to ethical standards of KP documentary production processes. In reaffirming this role, Nicholson (2016) argues that documentary, like avant-garde film, casts the familiar in a new light, not always that desired by the existing governments. It is important to highlight that a documentary film is one form in which different values and beliefs contend (Nichols, 2016). According to the framing theory, the media, despite being touted as a public sphere it is in fact a space which is dominated

by social institutions... that promote frames that reinforce or consolidate existing social order and marginalize frames that raise questions about or challenge the way things are.

By and large, producers of documentaries unlike fiction films, must be highly objective. Media programs, especially documentaries, play a pivotal role in shaping people's opinions, decision-making processes and interpreting things for the masses hence the need to be free of technical and ethical flaws and to be professionally produced (Mboti, 2010). Since television is a powerful medium for appealing to mass audiences, and has a global appeal; there is a need to religiously stick to production ethics and technical standards (Chuma, 2011).

2.4 Key Populations and the Crisis of HIV/AIDS in Zimbabwe.

There are various definitions of key populations depending on the vulnerable groups and the society in which they belong to. Definitions may differ from one country to the other but on a basic scale, they refer to vulnerable groups in a society whose condition and sexual identity, expressions, and conduct prevent them from fully enjoying fundamental rights. This could be due to stigma and discrimination. Other researchers stipulate that stigma occurs when a label associated with a negative stereotype is attached to a characteristic (e.g., skin colour, sexual orientation, chronic illness), causing people with this characteristic to be seen as separate from and lower in status than others and thus, as legitimate targets of discrimination (Link & Phelan, 2001).

Repressive legal environments or extremist cultures that frown upon key populations such as lesbians, drug addicts, transgenders and LGBT persons also add to KP problems. ZINASPIII defines Key Populations as male and female sex workers (SWs), men who have sex with men, including men in prison and other closed settings (MSM), people who use and/or inject drugs (PWUD, PWID) transgender and intersex people (TI) and seronegative partners in serodiscordant couples.

The UNAIDS (2019) considers gay men and other men who have sex with men, sex workers, transgender people, people who inject drugs and prisoners and other incarcerated people as the main key population groups that are particularly vulnerable to HIV and frequently lack adequate access to services (UNAIDS, 2016-2021). What is apparent from the above definitions is the fact that these groups are often socially ostracised, are marginalised and it is this marginalisation that worsen their vulnerability to the effects of HIV/AIDs.

Further, respondent-driven sample surveys by the Centre for Sexual Health, HIV and AIDS (CESHHAR) have shown extremely high HIV positivity among sex workers in Zimbabwe. HIV prevalence among sex workers is as high 57%, with 9.6% of these having been infected between 2009 and 2014 (CESHHAR, 2012). According to Extended Zimbabwe National HIV and AIDS Strategic Plan (2015-2020), HIV sub-epidemics among KPs and other vulnerable populations in Zimbabwe calls for more targeted response.

Studies conducted in Southern Africa have found HIV prevalence rates to be 10 –20 times higher among sex workers (SWs) than among adults in the general population, with rates of HIV infection reaching 50% of all SWs tested, and HIV prevalence reaching 86% in one study from Zimbabwe. Evidence has shown that the HIV prevalence among men who have sex with men (MSM) is nine times higher than the general population in southern Africa.

There is no doubt that countries in the Southern Africa region have both generalised and concentrated epidemics, and the burden of the pandemic among key populations (KPs) in the concentrated epidemics is disproportionately severe in terms of infection rates, government commitment, and access to services. According to the Extended Zimbabwe National HIV and AIDS Strategic Plan (ZINASPIII) (2015 – 2020), the increasing rates of HIV infections are a huge challenge for ostracised and marginalised groups hence the need to target them. These interventions include the use of documentaries to undo misrepresentation and misinformation on KP so that they fully belong and enjoy their fundamental rights including the right to reproductive health. The observation further confirms that the debasement of KP stems from a wrong perception that society holds about them and could further explain the failure by KP documentary producers to professionally adhere to ethical guidelines.

2.5 Zimbabwean Culture, Religion, Politics and Ethics in Key Population Documentaries.

Art by nature is conditioned by the prevailing political, economic and social environment. Most of the key population documentaries in Zimbabwe, especially on sex workers, lesbians and LGBT persons have narratives that depict societally approved behaviour of the times in which they were produced. Since 1980, until 2017 when Robert Mugabe was deposed from power through a coup, he had been uncompromising in his hatred of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI).

It is expected that most documentaries about KP produced during his reign shy away from depicting real-life situations of these groups of people. Twice in 2015, Mugabe would say of the gay rights: "We ask, was he born out of homosexuality? We need continuity in our race, and that comes from the woman, and no to homosexuality.

John and John, no; Maria and Maria, no. They are worse than dogs and pigs. I keep pigs and the male pig knows the female one." – (ZBC radio interview, 2015). The long-time former leader of Zimbabwe would repeat his scathing attack on the gay population in Zimbabwe during a UN summit in 2015 where, according to the *Newsday* he remarked: "We equally reject attempts to prescribe 'new rights' that are contrary to our values, norms, traditions, and beliefs. We are not gays!" Such pointed attack and pronouncements on KPs by powerful individuals and person held in high esteem by society have a ripple effect of, as Durkheim puts it "collective representations." Documentary producers for KPs are therefore, influenced by such dominant views to routinely frame events in ways that eliminate much of their ambiguity and reinforce socially accepted and expected ways of seeing the world (Baran, 2006). At face value, Zimbabwean culture does condone some behaviours by KPs such as gays, lesbians and men who sleep with men. Such behaviours are viewed by some churches and cultures, as manifestation of demonic behaviour.

Some churches, especially those that have ingratiated themselves with the ruling Zanu Pf have led the campaign against recognition of the rights of gays and lesbians. The Evangelical Fellowship's leadership (Shingi Munyeza, Victor Kunonga, Rev Damasane, among others have supported Zanu PF's hard stance against lesbians and gays and vigorously campaigned against the recognition of their rights during the 2013 constitutional making process.

However, research abound that despite the acclaimed disapproval, such practices have always been part of human practice in Africa and beyond. According to Jacques (2000) as cited in Mabvurira et al., (2000) "over the past millennium, homosexuality has been variously defined as a sexual preference, a gift from gods bestowing wisdom and powers of healing on the recipient, a mortal sin, and a natural human sexual variation.

Mabvurira also quotes Weeks (1997) who point out that what has varied considerably is the manner in which different societies have regarded homosexuality, the causative and meaningful factor attached to it and the ways in which people involved in it view themselves." Other scholars argue that Africans "knew, practised and in some cases honoured sexual relations between members of the same sex" (Garlake, 1995). Others argue that it has always been part of the way of life of pre-

colonial African states (Garlake, 1995; Epprecht, 1999; Goddard, 2004). Post-independence, Prime Minister Canaan Sodindo Banana was imprisoned on charges of sodomy a testament that homosexuality exists in Zimbabwe though it is criminalised and is subtle practised.

From the year 1995, when the “parliament of Zimbabwe endorsed an antigay campaign (Goddard, 2004), onslaught on gays by the media and politicians has been relentless. Gays have been subject of name calling as politicians fight for influence using their tag. Politicians such as Jonathan Moyo and Saviour Kasukuwere have been labelled gays by their political critics. Such political gamesmanship has further painted gays in bad light and making them contemptible.

It is for this reason that Zimbabwean gays and lesbians who choose to publicly admit their sexual orientation are often perceived as a threat to the morals of the black African society, Western pervasion (LALZ, 2014). Zimbabwe’s 2013 constitution forbids same sex marriages and section 73 of the Criminal law (Codification and Reform Act) prohibits same-sex relationships. Politicians, religious leaders, traditionalists and the media have criticised LGBT persons and spoken against their being accorded full sexual rights. Such perceptions have had ripple effects among the general public, mostly negative. According to a 2019 Afro Barometer survey public attitudes reflect widespread intolerance.

Nine in 10 Zimbabweans (89%) say they would “dislike” (6%) or “strongly dislike” (83%) having LGBT persons as neighbours. This testament that opinion leaders are largely responsible for negative perceptions about LGBT persons and through their actions have contributed the hatred of such groups. This intolerance is also demonstrated through KPs documentaries that are done in Zimbabwe.

2.6 Documentary Ethics.

Producers of documentary films do not operate in a vacuum but in a place where there are set conventions that guide quality production. Nichols (2006) writes that “an ethical code for the documentary filmmaking process would allow filmmakers to address the imbalance of power that often arises between filmmakers and both their subjects and audience.” Documentary makers, therefore; should see to it that their productions do not exploit participants.

This is particularly so for KPs whose rights are not fully protected by the constitution beyond freedom of expression under section 62 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe. Maccarone (2010) argues that “documentary filmmakers have ethical responsibilities to the “subjects” of their films because the information they access comes directly from the subjects. This is an important convention, especially in KPs documentaries where filmmakers tackle highly sensitive matters. Unfortunately, Zimbabwean KPs documentaries producers, a large group of which is made up of amateur filmmakers and opportunists; do not subscribe to any ethical code of conduct.

This is partly due to lack of documentary/ film production code of ethics. In reference to this inadequacy, Mboti (2005) posits that documentary production ethics is work in progress. Plaisance PL (2015) defines ethics as a “form of inquiry concerned with the process of finding rational judgements of our actions when the values that we hold come into conflict (<https://www.google.com/url>) In agreement, Sanders (2010) says ethics in documentary making “is not about judging individuals actions or describing what is right to do in a given situation”, but “about the principles that inform deliberations and decision about the right thing to do as a documentary filmmaker” (p.531). Without this understanding, documentary producers are bound to face ethical challenges.

In Zimbabwean film industry this is inevitable as most of the producers do not have professional training in their area of study, and also to herself as filmmakers. Due to lack of funding, most producers of KPs documentaries are funded by individuals making the producer susceptible to manipulation. Ruby (2013) says that “the filmmaker/ researcher often faces loyalties to funders, the audience, the subjects of her study, and also to herself.” She adds that “sometimes the responsibilities to these various groups of people may be conflict with one another and therefore create an ethical dilemma. Because of such motivations, documentary producers are likely to be influenced by interest of funders.

Hartzell (2003, P.145) concurs by saying “when a documentary receives funding from corporations that may potentially lose profits due to messages that may potentially lose profits due to messages that the filmmaker is giving, a conflict of interest may arise.” Drawing from the above submissions, it is a claim that sponsorship takes away the independence of documentary producer and may lead to him/her reflecting - through editing, narration, re-enactment and animations –

reflecting mass reality that appeals to the will of the funder and not a representative account of actuality.

Hartzell (*ibid*) says the “most ethical way for the filmmaker to battle this dilemma would be to think clearly about her intentions before setting out to film.” Related to this, the filmmaker should explain in detail to the subjects the motive for shooting a documentary.

Many a times KPs are lied to by filmmakers who misinform the public and misrepresent their lifestyles. In referring to power relations between subjects and documentary producers, Hartzell (2003) says that “the filmmaker the traditionally more powerful role, must be aware of the effects that pointing a camera at someone has on that person. She suggests that a filmmaker must have consequentialist eye in determining what to film, how to package a documentary about KPs to minimise harm. Other scholars have recommended that documentary producers should include subjects throughout the production process. Some even suggest that subjects and filmmakers engage in collaborative editing so that subject can voice their concerns on key population documentaries before they are published. “If one is serious about using valid statements about people, then collaborations should be welcome” (Pryluck, 1976, p. 265).

Such collaboration, in which the filmmaker functions like a facilitator to the participant and her story, is one strategy scholars discussed to deal with moral issues. However, others believe that such collaborations have associated problems and raise questions about the filmmaker’s position towards the topic of the film: can she still make her point (Gross, 1988; Winston, 2000). Producers could also opt for provisional consent before asking for full consent (Pryluck, 1976). Some scholars suggest that subjects should be “invited to view the (edited) material and indicate what they prefer to be left out (Gilbert, 1981; Rosenthal, 1988; Winston, 1995).

The above proposal could be the best possible model of ensuring that KPs documentaries avoid victimising subjects and exploiting them or using them as a means to an end. Those who are for consent also believe that “Most answers to such accusations (of taking advantage of someone -) rely on some notion of consent (usual “informed) as the ethical touchstone” (Bekker, 1988; p. xii). In documentary productions, especially sensitive productions on KPs, complete consent is problematic. Many agree that it is impossible to inform (potential) participants completely about all risks involved in participating (Beckker, 1988; Gross et al., 1988; Katz and Milstein Katz, 1988; Nichols, 1991; Pryluck, 1976; Rosenthal, 1988b; Winston, 1988; 1995, 2000). This is further

aggravated by the fact that in documentary making there is no agreed protocols for informed consent (Sanders, 2003).

2.7 Amateur Documentaries, Ethical infractions and effects on Key Populations.

According to a 2014 Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency report, homosexuality is often believed not to be a part of African culture and against the teachings of churches; several religious leaders have spoken out against LGBT persons' rights in Zimbabwe over the years. Since both religion and culture are fundamental to the values and attitudes of Zimbabwean society, LGBTI persons find themselves excluded socially, culturally, religiously, economically and politically.

The burden among KPs has been worsened by the social exclusion (stigma, discrimination, and violence), which is rooted in religious, traditional and cultural norms and values that look at KPs as socially non-conforming, and therefore" unacceptable within everyday social spaces. Unfortunately, the social spaces include spaces where key populations have to access HIV prevention, treatment and other care services. This repressive environment causes self-censorship among producers of KP documentaries who fearing the wrath of the law, are forced to flout professional documentary production practices.

But doing so is going against the grain Nichols above is anything to go by. It is imperative to note that some of the producers' ethical infractions are actuated by structural confinements and social expectations. In trying to confine themselves to what is a socially agreeable expression and approved behaviour, KP documentary producers in Zimbabwe misrepresent, subalternise the rights of KPs and where they do recognise, the depiction is subtle. The producers face a burden of expectations from the community that requires them to be culturally and politically correct and expectations of funders who require that they correctly and professionally represent the lives of KP in their productions. It is acclaimed that Zimbabwean society generally loathes KP group behaviours.

According to a 2019 report by SIDA, in Zimbabwe, the society's attitudes towards lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) persons is characterised by ignorance and homophobia. The effect though is that the criminalization of people who are at higher risk of infection, such as men who have sex with men, sex workers, transgender people and people who use drugs, drives them underground and away from HIV services. (Michel Sidibe, 2011).

Other scholars believe that producers bend professional documentary standards due to their failure to resist influence from funders. McCombs et al., (1997, p. 97) corroborate the above argument by saying “producers want to script, shoot, and voice and narrate Key Populations’ stories for the satisfaction of funders.” In agreement, Gmason (1989, p. 269) argues that “frames used in public discourse are developed and promoted by individuals and grouped having an interest in advancing certain ways of seeing the social world rather than others.” However, by massaging documentaries to satisfy the interest of funders, filmmakers act contrary to professional dictates.

As Nichols, (2016) argues, documentary filmmaking is an art that involves other people directly...they are fashioned from the lives of others, sometimes in very raw, unmediated forms...they affirm, or contests, the power of the state and address issues of public importance or contest the role of the state in addressing KP population issues. Failure to stick to the above result in producers failing to depict real-life situations of KP and their vulnerable position in society. In such instances, what is produced as KP documentaries are fiction films that work only to advance the agenda of the donor and rob society of an opportunity to understand better the predicament of KP and their lived experiences. Furthermore, such subjective actions, expose these groups to perpetual suffering, ostracisation, and in a worse situation, lead to loss of lives.

In conservative societies such as Zimbabwe, such productions are highly negative of KP and those who own means of production, including media. How people think about an issue is depended on how the media frames the issue (Semekto & Valkenburg, 200, p. 94). The result is a “media-constructed” version of reality (Callaghan and Schnell, 2001:184). Media dictate how such groups should be understood, perceived and represented.

It is for this reason that Nyambi (2010) argues that female sex work is abhorred on moral grounds as an unbecoming means of livelihood which takes away the practicing woman’s social respectability. This stems from the depiction of sex workers as having loose morals and as outcasts. It is this realisation that has prompted the researcher to investigate ethical infractions that are committed by filmmakers in coming up with KP documentaries.

This negativity created by unprofessional filmmakers is shared by LaGamba (2012) who notes that media does not handle the issue of prostitution and homosexuality objectively. He adds that these are constructed as worse devils whose role is to just spread HIV/AIDS and threaten status quo Jumanji (2010) postulates that prostitution has become a thorny issue, which in most circles; is seen as a female domain where the term prostitute is usually loosely used to refer to females who

sell sex. The biggest question that this study seeks to answer is, ‘how can women alone be labelled ‘prostitutes’ in these documentaries if there is no one they are prostituting themselves to? This suggests that stigma and stereotyping of KP in documentaries could be social constructs engineered and fashioned by media and society. Phiri (2002; 2010) examine how men create situations that force women into prostitution as well as their attitudes and actions in the process of prostitution.

