

REMOTE OUTREACH CINEMA CAMPAIGN

(R.O.C.C.)

by

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GLOSSARY

Biological Corridor: Habitat band linking areas of similar management and/or habitat type. These habitats are important in maintaining genetic bio-diversity, so that groups of particular species are not forced to inbreed.

Biological Hotspot: These areas are the biologically richest yet most threatened places on Earth. They represent the convergence of threat and opportunity.
(CEPF.net)

Cinema Verité: French for "cinema truth," this documentary style movement emphasized the use of available light, hand-held cameras, and long takes. a style of filmmaking that attempts to convey candid realism. Often employing lightweight, hand-held cameras and sound equipment, it shows people in everyday situations and uses authentic dialogue, naturalness of action, and a minimum of rearrangement for the camera.

Conservation: The protection, preservation, management, or restoration of wildlife and natural resources such as forests, soil and water.

Conservation Values/ Conservation Ethic: The ideological system in which people recognize the importance of protecting, preserving and managing wildlife and natural resources. These ethics or values are embedded in culture. They can be manifested in stories, politics, opinions, art, economics, and religion.

Environmental Values: The way that people regard their natural surroundings such as water, clean air, and landscape as important to their life.

Ethnography: The scientific description of the customs of individual peoples and cultures. (Oxford)

French New Wave: The French New Wave was a blanket term coined by critics for a group of French filmmakers of the late 1950s and 1960s. These filmmakers were linked by their self-conscious rejection of classical cinematic form and their spirit of youthful iconoclasm. Many also engaged in their work with the social and political upheavals of the era, making their radical experiments with editing, visual style, and narrative part of a general break with the conservative paradigm.

Heuristics: As an adjective is defined as “enabling a person to discover or learn something for themselves” (Oxford).

Mesoamerica: Central America.

NGO: Non Governmental Organization.

Opinion Leaders: Leaders who have credibility in a community (Jowett, O’Donnel).

Participatory Cinema: Participatory cinema aims to creatively collaborate with the subject during the filmmaking process and include the viewer in the cinema experience.

Sustainable Development: Aims to provide a perpetual balance between the economy, the environment, and society.

Social Capital: The term ‘social capital’ has been around since the 1980s (Portes 1999), Social capital may be defined as a value inhering in groups that is augmented through increased social solidarity. (Stocks, McMahan and Taber 2006).

Rural: In, relating to, or characteristic of the country-side rather than a town. This includes small fishing villages, agricultural landscapes, islands and Rural tourism destinations.

Rural Outreach Cinema: Using portable digital video projectors and sound systems to create a collective cinema experience in a Rural area. It is an exhibition strategy that targets specific audiences and supports a *conservation* agenda.

ABSTRACT

This thesis proposes strategies for the making and exhibition of films that amplify conservation values and efforts in rural communities. The films support and promote the missions of local leaders and the agendas of respected environmental agencies. The filmmaking strategies entail identifying existing conservation values as experienced through broad themes such as quality of life, economics and community development. By focusing on the collaborative process of making and projecting a film, these strategies serve to inspire innovative solutions promoting responsible stewardship of the land and sea. This model of media creation and delivery is designed to empower local politics and communities with the momentum necessary to plan a future consistent with their environmental values.

I call this media creation and delivery strategy, Remote Outreach Cinema Campaigns (R.O.C.C.); Remote, because the media is targeted towards rural audiences, Outreach because the media supports the missions of established environmental agencies, Cinema, because the final delivery is on a large screen and viewed collectively. And Campaign, because the final film is only one part of a process.

INTRODUCTION

For four years I have been working on films funded by environmental groups interested in conservation of natural resources. One of the biggest challenges has been to develop effective communication strategies to reach rural people. Most recently, I have been working with an organization, CAVU¹ (Calm Air Visibility Unlimited), a Non Governmental Organization (NGO) that uses the power of flight and the medium of film to create a broader understanding of the importance of biological corridors in the Americas. We have developed a strategy to create cost effective campaigns that promote conservation in rural areas. My thesis focuses on filmmaking as an essential component in this innovative strategy for reaching specific rural audiences. I call this media strategy a Remote Outreach Cinema Campaign (R.O.C.C.): Remote, because the media is targeted towards rural audiences; Outreach because the media supports the missions of established environmental agencies; Cinema, because the final delivery is on a large screen and viewed collectively; and Campaign, because the final film is only one part of a process. In R.O.C.C. digital filmmaking becomes a tool for engaged learning. Portable video projection systems provide the technological backbone for a cultural cinema experience. Together, the filmmaking and the exhibition promote conservation and local resource stewardship through the collaborative art form of participatory cinema.

R.O.C.C. serves conservation through the creation and delivery of media that supports ideologies that promote healthy ecosystems, such as the mangroves, tropical forests and coastal regions of Mesoamerica. More specifically the campaigns aspire to:

- Inspire the formation of groups and inter-organization collaboration that promote land and resource stewardship;

- Promote biodiversity via local initiatives such as preserving biological corridors and maintaining a healthy level of genetic biodiversity;
- Support sustainable development through practices that avoid erosion, sedimentation, pollution and permanent destruction of natural resources;
- Nurture reverence for the heritage and culture of the participants;
- Create local job opportunities and economic incentives that support conservation.

This paper proposes methods that combine this conservation agenda with a filmmaking process that leverages *existing local* beliefs, values, politics and economic incentives to create a focused sense of solidarity in support of wise development and conservation. Even though I am culturally an outsider in the places where I work, I have to believe that we all share a common desire for clean air, fresh water and bountiful nature.

The first section of this paper establishes certain criteria for initiating a Remote Outreach Cinema Campaign (R.O.C.C.). These qualifying features are necessary to successfully work with local leaders to create media that will help form community consensus on important environmental decisions. These criteria guide the filmmaker in choosing a target area by defining conservation goals and identifying local collaborators.

The following chapter answers why conservation ethics are inherently stronger in rural areas. People who live off the land and sea as fishermen, farmers and ranchers rely on the same natural cycles as healthy ecosystems. For example, both a farmer and the forest need clean water and both fishermen and reefs are tuned to the tides. R.O.C.C works best with people who enjoy a strong connection to the land and sea. Filmmaking and interview techniques can identify and strengthen pre-existing local conservation ethics. R.O.C.C. enables peer-to-peer communication to build social capital in favor of conservation. Social capital may be defined as values

inhering in groups that are augmented through increased social solidarity (Stocks, McMahan and Taber 2006). This communication pathway aims to initiate a climate in which rural communities invite support of environmental NGOs, which in turn, can more effectively contribute to conservation victories. This avenue enables rural communities to claim these victories as their own, and thereby become more vested in the continued conservation success.