Using Norriddges’ (2005) stance, Ngoshi & Zhou (2010) show that the lives of women prostitutes and lesbians in Phiri (2002) are a struggle to survive the traumatic horrors incited by male counterparts in marriages. These realities have gone on and on without being analysed as to how these atrocities are natured, promoted and transferred from generation to generation. It is largely believed that society’s reflection on KP is influenced by the negative portrayal of these groups in documentaries.

These ethical infractions are not however, limited to Zimbabwe. They are as big as the industry. “Concerns about documentary ethics are not new, but they have intensified over the past several years in response to changes in the industry. By the late 1990s, U.S. documentary filmmakers had become widely respected media makers, recognized as independent voices at a time of falling public confidence in mainstream media and the integrity of the political process” (Mridu, 2009).

2.8 Theoretical Framework.

This study leverages two theories: the framing theory and the social representation theory to critically investigate how Zimbabwean KPs documentaries conform to/ or violate ethical and technical professional dictates of documentary production practice. The two theories are selected since the documentary format has a direct and quick multi-sensory impact (Gaines & Renov, 1999).

Framing theory was first postulated by Bateson in 1972 (Bateson, 1972, p.197). It suggests:

“how something is presented to the audience, (called “the frame”), influences the choices people make about how to process information. Framing can be defined as a process in which some aspects of reality are selected, and given greater emphasis or importance so that the problem is defined, its causes are diagnosed, moral judgments are suggested and appropriate solutions and actions are proposed” (Entman, 1993).

Framing focuses on how media draws the public's eye to specific topics. According to Entman (1993), as cited by Denis Mcquail (2010), it also involves selection and salience. What is constant in the arguments by the two scholars is that media chooses "frames" which are published as more important than the others. Because media interpret reality and achieve its effect by frequently portraying a certain issue in the manner determined by the publisher, it stands more chances of making an unreal issue a reality.

Entman (1993) agrees by saying it means selecting some aspects of perceived reality and making them more salient thus promoting a particular problem definition, casual interpretations, normal evaluation and or treatment recommendation. For instance, KP documentaries in Zimbabwe are framed within the confines of audience expectations and are conditioned by the conservative cultural and religious beliefs.

As a result, KP are depicted in a condemnable position and because the dominant group is against their expressions, the media subalternise their aspirations. By selectively presenting issues that appeal to the dormant group, and suppressing the wishes of KP, producers play the gatekeeping role and mindfully collect, select, organise and present issues about KP, events and topics" and recommend how society should view and interpret them. Gamson shares the social constructivist view that social institutions and the elites who lead them are able to dominate the social world by propagating frames serving their interests (Bran, 1989).

It is through framing that producers who fail to adhere to professional ethics reinforce stereotypes, victimhood, othering and negative portrayal of KPs in Zimbabwean documentaries. Framing determines what constitutes news. Tuchman (1978) describes news as a window whose frame limits the perception of reality, by limiting the perception of different realities and focusing on a specific piece of it. As a result of the news production processes, some aspects of reality escape public view.

The research examines how these documentary aesthetics, (mise-en-scene, lighting, costumes and wardrobe, camera work, angles, shots, narration and graphics), deal with representation, manipulation, and portrayal of KPs in Zimbabwean documentaries (Lai Oso, 2017). The research also uses the representation theory to explore the depiction of KP in Zimbabwean documentaries and evaluates how portrayals, reflected through KP population have a bearing on audience behaviour.

According to Bingtta (2011, p. 3), social representations are complex and holistic. They are “theories” or “network of ideas”, metaphors and images that include emotions, attitudes and judgments. They are embedded in communicative practice like media, discourses, dialoguing and debates and in the film production mechanics and aesthetics.

The theory will be analysed to understand how it influences the audience to define, interpret and perceive KPs in Zimbabwe. Also, through the theory, the researcher will reflect on the impact of portrayal of KPs in society and audience understanding of them and their quest for reproductive health rights and acceptance.

It will also investigate whether or not the representation of KP in Zimbabwean documentaries makes them susceptible to stigma, increases or decreases their risk. Stigma can affect the availability of societal resources (Link & Phelan, 2006), the way people interact with each other (Blascovich, Mendes, Hunter, & Lickel, 2000), and the way people think and feel (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998). It is fundamentally a multilevel construct and one that is increasingly seen as a contributor to health disparities (Hatzenbuehler, Phelan, & Link, 2013).

2.9 Chapter Summary.

Theoretical and empirical literature on the representation of KPs in documentaries was presented in this chapter. The chapter also presented information on theoretical issues before delving into other scholars’ work to ground the research within the existing body of knowledge and to prove that the research is not an attempt to reinvent the wheel but to add own to the growing body of knowledge on the subject. The next chapter discusses the methodology used to gather the data under this study.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction.

This chapter explores the methods and strategies that the research used to collect and analyse data on how documentarians conform to or violate the ethics and technical standards of the documentary production practice. The research relied on qualitative methodologies that allow the researcher to “get close to the data” thereby developing the analytical, conceptual and categorical components of explanations from the data itself rather than from preconceived, rigidly structured and highly qualified techniques that pigeonhole the empirical social world into the operational nuances that the researcher has constructed (Filstead, 1970, p. 6).

3.2 Research Paradigm.

This study used a qualitative research approach to analyze documentary production ethics and standards in KPs documentaries in Zimbabwe. It interrogated conformity and violation of the documentary production practices in Zimbabwe’s KPs documentaries. Creswell (1998, p. 2) defines design in the qualitative context as “the entire process of research from conceptualizing a problem to writing the narrative.” Chadwick et al., (1984, p. 440) defines qualitative research as “research strategies that emphasizes on “getting close to data, participation and experience as opposed to numerical counting of social behaviour.” This is the ideal strategy because “the objective is to describe realities from the perspectives of these KPs and not observers or producers. The definition of the situation of these KPs include their observable behaviour and also their subjective motives, feelings and emotions (Schwark & Jacobs, 1979, p.5).

This research tool/paradigm enables the researcher to consider these issues from an insider’s perspective rather than from the perspective of documentary producers, police officers, social workers, journalists or other outsiders (Brue, 1984, p. 208). This strategy enables the researcher to analyse and assess if these documentary procedures have suspended personal values, preceptors and feelings and try to experience the world from the view point of the selected KPs. It gives the researcher the advantage “to grasp the native’s point of view, his relation to life, to realise his vision of his world” (Malinowski, 1922, p. 25). This study took the form of an ethnographic

research. Creswell (1998, p. 246) defines ethnography as “the study of an intact cultural or social group based primarily on observations over a prolonged period of time spent by the researcher in the field.”

3.3 Data Gathering Techniques.

This study used tried and tested research data gathering techniques to investigate factors that complicate conformity and violation of ethical and technical standards of the documentary production in KPs documentaries in Zimbabwe.

De Vos (2005, p. 275) explains that:

“it is generally assumed that the real world of the participants of a research project can only be understood if the words and expressions they use in specific situations are revealed. People’s conceptions of reality are not directly accessible to outsiders and, therefore, methods are required to unravel and capture these view points as accurately as possible” (Schurink 1998, p. 279-280).

The study used document study in this research to unravel ethics and technical standards in KPs documentaries. De Vos et al., (2005) notes that there are many groups of documents ranging from personal to non-personal documents. A third group of non-personal documents like magazines, newspapers, mass media and audio-visual documents can be used as a source of primary research data. Documents serve as a tombstone for the evaluation of theories, hypothesis and assumptions (Babbie and Mouton, 2001, p. 303).

There are personal documents, official documents, mass media and archival documents or material. This study is going used mass media documents to measure the level/extent of adherence to documentary production ethics and standards in Zimbabwe’s KPs documentaries. De Vos (2005) notes that:

“this category of documents includes all information that is freely available to the public, and to any individual (Strdom 1997, p. 228). Printed and audio-visual mass media include newspapers, magazines, journals and newsletters, television, radio, films and books of fiction or non-fiction. These documents can be subjectively censored because of the possible subjectivity of the person responsible for the compilation of the news items if,

however the producers focus on factual data, mass media can be viewed as excellent sources of information” (Strydom, 1997, p.228).

Documentary study was preferred over the other techniques because it is the only method in which the researcher does not make personal contact with the respondents (De Vos, 2005). It is also a non-reactive technique as producers, camera persons and editors of these documentaries do not anticipate the analysis of their work at a later stage. This rules out the inference of producers on the research findings.

3.4 Data Sampling.

This study used convenience sampling to measure, assess and explore how documentaries on KPs in Zimbabwe represent and frame truths and realities that surround these groups. Bruce et al., (1984) notes that a “convenience sample, sometimes called a man-in-the-street sample is just what the name implies: the study of sampling units that are conveniently available to the researcher. Results from some samples frequently appear on television nightly news”. De Vos et al., (2005) elaborate that any case which happens to cross the researcher’s path and has anything to do with the phenomenon is included in the sample until the desired number is obtained (Singleton et al., 1988, p. 153).

Since the issue of KPs is an area with many contestations legally, socially, religiously and academically in Zimbabwe, convenience sampling was ideal for this research. Judd et al., (1991, p.134) elaborate “we at hand continue the process until the sample reaches a designated size.” This is also because no source can openly disclose crucial information about these issues due to the sensitivity of the matter in Zimbabwe.

To adequately investigate how issues of representation, voice, power victimhood and agency are handled in KPs documentaries in Zimbabwe purposive sampling was used. Purposive sampling emphasises on using the researcher’s trained judgement, experience and expertise to interrogate and measure complex factors that complicate conformity and violation of the ethical and technical standards of the documentary production practice in Zimbabwe’s KPs documentaries.

Other non-random sampling methods like Quota sampling, dimensional sampling, snowball sampling and spatial sampling are important sampling methods but this specific study only used

convenience and purposive sampling methods because they emphasise on using available units to the researcher and use of trained judgement, experience and expertise of research since the realities that surround KPs in Zimbabwe are complex and sensitive.

3.5 Data Analysis.

Data analysis is a “process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data” (De Vos, 1948, p. 333). “It is a search from general statements about relationships among categories of data, it builds grounded theory” (Mashall and Rossman, 1999, p. 150). This study used visual analysis and documentary analysis to critically problematise and interrogate factors that complicated representation and framing of KPs in Zimbabwean documentaries. The above lenses were used to analyse the effects of the politicisation, victimisation, othering and trivialisation of KPs in these documentaries. The study used coding and thematic analysis to critically analyse how Zimbabwe KPs documentaries conform or violate documentary production practices and with what effects.

Bernard and Ryan (2010, p. 109) elaborate that “analysis is the search for patterns, interpreting those patterns, deciding what they mean and linking your findings to those of other research”. Ethical and technical aspects such as colour, light, framing, camera work, shots, sound, editing, scripting, costumes and mis-en-scene were used to try and analyse how these production aesthetics empower, victimise, politicise, demonise, other and represent the truths and realities that surround the lives of commercial sex workers, men who have sex with men, women who have sex with women, and transgender.

The researcher critically analyzed two documentaries per each theme. The documentary production aesthetics were examined. Watching, analysing and reviewing these documentaries provided reliable conclusions on how Zimbabwe’s KPs documentaries conform or violate the ethics and technical standards of the documentary production practices. Figueroa (2008) notes that the audio-visual approach of the documentary analysis is an effective way of understanding the depiction of reality. She points out that camera work including zooming in and zooming out, beside variations in camera angles of different cameras used for shooting, may be done to emphasise the verbal or non-verbal expressions of emotions and silences and to highlight the living conductors of protagonists respectively (Goldstein, 2008).

The researcher analysed the sounds and sights in the documentary and investigated the main ideas conveyed by these sounds and sights. Filming techniques, editing, sampling, lighting, directing and production techniques were assessed and examined to establish how these aesthetics portray and represent KPs. Mise-en-scene and other salient documentary production aspects were also analysed to understand what and how they contribute or fail to contribute to the representation of KPs and to the film/documentary.

Systematic comparison between themes was done to establish similarities and ensure consistency through comparing themes and audio-visual recordings. The researcher made use of objectives of the study to identify and present data in thematic form.

3.5 Content Analysis.

Bruce (1984, p. 239) notes that content analysis is the study of communications to describe social behaviour or to test hypothesis about it. This research used this technique which makes use of inferences objectively in identifying characteristics of message systematically (Holsti 1969: 14). This analysis panacea is suitable for analysing human communication from bill boards, television shows among many others. Studies of television content are now so common because the technique provides authentic results. One such study Spratlan & Stein (1979) assessed the extent of exploit sexual behaviour on prime-time television (Bruce, 1984)

Communicators are typically described as having three major components: Sender, message and audience (Holsti, 1969; Carney, 1972). This means that the messages in KPs documentaries can be analysed in terms of explicit themes, relative emphasis on various themes and topics to draw reasonable conclusions.

3.5.1 Weaknesses and Advantages of Content Analysis.

This type of analysis makes use of available commodity, human research subjects (Bruce, 1984). It is non-reactive since there are no interviews, no filling in of forms for questionnaires and no one is asked to come to laboratories. The greatest advantage of this analysis is the fact that it can be used in situations where the researcher is prevented from observing the population being studied. Since prostitution and lesbians are not publicly discussed, the researcher used this technique to analyse ethical and technical standards in KPs documentaries.

The greatest disadvantage of content analysis is its unsuitability to test causal relationship between variables. It can also be used to test imagination and creativity of the researcher but the recorded and saved videos available for analysis cannot adequately represent the whole population. However, its weakness is outweighed by its strengths as it can measure trends over time and the construction of meanings.

3.6 Coding.

Before anyone starts writing, one needs to separate usable material from the chaff stuff collected. This process involves coming up with themes and sub topics. The researcher used code domains like shots, meanings, relationships, language to come up with themes that were used to analyse how different frames have been used to form certain meanings about KPs. Coding domains like camera work, aesthetics, costumes and make up, editing techniques, sampling blinds and lighting and all the muse-en scen aspects helped the researcher in analysing ethical and technical standards in documentary production practice.

3.7 Nature of Documentary Evidence.

Duffy (2010) states that “document is a term for an impression left on a physical object by human being. This includes the study and analysis of films, videos, photographs, slides and all the other non-written sources. The research made use of visual documentaries because they reveal the motives of producers and funders about the subject being discussed. Documentaries can also reveal the perception of communities about key populations. They show how documentaries shape perception opinions and attitudes towards lesbians, prostitutes and homosexuality in society. This helped to critically assess the effects of such a portrayal and to evaluate how documentaries conformed to or violated professional ethical and technical documentary production practices.

3.8 Sample Size.

The purpose of taking a sample is to obtain a result that is representative of the whole population being sampled without going to the trouble of asking everyone about how key population are portrayed in local documentaries (Fisler, 2010). This documentary analyzed two documentaries per each KPs category that the research used as its sample population. The challenge of sampling is that no sample can be fully representative. If a big sample is taken from the same population, there are chances of over estimation or underestimation of the true picture.

3.9 Documentary Research.

Colin Fidler (2010, p. 177) notes that,

“using documentary material can also take an open and pre-coded form. In an open approach to texts and documents, the researcher may be trying to understand, for example, how rhetorical techniques are used to try and persuade the reader to a point of view”

Open analysis looks at the use of common narrative structures that are shared by many producers. The researcher looked at how certain production aesthetics and styles are used and how they depict KPs. The study also relied on electronic document files or technical aspects by counting the frequency and context of appearance of certain key words or phrases.

This helped in analysing the meaning of using different production tools and styles such as camera shots, camera movements, framing, picture composition, types of actualities, the costumes used, language and editing techniques in different documentaries.

3.11 Sampling.

The study used convenience sampling method to choose the local documentaries on KPs and evaluate ethical adherence by producers. This technique is sometimes called “man- in- the street” sampling. This method implies that the researcher uses what is available. Local documentaries with themes that ranged from prostitution, men who have sex with men and women who have sex with women were used to examine how different production aesthetics like camera shots, sampling and editing techniques depict certain world views about gays and lesbians. Purposive sampling was chosen as it relies on the researcher’s trained judgement to analyses the depiction of KPs in documentaries. Brue et al., (1984) explains that “The researcher uses his or her expertise to select subjects who represent the population being studied” because it can be critical as a tool of studying infrequent behaviour like funding enough documentaries on the issue of gays, lesbians and commercial sex workers in Zimbabwe.

The convenience, purposive sampling methods were employed together with snowballing sampling method to analyse different, hidden frames which producers when producing documentaries about KPs. Snowball sampling identifies few subjects with characteristics similar and relevant to the other under study and in the process asks them to name others who are like

them (Bruce, 1984). Since the issue of gays and lesbians is contentious, snow balling method helped the researcher in selecting and approaching producers who focus on KPs documentaries.

3.12 Chapter Summary.

This chapter presented the methodology deployed in this study. It explained data collection methods and types of sampling methods deployed. The. Next chapter looks at data presentation, discussion and analysis of findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION, DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction.

The study sought to determine how KPs were presented within six key population documentaries in Zimbabwe; the effect of such framing and portrayal upon the KPs as well as the factors that fanned cases of stigmatization and exclusion of KPs in Zimbabwe. This chapter presents the research findings based on a critical analysis of documentary production ethics and technical standards in six Zimbabwe's key population documentaries paying particular focus on commercial sex workers, gays and lesbians in Zimbabwe.

This analysis chapter is in two parts: Chapter **4.1** and Chapter **4.2**. Chapter **4.1** is analyzes ethical and technical issues in the production of KPs documentaries produced by Non-Governmental Organisations in Zimbabwe while Chapter **4.2** focusses on production of general KPs documentaries by different filmmakers in Zimbabwe.

4.1.1 Analysis of NGO produced Key Population documentaries category.

The chapter presents the analysis of KPs documentaries in line with the following sub-headings:

- The filmmakers' intention,
- The film producer's relationship with the subjects,
- The different duties of the filmmakers, and
- How the filmmakers present themselves, their work, and the subjects to an audience.

4.1. 2 The Filmmakers' Intention.

Several factors motivate a filmmaker to produce a documentary film. Regardless of the fact that it can be produced for professional, personal, or social it is crucial to interrogate and consider his or her intentions. The rationale and motivation behind the production of each and every film has an effect on the audience and its subjects. The intentions of the filmmaker determines how they frame and represent subjects in the film. As such, understanding framing and representation of KPs in documentaries begins with understanding the motivation behind the production of a documentary.

This point is driven home by Nichols (2011) who notes that the process of making a documentary film requires purposeful, conscious acts. Hartzell (2003, p.11) agrees:

“The circumstances surrounding the way in which the images in the film are captured by the filmmaker leave their mark on the final product. The biases, thoughts, and ultimately the worldview of the filmmaker are reflected in the film that is produced. The subject matter that is chosen as a topic, the circumstances under which the film is shot, and the particular way the various scenes are edited together all are driven by the intentions of the filmmaker.”

Indeed, just by picking up a camera and turning it on, a filmmaker is making decisions about the film. Therefore, it is necessary for filmmakers to have a clear vision of what they want to accomplish before making a film. This helps guide the many decisions they make throughout the filming and editing processes.

In respect of the documentaries under study, there is a common trend that cuts across filmmakers of documentaries that focus on KPs in Zimbabwe. Most documentaries are shot and produced by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) working in Zimbabwe’s communities. For instance, the documentary *Stolen Dream: Children Selling Sex* was produced by Katswe Sistahood, a Harare based NGO that is working with marginalised women.

Katswe uses the transformative power of safe spaces to explore “sacred cows”, challenge taboo issues and build a ‘sistahood’ (sisterhood) with the aim of liberating all women. In essence, the NGO focusses on empowering women through challenging social norms that oppress women. Similarly, the documentary *Voice of the Voiceless in Zimbabwe* was produced by Oxfam, a global movement of people working together to build a future where everybody enjoys equal rights. Oxfam works in more than 90 countries with the mandate to save, protect and rebuild lives in times of crisis, support lasting solutions to poverty, tackle inequality and stand up together to break down the barriers that keep people poor. This shows that some of the KPs documentaries in Zimbabwe are produced by NGOs.

Another common trend one notes with regarding the production of documentary films on KPs is that they are also made by news outlets. According to Smail (2009), journalists and media outlets are at the forefront of documentary film making given that documentaries are investigative in nature and point audiences to burning issues which can sometimes be neglected by producers of

news. Therefore, documentary film making is a form of journalistic practice where journalist produce documentaries as news articles.

For example, the documentary film *Epworth Commercial Sex Chronicles* was produced by New Zim TV, a news outlet in Zimbabwe that offers news service on various topical issues including politics, sports, crime and social issues. Also, the documentary *Gay Rights in Zimbabwe* was produced by DailyXtra (rebranded as Xtra), an LGBTQ2-focused digital publication and former print newspaper published by Pink Triangle Press in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. Pink Triangle Press is a not-for-profit organization which specializes in LGBT media including publishing, online interactive media, and television. To this end, one can conclude that media outlets and NGOs are some of the producers of documentaries on KPs in Zimbabwe.

As such, the following are noted as the main intentions of the filmmakers in the production of the documentaries under study:

4.1.3: Expose the Evils and Challenges Faced by the Key Populations.

Principally KPs documentaries in Zimbabwe are produced to expose evils and challenges faced by the subjects. According to Lapinski & Nwulu (2008), documentaries matter because a successful story has the power to allow others to see the world from a new perspective. Dougall et al., (2012) also note that public agencies, nonprofits, educational institutions, museums, libraries, and other community-focused organizations frequently use documentaries to complement programming, spark community dialogue, and build deeper understanding and empathy on complex issues. These sentiments support the thesis that documentaries on KPs are intended to bring to light the challenges faced by these groups to the broader community.

Indeed, the intention behind *Stolen Dream: Children Selling Sex*, *Epworth Commercial Sex Chronicles* and *Prostitution in Rural Areas* were to expose the challenges faced by sex workers, namely physical abuse at the hands of their clients and also exposure to HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections (STIs). The same can be said about the documentary produced by Sisters with a Voice produced *We Have Feelings Too: Sex Work in Zimbabwe* which exposes sex workers' risks of HIV/AIDS infection/reinfection at the hands of clients who refuse to use condoms. With particular reference to the LGBT community, the documentaries *Gay Rights in Zimbabwe*, *Voice of the Voiceless in Zimbabwe* and *Persecution of Gays Surfaces in Bulawayo* by Mitchell Mulingo all seek to expose the challenges faced by the LGBT community in Zimbabwe. This is evidenced by the themes captured in the documentaries. According to Nichols (2011),

The purpose of a documentary is to document with evidence something that has actually happened. It can show this by using actuality footage or reconstructions. It can use a narrator's voiceover to anchor the meaning or rely on the participants themselves with the occasional interjection from the narrator (Nichols, 2011).

The documentaries under study do not use actual footage or reconstruction of what is happening to the sex workers and LGBT community they profile, but rely on voice over narration and interviews with the subjects with the exception of *Persecution of Gays Surfaces in Bulawayo* which uses text in place of narration.

The narration in all the films is in English while the subjects are interviewed in Shona (Ndebele in the case of *Persecution of Gays Surfaces in Bulawayo*) with English subtitles. From the voice over, text narration and interviews the audiences are told of the experiences of gays and sex workers as the subjects narrate their ordeals and experiences.

4.1.2 Call to Action.

Another motivation in coming up with KPs documentaries in Zimbabwe is the need to activate social change. The documentaries seek not only to expose the evils and challenges faced by the key population, but also to change the Zimbabwean community attitude, behaviour and perceptions towards Kps. The documentaries are therefore; part of “call to action”. Lapinski & Nwulu (2008) support this view by noting that many documentary filmmakers attempt to change or improve society with their documentaries.

Their goal is to bring to light a certain cause or injustice with the hope that their film will help galvanize the masses to demand change (Lapinski & Nwulu, 2008). Indeed, *Voice of the Voiceless in Zimbabwe* exposes the injustices leveled against gays in the country and calls appeals to the community to stop victimizing KPs and accept their sexuality. Mitchell Mulingo's *Persecution of Gays Surfaces in Bulawayo* is a call to action to end the stigma and discrimination against gays in Mpopoma, Bulawayo. In one interview, the following message is captured:

Being a lesbian in Mpopoma is like a crime or a sin. We are all human beings and we are equal. As for me, I will never change. Growing up I was never attracted to men.

Here, the subject in an interview appeals for the community to end the stigma against the LGBT community, insists that they are also human and people should not be judge them based on their sexual orientation. The same can be said of those documentaries that focus on sex workers in Zimbabwe. In particular the film *Stolen Dream: Children Selling Sex* by Katswe Sistahood is a call to action for the community to assist young girls under the age of 18 who, due to various reasons, dropped out of school and finding themselves condemned to sex work. Through the testimonies of the subjects, we are exposed to the reasons why they ended up doing sex work, and the challenges they face in their profession. Lastly, the girls point out their desire to leave sex work and are appealing to the community to assist and rehabilitate them. Some of the girls say in the interviews:

What I really hope for in life is to go back to school. I would like to start from grade 7 and then I may be able to take care of my big sister.

I need to be assisted to do a catering course.

If I do well, I will find a job and be able to take care of my little sister and pay my rentals.

Rather than just telling us of challenges, the *Stolen Dream: Children Selling Sex* documentary also uses visuals to show that poverty is one of the factors that push young girls into sex work. The footage of the girls sweeping a one-room apartment they rent which has a mat for a bed and a small bag for a closet without any valuable property in it, exposes the realities of life KPs live under. In another image a girl doing laundry, we are presented with the picture of a young girl trying to wriggle out of her difficult circumstances. In light of the framing theory, one can note that the intention of the filmmaker is not only to expose poverty levels but also to jolt people into action. The filmmaker here selected these images for B-roll with the hope that the audience interprets the poverty that characterise the subjects of the film. As such, visuals aid the narration and interviews to make calls to action.

In light of the above, it can be deduced that the filmmaker's intentions target both the audience and subjects. The films' purpose is to present a problem in society as illustrated by the subjects of the film, to the viewers who hopefully will be motivated to help the affected groups. These types of films are a 'call to action.'

4.1.3: Ethical Issues within the Filmmakers' Intention.

Having noted that most of documentary films focusing on KPs in Zimbabwe are produced by NGOs and news media outlets that seek to expose the challenges faced by the subjects as well as calling the community to action against these challenges, it follows that questions around the ethical nature of using one's circumstance to advance another's agenda are raised. For instance, as has been noted that *Katswe Sistahood* is an NGO whose mandate is to see the empowerment of women, a question on whether it was ethical to expose the young girls involved in sex work arises. For some, it would be more sensible for the NGO to donate the money they used to make the film to the girls so as to assist them in fulfilling their aspirations rather than exposing them on film (Ruby, 2013).

Commenting on the intentions of politically motivated documentaries, he raise the issue of the morality of using an individual's life to back an agenda. Regardless of whether or not filmmakers have good intentions, they are ultimately using the subject of the film to represent abstract social issues:

People in these images (that is, social reform motivated documentary films) are no longer aesthetic objects, but rather symbols of some collective force. A poor person is often used to stand for poverty or an oppressed factory worker for the ills of capitalism. The question arises: Is it acceptable to use someone's life to illustrate a thesis? Are the considerations different when you are seeking to aid someone you regard as a victim by using that person in your film as opposed to using a subject in order to expose him or her as a villain? (Ruby, 2013, p. 147).

The implication of this is that it is unethical to present the poverty of another person even though the intention is considered good. Despite the good intentions harbored by the filmmakers, the privacy of the subjects is infringed upon and exposed to the whole world. This is the major problem faced by KPs who feature in documentaries under study.

The gays and lesbians are exposed to the larger Zimbabwean community where homosexuality is a crime, while both young girls and older women involved in illegal sex work trade are likewise exposed for the world to see. Both LGBT persons and sex workers are shunned by the Zimbabwean

community and face stigma as corroborated by subjects in documentary produced by Sisters with
- *"We Have Feelings Too": Sex Work in Zimbabwe:*

They (people) don't like us and they just call me a prostitute.

Some don't even want us to touch their things or their children. They are always suspecting us of snatching their husbands.

They condemn the name sex worker, but what they don't know is that it is just a name.

Given the stigma faced by the subjects in these documentaries as they so pointed out, one finds rationale in Ruby's argument. Ruby (2013) argues that the exposure given by these social reform motivated documentary films is unethical. However, Ruby's comments make documentary filmmaking seem futile. This follows that social change is mostly activated by the exposure of the social ills. If social ills are ignored and stays hidden, then there will be no impetus to change. In this instance, Hartzell (2003, p.14) also pose the following question:

"If it is abusing the medium to make a film that uses a subject to get a socially motivated point across, and it is unethical to solicit the cooperation of people that a filmmaker intends to show in a bad light, then is the only solution for the filmmaker to be restricted to making films about themselves? I think not. There are many different motivations that cause a filmmaker to get involved in a particular film. Rather than worry about the ethical dilemma of using another person's life to make a point, I think that it is more important for filmmakers to make clear their intentions for their projects from the beginning."

The implications of this is that documentaries that focus on KPs should have a clear purpose. This clear purpose informs the production and justifies the film in the end. Without a clear purpose, the documentary will do harm than good to the KPs. This justifies this study that sought to understand ethical and technical documentary standards in KPs productions.

4.1.4 The Filmmakers' Relationship with the Subjects.

At the heart of documentary production is the relationship between filmmaker and subjects. The subjects are the focus of the film, and exist to tell their stories while the filmmaker shots, captures and edits this story into a film. For the most part, it is the filmmaker who determines how this relationship will be managed. To this end, Hartzell (2003, p. 17) notes that:

The relationship between filmmaker/researchers and the subjects of their films is the most crucial dynamic to consider when thinking about ethics. The filmmaker, being in the traditionally more powerful role, must be aware of the effects that pointing a camera at someone has on that person. In order to make a documentary film in an ethical way, the filmmaker must cultivate a relationship with the subject that is based on mutual trust and respect.

The import of the above submission is that filmmakers hold the power in the production of a documentary film. Thus, a filmmaker is supposed to be conscious of the effects of the film which in turn informs how they frame and represent the subjects. There must be a reciprocal relationship between the subjects and the filmmaker, based on trust and mutual respect. According to Hartzell (2003), this trust and respect is hinged on two ethical issues, namely consent and confidentiality.

4.1.5: Consent.

Consent occurs when one person voluntarily agrees to the proposal or desires of another (Garner, 2011). Consent to be filmed, as noted by Smaill (2009) lies at the heart of the relationship between the subject and the filmmaker. The subject in this case relies on the filmmaker's expertise, knowledge and advice, but it is up to the subject to decide whether they will accept or reject being filmed.

Before information is published the subject must understand the implications of appearing in a film (Smaill, 2009). To this end, informed consent encompasses freewill, capacity and knowledge. The person being filmed needs to have the capacity to come to a freely made decision, based on sufficient knowledge and implications of being featured in a KPs film. For subjects participating in a film requires sufficient knowledge about the filmmaker's plans.

Consent, therefore; is an important factor. The person being filmed should have full information of the intentions of the filmmaker, as well as how the film will be published. This in turn informs

what the subject agrees to. Hartzell (2003) notes that respecting the individuals and the communities that a filmmaker is working with is a basic ethical responsibility. As such, obtaining informed consent either through a signed contract that outlines the specifics of the relationship between the filmmaker and the subject (Hartzell, 2003) or a verbal contract can be seen as a gesture of respect.

This informed consent represents the trust that the subject places in the filmmaker and the respect for the subject that the filmmaker offers in response. In the same vein, Smaill (2009) agrees that informed consent implies that a subject is fully aware of what she is getting herself into by participating in the project or having her image recorded. It is important for both the filmmaker and the subject to have a clear understanding of their relationship.

It is clear from the documentaries under this study that subjects granted consent to the filmmakers. Of particular interest are the documentaries *Voice of the Voiceless in Zimbabwe* and *“We Have Feelings Too”: Sex Work in Zimbabwe*. These documentaries were made by NGOs and feature subjects who work within or with these organisations. For instance, the narrator of the film *“We Have Feelings Too”: Sex Work in Zimbabwe* is Sibongile Mtetwa who is the Coordinator of Sisters with a Voice. She mentions that the organisation works with sex workers educating them on sexual and reproductive health and rights, and some of these sex workers are part of the film. In the film *Voice of the Voiceless in Zimbabwe*, one subject narrates how VOVO, the organisation being supported by Oxfam in Zimbabwe, was started and how it has developed. To this end, one can note that for KPs focused documentaries, consent between subject and the filmmaker comes from already existing working relationships as the subjects will be working within or with the organisation making the film.

For other documentary films like *Stolen Dream: Children Selling Sex* and *Persecution of Gays Surfaces in Bulawayo* where the working relationship between the subjects and the filmmaker cannot be read, visuals aid one in communicating that consent was obtained. This follows that both documentaries have a particular way in which the subjects are shot and filmed. Subjects in the film *Persecution of Gays Surfaces in Bulawayo* are only shot from the waist down while subjects in the film *Stolen Dream: Children Selling Sex* are shot framed with their backs to the camera and their faces hidden. The subjects also wear hats as an accessory to help keep their face hidden. This intentional framing suggests that the filmmaker had discussed their intentions with the subjects,

and shared information that led to the subjects agreeing to be filmed in this way. To this end, it can be inferred that informed consent is obtained by Zimbabwean documentary filmmakers focusing on key populations.

4.1.6: Confidentiality.

Another ethical issue that documentary filmmakers should consider is confidentiality. In simple terms, confidentiality deals with safeguarding information of the subjects and keeping them safe from negative exposure. As a legal term, confidentiality refers to a duty of an individual to refrain from sharing confidential information with others, except with the express consent of the other party (Fan, 2015). According to Fan (2015), confidentiality is the protection of personal information. Confidentiality therefore means keeping a client's information between the filmmaker and the subject.