Collaboration and participation in the filmmaking process enable conservation messages to be embraced and adopted by rural audiences. This is especially true when a filmmaker is promoting a conservation agenda in another culture. I propose a style of filmmaking and exhibition that relies heavily on many levels of participation among the technicians and the subjects. Messages and lessons are best received when they are co-created and delivered from within a community. Methods pioneered by early ethnographic filmmakers provide a historic perspective on how participatory cinema can be used to address important environmental concerns in rural areas.

Bringing a community of people under one roof for a cinema experience lends itself to the collective appreciation of what is fundamentally a collaborative art form. Using the spectacle of a big screen in a remote area as part of a cultural evening is an entertaining way to amplify the messages of rural leaders. Screening professional footage of local landscape aerials, and using special visual techniques such as macro photography, slow motion, and editing to compress space and time can vividly reveal environmental concerns. Combined with the voices of recognizable faces, the cinema experience can offer perspectives on environmental issues that are unique to the medium of film. The “bigger than life” cinema experience opens up the potential for conservation themes and messages to be absorbed into local folklore. The viewing experience is also an excuse for a gathering, which often builds community solidarity-- an essential prelude to protecting valuable natural resources such as mangroves, forests and watersheds. I am proposing a strategy to create a cultural cinema evening that will effectively

project a message, reward the participatory process, and ally the film with credible leaders and partners. R.O.C.C. films provide the reason for the gathering but are only a part of a media platform to create a community receptive to NGO follow through.

As a whole, this thesis presents digital filmmaking strategies to involve local communities in a process of environmental discovery. The paper also presents theories and methods on how to use digital projection technology as an innovative distribution and exhibition platform for conservation agendas. I hope that these techniques and theories will be of interest to environmental groups and filmmakers interested in serving the environmental concerns and needs of rural communities.

CRITERIA FOR CHOOSING A R.O.C.C. AREA

Remote Outreach Cinema Campaigns entail agenda-based filmmaking. The goal is to create media campaigns that promote conservation in rural areas. Establishing clear objectives is the first important pre-requisite of any conservation project, as outlined by Kempton, Schweizer and Stringer in their report The Use of Mass Media as a tool for Conservation: A Survey of non-governmental organizations and foundations. “Targeting a specific audience is another component of an effective communications strategy. Five out of twelve organizations stated identification of a target audience as a key characteristic of their most successful projects” (Kempton, Schweizer, Stringer: 7). In the following section I will describe the relevant social, political and environmental context for my film Los Senderos Del Cambio (The Paths Of Change) and use it as an example to develop the criteria for choosing objectives and target audiences for R.O.C. Campaigns.

Proximity to Natural Resources

Los Senderos Del Cambio is a 26-minute film that targets an audience in a small coastal community on the Pacific coast of southwestern Costa Rica. Two small hamlets in the Osa province represent the target audience, Bahia and Uvita, which abut a locally managed marine refuge called Marino Ballena Park². These rural communities straddle an important biological corridor regarded as a hotspot by large environmental agencies such as Conservation International and the Nature Conservancy³. The proximity of key natural assets such as the mountain coastal biological corridor and a marine park that includes a mangrove system, makes a compelling case for choosing these communities as a target for a Remote Outreach Cinema Campaign. Other examples of resources include marine biological corridors, forests, watersheds, estuaries, intact island and riparian ecosystems. Areas close to a

natural resource, especially if the resource has conservation momentum from local leaders and environmental organizations, are useful for the R.O.C.C filmmaker. The familiar region and pre-existing conservation goals will help the media creator to frame interview questions, establish locations and storyboard themes that the community will easily identify and rally behind. It is difficult to create a media campaign without direction or purpose. According to the environmental organizations surveyed by Kempton, Schweizer, Stringer, the only thing more important than knowing your target audience is having clearly defined goals (Kempton, Schweizer, Stringer 7).

Communities in Transition

A Costa Rican squatter law allows individuals to claim land by making it agriculturally productive. These laws were introduced to allow poor, landless farmers to settle on land that was unoccupied or not in use. The idea was to prevent the formation of the large absentee landholdings typical of other parts of Latin America, where a handful of the wealthy owned most of the land. The longer the farmers stay on the land, the more rights they gain.

In this region there are many agriculturalists that have been on the land for over fifteen years. They are now gaining legal title to the land they have occupied. Costa Rica's recent real estate boom positions these very poor farmers as owners of land that is worth hundreds of thousands of dollars. In addition, a newly paved road, destined to be the alternate pan American highway is under construction fifty miles to the north. Currently, the major north/south highway is a twisting mountain pass colloquially nicknamed the Cerro Del Muerte (Highway of Death.) The new route will drastically increase traffic to and through Uvita, the location and community filmed in Los Senderos Del Cambio. As many members of the community are gaining legal property rights, the explosion of tourism⁴ and development in Costa

Rica threaten this small rural community with significant increase in traffic and rapid growth.

The official transfer of land titles, the rapid development of tourism and the booming real estate economy are example characteristics of a community in transition.

That is to say, they are facing imminent changes to their current way of life. These changes are linked to their natural environment. People visit the area because of its pristine beaches, healthy forests, and the marine national park. Developers are interested in the area because of its potential for recreation (fishing, snorkeling, boating etc.) and foreigners are attracted to the healthy living (clean air and water) and warm climate. The irony is that this development also poses a serious threat to the same natural resources that make the area so popular. For example, erosion caused by deforestation to clear land for construction creates sedimentation that flows down rivers and creates a suffocating solar blanket over the reef⁵. The media creation of a R.O.C.C. is concerned with natural resources, so consequently R.O.C.C. highlights the need for communities to carefully consider decisions that affect land zoning, resource allotment, quality of life and fragile ecosystems. If a community is transitioning from a rural agrarian economy to a tourism-based economy, the community must gain as much insight as possible into potential environmental, social and economic issues. R.O.C.C. helps the community to share visions, hopes and perspectives for the future. Through interviews, aerial surveys and storytelling, my thesis film Los Senderos Del Cambio offers a vision of both negative and positive aspects of development. Digital filmmaking is ideally suited to condense issues inherent with transition and change into a more understandable perspective. For example, filmmaking techniques such as interviewing elders can compress time to give a historic perspective of the change that has already occurred. Aerial cinematography can visually compress space so that a community can better understand the interconnectivity of environmental issues such as construction and sedimentation. In the case of Los Senderos Del Cambio, the sequence of the old man

who sold his land twenty years ago brings into perspective how rapidly the economy and value of money has changed and also vividly shows how the economy has shifted from an agrarian base to foreign capital and tourism.

In addition when R.O.C.C. works in areas that are experiencing rapid change the filmmaker has more opportunities to discover stories that are full of emotions and drama. Transition is a quality in which digital filmmaking, story telling and R.O.C.C. can use to its benefit. R.O.C.C. films are not just about education and awareness, they strive to find compelling stories, ironies, drama, emotions and interesting characters to convey insight and perspectives on environmental concerns.

Local Support

The most important criterion for choosing a target area for a Remote Outreach Cinema Campaign is the level of community support for the creation of such a campaign. For Los Senderos Del Cambio, local community leader Franklin Sequiera and his group, the Alianza Del Desarrollo (Alliance of Development) had already been raising awareness for the terrestrial biological corridor.⁶ Sequiera is respected by the community, is awarded high praise from renowned Costa Rican biologist Ricardo Soto, and is the recipient of an AVINA leadership grant.⁷ The presence of active leaders and groups that have established a conservation mission is crucial to the success of a campaign.

R.O.C.C. needs local support to provide perspectives and introductions to different story leads and to help garner community involvement in the participatory cinema process. After conducting four R.O.C.C. campaigns with CAVU, we have found that the best way to identify local leaders is through the field personnel and directors of large NGO's. In Panama, members of La Asociación Nacional para la Conservación de la Naturaleza (ANCON) led us to the high school teacher who was critical in that campaign's success. In El Salvador, the international organization

CARE introduced us to a local mayor who was a perfect leader to convey the story of how a community brought potable water into their homes. Fostering and facilitating collaboration between rural community leaders and resource rich NGO's helps the R.O.C.C. filmmaker identify characters and stories and is fundamental to the overall success of the campaigns future sustainability.

In the case of Los Senderos Del Cambio, the presence of established groups and leaders working for conservation combined with the community's close proximity to a marine national park and an important terrestrial biological corridor and the recent transition to a tourism-based economy made Uvita and Bahia, Costa Rica ideal locations to pilot the first Remote Outreach Cinema Campaign. In choosing other projects and locations for R.O.C.C, it is important to follow criteria that ensure an identifiable conservation goal, timely issues at stake, strategic environmental partners and community involvement.

WHY TARGET RURAL COMMUNITIES?

With public sentiment, nothing can fail; without it, nothing can succeed. Consequently, he who molds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions.

-Abraham Lincoln

With Los Senderos del Cambio I was more interested in identifying and amplifying conservation values of a rural community than in changing or addressing national laws. With populations growing even in the most rural areas, it is imperative to stimulate local stewardship and responsibility towards natural resources. Otherwise, unchecked development will destroy what little natural resources we, as a global community, have left. In Costa Rica there are strong federal laws⁸ against unregulated development, illegal fishing and poaching of animals, and timber harvesting. However these abuses still plague many parts of the country⁹. Helping individuals become psychologically and economically invested in the conservation of their environment is the best way to ensure long-term stewardship.

Those who reside in or close to parks and natural resources know these places best. Humans are inherently consumers, so proximity counts. A good example of how to redirect extractive practices in favor of symbiotic ones is to spur alternate employment opportunities. In Madidi National Park, Bolivia, many of the park's rangers are former employees of logging companies. Dr. Rob Wallace, a Primatologist with the Wildlife Conservation Society, employs former loggers to help track and study peccaries. By engaging a local conservation ethic it is possible to both curb destructive practices and increase the protection of natural surroundings.

R.O.C.C. attempts to empower rural local inhabitants as stewards of the land with locally pertinent conservation media. We use local personalities to address subjects that people really care about: their health; economic well-being; and quality of life. Many of the subjects I interviewed in Los Senderos Del Cambio possessed a

strong environmental ethic. Not only leaders and environmentalists, but also simple fishermen understood the importance of the mangroves as nurseries for the sea. They knew agricultural runoff and sedimentation damages coral reefs and in turn hurt the fisheries and the economy they sustain. Our aim is to interweave pre-existing conservation concerns with other concerns such as health and wealth.

Agricultural people on the other side of the world mirror this strong conservation knowledge. The Australian Conservation Foundation commissioned Dr. Laura Stocker of Murdoch University in Australia to determine what rural people were thinking and doing about nature conservation in Western Australia. Her research project found that, “in many cases this strong eco-centric ethic is manifested by a sense of stewardship or duty-of-care for the land.” Dr. Stocker said the research team was most impressed with the high levels of nature conservation knowledge among rural groups such as aspects of taxonomy; vegetative regeneration; soil and other hydrological processes; ecological systems; sustainability; and other conservation techniques. Furthermore, her research revealed that many farmers prefer to get their information from a knowledgeable neighbor rather than from a specialist or similar source (Murdoch).

Both this “high-level conservation knowledge” and preference for peer-to-peer communication support a strategy of using film interviews with local personalities to re-affirm conservation values within the community. Los Senderos Del Cambio’s verbal narrative is edited together from interviews of recognizable members of the community. As local characters share advice and opinions from the big screen—about their land, development issues and nature—the cinema experience becomes a forum for communication among peers. When multiple people say they value clean water in front of the rest of the community, they collectively identify a conservation value. Even when the value seems obvious, the collective recognition and repetition help unify a community on issues and build social capital for conservation.

One of the key elements of Dr. Stoker's research is that if rural people *feel* they *are* stewards, they will act more responsibly towards the land (Murdoch). Using R.O.C.C. to target rural audiences can help local environmental responsibilities evolve. Yes, evolve—the concept of being “local” can be used as a metaphor for how R.O.C.C. attempts to strengthen the self-perception of belonging, and publicly identify an audience as stewards. Age of Propaganda by Anthony Pratkanis and Elliot Aronson documents the power of labeling as an effective persuasive media technique.

In a study conducted by Richard Miller, Phillip Brickman and Diana Bolin, the researchers attempted to persuade two classes of fifth-grade students to be neat and tidy. One class received lectures on ecology and the dangers of pollution, as well as why it was important to throw away lunchroom trash. The lectures ended with a plea from the janitor to keep things clean. Other fifth-grade students did not receive any lectures, but were repeatedly told that they were neat and tidy. For example, the janitor told these students that they were one of the neatest classes in the school. Furthermore they were encouraged by their teacher to think about why they were so tidy. The results showed that those students who received lectures did not improve their littering behavior. In contrast, the fifth-graders who were randomly labeled “neat and tidy” dropped three times more litter in the trash cans than did their classmates. (Miller, Brickman and Bolin 430-431)

Remote Outreach Cinema Campaigns use such labeling techniques to encourage people to support conservation and land stewardship. During the first act of Los Senderos Del Cambio (2005), individuals from the community were publicly recognized or labeled as people who value nature, clean water, land ownership, their community and their beaches. Teen-agers expressed values against littering and pollution. Small business owners expressed values for co-operative business models and local landowners valued controlled regulations on land development.