It is crucial that, despite the good intentions of the filmmaker, the subjects be protected. One of the many details that documentary filmmakers must think about and discuss with their subjects before they begin filming is individual anonymity (Hartzell, 2003). Exposing a subject's face and voice in a documentary film publicizes that individual. In some cases, this may result in harmful consequences for the subject, their family, community, or even the filmmaker. As noted by Nichols (2011), during the development of the relationship between filmmaker and subject, issues surrounding the consequences of revealing individual identities should be discussed. The implication here is that confidentiality issues are not to be taken lightly by the filmmakers, but they should inform their subjects as to how they will be protected.

The issue of confidentiality can be related to filmmaker intention as well. If the intended purpose of including subjects on screen is to use their image to portray a negative aspect about them or the society they belong to, then the filmmaker can be seen as acting unethically (Nichols, 2011; Ruby, 2013; Hartzell, 2003). According to the AAA Code of Ethics (1998), anthropological researchers must do everything in their power to ensure that their research does not harm the safety, dignity, or privacy of the people with whom they work, conduct research, or perform other professional activities. If the filmmaker sets out to violate the dignity of the subjects he/she is filming, there is in direct violation of the AAA Code of Ethics. To this end, protecting the dignity of his/her subjects is a crucial in a documentary focusing on KPs.

There are various techniques employed by Zimbabwean filmmakers to maintain the confidentiality of the subjects in their films. The most common of these is to hide the faces of the subjects as is the case with the films *Stolen Dream: Children Selling Sex* and *Persecution of Gays Surfaces in Bulawayo*. In both films, we get to see a part of the subjects and not their faces. This protects the subjects as their faces are not exposed. Also, their location is not given. While the subjects are being filmed, the filmmaker frames them against walls that do not give the landscape of their locations. Tight closeups on the subjects with very little background being visible ensures that the location of the subjects remains vague. To this end, one can note that the *mise en scene* employed by these filmmakers takes into consideration the need to protect the privacy of the subjects.

However, other documentaries expose the faces of the subjects. For instance, in the films *Voice of the Voiceless in Zimbabwe* and *“We Have Feelings Too”: Sex Work in Zimbabwe* we see the subjects clearly. One can note that the subjects are dressed for the camera, having make up and well thought out costumes. This signifies consent between the filmmaker and the subject. Subjects are prepped for the film, meaning they consented to having their faces exposed. Filmmakers capture the subjects using medium shots.

A medium shot, also called a mid-shot or waist shot, is a type of camera shot in film and television that shows a subject approximately from the waist up. A medium shot is used to emphasize both the subject and their surroundings by giving them an equal presence on screen (Moura, 2014). According to Moura (2014) medium shots are favored in sequences where dialogues or a small group of people are acting, as they show the subjects’ facial expressions in the context of their body language.

This means that documentary filmmakers utilised the medium shots in order to capture the body language of the subjects who all seem very comfortable in front of the camera as they appeal their case for safer sex practices and call for an end to the stigma and discrimination. Medium shots are also used when the subject in the shot is delivering information, such as news presenters (Moura, 2014). Given that the subjects are delivering information about the challenges they face as sex workers and LGBT persons in their communities, it follows that medium shots were aptly used to fulfil the intended purpose of the documentaries.

In light of this, it can be noted that documentary filmmakers focusing on key populations in Zimbabwe consider ethical issues to do with consent and confidentiality. They seek consent from their subject, and frame them in accordance with their agreement as pointed out in their intentions.

4.1.7 Various Responsibilities of the Filmmakers.

Film making is more than just taking up a camera, pointing it on the subject and hitting the record button. It is a job that is done with purpose hence the filmmaker assumes various responsibilities. Along with making a documentary film come many responsibilities. To this end, Hartzell (2003) states that in order to carry out a project in an ethical way, it is necessary for the filmmaker to consider the needs of all the various people involved. By taking a look at who they are responsible to and what these responsibilities consist of, filmmakers can better equip themselves to handle making a documentary film in an ethical way.

Ruby (2013) has outlined four major moral concerns that address the various people that a filmmaker must respect. These are:

- a loyalty to self. The filmmakers must be responsible to their own vision of what they want the project to be. They must also be true to their own personal moral code and act accordingly with all people involved.
- a loyalty to the audience. During the making of a documentary film, it is important to remember that people will be watching it someday. Although you cannot anticipate how each viewer will perceive the film, by keeping potential audience reactions in mind during production, a filmmaker may be better able to effectively communicate the intended message of the film to those that will eventually see it (Hartzell, 2003).
- a loyalty to the funders of the film. The filmmaker has a responsibility to the people or institutions that gave money to make the film. Although the level of loyalty may not necessarily mean that the filmmaker needs to slant the message of the film in order to please the funders, a filmmaker has some sort of responsibility to the funders of the film (Ruby, 2013, p.141).
- a loyalty to the subject. Filmmakers have a foremost responsibility to assure that the subjects of their films are treated and portrayed in an ethically sound way. Subjects are perhaps the most vulnerable of all the people that the filmmaker has a responsibility to, since it is the subject's image that is taken by the filmmaker, viewed by the audience, and paid for by the

funders (Hartzell, 2003). This vulnerability of the subjects requires the filmmaker to take extra responsibility observe ethical principles.

With regards to the first loyalty, it can be noted that true to their mandate of empowering women and girls, Katswe Sistahood in the film *Stolen Dream: Children Selling Sex* made sure that they feature relevant subjects, that is, young girls hard hit by poverty. They appeal to the audience to assist the subjects as a form of empowerment. To this end, it can be inferred that the filmmaker was sticking to his mandate but using the documentary as a platform for empowering the subjects. To this end, it is evident that documentary filmmakers focusing on Kps in Zimbabwe consider their vision and purpose in the making of the film hence are ethical.

When it comes to loyalty to an audience, questions are raised with regards to Zimbabwean documentary film makers. This follows that an audience watching a documentary, because of traditionally held expectations and conventions, have an idea of how the film ought to be like in outlook. It is therefore the mandate of the documentary filmmaker to fulfill the audience's expectations and adhere to the conventions of the art and ethical benchmarks.

To start with, it is important to note that the audience do not perceive just one part of a film, but rather perceive all parts of it as one whole unit. Bordwell (2015) describes film form as the overall system of relation that we perceive among elements in the whole film. Basically, this means that the 'form' of a film is identified by how the parts work together to produce the overall affect.

To this end, Carson (2011) argues that formal expectations and conventions really talks about the idea that film does not exist in a bubble; there are aspects of real life and aspects of film as an art that shape the way in which the audience experiences a single film. Expectations are created by patterns within a single film. Conventions are also extremely important to film form because they are common traits used across film as an art form (Carson, 2011). Broadwell (2015) argues that expectations and conventions are things that we as critical viewers should really pay attention to. A film can be judged based on its use and manipulation of expectations and conventions.

The implication of this is that focusing on KPs is a question of whether the expectations and conventions are manipulated to the approval of the audiences. In this regard, it can be noted that the documentaries fulfill some expectations and conventions while they equally negate others. For instance, all documentaries make use of the given conventions such as the medium shots, voice over narration (text narration in the case of *Persecution of Gays Surfaces in Bulawayo*), and

interviews. In some of the interviews, the subjects' faces are hidden while in others they are exposed showing various relationships between the filmmaker and the subjects.

The major concern that sparks questions is the representation of reality in the documentaries. As O'Shaughnessy has noted, documentary's special pleasures lie in "its reality content, the spectacle and voyeurism involved in watching something that we know really happened" (1997, p.86).

While the audience is satisfied that the film is, as it reports to be, a truthful representation of the world, this pleasure is catered for. One way of showing the reality of the content is by enacting through reacted drama or showing actual footage of the events that the subjects talk about. To this end, visuals of events as they happened, whether recreated or actual, reinforce the reality of the documentary.

B-roll is of vital in fulfilling this expectation and convention. According to Nichols (2011), B-Roll is footage that documentary filmmakers use to make watching their films more interesting or watchable. Mostly B-Roll is used as re-enactment footage that explains what is being talked about and emphasizes the reality of the documentary as it shows events via dramatization or actual footage. However, one common element an audience member can observe with regards to the documentaries under study is that most of them lack supporting B-Roll. Basically the documentaries feature the subjects being interviewed and at times, blurred pictures.

The New Zimbabwe report documentary *Epworth Commercial Sex Chronicles* opens with the narrator's voice over playing and blurred pictures of ladies in the streets at night. This is the only B-Roll footage that launches the documentary into reality. The same can be said about "*We Have Feelings Too*": *Sex Work in Zimbabwe* where the beginning features a shot from a moving car at night capturing ladies in the street. This is the only footage of sex work that we see. As for the documentaries that focus on homosexuality, we have no B-Roll whatsoever.

Only the film *Stolen Dream: Children Selling Sex* uses B-Roll of the subjects in their room sleeping on a mat, and some doing laundry in a small bucket and also visuals of the girls sweeping. In the film *Stolen Dream: Children Selling Sex* there is a section where two young girls are interviewed off screen and pictures of young girls are used as B-Roll. However, one can note that there is no footage that supports the claims of the subjects, either reenacted or actual. As such, the audience only gets a glimpse of other footage that has to do with the issues in the films but does not speak to the issues in the film.

In light of Entman (1993)'s definition of framing as a process in which some aspects of reality are selected, and given greater emphasis or importance so that the problem is defined, its causes are diagnosed, moral judgments are suggested and appropriate solutions and actions are proposed, the lack of B-Roll can be said to be a disfavor to the audiences.

Filmmakers have an obligation to present reality to the audience, and this obligation is achieved through the selection of the B-roll. Here, the filmmakers only selected the images of the subjects with nothing of their experiences being framed. As such, the audience is presented with words that are not substantiated by visuals. From this, one is justified to argue that the Zimbabwean filmmakers fail to observe professional ethics in producing KPs documentaries.

The same point is also emphasised by the bad sound quality that characterise some of the films, in particular NewZimbabwe report documentary *Epworth Commercial Sex Chronicles, Persecution of Gays Surfaces in Bulawayo* and *Prostitution in Rural Areas*. These films are characterised by poor sound quality. The filmmakers captured and mixed the audio poorly. In some of the scenes we cannot clearly hear what the subjects are saying because of background noise. The films are presented with poor quality sound despite the importance of good quality sound in film. Brains (2016, p. 24) states that:

Sound is important because it engages audiences: it helps deliver information, it increases the production value, it evokes emotional responses, it emphasises what's on the screen and is used to indicate mood. When put to good use, language, sound effects, music, and even silence, can elevate your video dramatically.

Sound, as noted above, should be captured and presented with clarity. To this end, filmmaker is required to ensure that the sound is of good quality. The other documentaries not mentioned in this section had good, quality sound.

A loyalty to funders is also an ethical obligation that a documentary filmmaker has to consider. In essence, the funder is the person who pays for the film. According to Ruby (2013), the funder has an agenda in doing the film, and the filmmaker must fulfill this agenda. Hartzell (2003) however argues that the filmmaker should not prioritise the funder's agenda at the expense of the subjects.

The implication of this is that while the filmmaker makes the film in light of the agenda of the funder, they should not violate the rights of the subjects.

In this vein, the filmmaker has the responsibility to ensure the rights of the subjects are protected while meeting the agenda of the funder. In the documentaries under study, one is justified to argue that Zimbabwean filmmakers focusing on KPs are ethical when it comes to being loyal to funders. The rights of the subjects, as has been afore discussed, are considered in terms of informed consent and confidentiality.

Subjects, as argued by Hartzell (2003), are perhaps the most vulnerable of all the people. Therefore, the filmmaker has a responsibility to protect the subject's image that is taken by the filmmaker, viewed by the audience, and paid for by the funders. This vulnerability of the subject requires the filmmaker to take extra responsibility in order to ensure ethical treatment of the subject.

This is achieved through consideration of a subject's informed consent and confidentiality. Hartzell (2003) also argues that the presentation and portrayal of the subjects on the screen should also be considered. How a filmmaker frames and presents the subjects determines how the audience perceive them hence interpret the film. The framing and presentation of the subjects and the ethics behind these are discussed in the next section in more detail.

4.1.7.1 Filmmakers Presentation of Self, Work, and Subjects to an Audience.

The essence of film, as a visual-aural medium of communication, is the presentation of images. These images are laden with messages that are reinforced by the sound (dialogues, narration, music and sound effects) that accompany them. To this end, the filmmaker is a communicator who frames aspects of reality and presents them in moving images and sound. But then, one wonders as to the absolute truth of what the filmmaker frames and presents. What is it that the documentary filmmaker should frame and present? How is this supposed to be framed and presented? There are various answers to these questions, but the general view is that the documentary filmmaker should capture the secrets and hidden aspects of reality which are often bad, and not only the good that we see always:

The maker of images has the moral obligation to reveal the covert - never to appear to produce an objective mirror by which the world can see its 'true image'. For in doing so, the status quo is strengthened, the repressive forces of this world are supported, and the very people about whom the image-makers claim to be concerned are alienated. So long as the dominant culture's images of the world continue to be sold to others as the image of the world, image-makers are being unethical (Ruby 2013, p.140).

Ruby's argument implies that it is ethical for the filmmaker to present the real situation of the issues they are presenting and do so in a way that is hidden. Being covert means not openly acknowledged or displayed. As such, the issue of being covert speaks to the issue of objectivity in documentary film, where the filmmaker just exposes the issues in a way that leaves the audience to make their own judgement of the issues at the end of the film. In trying to fulfill this ethical obligation, the filmmaker has to consider the presentation of self, the work and the subject which ultimately results in the interpretation given by the audience.

4.1.7.2: Presentation of Self.

Documentaries are agreed from a certain vie point and if that changes, it can completely alter the story — or at least how the audience feels about a character or situation. In other words, the person telling the story determines how the story is received and interpreted by the audience. Colt (2017, p. 35) summarizes this point as follows:

"Each story is set in a specific time and place, yet sequence by sequence, as the audience look at events happening on screen, where do they locate themselves in space to view the action? This is point of view – the angle taken to look at the events and characters, their interactions with each other and the environment in the film. The scriptwriter's choice of point of view or POV makes an enormous difference on how the audience views the film. This is because who or whatever's POV is shown is the person/thing that is telling the story to the audience."

From the above, it can be inferred that the reception of a story is dependent on how it is told and how subject is presented. According to Bruce (2005), each shot in a film expresses a point of view, or narrative stance, which changes often — sometimes with each new shot. Grega (2014) supports points out that the point of view is the main and continuously dynamic tool of structuring the narrative. Given that it is the filmmaker who makes and present the film, what is the ethical way to present his/herself in the film? There are various ways in which a filmmaker can be presented in the work.

The first of this is the onscreen presence of the filmmaker. This is when the filmmaker is visible to the audience. The audience can visibly see the filmmaker and put a face to him/her. In the film *“We Have Feelings Too”: Sex Work in Zimbabwe*, we actually see the filmmaker, Sibongile Mtetwa who is the Coordinator of Sisters with a Voice. The film cuts between her on-screen address to the audience and her voice-over narration. In this instance, the filmmaker is present in the film getting screen time.

Ethically, when the filmmaker appears on screen with the subject, a sense of equality is established between the filmmaker and the subjects. Given that *“We Have Feelings Too”: Sex Work in Zimbabwe* is about sex workers who are working with Sisters with a Voice, the appearance of Sibongile Mtetwa on the film presents a sense of equality between the sex workers that are featured in the film and the organisation. As such, the organisation manages to assert itself as client-centered and not profit centered organisation. Both the subjects and the filmmaker are equal in the film and jointly plead for safe sex.

Another way a documentary filmmaker can present self within the film is by voice presence. This is when the filmmaker can be heard via the narration he/she gives via voice over. In this instance, we do not get to see the filmmaker, but we can hear him/her via voice over narration. The inclusion of a voice over allows a filmmaker to efficiently provide information to the audience in a way that is easy to understand. Documentaries often use a voice over to provide the viewer with relevant information through the film's soundtrack (Nichols, 2011). *Epworth Commercial Sex Chronicles* produced by New Zim TV uses voice over narration with the voice of the reporter being heard over B-Roll footage. Also, the documentary *Stolen Dream: Children Selling Sex* produced by Katswe Sistahood makes use of voice over narration. At no point to do we get to see the filmmaker, but we hear the filmmaker throughout the film as she does narration.

In contrast to when the filmmaker is visually present in the film, voice over narration distances the filmmaker from the subject. In the case of the film *Epworth Commercial Sex Chronicles*, we are aware that the filmmaker is just giving an account of events distant from them.. This can be justified by the point that this was more of a news report that just served to show prostitution in Epworth. In the case of *Stolen Dream: Children Selling Sex* it can be seen that the filmmaker distanced herself because she wanted the subjects' personal stories to be center stage, and hence appeal more to the audience.