Our aim is to capture values in a style that utilizes peer-to-peer communication that helps self-identify locals as stewards in control of their

development. This is best represented in the denouement of the film where text reads, “The development of *our* community is *our* responsibility.”

The support of media initiatives to promote local control of the environment begs the question: Who is to say that local people are better stewards of the land—better than, say, some absentee foreigner who buys vast tracts of land?

In Beyond the Map: Indigenous and Colonist Impacts and Territorial Defense in Nicaragua’s Bosawas Reserve, Tony Stocks, Ben McMahon and Peter Taber present scientific proof that local long-term residents make better conservationists. Using satellite images from the period of 1986 to 2002 they show that indigenous residents have deforested significantly less terrain than “mestizos” (colonists) on a per capita basis, and that forests under indigenous tenure retain significantly more connectivity than forests under “mestizo” tenure. The authors posit:

Aside from the issue of culture and its relation to forest preservation in general, this article also discusses a more immediate and practical issue, whether the indigenous people of BOSAWAS can maintain a defense of the forest in the face of the powerfully developing agricultural frontier. We think they can and will show that they have done so. We would argue that participatory processes 10 years ago that were involved in territorial mapping, self study, zoning, the formation of territorial stewardship institutions and management planning created enough *social capital* that the claims were defended “as if” they were indigenous property.

In the rest of the paper, the authors make a clear argument for supporting this Nicaraguan indigenous population and its cultural conservation practices. However, they also make it clear that this is only one culture and not all indigenous groups have the same practices.

In relation to R.O.C.C., it is the participatory process of “territorial mapping, self study, and zoning” that is very interesting. The authors do not fully investigate

the role of this participatory process as a tool. But I think the authors would agree that the collaborative processes empowered the people to feel more responsible towards *their* land, and that local participation in the research process was instrumental in (re)activating a mentality of long-term conservation.

In recent years, Costa Rica has seen a dramatic increase in tourism¹⁰. Attractive natural resources like beaches, mangroves and primary forests surround the community profiled in Los Senderos Del Cambio. One of my agenda items in creating the film was to urge the local community to carefully consider the creation of locally owned ecotourism businesses as a model for sustainable growth. In How sustainable is ecotourism in Costa Rica? Place writes:

The local community must be actively engaged in just about every aspect of an ecotourism project in order for it to contribute both to the well being of the project as well as the local community (sic) there is still room for an alternative route to development, based on grassroots initiative and participatory planning that can promote more authentic, sustainable tourism (Place 117).

All of the above-mentioned authors stress the importance of the participatory process, because participatory techniques create enough *social capital* to spur on-the-ground action, such as the “formation of territorial stewardship organizations” in the Bosawas region of Nicaragua (Stocks, McMahon Taber). Their research yields some interesting hard data proving that indigenous people in this region of Nicaragua maintain healthier relationships to the environment. Yet the brief mention of the participatory process seems to relegate its importance to an anecdotal byproduct of their research. I wonder if their participatory research techniques are only effective for indigenous people? I think that the conservation ethic of rural people as it is affected by participatory research deserves further research. I am confident that adopting participatory techniques into R.O.C.C. is the best way to develop conservation media in rural areas.

PARTICIPATORY CINEMA AND CONSERVATION

From the start of making Los Senderos Del Cambio we knew that we were creating a film for a specifically targeted audience. This film was *about* the community of Bahia *for* the community. We felt that the more we could involve individuals in the filmmaking process, the better. We had the good fortune to have a charismatic, well-respected leader, Franklin Sequira, as an introductory portal into the community. His organization, Alianza Del Desarrollo (Alliance of Development), employed a well-liked younger Latina woman, Sonia Leon, who had moved to the area a few years previously. I employed another production assistant, Patricia Ortiz, a resident of Costa Rica and a passionate biologist who is quick with a smile and an attractive demeanor that inspired trust. As I am a full-fledged gringo with a limited command of Spanish, these three members helped successfully “sell” the idea of making a film to this rural community. I believe working with an extroverted, high-energy crew is extremely helpful in convincing people of your intentions and getting them involved in the filmmaking process. An insensitive and abrasive team of foreigners will not help reduce the “strange” factor of cameras, tripods and fuzzy microphones. Anything you can do to get people to open up, feel comfortable and get involved in the process is fundamental to the initial stages of creating participatory cinema. On the most fundamental level Remote Outreach Cinema Campaigns won’t work without community involvement and participation. This chapter proposes different techniques and anecdotal evidence to increase participation in the filmmaking process.

At the time of making Los Senderos Del Cambio, I had never even heard of the term “participatory cinema.” I was unwittingly using several filmmaking techniques that were pioneered more than fifty years ago by Jean Rouch. Rouch is most often cited as an ethnographic filmmaker, but he also influenced art cinema and the French New Wave movement. His Chronique d’un Été 1961 is considered one of the very first *Cinema Verité* films (Loizos). Ironically, it is his bending of truth

and his ethno-fiction experiments with role-playing and improvisation that I find interesting for R.O.C.C.

Rouch's films offer insight into how participatory filmmaking can be used to promote conservation as well as provide a historic context in which to analyze R.O.C.C techniques. Rouch's use of improvisation and role-playing in La Pyramide Humaine and his use of location to spur emotions in Chronique d'un Ete paved the way for the participatory cinema techniques we used in Los Senderos del Cambio.

By introducing improvisation and role-playing, Rouch felt he was able to reveal deeper insights into a culture (Stoller). Although his goals took an ethnologic slant of sharing insight into a culture, his "actors" were also transformed by the experience¹¹ (Loizos). If the process of filmmaking can be self-revelatory, why not use it to raise local awareness of important conservation and development issues? In contrast to traditional ethnographic objectives, R.O.C.C. films do not aspire to interpret one culture to another¹² as much as they endeavor to magnify the environmental values of a culture within a rural community.

In La Pyramide Humaine, a film about race relations in a high school in Abidjan (Ivory Coast), Rouch starts the filmmaking process by recruiting "actors" and cautioning the students that "some of you will have to be the racists" (Loizos). This stimulus sets the stage for an improvisational play in which the students can express themselves without fear of what they should or shouldn't say. This is a brilliant way of exposing sensitive issues that often yield only pat answers in direct interviews. Rouch ends the film by telling the audience: "the process of improvisation affected all the players. He tells us that some of the people in the film became good friends and the film ends with two mixed couples walking happily arm in arm in a street" (Loizos 52).

According to the ending of La Pyramide Humaine 1961, the process of filmmaking enabled some of the characters to publicly transcend racism in Africa. If Rouch successfully used improvisation and participatory cinema to empower teenagers to overcome race taboos in the 1960s, it is reasonable to expect that similar

techniques can help counter the quick-turn-around development that is harming the natural assets along much of Central America's Pacific coast¹³.

Role-playing and fictional treatment are safer ways to criticize and comment on sensitive issues, especially when egos, money and power are involved. Peter Loizos describes Rouch's La Pyramide Humaine, "where the collaborative improvisation produced something which might have happened to those people in that place and allowed them to say things they said or heard every day but could not readily be said 'for the record'." During the filming of Los Senderos Del Cambio, I was told that when rural people received large amounts of money from land sales, they often depleted and misspent the windfall within a few years. Our local contact Franklin Sequiera warned me that this was a very sensitive issue. According to Franklin, former landowners with bruised egos and empty pockets had started numerous machete fights in the Osa province. These squandered fortunes, so important for the story, seemed to be a good candidate for a fictional treatment.

Initially, my aim in creating the fictional vignettes was to visually lubricate the dryness of "talking heads" and to involve more members of the community. I now believe that getting people creatively involved is an important step towards the community "owning" the film and its messages. The fictional vignettes in Los Senderos Del Cambio are all stories and anecdotes I heard during interviews.

The film has two alternate endings of the young girl we meet in the beginning of the film. In the "dark destiny" cleaning sequence, a young woman (who in reality enjoys a healthy rural lifestyle on a small ranch), acts out a depressing sequence of cleaning the squalid bathroom in a slummy motel room. The character of the farmer (who was really a fisherman), gets drunk and is mugged at a nightclub notorious for drugs and prostitution. The filmmaking process exposed these community members to situations that represented a darker side of development. They were both involved in the creative process, coming up with wardrobe and acting out the parts.

The participatory cinema technique that garnered the strongest response from viewers of Los Senderos del Cambio is responsible for the sequence in which I bring

an old man back to the mountain farm he sold for \$400 twenty years ago. It was obviously an emotional experience for him. As he walked through the array of Century 21 signs, the audience could sense his defensive embarrassment and sadness. Filmmakers and ethnographers Rouch, MacDougall and Loizos all have experimented in using location and external stimuli to provoke an emotional response¹⁴ (Loizos). The old man's story and emotions resonate strongly with people who are considering selling their land. I have video testimonials that identify the old man's story as the tipping point in their decision not to sell their land. The old man is an example of how powerful the expression of emotion is on film. It also is an example of how money often serves as a necessary catalyst to get people involved. Without paying him, he never would have told his story and returned to his old farmstead. I hoped to give him some creative ownership of the sequence by asking him to create his own soundtrack with the melancholic guitar melody. Ideally, the actors and participants would realize that the film serves them and that would be its own reward. In reality, I think that a little money helps recruit participants. The old man's story is non-fiction and generally I do not pay for interviews, but in this case I had to make an exception or abandon this key sequence.

David McDougall's Transcultural Cinema references Jean Rouch: "Often it is only by introducing new stimuli that the investigator can peel back the layers of a culture and reveal its fundamental assumptions." Rouch recognized that the simple presence of a camera represented the first level of stimulus. He took this to the next level and believe that "when people are being recorded, the reactions that they have are always infinitely more sincere than those they have when they are not being recorded." (MacDougall 111) I am not sure I believe that the camera always induces sincerity, but I do believe that a motivated film crew can help a community gain new perspectives on issues relating to the environment.

One of the signature elements of a R.O.C.C. film is filming the Regional Over Flight of Local Leaders (R.O.L.L). In Los Senderos Del Cambio, David Smith the pilot and producer of the film took Franklin Sequira on an over-flight to

investigate illegal developments. By placing a local character in the air and recording his reactions, the film was able to put the problems of sedimentation and erosion that come with poorly planned development in a larger context. The sequence provided a visual framework to include a local leader's passionate condemnation of unregulated development. This sequence ultimately provided the thesis for the film: To create an official zoning plan that would wisely guide development in the area. Filming rural people in an airplane is an excellent form of participatory stimulus that provides both an informative perspective and an emotional context.

In the films where Rouch's characters seem to undergo the most personal transformation, he worked with younger people. (Jaguar 1967, Moi un Noir 1959, and La Pyramide Humaine). These young characters who improvise a voyage of discovery reminds me of what Joseph Campbell told Bill Moyers in *The Power of Myth*, "Preachers err by trying to talk people into belief; better they reveal the radiance of their own discovery." (Campbell xvi) Choosing younger "talent" and exposing them to the unknown has greater potential for improvisation and stirring up the "revelatory power of role-playing" (MacDougall 111).

During the research and writing of this paper, the CAVU team initiated and completed another Remote Outreach Cinema Campaign along the Pacific coast of Panama. Inspired by the participatory techniques of Rouch's film Jaguar, I intended to conduct a journey of discovery with young locals. The target community was very similar to the one in Los Senderos Del Cambio. In fact the Panamanian fishing town of Pixvae is only 175 kilometers south of Uvita, but it is at least twenty years behind in development. The one restaurant in town opened only a few weeks before my arrival. Just off the coast from Pixvae, there is a newly designated national park on the former prison island of Coiba. According to the Asociación Nacional para la Conservación de la Naturaleza (ANCON)—one of the environmental agencies that helped create the park—this small fishing hamlet is destined to be one of the primary gateways to the island. Working in collaboration with ANCON, the R.O.C.C. crew was introduced to a local leader and schoolteacher. This area met all the basic

R.O.C.C criteria and it did not take long to discover that the objective of this campaign was to encourage locals to take ownership and advantage of the inevitable tourism economy.

We put up a casting-call poster in the one-dirt-road town, looking for young “journalists” to work on a film along the coast. We auditioned several young girls and cast two giggly teen-age girls who had both gone to school in Panama City. The film starts with them role-playing their return from Panama City by plane. After an aerial introduction to the area, we improvised a small story in which the father gives them a microphone. The young girls start their journey by interviewing members of their own community. They discover that there is consensus for developing the town to welcome more tourists; however, very few people have any concrete vision of what type of development they want.