There is a misconception about NGOs where members of the public perceive that organisations misappropriates donations meant for subjects. To this end, it can be argued that the filmmaker in *Stolen Dream: Children Selling Sex* distanced herself from the subject so as not to have the organisation cloud the perceptions of the audience. However, the ever present logo of the organisation throughout the narrative somehow dismisses this claim as it is clear that the filmmaker wanted to maintain visibility. To this end, it follows that the filmmaker took into consideration how the presentation of self would impact the intention of the documentary film, and decided to not be visually present in the film but maintain visibility through the organisation logo.

Also, a filmmaker can choose not to be visually or aurally present in the film. In this instance, the filmmaker is neither seen nor heard in the film, but all attention is given to the subjects who appear alongside given B-Roll. The narrator will not be present, but text information is given alongside visuals and interviews of the subjects and B-Roll. Such is the case with the film *Persecution of Gays Surfaces in Bulawayo* where the filmmaker is not present. The film has no voice over narration nor is the filmmaker part of the documentary. Text narration is used as information is written on the screen for the audience to read. In this way, total detachment between the subject and the filmmaker is achieved. Here, the issue at hand becomes more focal as information is shared via text and via the subjects.

To some extent, one can argue that absence of the filmmaker also serves to protect him/her, especially when the issues being discussed are very sensitive. This can be the explanation with the *Persecution of Gays Surfaces in Bulawayo* which focuses on LGBT persons and their treatment in Bulawayo. Homosexuality, according to the constitution of Zimbabwe, is a crime. As such, the possibility of being arrested and criminally charged with misconduct is high for the filmmaker. In order to protect herself from persecution, she decided to be absent in the film and just present the issue. She hides herself just as she hides the subjects in the film hence protected. From this, it can

be deduced that some of the Zimbabwean documentary filmmakers focusing on KPs are considerate in framing self, especially in cases where there are sensitive issues.

4.1.8: Presentation of the Work.

The ways in which documentary filmmakers present their films can raise several ethical questions. The intention of the filmmaker, his/her relationship with the subjects, and his/her responsibilities to the many people involved in the project, are all evident in how the final project is put together and presented to the audience (Hartzell, 2003). In essence, one has to understand production of documentaries to appreciate how the films are presented to the audience. According to Bernard (2018:4), documentaries:

bring viewers into new worlds and experiences through the presentation of factual information about real people, places, and events, generally -- but not always -- portrayed through the use of actual images and artifacts. But factuality alone does not define documentary films; it's what the filmmaker does with those factual elements, weaving them into an overall narrative that strives to be as compelling as it is truthful and is often greater than the sum of its parts.

The above sentiments imply that a documentary is a presentation of reality. One can argue that mirror the truth in society. This can be so given that a documentary does not focus on fictitious stories, but focuses on real-life stories. It is, therefore; a presentation of real-life stories featuring people who experienced these, or through witnesses who witnessed the events or were part of it:

Nearly every documentary relies on people who appear on camera as part of the story. From their perspective, the hope is that pertinent truths—as they understand them—survive the process of filming (Rabiger, 2017, p. 3).

The films *Voice of the Voiceless in Zimbabwe* and *Persecution of Gays Surfaces in Bulawayo* feature people who talk of their experiences as LGBT persons in Zimbabwe. Also, the films *Epworth Commercial Sex Chronicles* and *Stolen Dream: Children Selling Sex* feature people who are involved in sex work telling their experiences as sex workers and their aspirations in life. In light of this, it can be noted that documentary filmmakers in Zimbabwe understand the ethics of documentary production as evidence by people sharing their own experiences.

As a given, however, it follows that these subjects who give the truth that is perceived in the documentary film do not appear in a vacuum. Rather, they are put there by a filmmaker who undergoes a process of framing, that is, selecting what to capture, designing how to capture this, capturing these aspects and then editing what he/she captured to present the final narrative. Rabiger (2017) argues that in capturing and editing events, a filmmaker can either be subjective or objective. Hartzell (2003, p. 33) also supports this notion arguing that “whether a film is presented as an objective record of pure, unbiased observation, or reveals its subjective nature using a reflexive voice, the way in which the end result of the research is presented to its intended audience reveals yet another ethical issue to consider.” In essence, there are two ways in which a documentary filmmaker can present the work, that is, as an objective record of pure, unbiased observation, or a subjective record that uses a reflexive voice.

Objectivity is defined as the discipline of striving, as far as possible or practicable to reduce or eliminate biases, prejudices, or subjective evaluations by relying on verifiable data (Rabiger, 2017). A documentary filmmaker can present himself objectively, that is, in such a way that his/her own opinions are silent. According to Rabiger (2017), filmmakers working on issue-oriented documentaries might use a passive, observational style for events that tell themselves. Hartzell (2003) argues that the very act of observation holds great power in presenting a documentary. To this end, a documentary filmmaker can present an observed phenomenon that comes out as being objective to the public. Hartzell (2003, p. 35) also gives the following as ways of achieving objectivity in a documentary film:

The use of narration in a film often portrays an objective, godlike perspective that implies "truth". By omitting this faceless character from the film and using the voice of the subject to tell a story or explain an idea, the audience may perhaps be less likely to assume that what they are seeing on screen is the objective truth. Also, including the filmmaker within the film allows the audience to actually see the person behind the camera. By exposing themselves on screen, the filmmakers also expose the constructed nature of the film, giving the audience a truer picture.

In doing so, the filmmaking process is demystified and the constructed nature of the documentary is revealed.

The above argument imply that a documentary film can be considered to be objective if it lacks the opinions of the narrator and allows the subjects to occupy a central role in the story. This is the case of the film *Persecution of Gays Surfaces in Bulawayo* which is devoid of a voice over narration and relies on the subjects retelling their experiences. Similarly, the film *Voice of the Voiceless in Zimbabwe* does not make use of voice over narration, but has the subjects as the focal actors. To this end, the ethics behind the “truthfulness” of the films are answered by the films’ objective presentation.

Hartzell (2003) states that the presence of the filmmaker onscreen can make the film appear objective, thereby authenticating the issues being discussed. This follows that the filmmaker presents himself as an active observer like that audience. By appearing onscreen, the filmmaker acknowledges his/her observations of the subject as real events and hence the audience buys into the objectivity of the film. This is the case with the film *“We Have Feelings Too”: Sex Work in Zimbabwe* where the filmmaker is a participant in the film. As such, the filmmaker acknowledged her observation of the trials and challenges being faced by the sex workers, and, gave an explanation on how they are assisting the subjects, could objectively relate the information. Based on the above submission, one can argue that Zimbabweans filmmakers who produce KPs documentaries are ethical in their craft.

Also, a documentary can be presented as being subjective. Arguments have been raised as to how the documentary film is, by and large; a subjective product:

The very nature of the editing process is a manipulation of reality. Putting events next to each other that never actually occurred chronologically in time automatically creates a dilemma. Therefore, the linear nature of film prevents it from objectively portraying reality (Hartzell, 2003, p. 34-35).

It is, after all, a human decision—an insertion of subjectivity—that places a camera in a particular location, chooses a lens by which to render space and perspective, selects a

recording medium, each with its own bias in colour and contrast, and decides when to turn the camera on. In the editing room, there are choices to be made about what material is significant and the order and juxtaposition of segments on the screen (Rabiger, 2017, p. 10).

Implicit in the above argument is that the film making process is subjective in nature hence the work that is presented is subjective. However, as argued above, the filmmaker can strive to present the work in an objective manner by removing the voice over narration and allowing the subjects to take a central role in telling the story, as well as by including him/herself in the narrative as an acknowledgement of his/her personal observation of the events. At the same time, the filmmaker can present the film as a subjective record that uses a reflexive voice. Here, the filmmaker not only presents the issues as real, but also states their own opinion of the matter which in turn drives the story. Mostly this is achieved via the voice over narration.

In the film *Epworth Commercial Sex Chronicles* produced by New Zim TV voice over narration is used and the work is presented as a subjective record with a reflexive voice. The film makes use of a mix observational passages with interviews, the voice-over of the film-maker with intertitles. As such, it is subjective given that the filmmaker's voice and opinion is clear. Another subjectively presented film is Katswe Sistahood's *Stolen Dream: Children Selling Sex* which the filmmaker's subjective reactions are given in the film. In an interview scene, the interviewer is heard commenting that some of the information being shared by the subjects is new to her, and voices her disbelief.

To this end, the film is presented in a subjective way with a reflexive voice. The filmmaker voices their opinions and air their own sentiments. This is done so as to evoke an emotional response from the audience who are supposed to be moved to assist the subjects seeking assistance. In this instance, the ethical intention of the filmmaker and their responsibility to the subjects determined that they present their films in this way. From this, one is tempted to argue that Zimbabwean documentary filmmakers are ethical in their presentations of films focusing on KPs.

Whether subjective or objective, the biggest question surrounding the presentation of the work to the audience has to do with aesthetics. Aesthetics relates to the beauty of the film in its presentation. This includes issues to do with composition, colour, sound and music. Overall, all

elements of the film should be presented in such a way that the audience can understand the meaning behind what is presented as well as find beauty in it. To this end, Roy & Vanderbeeken (2016) argue that documentary is also intrinsically aesthetic and, therefore, an art. It is as much about shots and cuts, structure and rhythm as fiction film (Roy & Vanderbeeken, 2016). The implication of this is that documentary filmmakers must not only think about presenting facts and issues in their films, but must also invest in how these facts and issues are presented to the audience in order for the film to be understood.

In other words, a film should both be factual and entertaining. Marley (2019) advances this idea of the aesthetics of pleasure, whereby the form of documentary film becomes a central feature in its capability to engage audiences in significant ways, rather than to simply inform. He argues that the viewer/listener can experience pleasure and entertainment from engaging with innovative representational strategies that are not normally seen and heard in much of mainstream documentary practice (Marley, 2019).

In light of this notion, one can argue that it is the filmmakers' ethical obligation to present a well-made documentary film that is entertaining as it is informative. First of all, the subjects need to be captured in well thought out backgrounds which are relevant to the story. The film *Persecution of Gays Surfaces in Bulawayo* does not show the background of the subjects as it utilises extreme close-ups which only manages to frame the subjects and not their background.

However, the rest of the films make use of the traditional medium-shots which capture the background. Of these, only the film *"We Have Feelings Too": Sex Work in Zimbabwe* makes use of indoor locations. In this film, subjects are located in a saloon, others in a lounge and others in a church and offices. The rest feature subjects who are captured outdoor, with a general lack of consideration for background and composition. Filmmakers ignore the issue of set design and its impact on the composition of the pictures they capture. As such, most of the visuals of the subjects are plain and not captivating.

In addition, costumes and make-up increase aesthetic flair. The fact that most of the documentary films do not expose the faces of the subjects shows that the documentaries were not well planned. In most of the films, with the exception of *"We Have Feelings Too": Sex Work in Zimbabwe*, subjects are captured with their everyday dirty clothes. In *"We Have Feelings Too": Sex Work in*

Zimbabwe, subjects have make-up and are wearing good outfits showing a consideration of costumes. This consideration is complimented by location consideration which makes for entertaining composition of subjects with the frame.

Another weakness of the documentaries is on the issue of sound. Again, with the exception of “*We Have Feelings Too*”: *Sex Work in Zimbabwe* and *Voice of the Voiceless in Zimbabwe* all documentary films under study have bad sound. There is hissing and too much background noise that characterise the interviews and narration. Such sound indicate use of low-quality equipment in the production of the films. Poor equipment translates to the presentation of a poor product. For instance, the film *Prostitution in Rural Areas* has the watermark “Made with VivaVideo”. VivaVideo is a mobile smart-phone video editor and free video maker application.

The application has all video editing features. One can cut video, trim video, crop video, merge video, edit video with music, edit video for YouTube, add music to video, add text to video, and so on. While it can produce professional videos, one has to register for the services and this will remove the watermark.

The existence of the watermark for such a documentary that raises such a deep issue as the welfare of sex workers in rural areas points to the lack of consideration on the aesthetic of the film. As such, the watermark and poor sound affect the quality of the film. This presentation of poor quality mirrors Zimbabwean filmmakers who focus on KPs, who value projection at the expense of the subjects and aesthetics.

However, the issue of lack of aesthetically pleasing films in Zimbabwe can be justified by the traditionally held notion of documentary films as being less concerned with aesthetics. For instance, Grierson cited in Beattie, (2008, p. 10) argues that documentary “was from the beginning an anti-aesthetic movement.”

As a result of Grierson’s legacy, Nichols (2011) claims that documentary practice has suffered from what he calls “discourses of sobriety”, whereby documentary is associated with other nonfiction systems such as science, religion, economics, education and politics. According to Beattie (2008, p. 12), this association with seriousness and sobriety has restricted aesthetic development within documentary practice, thus producing a canon of films that are underdeveloped and unremarkable in terms of their representational strategies, whereby “aesthetic innovation is generally subservient to documentary convention”. The implication of this is that

Zimbabwean documentary filmmakers are producing dull documentaries that have very little aesthetic value because they are more concerned with the information and issues being presented at the expense of aesthetics.

The producers place value on the information and not on the beauty of the film. While this is understandable, one questions the extent to which these films, with bad composition, bad sound and basically of poor quality, can effectively communicate the intention of the filmmakers – since in visual communication – packaging is everything. The audience deserve good quality films, and Zimbabwean documentary film makers focusing on KPs are failing to produce professional productions.

It should also be noted that there is difficulty in determining the reception of each given documentary film despite the way it is presented. Hartzell (2003) argues that since images are polysemous it is impossible to predict how each, viewer will interpret a film. This follows the point that images have more than one socially generated meaning depending on the context in which they are viewed and, on the individual, who is viewing them (Ruby, 2013).

The interpretation of images depends on the label that is attached to the film (i.e. title), the context in which it appears (i.e. television, film festival, etc.) and what the audience expects from the person who created the film (i.e. anthropologist, student, artist, journalist, etc.) (Ruby 2013, p. 141). Expectations based on all of these variables by audience members can influence their perception of the film itself. Although filmmakers cannot be expected to anticipate all the ways in which each viewer will perceive their films, it is crucial that they keep their intended audience in mind to avoid ethical infractions that can breed misinterpretation and contempt for the films as a result of poor packaging.

4.1.9: Presentation of Subjects.

At the heart of the documentary are the people whose events are shared. As noted by Rabiger (2017), subjects in a documentary face the camera (either hidden or exposed depending on the agreed informed consent between the subject and the filmmaker) and are presented to an audience which has to give meaning to what the subject is doing and saying. To this end, it can be noted that the documentary filmmaker focusing on KPs has the responsibility to present the subjects in a way

that fulfills his/her intention. He/she, however, has to be ethical in this presentation given that how the subjects are presented can either have positive or negative consequences.

The core issue that the documentary filmmaker should consider is the authenticity of the subject in his/her presentation. The audience, already aware of the conventions of the documentary film as a presentation of truth, facts and reality expect to see an authentic subject giving information that is also credible. However, a subject can cease to be authentic in front of a camera. Stewart (2006) argues that by introducing a camera into the subject's life, the filmmakers are also introducing an audience.

This is thought to destroy the authenticity of behaviour because the subject now acts for the benefit of the audience; they are performing an exhibitionist routine and not their authentic behaviour (Stewart, 2006). As Bruzzi notes, “performance has always been at the heart of documentary filmmaking and yet it has been treated with suspicion because it carries connotations of falsification and fictionalization, traits that inherently destabilize the non-fiction pursuit” (2000, p. 125). The implication of this is that subjects presented in a documentary give a performance of the truth they retell, and the telling of this truth is a performance that can either be presented to be interpreted as false.

The documentary film *Prostitution In Rural Areas* opens with images of two women singing and dancing in front of a hut. They can be heard saying the following:

Woman 1: Nyaya yechihure yakaoma (loosely translated - Sex worker's issues are a difficult case).

Woman 2: Nyaya ye hure yakaoma akomana (loosely translated - Indeed, a sex worker's issues are difficult).

While the women allude to the difficulties faced by sex workers, they make a farce of the issue by the dancing in front of the camera. The farce of the sex worker's plight is further heightened by the point that while the voice over narrator gives an exposition of prostitution in rural areas, the two women are seen dancing and enjoying themselves. Here, one is justified to argue that the performance by these women point to a celebration of sex work rather than a loathing of it. In this

instance, the performance given by the subjects does not portray their authentic need for help out of the trade.

Furthermore, during the interviews, the subjects laugh while narrating how poverty drove them into prostitution and challenges they are facing. The performance given by these subjects can possibly be interpreted as being a farce hence devaluing the issues they narrating.

However, the point of presenting the subjects as being authentic or false can be countered by the point that a filmmaker demands of the subject an authentic performance that does not take him/her out of the comfort zone of everyday performance. A subject is often asked to remain calm and be natural, but in doing this he/she is aware of the presence of the camera. The awareness of the camera brings an awareness of being watched, and this elicits from the subject a performative side that the director makes use of.