Taking a cue from Rouch’s Jaguar, we use the film as a reason for the girls to explore the coast. The “journalists” visit a newly opened campsite and restaurant on a small island. They are the first visitors to try a horseback tour along the beach. With our boat captain they catch and release a fish and even attempt to surf on the learner waves by an internationally known surf break. The girls return home to the fishing village of Pixvae. We presented their film Una Costa De Posibilidades (A Coast of Possibilities) along with Los Senderos del Cambio on a twelve-by-seven foot screen to a few hundred members of the community. Even more so than Los Senderos Del Cambio, I felt that Una Costa de Posibilidades film succeeds in using participatory cinema. We were able to fully involve young community members in the process from inception to projection. They embarked on a voyage of discovery and returned home with knowledge and advice. In an entertaining way, the girls were able to share experiences, including tourism-induced growing pains such as violence and garbage management. The audience is able to have fun watching the girls fumble through different sustainable business activities in the area.

This video was shot, edited and screened in seven days. The model of young community members on a journey of discovery in which they were able to role-play

journalists was a good venue for delivering ideas for businesses that support ecologically sustainable practices. By making the film quickly and sacrificing production value in the edit, R.O.C.C. tries to fill a niche in making cost-effective media for smaller, more remote audiences. When community members see themselves and their neighbors on the big screen, they are willing to forgive a lot in terms of production value. My one ace in the hole was that I brought stellar underwater footage shot by underwater cinematographer Rick Rosenthal on a hard drive. I edited great underwater film shots of dolphins into the topside sequence of the girls giggling at dolphins swimming off the bow. This pre-arranged collaboration is a behind-the-scenes example of two environmental groups, MARVIVA and CAVU, promoting respect for wildlife.

More importantly than the quality of the film, the two girls who participated in the filmmaking process will be strong voices for local conservation messages well into the future. They had gained enough confidence so that on the evening of the screening, the girls proposed the community organize to bring in full-time electricity to better accommodate tourism. The journey exposed these young girls to forward thinking environmentalists and several of economic opportunities. Their participation planted a seed of conservation that will backup the messages in the film for a long time to come.

In addition, the local collaboration to organize the evening of the cultural cinema came off flawlessly. The local people invested considerable time preparing musical skits, a fashion show and musical performances. According to a letter from one of our local collaborators, the screenings helped create solidarity among the community, and helped create a climate of pride and motivation in the area.¹⁵

I believe that engaging local creativity with the filmmaking process is critically important. But that is only half the equation of participatory cinema. “We are implicated in the destiny of others through narrative and the mythic potential of social actors is heightened through the distancing created by exposition” (MacDougall 122).

PERSUASIVE MEDIA PROJECTION
&
CULTURAL CINEMA EVENINGS

According to Paul Stoller's The Cinematic Griot, "participatory cinema" was born in 1954 when French filmmaker/ethnographer Jean Rouch returned to Ayoru (Niger) to project his film Bataille Sur Le Grand Fleuve on a white sheet on a mud brick wall. The audience criticized the film, saying that it was no good. It needed more hippos and less music. The Songhay people explained that a hippo hunt required silence. Noise would scare the hippos away. Rouch removed the traditional hunting music from the sound track. For Rouch, the evening when the audience asked to see the film again and again was the night ethnographic filmmaking became a shared enterprise. (Stoller 42)

Participatory cinema includes both the process of filmmaking and the screening of the material with the collaborators and subjects of the film. In this way, participatory cinema served Rouch by yielding unparalleled access and invitation. He was richly rewarded by amazing invitations to film hippo hunts, lion hunts, trance rituals—as he himself said, "one film gave birth to another" (Stoller 43). In a R.O.C. Campaign, using participatory cinema has the more focused agenda of 1) amplifying a collective sense of conservation, and, 2) inspiring collaboration between environmental NGO's and local leaders to benefit the long-term health of the people and the environment. As stated in the introduction, this is agenda-based filmmaking. Considering the current direction and status of conservation, I personally strive for a greener change rather than an ethnologist's documentation of a culture.

When change does occur it does so as the result of a multitude of factors, including mass media, socially contextual conditions, group interaction, the presence and influence of opinion leaders and the perceived credibility of the source of the message (Jowett and O'Donnel 201).

This quote from Propaganda and Persuasion provides insight into structuring a cultural cinema experience. The media in this case project a locally made film in a large community hall. The “social context” is a community of rural people. A simple promotion campaign with posters and the relative novelty of the event can attract local mass to the media. An audience inherent to the cinema experience serves as a community event and helps “group interaction.”

The presence of opinion leaders is key. Opinion leaders are people who have credibility in a community (Jowett, O’Donnel). This concept was reinforced by the experience of comparing two R.O.C.C. screenings that took place forty miles apart on consecutive evenings along the Pacific coast of Panama. In one there was a strong local leader as an emcee or Master of Ceremony to present the films and musical acts. In the other community we had to rely on foreigners to emcee. We experienced dramatic difference in crowd reactions, such as attention, participation and applause. Collaborating with a well-known and respected local leader adds credibility to the evening and the conservation messages contained in the film.

For the premiere of Los Senderos Del Cambio, Franklin Sequira emceed the events. His presence commanded respect. This spotlight empowered him, and therefore delivered local credibility to the film. A win/win situation.

We believe good men more fully and more readily
than others: this is true generally whatever the
question is, and absolutely true where exact certainty
is impossible and opinions are divided (Aristotle).

In contrast, Ailes and Dilenschneider in their book, Power and Influence believe “Credibility is manufactured, not earned.” For R.O.C.C. both views on credibility work. The screening and presentation of the film serves to empower the leader by amplifying his voice with a microphone and organizing the attention from a crowd. His presence (assuming we chose wisely) adds local credibility to the film. As a foreigner, I feel it is more effective to distance myself from the delivery of the

film. It is better that I play the role of a technician and employ strategies that give ownership of the event to the local people.

Another strategy from the research on propaganda and persuasive media is to associate the media with credible groups. In the case of Los Senderos del Cambio, I gave pre-roll credits to the federal environmental ministry MINAE, the local Municipality, and the Alianza de Desarrollo. These three groups are often at odds on issues like land permits, perceived corruption, and local versus centralized control.¹⁶ By presenting all three groups together we were trying to engage a respectful alliance so they could collaborate on conservation issues presented in the film. In reality MINAE and the Municipality had very little to do with the creation and presentation of the film. Giving them credit is a persuasive labeling ploy taken from the pages of Propaganda and Persuasion. (Jowett and O'Donnel) This technique can help accomplish an R.O.C.C. goal: the creation of groups and inter-organization collaboration on environmental concerns.

In the promotional posters, CAVU bills the cinema experience as part of a “cultural evening.” Local acts precede the screening of the film. The goal is to ally the media with deeply ingrained cultural arts. For Los Senderos Del Cambio, there were musical performances and local high-school girls did a traditional dance. At our Panama screening, drummers and singers performed traditional music, there was a local clothing fashion show, and a musical skit. These cultural shows involve the community and brand the evening and the messages as their own.

Allying with locally known groups and opinion leaders, and incorporating culturally relevant acts creates a familiar stage that has greater potential of supporting a self-generated conservation ethic. Research has shown that self-generated persuasion—whether induced by group discussion, by getting someone to role-play an opponents position, or by asking someone to imagine adopting a course of action—is one of the most effective persuasion tactics ever identified. (Pratkanis and Aronson 124) In this case, I believe that the participatory cinema process and the collective viewing of the material can accomplish the goal of the *community*

persuading itself that conservation is important. R.O.C.C can then open the door for decisions, alliances, regulations, and NGO follow-through.

In the last R.O.C.C. screening in Panama, I wired the camera to projector so that I could shoot the performances and transmit them live onto big screen. This live feedback was a big hit, especially among the children. However, when our local collaborators performed skits and music on stage on front of the screen, I experienced a curious visual phenomenon. It was a feedback loop of the camera shooting the image it was projecting. The material between the screen and the camera would repeat itself into infinity. So we saw the local guitarist on the big screen repeat like a visual echo into the depth of the image. I think that this video feedback loop is an excellent metaphor for what the cultural evening represents. Its goal is to amplify and repeat the community's conservation values to themselves. In a collective forum these visions will hopefully echo into the future.

CONCLUSION

As a quick recap for the main points, we will use a metaphor from the art of archery. “*First you must choose your bow and your target.*” R.O.C.C chooses digital filmmaking and projection technology to target rural audiences. “*You must become one with your target.*” R.O.C.C. endeavors to use participatory cinema techniques to reveal the interdependence and all-inclusive nature of the environment. Or on a less esoteric note, to collaborate with environmental NGOs to get the big picture and work with local groups and youth to creatively tell a story. R.O.C.C. can provide solidarity between the large centralized groups and rural interests. R.O.C.C. uses persuasive media techniques, the spectacle of a cultural evening and a portable cinema screen to shoot the media arrow with enough power to make a big impact on the target.

If we follow the concept of participatory cinema to its ideological finale, we empower local groups with cameras and filmmaking seminars to make their own movies. There are indeed numerous activist groups (www.videoactivism.org and www.freespeech.org to name a few) that have done this with great success in asserting land ownership rights, redefining the representation of culture and raising awareness of important issues. However, R.O.C.C. attempts to fulfill a niche as a precision oriented conservation tool. Because R.O.C.C. primarily serves the economically disadvantaged, it ultimately relies on philanthropic charity, and to be realistically achievable it needs to be cost and time effective. Nevertheless, the collaboration of film and video professionals with rural groups and environmental agencies can achieve specific conservation goals within a defined time frame. I believe that the role of the outsider supports the creation and delivery of the media spectacle (portable cinema technology); a more objective analysis of environmental issues; access to resources (planes, boats, and digital filmmaking hardware); and the promotion of inter-group collaboration.

Ultimately, I hope by developing and refining the model of Remote Outreach Cinema Campaigns I will provide a useful tool set for environmental groups and media creators interested in conservation of natural resources. Clearly, it is still far from scientific, but media and its reception rarely are a “sure thing.” As with any endeavor that deals with culture and aspires for change there are many potential pitfalls; For example, choosing the wrong opinion leader and gateway into the community could be disastrous. Unwittingly fueling political and personal animosity when dealing with resources and personalities can be dangerous. When dealing with resources it is impossible to please everyone, so don’t try. In my opinion, a vehemently negative response is better than a lukewarm reaction. There are two sequences in Los Senderos Del Cambio that have disturbed individuals enough that they walked out of the screening in protest. In one case, it was an appointed municipality member who did not appreciate being fingered for the illegal development of a protected beach area. In another case, an Italian billionaire, who owns an island and hundreds of acres in Panama, did not appreciate the old man’s emotional tale of selling his farm for \$400. In our video testimonies, members of the community think that these walkouts reveal a guilty al I am not sure what it reveals about their conscious, but I am sure that the walkouts did not improve their popularity in the community. However, part of the participatory process requires that a variety of local sources approve the film before it is publicly screened. Activating emotions is the main vein to local folklore, but emotions can be dangerous, so we need to be careful and consider the ramifications before it is too late.

So far most of my evidence of success is anecdotal in the form of letters written by participants¹⁷ and video interviews. The response has been favorable for Los Senderos Del Cambio. Video testimony has revealed two land owners who have decided not to sell and cite the film as important in their decision-making process. Generally, the children are impressed by nature shots of dolphins, whales and birds (especially the underwater footage). Among the older generation, the sequence of

the old man who sold his farm is most often referenced. The primary message that people have received from Los Senderos Del Cambio is “To not sell the land and that they can start their own business.” We have been receiving requests from NGO’s from El Salvador to Argentina to use the piece in their campaigns to deal with rural development issues.

To truly measure the success of this work we are working on a more accurate way of defining the results of the project. In the school of metrics, success can be measured as the achievement of goals. However, considering the participatory nature and the journey of discovery themes that R.O.C.C. strategies support, it may be wise to incorporate heuristics in the measurement. Heuristics as an adjective is defined as “enabling a person to discover or learn something for themselves” (Oxford).

In my personal journey, it was only during the creation Los Senderos Del Cambio that I discovered one of the film’s primary goals was to support the creation of a “Plan Reglador” or an official municipal land planning and zoning decree. I believe that approaching a film with a narrowly defined system of metrics can hinder the goals of conservation by putting horse blinders on the participatory and collaborative process. Yet “experts in communications strategy emphasize the importance of establishing clear objectives for media campaigns” (Kempton, Schweizer, Stringer).

A middle ground for R.O.C.C. is to listen to the objectives of environmental NGOs and use this knowledge for the initial approach. But from there, I believe the process must reveal the concrete objectives of what the local people really want or need. If successful, this method should reveal the inadequacy of relying exclusively on a media campaign to ameliorate a situation. The cinema media component is part of a campaign to prod a community into action and open the door for NGO’s to come through. In the case of Los Senderos Del Cambio, an example of follow through would come in the form of cultural/environmental landscape planners. Experts who can help translate the community’s values and environmental concerns into official land planning and zoning blueprints. In Panama, we (CAVU,

ANCON¹⁸) organize seminars on starting small businesses such as hotels, restaurants and boat tours.