The sentiments above imply that a subject cannot be said to be false just because he/she performed in a sort of way. Indeed, the dancing of the women featured in the film *Prostitution In Rural Areas* could indicate their being expressive rather than false creators of reality. These are women who, not by choice but by circumstances, have found themselves in a dire situation - sex work. They dance their pain away expressing their humanity and not their profession. They laugh and smile during their interviews to relive stress, as they ponder the misfortunes forced on them by poverty. The same can be said about subjects who feature in the film “*We Have Feelings Too*”: *Sex Work in Zimbabwe*.

Likewise, subjects in this film are well dressed and smile, at times laughing during their narration. They are presented as being calm and comfortable in their own skins. The level of calmness indicates an expressiveness that goes deeper than the expressiveness of pain if it's not genuine. To this end, one can argue that while the audience may raise questions about the performance of the subjects in a documentary film, particularly when it does not meet his/her expectations of certain behaviour associated with a certain role, the subject's personal expressiveness makes the filmmaker ethical. The filmmaker is ethical in that he/she presents the truth of the subject's performance, and not created reality.

Also, one has to consider the consequences that characterize the aftermath of performing for the camera. This follows the point that a subject in a documentary film is seen and, because

documentary film is based on facts and reality, the audience can recognize the performed behaviour. When the audience have recognized this behaviour, the subject remains with the prerogative to ascertain what they would have said. Otherwise they stand to contradict themselves. Accordingly, Butler (2004, p. 91) argues that “a fraudulent documentary performance would place the performer in a precarious position, for at any moment in their performance an event may occur to catch them out and badly contradict what they have openly avowed, bringing them immediate humiliation and sometimes permanent loss of reputation”. To this end, one is justified to claim that the consequences that follow the presentation of a documentary film demands the ethical consideration of an authentic performance from the subjects. Stewart (2006, p. 8) concludes that the filmmakers are committed to maintaining their documentary's impression of authenticity, and if they are skeptical of the sincerity of a subject's performance they will not rest the film's credibility upon it.

4.2. Analysis of NGO Produced KP documentaries Category (Generally produced category).

This analysis interrogated ethics and technical standards of production in KP documentaries in Zimbabwe. It focused on documentaries which were not specifically produced or sponsored by non-governmental organisations in Zimbabwe. The study analyses conformity and violation of ethical and technical standards of the documentary production practice. It also interrogated effects and factors that militate against conformity. This section touched on ethical issues and investigated how aesthetics and technical aspects can be manipulated knowingly or unknowingly to frame negative portrayal of KPs in Zimbabwe.

The study investigated the presentation of KPs across six documentaries by interrogating the mise-en-scene, camera work, voice over, ethics, lighting, scripting and the narrative technique used and the results are summarized below (see Table 4.1).

Table 2: Key Populations documentaries analysed.

GENRE	STORY LINE	FOCUS GROUP	SETTING	QUALITY OF PRODUCTION	PRODUCER
Key population documentary	<i>Epworth commercial sex chronicle</i>	Commercial sex workers	Peri- urban Epworth	Low quality	Zim Eye Media
Key population documentary	<i>“Prostitution in rural areas</i>	Commercial sex workers	Rural Chipinge	Low quality	Unknown

Key population documentary	<i>Stolen dream-children selling sex</i>	Child commercial sex workers	Unknown location	High quality	Antique Productions by Oxfam & Katswe Sisterhood.
Key population documentary	<i>Persecution of gays surfaces in Bulawayo</i>	Gays and lesbians	Bulawayo	Poor quality	Student production
Key population documentary	<i>Gay rights in Zimbabwe</i>	Gays in Zimbabwe	Unknown	Very high quality	Daily Extra production
Key population documentary	<i>Voice of the voiceless in Zimbabwe</i>	Lesbians in Zimbabwe	Unknown	Very high quality	Oxfam

Source: Author.

The above demonstrates a summary of the documentaries that were critically analyzed and what follows is a detailed discussion of these issues. Documentary producers are keen on convincing the audience that what plays before them is real or authentic (Nichols, 1991). They use film language and the art of persuasion lies in the finesse of techniques used to convince the audience about the documentary's truthfulness. In order to do this, producers use a host of techniques including voice over, archival footage, expert testimonials among others (Partridge & Hughes, 2000).

However, for the purposes of clarity, this visual analysis of the six Zimbabwean produced KPs documentaries on commercial sex workers and homosexuals (gays and lesbians), was based on a template encompassing mise- en- scene (which considered the setting, costume/makeup, staging, lighting and colour); camera work (which looked at camera movements, type of shots, selection, focusing and framing); the voice over narration and the interview techniques used.

The understanding was that as Buckland (1991) opines, documentary film makers employ a variety of techniques to put the film together and in the majority of documentaries analyzed herein there exists a selective approach that deprives the subjects a chance to fully express themselves. This implies that more often observations and arguments are individually biased and significantly influenced by the political and economic super structure which explains the negative representation of key populations.

4.2.1: How KPs are presented in specific key population documentaries.

Mise-en-scene helped to interpret how the characters were defined as well as their emotional and social status. The purpose was to judge the visual representations of key populations and the story it told which helped to create sense of place, character as well as build the mood (Buckland, 1991). This covers a whole range of aspects inclusive of setting, lighting, colour, costume and makeup as well as staging among others.

4.2.1.1: The re-presentation of commercial sex workers in KP documentaries.

The documentary “*Epworth commercial sex chronicles*” explored the challenges facing commercial sex workers as well as the reasons for their indulgence in commercial sex work. It starts off with a voice over narration of Epworth with an aerial overview shot from a moving vehicle. The natural backlight suggests that the recording must have been done in a warm afternoon set against a blue-sky backdrop. A male voice cites poverty (driven by unemployment and over population) as the major driver behind commercial sex work in Epworth and the setting is a mobile network base station in the area. The choice of location demonstrates the public nature of the interview where interviewees look away from the camera to shield their identity.

The inclusion of the male voice over complicates everything as it projects a mainly male opinion and he refers to the commercial sex workers as “prostitutes”. This confirms a view by Moranjac (2006) who argued that the negative [presentation of KPs emanates from their absence in the production of the KP documentaries because society always looks down upon such productions. The negative presentation tends to expose the commercial sex workers and projects them in a insensitive manner as if they make deliberate choices to indulge in commercial sex work. The voice over narration refers to the ladies as prostitutes which does not dignify the profession and the exposure is upon the female CSWs while deliberating avoiding interviewing the male partners.

The documentary “*Prostitution in rural areas*” projects the story of poverty as the major driver behind commercial sex work. The setting is rural Chipinge where the filming occurs within a very poor communal area featuring the views of four commercial sex workers. A KPs documentary on child prostitution tells the story of victimization, poverty and abuse in various forms. The children claim that they have been driven into prostitution largely by poverty and lack of parental support. This exposes them to violence and sexually transmitted diseases.

A cursory glance at the inventory list for all the three sex work documentaries demonstrates a violation of the veil of ignorance as the producer deliberately exposes the respondent's identity by some means. The narrators in all three documentaries tend to speak more than the respondents thereby projecting the impression that the narrator knows more about the CSW experience compared to the actual subjects.

4.2.1.2: Costume and make-up in commercial sex work documentaries.

In the Epworth documentary, the first subject is a female commercial sex worker, dressed in a blue sleeveless top and she dons a woollen hat that overlies brightly tinted hair. She is set against a background of run-down houses and an expansive green of natural vegetation and is projected through an extreme close up. She tells her story with no interruption from the interviewer who must have edited out his voice to make her statements stand out.

The second respondent, a 21-year-old dread-locked young commercial sex worker who was skimpily dressed said poverty motivated her to engage in commercial sex work. To mask her identity, she is wearing a woollen hat and looks away from the camera while complaining that at times she is forced into having unprotected sex because some clients offer to pay more given the risk involved. Harassment is a common feature in her business. In the background there are children who are playing but the setting remains the same.

In conservative Zimbabwe the dreadlocks she wearing are sometimes associated with deviance. The hat serves to mask the identity of the woman and the white top symbolizes a sign of distant innocence.

The green background represents the unpredictability and wildness of nature which is symbolic given the world in which commercial sex workers operate, a view that William (2003) agrees with when he argues that colour can be used to amplify respondents.

The third respondent in the Epworth commercial sex work documentary is equally skimpily dressed in a black revealing sleeveless top and looks away from the camera as she narrates how she often gets robbed by men after offering them a service. The male interviewer interjects her repeatedly in a very low voice as she tells that family breakdown forced her to join commercial sex work industry. Next the interviewer seeks an expert commentary from one Ms. J. Banda, a

social worker with a Trust that assists people with disabilities. Ms Banda is modestly dressed and her interview is set against a professional office background. It is ironic that Mrs. Banda is interviewed as an official representative of commercial sex workers yet she leads a disability organisation. Symbolically, this creates an impression that commercial sex work is a form of disability. Mrs. Banda looks straight into the camera and being juxtaposed against a half-dressed young girl who shy away from the camera seem to point an accusing finger at the girls.

Mrs. Banda claims that commercial sex work is driven by mothers who also send their children out to solicit for money in exchange for sex resulting in early pregnancies and HIV & AIDS. The commercial sex workers themselves are given a short time to tell their story while the expert is given more airplay demonstrating the hedonistic tendencies of the producer whose interests could equally resonate with those of the expert.

The expert is not a commercial sex worker yet she is given more airplay. Surprisingly, there are no male respondents to confirm or refute the allegations made by the commercial sex workers. This finding agrees with Aufderheide & Jaszi (2009) who argued that modern documentary producers do not tackle pertinent issues that affect the lives of people due to lack of adherence to ethical standards in producing KP documentary production.

Similarly, in the Chipinge production, shabby dressing characterizes the subjects. They are filmed sitting against a run-down structure they call home indicating their sense of hopelessness. They are also dressed in equally grim colours set against a smoky background that perhaps point towards the desperate circumstances in which the women find themselves in. However, these do not seem to impress the camera person.

In the documentary featuring child commercial sex workers the dressing is still poor and the producer tries to mask the identity of the respondents whose stories tell of abuse, neglect and a bleak future. Chuma (2011) noted that since television is a powerful medium for appealing to mass audiences and has a global appeal, there is a need to religiously stick to production ethics and technical standards but these three documentaries demonstrate a lack of producer interest in these matters.

4.2.1.3: Class issues relative in CSW documentaries.

In the Epworth documentary, class disparities are projected when the producer presents a working-class women juxtaposed against cheaply dressed commercial sex workers. This seems to project commercial sex workers as a troublesome pack (*femme fatale*) whose opinions do not matter since they only exist to lure male clients for their money. This is exacerbated by the fact that the interviewer is also male hence less likely to understand these issues from a female point of view. When he lets them rumble on without voice over the intention is to further expose them through staging. The formally employed expert commentator is richly dressed while commercial sex workers are dressed cheaply which further exposes their class differences yet both sets of women are 'employed' somehow.

While the expert commentator wears brightly coloured clothes (floral print dress beneath a leather jacket) and faces the camera with confidence, the commercial sex workers wear grim colours (one wears blue which represents the cold adult world, another black – sign of death and foreboding). The expert lady commentator exudes authority, power and commands respect while the three commercial sex workers combined are represented as deplorable despite the heart-wrenching stories they tell.

This implies the negative representation of commercial sex workers. Therefore, the documentary seeks not to assist the commercial sex workers but to embarrass them for the good of the producer and his team (Hedonism). In this vein, it is highly unlikely that informed consent could have been sought prior to recording. The rural documentary does not even try to hide the identity of the respondents but lets them speak to the camera uncovered and this violates principles of confidentiality and anonymity (Rauls, 1974). The interviewer appears to be promoting the ethical principle of utilitarianism by exposing the commercial sex workers but this has the opposite effect of increasing negative perceptions towards the women and their work.

4.2.1.4: Setting in commercial sex work documentaries.

The Epworth documentary is set within the Epworth community at “the Booster” where commercial sex workers meet. This violates the principle of anonymity and confidentiality despite producer attempts to shield the women away from the camera. The setting appears natural but it

exposes the respondents to people who know about the area. The concept itself fails to tell the whole story about commercial sex work as it avoids sentiments by the males.

This seems to imply that commercial sex work is driven primarily by female carnal desires and this misogynistic stance ridicules women in general, and commercial sex workers in particular. In this regard, the producer seems to have overlooked the golden rule of loving your neighbour as you would love yourself. It is highly unlikely that the stories that were created to motivate for appropriate interventions. In that vein, the image maker considered only the monetary gain.

The producer could justify the presentation of female commercial sex workers in the view that their story could prevent many from indulging in commercial sex work but the rationale for the documentary was to tell the story from the perspective of the commercial sex workers and what the girls said is less likely to get them the empathy they desperate seek.

The Epworth documentary was also shot during the day and this tends to expose respondents to since the producer identified the spot where commercial sex workers flock to in Epworth. It is ironic that the dilapidated housing in the background of the Chipinge documentary seems not to interest the camera person as much as the dancing commercial sex workers. This shows selective attention to detail which implies a hedonistic attitude.

The Chipinge commercial sex documentary is shot at an unknown peri-urban location as evidenced by the nature of houses and the respondent's attire. The choice of location, however; underlines a hedonistic tendency as the production was donor funded which underlines the absence of producer objectivity. Mtambalike (1996) agrees that the choice of time for documentary production is an important component of storytelling about the people appearing in the documentary.

4.2.1.5: The narrative technique in CSW documentaries.

The camera was used for the sake of duty, characters and action as the grammar for visual storytelling which occupies a higher priority compared to mise-en-scene. In the Epworth documentary, the girls are put in the foreground thereby dominating everything behind them and putting them into perspective. This points towards the cognitive element of selectivity exposure where the girls are placed in the foreground to become easily noticeable as they are the only ones talking.

In terms of the symbolism, the camera focuses upon their upper torso and their naked upper bodies. This deliberate close up focus amplifies the immoral aspect that the producer wants to project. The camera is turned towards naked thighs which seem to portray the fact that only the thighs are important not the rest of the body. This and the slow shot further projects women as sexual objects who must be presented for the male gaze and must be exposed to public ridicule.

In the Chipinge documentary, the respondent is illuminated in the foreground with everything in the background being blurred. Although the respondent says she joined commercial sex work because of failure to raise school fees for her children and due to starvation, these issues are drowned out by the camera effects. In the child prostitution documentary, the camera is focused upon the half-dressed butt of the young girls as well as their legs thereby protecting them as palatable.

4.2.1.6: Expressive techniques in commercial sex work documentaries.

In the Epworth documentary, the producer used the Ken Burns effect - a type of panning and zooming effect used with still imagery in the billboard. It embeds still photos into motion pictures that are displayed with slow zooming and panning effects and fading transitions between frames (Wikipedia, 2019). There is a combo of pan and zoom shots of commercial sex workers which bring them into perspective but the producer is concerned more about focusing naked body parts (thighs and breasts).

The camera person also focusses their camera from a high implying the relative superiority of the camera crew and this disempowers the respondents who are also too embarrassed to engage in commercial sex work. This further complicates the plot as the subject of discussion is sensitive and potentially embarrassing to the respondents. The high angle emphasizes the insignificance of the subjects and the smallness of their size relative to the film crew who also carry expensive technical equipment.

Thompson (2009) confirms that the high angle shot yields an understanding to the viewer that the subject is smaller, weaker, subservient, diminutive and is currently in a less powerful position. In this case the camera keeps the subjects down and makes them appear physically shorter or smaller and this was also the effect produced by the high angle shots in the Chipinge documentary.

4.2.1.7: Zooming in CSW documentaries.

In the Epworth documentary, zooming was extensively used to bring the subjects closer (zoom in) which emphasized certain elements that the producer considered salient such as thighs, breasts and genitalia for commercial sex workers as they are the tools of their trade. In the Chipinge documentary, zooming produces a special effect given that the respondents are sitting against a wall and there is nothing in the frame except the respondent who visibly feel ashamed of herself (Sooben, 2013).

4.2.1.8: Image aesthetics in CSW documentaries.

In the Epworth documentary, the nakedness of the girls, especially those appearing in the billboard makes the video particularly compelling to look at which attracts more reviews on YouTube where the final product is posted. In the Chipinge documentary, the camera is focuses more on the backside of one dancing commercial sex work and it appears as if she is dancing to nothing which could indicate that the producer may have requested her to dance that way.

The images do not compel one to see more of the creator's work because it lacks depth of inquiry into the other issues raised by commercial sex workers such as the fact that one of them was almost raped by her biological father. The videos seem to blame the commercial sex workers for their situation and they are not detailed enough to tell the audience the full story. The producer uses gate keeping techniques to show the audience what they want, rather than the truth. In this case, reality is sugar coated (Morna, 2001).

4.2.1.9: Voice over narration in CSW documentaries.

This relates to a commentary by a narrator which offer explanations and opinions that guide the viewers' interpretation (Thompson, 2009). The voice over is thus a subjective analysis of events rather than objective reality. As the Epworth documentary begins, the narrator claims that:

“...the nocturnal profession as it may is now affecting young girls who are unknowingly recruited by old women for money reasons....”

This projects the impression that older women are complicit in the proliferation of commercial sex work in Epworth yet there could be other factors. Even the characters interviewed do not confirm this view and one cannot deny the fact that the details are not necessarily true but are driven by a pleasure-seeking desire to appeal to external funders which stands in contrast to the utilitarian principle. In the Chipinge documentary, the narrator's voice drowns out the respondents thereby giving the impression of their being insignificance.

4.2.2: Interviews in CSW documentaries.

This common documentary technique allowed respondents to speak about their own experiences prompted by questions from the interviewer. The technique gives viewers a sense of realism, But in the Epworth documentary, the interview is one sided and gives a feminine perspective to commercial sex work while overlooking the sensibilities of males who are a key constituency in ending challenges faced by KPs. This is also true of the Chipinge documentary which does not play background music which usually adds variety and depth to the story. The approach chosen produces a bland narrative that skims over the issues affecting KPs, for example, violence and economic deprivation (Nichol, 2016).

However, the documentary on child commercial sex workers has some background music which illustrates the funding available for such extras but these indicate the lack of producer independence because the hedonistic aim of the producer is to appeal to the sensibilities of the foreign funders. By massaging documentaries to satisfy the interest of funders, filmmakers violate ethical principles that guide the production of documentaries involving KPs (Nichols, 2016).

4.2.2.1: Representation of gays and lesbians in KPs documentaries.

The negative presentation of KPs is not only confined to commercial sex workers, if the documentary by a student in Bulawayo is anything to go by. The producer tells the story of gays in a very low voice over at first before allowing respondents to project their own opinions in drawn out interviews. The poor quality of the documentary underlines the dependent status of the producer who is a student and is keen on producing just something to earn his marks (a hedonistic tendency).

The documentary gives a brief background to the story of homosexuals in Zimbabwe and projects them as victims of negative stereotyping that started off with the late President Robert Mugabe

who at some point described them as “worse than cats and dogs.” These misogynistic attitudes demonstrate generally negative perceptions towards KPs. The current treatment of gays and lesbians borrows much from Mugabe’s diatribe in which he said “We equally reject attempts to prescribe 'new rights' that are contrary to our values, norms, traditions, and beliefs. We are not gays.” This official attitude has washed on to the rest of the citizens who see KPs through the same misogynistic eye.

A documentary interview by the *Daily Extra* tells the story of gays and lesbians in Zimbabwe from the perspective of a gay rights activist who is interviewed against an urban backdrop in an exotic location, which again, is indicative of the producer’s hedonistic tendencies. In the background, there are a number of white people flocking out of a building and are usually associated with opulent places in Zimbabwe. The activist claims that it is not easy to be different in Zimbabwe as the government has declared war on such people.

In another documentary by Voice of the Voiceless Zimbabwe, an interview with lesbians projected the same sentiments that gays and lesbians are a largely unwanted group. The documentary tells of the challenges faced by homosexuals but the production technique seems to confirm the isolation of such people because the interview is brought forward and everything else behind is blurred. This illuminates the respondents in ways that expose them and confirms a view by Baran (2006) who argued that documentary producers for KP are therefore, influenced by such dominant views to routinely frame events in ways that eliminate much of their ambiguity and reinforce socially accepted and expected ways of seeing the world.

4.2.2.2: Costume and make up for gays and lesbians.

In the Bulawayo student production on gays and lesbians, the three respondents who feature in the documentary are poorly dressed and their identity is masked. The producer makes no effort to work on the respondents’ costume and this downgrades their status. There is no attempt to dress the respondents even in the Vovo production - a semi-professional production. Clothing is an important component of storytelling (Moranjac, 2013) with power to negatively project a subject in a documentary.

4.2.2.3: Class issues related to gays and lesbians in KPs documentaries.

There is a lot of contempt for gays and lesbians evidenced by what is seen in a focus group discussion where some boys claimed that they will beat up anyone seen engaging in homosexuality acts. True to form, one respondent showed the camera person some wounds sustained when he was beaten up for dating other boys.

Such class differences are amplified when one respondent in the Bulawayo documentary, a chairperson of the local residents' association says they do not like homosexuals in their communities and that when identified they should be helped to "get normal." This underlines the generally held perception that gays and lesbians are sick somehow because their sexual preference does not seem to be aligned to conventional beliefs. The chairperson was neatly dressed against a backdrop of a professional office while gays and lesbians were interviewed in a context of poverty.

4.2.2.4: The setting in KP documentaries on gays and lesbians.

The Bulawayo documentary's setting is poor and urban in nature and appears as if it was a poor attempt at telling the story of gays and lesbians, and in the process, ended up creating a negative perception about KPs. The setting for the Daily Extra documentary is also urban and respondents wear expensive attire giving the impression that KPs are found in urban areas and belong to the rich class on the basis of their expensive attire. The Vovo documentary is also set up in an urban location, seemingly confirming the assumption that gays and lesbians are found in urban areas (Mfinanga, 2005).

4.2.2.5: Camera work in gay and lesbian documentaries.

The zoom effect was extensively used when focusing upon the genitalia of gays and lesbians as if to emphasize the perceived abnormality of their sexual preferences. During the entire duration of the interview on Bulawayo gays and lesbians, the focus was on the same spot with no movement in either direction. The producer also utilized the high camera angle, thereby; demonstrating their self-importance compared KPs. This reflects misogynistic tendencies demonstrated through producers of documentaries on KPs. This negative attitude demonstrates lack of love towards fellow humanity, an issue that is oppositional to the Golden rule. It simply demonstrates that the producer was not as human as is possible. This is also evident in the deliberate selection of respondents who seem to confirm their own convictions that gays and lesbians are not normal (Solomon, 2001).

4.2.2.6: Voice over in gay and lesbian documentaries.

In the Bulawayo documentary, respondents were allowed to tell their stories without the producer adding narration as if he was afraid of contaminating his conscience and distancing himself from what was being said. Interviewees simply popped onto the screen unannounced, and in the introduction; the producer used texts to tell his story. The voice over in the *Daily Extra* production was provided by the narrator who gave his own “expert” opinion about gay and lesbianism in Zimbabwe.

This could point towards his self-interested nature in the story that projects a hedonistic view. McCombs et al., (1997) states that producers want to script, shoot, and voice and narrate Key Populations’ stories for the satisfaction of funders. This is corroborated by Gmason (1989) who argues that frames used in public discourse are developed and promoted by individuals and groups with an interest in advancing certain ways of viewing the social world.

4.2.2.7: Interviewing gays and lesbians.

In the student production, the respondents were largely allowed to speak for themselves with little interjection from the interviewee. In the *Daily Extra* production one respondent was able to voice his concern about gay rights in Zimbabwe with little assistance from the interviewer. Both parties are motivated by hedonism. The producer is motivated by the need for news and the interviewee - a gay rights activist is interested getting his story heard. Thus, objectivity seems to be missing as the actual gays and lesbians themselves are not part of the conversation (Nichols, 2016)

4.2.2.8: The effect of presentation on attitude formation about KPs.

Guided by the assumption that misogynistic elements confirm the ideological values and gender identities of the patriarchy, this study showed that key population documentary production in Zimbabwe is characterised by misogynistic, patriarchal and hyper-masculine tones. Relative to commercial sex work, misogyny is manifest in the discrimination of women by beauty or age; in the negation or diminishment of women's professional achievements; in the stereotypification of females as inferior in intelligence and ability; in the representation of the conquests of men and elimination of female competition; in the persistent and widespread reduction of women's importance to their physical appearance; and in the assignment of the role of sex objects to women

(Moranjac, 2006). This means that as long as commercial sex workers are considered a commodity this reduces the likelihood of their story being heard and exposes them to the ravages of HIV and AIDS as they feel embarrassed to be associated with their sexual identities. Moranjac (2006) adds that KPs documentaries, which owe their high reviews to sensationalism, politically exclusionary messages, and racy news from the entertainment industry and various forms of hate speech, use misogyny as an indispensable part of their content. Images of the female body accompanied by gender-stereotypical comments are combined with a market ideology, representing the woman and her sexuality as yet another available commodity. It is also important to note that the media in Zimbabwe post 2000, has been largely polarized towards either the left or the right.

This means that they have had to find a fine line between supporting the incumbent government or opposing it. They have also operated in a somewhat oppressive and repressive environment and a society that is dominated by patriarchal notions. These notions are smuggled into the newsroom as most of the editors are male representing an extension of the society's contempt for KPs into editorial boardrooms and ultimately to viewers and readers. The media as a socializing institution continue to be male dominated with little or no chance for the ascendancy of women (or homosexuals) into positions where they can fully represent themselves (Ngozi & Zhou, 2010). This media invisibility also means that the KPs are locked out of institutions that could offer them support further exacerbating their already precarious situation. It is difficult for KPs to get support because the service staff constantly reminds them that they deal with "normal" people not home breakers, particularly in the case of commercial sex workers.

The result is a "media-constructed" version of reality (Callaghan & Schnell, 2001). The media dictates how such groups should be understood, perceived and represented. The argument presented above indicates that while women suffer from gendered mediation, gays and lesbians are not even tolerated in most media productions unless where money is involved. The documentaries continue to project women in the same limited roles as before and commercial sex workers and lesbians alike suffer from continued negative representation. In most media outlets, just like in the documentaries used in this study, KPs suffer from relative invisibility.

Greer (2012) notes that the quantum representation of key populations in the media is negligible thereby giving the impression that they do not contribute to the broader society yet this is not so.

This means that when invisible, they are outside the orbit of the normal service delivery accessible to other citizens and “conventional” people.

Wood (1994) also adds that:

“The media have created two images of women: good women and bad ones. These polar opposites are often juxtaposed against each other to dramatize differences in the consequences that befall good and bad women. Good women are pretty, deferential, and focused on home, family and caring for others. Subordinate to men, they are usually cast as victims, angels, martyrs, and loyal wives and helpmates. The other image of women the media offer us is the evil sister of the good homebody. Versions of this image are the witch, bitch, whore, or non-woman, who is represented as hard, cold, aggressive-all of the things a good woman is not supposed to be.”

The gays and lesbians are often worse off as they are viewed as animals worth eliminating. As a result, and in the context of HIV and AIDS and in finding solutions to the problems, these KPs are overlooked. The analysis above demonstrates that KPs documentary productions in Zimbabwe violate key ethical guidelines and technical professional standards, and by so doing, further increase the alienation and subalternisation of KPs. This violation tends to complicate efforts to deal with HIV and AIDS interventions aimed at KPs in Zimbabwe.

4.2.2.9: Factors responsible for stigmatization of KPs in Zimbabwe.

A detailed analysis of the KP documentaries demonstrated that a range of factors promote the stigmatization of KPs in Zimbabwe.

4.2.2.9.1: Lack of funding.

It can be argued that the lack of funding for local productions make them susceptible to abuse by external forces whose voice normally carries the day. The Epworth documentary was a low budget production which points towards the lack of funding and so was the Chipinge documentary. However, the documentary on child commercial sex workers was foreign funded which explains its high-quality compared to others. Ethicality was therefore dictated by the funders and this obliterates the concept of objectivity, independence and mutual respect.

The key question was why female commercial sex workers were negatively presented. Answers to this question were varied including commercial reasons that sex sells and women were the best representation of sex. It was also established that Zimbabwe's largely patriarchal society finds it normal to discriminate against women and other KPs such as gays and lesbians.

4.2.2.9.2: Patriarchal influences.

In most of African countries males wield more power and influence within the society and dictate, set and revise social behavior. Normal women are supposed to get married and settle down to raise a family while the independent and self-asserting ones are seen as conveyors of deviant behaviour influenced by westernization and feminist thinking. Those who engage in sex work are perceived as "abnormal", antisocial and not worthy inclusion in social spaces. The last group does not conform to the norms of decency and should not have access to facilities meant for the "decent" including health care. A study by Ndudzo (2017) on the plight of commercial sex workers in Mbare, Zimbabwe showed that service providers feel that commercial sex workers waste resources meant for the decent couples and most female nurses are actually against the idea of treating commercial sex workers. The female nurses feel that they too could become victim to these women who are notorious for grabbing other women's husbands. This negative attitude by service providers is indicative of the generally negative feeling of the male sub culture that predominates Zimbabwean society.

4.2.2.9.3: Lack of government support.

The regime of the late Robert Mugabe and the subsequent one led by Emmerson Mnangagwa have not been accommodative to homosexuals as culprits are summarily taken to court and sentenced as soon as they are arrested. This attitude is also meted on sex workers who continue to operate from dark corners and face the wrath of the law each time they are caught. This means that the government does not seem to consider these KPs an important demographic group worthy of government support and assistance.

Rather, the government seems to feel no obligation towards these groups and the only support that accrues to these groups comes from non-state actors. Even such actors face equal repression when caught and they have since abandoned the cause altogether. As such, the negative sentiments

towards KPs in Zimbabwe reflect the highly religious nature of the society in which the KPs are regarded a threat to socialisation (Nordenstreng, 2007).

4.2.2.9.4: Chapter Summary

The research findings presented in the chapter were based on a critical analysis of documentary production ethics and technical standards in six KPs documentaries produced in Zimbabwe focusing on commercial sex workers and gays and lesbians. The discussion centered around ethical issues, filmmakers' intention, the filmmakers' relationship with the subjects, the various responsibilities of the filmmakers, and how the filmmakers presented themselves, their work, and the subjects to an audience. The research found that Zimbabwean NGO sponsored documentaries on KPs are to a lesser extent, ethical and to a greater extent, unethical. Most of the documentaries violate both ethical and technical standards of documentary practice, chiefly due to lack of funding, ignorance and lack of proper production equipment. Though use of low-quality equipment, hurried filming and contracting cheap unprofessional filmmakers compromise objectivity and aesthetic quality of KP productions, to a larger extent, the interests of the sponsor dominates and influences the taste and angle of projecting the KPs. This is done at the expense of the true stories that surround the realities of KPs. It is this subjective angling which is derailing efforts by government and the civic society to end discrimination against KPs in Zimbabwe. KPs are not directly involved in narrating their stories and this fuels misconceptions about their sexuality. HIV/AIDS infection rates in KPs are very high because of discrimination at health centers which must provide sexual education and other health services.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.1.0 Introduction.

This chapter concludes the study and provides a recap of the research, the methodology employed and a summary of the research findings in light of each research aim. It also presents findings of the two categories of the documentaries which were studied and analyzed, that is; documentaries produced by NGOs and documentaries that were produced without influence or funding from NGOs (Non-governmental produced and generally produced documentaries). The chapter also contains the recommendations based on the research findings.

5.1 Non-Governmental Produced Documentaries.

These are documentaries on KPs that were produced by NGOs or sponsored by NGOs. Documentaries that are sponsored by NGOs on KPs raise a lot of contestations in terms of conforming to and violating the dictates of the professional documentary practice, especially objectivity and subjectivity. This has far reaching effects on how KPs are perceived in society and projected through documentaries.

5.2 Recap of Study Motivations and Objectives.

It is without doubt that a filmmaker is a mirror of society. As such, he/she frames and represents the reality within a realm that is beset with many ethical issues. In the end, since the dignity of others is best protected by a well-informed conscience, sober consideration of our ethical obligations may serve to impress all of us - beginner and old pro - with the power we carry around when we pick up a camera (Pryluck, 1976, p. 29). Filmmakers should be considerate of the ethics involved in their job.

The study examined ethical issues that abound in documentaries produced by filmmakers and how these affect the presentation of sex workers and LGBT persons in Zimbabwe. Sex workers and LGBT persons were chosen in light of the National AIDS Council of Zimbabwe's (NACZ) classification of key populations which include female sex workers, gay and bisexual men as well as men having sex with other men. Sex work and homosexuality are illegal but thriving in

Zimbabwe. LGBT persons and sex workers are liable for arrest and prosecution if caught by the police. At community level,

sex work and homosexuality are frowned upon and classified as immoral conduct. As a result, both Sex workers and LGBT persons face stigma, victimization and persecution in society. This is despite the prevalence of homosexuality and growing trade of commercial sex work. Quality and professional documentaries have the potential to change such disparaging and derogatory behaviour and the power to change attitudes towards KPs.

To achieve this, filmmakers should follow ethical principles that every practitioner dealing with issues which ultimately inform his/her production and its interpretation. Literature on these ethical issues in Zimbabwean documentary film making is lacking. This is the gap that the research is arresting paying attention to ethical issues that abound in documentary filmmakers and how these affect the presentation of sex workers and LGBT persons in Zimbabwe.

The research had the following objectives:

- Explore ethical issues that documentary filmmakers focusing on key populations in Zimbabwe take into consideration.
- Examine how consideration of these ethical issues affect the framing and presentation of subjects in the documentary film
- Assess the impact of this framing and presentation of subjects in the films from an audience perceptive.
- Proffer recommendations on enhancing ethical framing and presentation of key populations in Zimbabwean documentaries.

5.3 Summary of Research Findings.

The present section presents a summary of the research findings based on the research objectives.

5.3.1: Objective One.

The first objective of the research was to explore ethical issues that documentary filmmakers focusing on KPs in Zimbabwe take into consideration during productions. Based on the first objective, the study found that key ethical principles for documentary filmmaking can be divided

into four major categories. They are (1) the filmmaker's intention, (2) the filmmaker's relationship with his/her subjects, (3) the filmmaker's different responsibilities, and (4) how the filmmaker presents him/herself, his/her work, and the subject matter to an audience.

The filmmaker's intention relates to the reason why he/she embarked on the film project, and what they intend to achieve with it. Ultimately, these considerations influence the quality of the finished product, that is, the documentary film. By and larger, documentaries that focus on KPs should have a clear purpose and a format that they follow. This clear purpose, therefore; informs the production and justifies the film in the end. Without a clear purpose, the documentary will negatively affect KPs. In this study, it was noted that filmmakers had two main aims - to expose the evils and challenges faced by sex workers and LGBT persons and to call society to change their negative perceptions of this key population and assist them.

The relationship between the filmmaker and his/her subject is another field, which often involves several ethical dilemmas. Obtaining informed consent from a subject may be troublesome for his/her participation in a film. For this reason, it is important that the privacy of a subject needs to be respected and personal information should be kept confidential. At times it is difficult for film makers to predict how the subject's participation in a project will impact his/her life. Obtaining permission to film a person, let alone a group of people, raises ethical issues concerning informed consent and confidentiality. The study also found that documentary filmmakers focusing on KPs in Zimbabwe rarely consider ethical issues to do with consent and confidentiality. However, in some instances, filmmakers seek consent from their subjects, and frame them in accordance with their agreement. Confidentiality issues are discussed and the subjects participate with full knowledge and freedom.

When a filmmaker takes on a project, he/she must be aware of the many responsibilities that he/she has towards different groups and people. The director also faces loyalty problems with funders, the public, his/her film's subjects and even to him/herself (Ruby, 2001). Often the roles of these different groups of people can conflict with each other, and thus create an ethical dilemma. With regards to loyalty to self as evidenced by the filmmakers' intentions and vision, the study found that documentary filmmakers focusing on KPs in Zimbabwe consider their vision and purpose in the making of the film, and hence are ethical.

This loyalty to self does not clash with the loyalty to funders as often the filmmaker suits the vision of their films to the mandate of the donor. The same can be said concerning loyalty to subjects. The filmmakers do not present the subjects in negative ways, but ethically present them and in conformity with laid down ethical principles. However, with regards to loyalty to audience, it follows that Zimbabwean filmmakers are not ethical in this respect. They make use of cheap equipment like mobile phones, leave editing apps watermarks visible and rarely mind about aesthetics and quality in their productions. Good sound quality is paramount to the success of a film. The filmmakers also lack use of B-Roll featuring either reenacted or actual events as narrated by the subjects, thereby robbing the audience of true representation of KPs. To this end, the study concludes that Zimbabwean filmmakers making documentaries that focus on KPs are not ethically grounded.

Finally, the manner in which the filmmaker presents his/her project to the intended public often poses some ethical concerns. The presentation of the film to the audience involves consideration of three aspects, that is, the presentation of self (the filmmaker), the work and the subject which ultimately results in the interpretation given by the audience. With regards to self, the research found that documentary filmmakers in Zimbabwe present themselves in three ways: Some are present in the film and visible to the audience (*"We Have Feelings Too": Sex Work in Zimbabwe*), thus giving a sense of equality between the filmmaker and the subjects. Filmmakers also present self within the film via voice presence where the filmmaker can be heard via the narration he/she gives via voice overs (*Epworth Commercial Sex Chronicles* and *Stolen Dream: Children Selling Sex*). This presentation creates some distance between the filmmaker and the subject but allows the audience to see the intimate relationship between the two. Lastly, filmmakers also present self by not being visually or aurally present in the film. The filmmaker is neither seen nor heard in the film, but text information is given alongside visuals and interviews of the subjects and B-Roll (*Persecution of Gays Surfaces in Bulawayo*). Here, total detachment between the subject and the filmmaker is achieved, making the subjects more central in the film.

With regards to presentation of work, the study found that Zimbabwean NGO filmmakers focusing on KPs present their films as either an objective record of pure, unbiased observation, or a subjective record that uses a reflexive voice. Objectivity is achieved via the use of a passive,

observational style that tell themselves as well as the absence of the voice over narration which allows the subjects to be more central in telling the story (*Persecution of Gays Surfaces in Bulawayo*, *Voice of the Voiceless in Zimbabwe*). Subjectivity, on the other hand, is achieved via the use of observational production styles with interviews and the voice-over of the filmmaker and intertitles (*Epworth Commercial Sex Chronicles*, *Stolen Dream: Children Selling Sex*). This is done to evoke an emotional response from the audience. This is all ethical and is informed by the intentions of the filmmaker, and the responsibilities he/she holds in a project.

On the presentation of the subject, the study found that Zimbabwean NGO documentary filmmakers focusing on sex workers and LGBT persons are committed to ensuring truthfulness and authentic representation of the lives of KPs. They present their subjects without negative connotations, but with an authentic performance. Subjects are presented neutrally. The filmmaker gives the audience room to judge for themselves the realities of the subjects. The presentation is not negative, and is not hinged on already negative perceptions held by society against sex workers and LGBT persons.

This research found that KPs documentaries are on face value, presented as ethical but in actual sense they have hidden nuances and subtle negativity in handled KPs stories. There is a tendency by documentarians to be influenced by the funder in its production processes which will give a blind eye to some disturbing realities surrounding the lives of KPs in Zimbabwe. Most of these documentaries do not give voice to these populations. They do not give them room to be agents of change for their problems. Producers script, shoot, edit, package and distribute these documentaries without empowering KPs to narrate their own stories so that the truths about their lives is known outside aesthetic romanticisation to suit the expectation of sponsors.

5.3.2: Objective Two.

The study's second objective examined how consideration of these ethical issues affect the framing and presentation of subjects in the documentary film. In light of this objective, the study found that Zimbabwean filmmakers present their subjects in a positive way. Motivated by the intention to expose the challenges faced by the subjects as well as calling the community to action against these challenges. The filmmakers frame their subjects in such a way that counters the negative society has about KPs. Documentary filmmakers in Zimbabwe create work that questions and

challenges the conditions of the status quo with reference to sex workers and LGBT persons in the country.

With regards to framing, subjects in documentaries analyzed in this study were framed following the commonly used medium shot. This shot is favored by documentary filmmakers because it shows the subjects' facial expressions, body language as well as ensuring the production of quality documentaries. Given that the subjects are delivering information about the challenges they face as sex workers and LGBT persons in their communities, it follows that medium shots were aptly used to fulfil the intended purpose of the documentaries.

In these medium shots, subjects had their faces away from the camera in consideration of their confidentiality, further indicating the reality of the negative perceptions held by society. That they are hidden indicates that the filmmakers are aware of this negative perception, and therefore; challenges it. In some documentaries the faces of the subjects are fully exposed thereby creating an immediate and direct relationship with the audience. In light of this, the study concludes that NGO documentary filmmakers in Zimbabwe create work that questions and challenges the status quo and conditions under which KPs survive.

5.3.3: Objective Three.

The study sought to assess the impact of framing and presentation of subjects in the films from an audience perceptive. The study found that the framing and presentation of sex workers and LGBT persons in NGO documentary films in Zimbabwe seeks to counter negative perceptions held by society about KPs.

While it was very much difficult to measure and ascertain how audience members interpret documentary films the study concludes that the documentaries presented the population in a way that potentially evokes change in perception and regard for ethical principles. This owes to the point that the filmmakers were highly ethical and managed to frame subjects in a way that exposes their realities.

However, the poor sound quality that characterize most of the documentaries, as well as evident lack of planning on the visuals as evidenced by the lack of supporting B-Roll footage has the potential to desensitize the audience from the plight of KPs. This can also cause the audience to question the authenticity of the subject's narrations. In most of these documentaries, use of cheap equipment compromised the quality of the productions. Such lack of professionalism and

seriousness on the part of filmmakers can make the audience members lose interest in the films. Also, poor sound in the films might affect effective communication of messages. In light of these points, the study concludes that Zimbabwean documentaries lack the technical aesthetics that evoke emotional response from the audience.

5.3.4: Objective Four.

The fourth objective for this study sought to proffer recommendations on enhancing ethical framing and presentation of KPs in Zimbabwean documentaries. To this end, the following recommendations are made:

- Zimbabwean filmmakers should invest in professional film making equipment that can be used in the capturing of visual and aural elements in their films. Professional film making equipment translate to professionally produced productions. The filmmaker is obliged to provide the audiences with professional films that contain good sound quality as well as visuals.
- Zimbabwean filmmakers should not only present subjects as they are in documentaries, but should also invest on capturing and presenting B-Roll, that is re-enact material or videos describing and explaining what is being talked about visually. Given that B-Roll footage emphasizes the reality of the documentary via dramatization or actual footage, its absence prejudices the audience. To this end, it is recommended that Zimbabwean documentary filmmakers employ B-Roll footage in KP documentaries.
- Because of the continued negative perceptions against sex workers and LGBT persons in Zimbabwe, documentary films must be leveraged to challenge the mischaracterization, stigmatisation and misrepresentation of the lives of KPs. As such, the study recommends that filmmakers do more to produce and publicise films that challenge such exclusionary narratives and tendencies. Currently, such documentaries are available to a limited population in Zimbabwe which can access YouTube.
- There is a need to widen the reach of the films if they are to counter the negative perceptions against sex workers and LGBT persons. There is also a need to sensitize documentary film

makers about critical KPs issues and ethical principles that must be adhered to when making such productions.

- NGOs working together with the government should come up with laws that encourage promotion of KP issues and engage media to increase awareness of KP issues and fight discrimination against such populations in Zimbabwe.

5.4: Conclusion.

From this study, it can be seen that the ethical issues involved in producing documentary film involving KPs are complex. Filmmakers face complex ethical and moral dilemmas that may seem crippling. However, the benefits of making quality documentary films that captures real stories about KPs, far outweigh the potential hindrances. Ultimately, documentary films are critical in exploring complex issues and allow greater understanding of the humanity and the issues that affect KPs.

This study has demonstrated that thinking about ethics during the film making process increases awareness about how one's actions and ethical choices impact others. To a large extent, Zimbabwean filmmakers focusing on KPs are ethical in their production of documentary films, although there are deficiencies in terms of quality control and capturing the realities of the KPs' lives and challenges. This is partly due to the criminalization of sex work and homosexual behavior. Notwithstanding the somewhat oppressive and repressive environment and lack of quality equipment, filmmakers frame and present KPs in authentic ways as they try to counter negative projections, patriarchal dogma and narratives that are pervasive in Zimbabwean society. However, most documentary are of poor production quality. This calls for invest in professional film making gear as well as B-Roll, capacity building among filmmakers on KPs productions and the need to continuously challenge unethical practices by amateur producers and opportunists.

5.5 Generally produced Key Population Documentaries in Zimbabwe.

This is the category of KP documentaries that have been produced by different documentary filmmakers in Zimbabwe without funding and influence of NGOs. The analysis of these documentaries revealed the complexity of perceptions held by Zimbabweans about KPs.

5.6 Introduction.

This chapter presented a summary of findings in terms and answered questions on how the real stories of KPs is presented by documentary filmmakers. It also looked at the depiction of, and the factors that militate against ethical presentation of these KPs in documentaries produced without the influence of NGOs in Zimbabwe.

5.7 Summary of the research.

In this study, KPs were presented in a variety of misogynous and often predetermined ways leaving them with little room to fully tell their stories. Misogyny manifested itself in the presentation of KPs through texts, graphics or images. Commercial sex workers were presented as series of body parts not as complete creations and in a largely sexist impression. When framing, the filmmakers focus more on the head, thighs, bust and waist in a dehumanizing manner and in ways that presented a partial view of the lives of KPs. The head and face represented a mirror into the person involved while the bust and waist were viewed more as representations of women's sexuality. While the majority of images presented women as body parts the aim was to boost sells since sex sells. Women dancers were often presented as sexual exhibitionists performing for the male gaze. Women's bodies and sexuality were used to sell the KP documentaries to male consumers and projecting them for male gratification. This framing does not project the KPs as people in need of assistance but rather as trouble makers who should be eliminated and as go-to-people for sexual gratification of men.

The negative representation of KPs seemed to suggest that KP documentaries sell more when they scandalize KPs or project them in a way that meets public disapproval. Commercial sex workers were presented as scandalous- a kind of *femme fatale*. Most of the stories on such women sent a message that they were antisocial and deviants. For documentaries done in urban areas, the overall impression created was that KPs deviate from the normal way of life as defined by patriarchy and are not worthy of assistance relative to HIV and AIDS. This could explain why there are higher HIV and AIDS statistic among KPs.

The documentaries studied showed that KPs are unfairly, and negatively represented and very few positives are mentioned about their lives. Where mentioned they would feature more as appendages of men-mistresses, wives and mothers and never as autonomous, independent

individuals with right to enjoyment of Sexual and Reproductive rights. Captions reiterated “the cultural image of the of women as dependent and as ornamental objects ” For example, the majority of the commercial sex workers claimed that they were forced to engage in commercial sex work, after failing to find a men who could look after them. They were also presented as indecent which further confirmed the view that women were sex objects. Thus, their presentation whether as mothers, wives, mistresses or otherwise seemed to suggest that eventually, all women should be able to fulfill men’s sexual desires, and these women get sick, it’s part of their occupational hazard.

The key question was why KPs were presented negatively. Answers to this question were varied including commercial reasons that sex sells and women were the best in representing sex. It was also established that Zimbabwe’s largely partriachial society loathes and frowns upon KPs, particularly commercial sex workers, women, gays and lesbians.

5.8 Conclusion.

The study concludes that KP documentaries by Zimbabwean filmmakers are characterised by symbolic annihilation - a term that means media’s condemnation, trivialization and exclusion of KPs who have been negatively portrayed in the media despite various efforts to increase their visibility and positive coverage. The inequality, sexism and misogyny observed in the documentaries is also a testament to negative representation of KPs. The image of KPs is influenced by the way videos were shot and the various processes such as cropping, enlarging or highlighting which often change the way audiences interpreted images or make sense of them.

The views expressed in the documentaries reviewed epitomise the general socio-political attitude towards KPs as problematic individuals. Film is a powerful tool that can be used to control public opinion and is virulent ideological state apparatus. Thus, citizen interactions with the world are governed by politics in all its forms, and the KP documentaries analysed here about gays and lesbians; are rooted within the same “worse than cats and dogs” Mugabe mindset.

KP documentaries simply spotlight and fragment these issues, and in so doing; political issues are brought home to citizens through media. It can be inferred from the foregoing that documentaries demonstrate a deep relationship between ideology, realism and propaganda about KPs in general and they are not reality per se but sugar-coated anecdotes of reality as seen from the producer’s perspective who use the techniques of filming and editing to correct viewer conception of reality.

In this regard, the contemporary Zimbabwe documentaries are not tools for historical record that constructs truth from the raw materials of actuality but are a powerful instrument in the hands of powerful politics, and capital.

5.9 Recommendations:

This section of the study presents recommendations based on the researcher's experience as a journalist, observations and analysis of six documentaries produced by filmmakers from Zimbabwe on KPs. Evidence from the research indicate that the image of KPs presented through the documentaries is disconcerting, and call for a radical shift in society's views towards KPs. Therefore, the study recommends that:

- There is a need to conducting broader awareness building workshops for media practitioners who specialise in KPs documentary productions.
- Practitioners must introduction of a binding code of ethics that guide documentary production about KPs. This will only work under conditions of self-regulation with sufficient safeguards to compel parties to respect these codes.
- The government should provide legal protection to KPs so that they have recourse to justice when their rights are violated.
- Practitioners strictly adhere to ethical standards despite the overwhelming need for high sales volumes.
- There is a need t mainstream KP issues in the education curriculum so that these values develop earlier in the lives of all citizens.
- NGOs lobby for KPs to occupy positions of authority in society as well as in employment structures to influence their portrayal and promote their rights.

5.10 Chapter summary.

This chapter offered a synopsis of the whole study and provided answers to research questions. Overall, the study established that although efforts are being done by individual filmmakers and NGOs to push for change of attitudes towards KPs and to promote their acceptance in society such efforts have had little impact due to failure by film producers to strictly adhere to ethical principles

and failure to put in place quality control measures. The dream of fair and equitable representation in the media of KPs is possible but there is a need for a holistic approach involving society, media and NGOs to create a safe environment for KPs who are currently being vilified, discriminated against in society and negatively projected by the media, including KPs amateur documentary producers and opportunists. Evidence from the research indicate that the image of KPs presented through the documentaries is disconcerting, and call for a radical shift in society's views towards KPs

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