I think the community will initiate its own solutions, as well. For example, in Panama, the community will likely solve its problem of intermittent electricity. As for inter-organization collaboration, the Panama R.O.C.C. film screenings provided a venue to announce a sign-up sheet for a small business seminar. Sixty people signed up. The seminar will be hosted by several NGOs and the Tourism Institute of Panama (IPAT). The goal of the three day seminar will be to further community organization and teach business realities such as small hotel management, publicity, bookkeeping and customer service. In addition to community empowerment, R.O.C.C. helps create a receptive climate for NGO's to offer their brand of environmental and social support. But, without follow through, the social capital gained in a R.O.C.C will eventually dissolve.

My vision for R.O.C.C. is that teams of experienced filmmakers and pilots would conduct several campaigns a year, creating a library of films that use rural communities to tell specific stories that resonate with other areas facing similar problems. This library of films would cover a gamut of environmental stories from water issues to turtle harvesting. R.O.C.C. could make this library available to a network of rural grass-roots initiatives to conserve and protect natural resources throughout Mesoamerica.

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APPENDIX A

NOTES

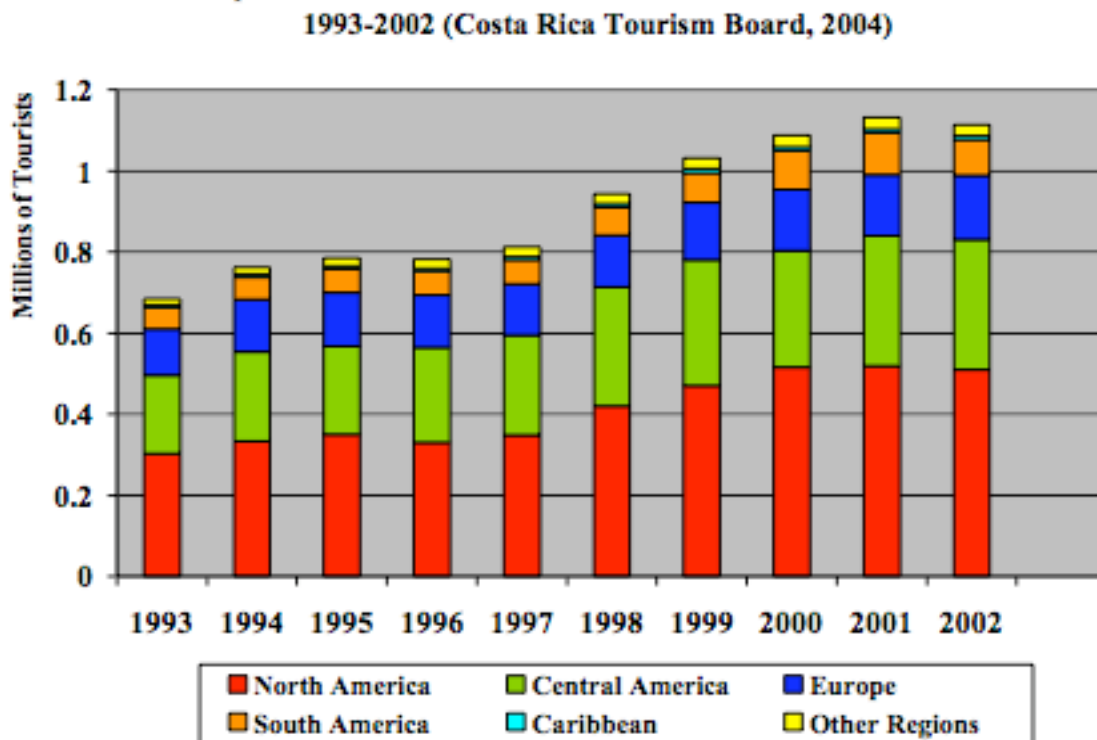
APPENDIX A

¹ CAVU. What’s in a name? In a pilots world, CAVU is that meteorological dream, Ceiling And Visibility Unlimited. CAVU’s founders modified the acronym to have relevance on a sociopolitical level as well. In a world of political discord, turbulence and social unrest- Calm Air; in a world clouded by greed, industrial pollution and burning forests – Visibility Unlimited.

² MINAE the central Costa Rican government’s national park/environmental branch has expressed interest in controlling the park. The park is currently controlled by the local community. In January 2006 all of the parks buildings were burned to the ground.

³ The coastal mountain range of the Osa to Piedras Blancas is considered a Biological Corridor and Hotspot as indicated by the “where we work” page of the Critical Ecosystem Partnership website.
<http://www.cepf.net/xp/cepf/strategy/index.xml>

4



⁵ We have aerial surveys which show this sedimentation problem. They are cut into a sequence of Los Senderos del Cambio which Franklin Sequira explains the problem.

⁶ The Alianza has a press campaign that uses the Tapir as a mascot in need of the corridor.a

⁷ The AVINA foundation awards grants to deserving leaders who demonstrate qualities that support sustainable development. (<http://www.avina.net>)

⁸ Article 50 the Costa Rican Constitution states: "All people have the right to a healthy and ecologically balanced environment."

⁹ Manuel Antonio National Park exemplifies this problem. The park has been negatively affected by overcrowding, inadequate planning, and over-development of the adjacent community (Honey). Another problem in Manuel Antonio National Park has been improper waste disposal, which has caused many of its resident monkeys to become garbage feeders (Weaver)

¹¹ Rouch and Morin published a book in which they invited the participants to comment in detail how they saw the effects of filming on them. Marceline from Chronique D'un Ete in particular expressed how the film enabled her to move on with her life (Loizos 63)

¹² Defined ethnographic film "as film which endeavors to interpret the behavior of people of one culture to persons of another culture by using shots of people doing precisely what they would be doing if the camera were not there."
Goldschmidt, Walter 1972, Ethnographic Film: Definition and Exegesis. PIEF Newsletter 3 (2):1-3

¹³ In overflights we have witnessed first hand the sedimentation, erosion and pollution caused by unregulated development from Costa Rica to Panama. Unregulated black water seeps into the water, construction and development disturbs soil which flows into the ocean killing reefs. Shrimp aquaculture farming has destroyed thousands of hectares of mangroves vital as nurseries for the seas.

¹⁴ Peter Loizos used location as an emotional stimulus in a film about a refugee's triumphant transcendence of depression. In order to visually tell the story of her depression, Loizos directed his character to revisit the house she lived in shortly after becoming a refugee. "When she got to the house she was immediately filled with painful memories" (Loizos). Loizos used this time to take photographs that could be used to suggest her past depression. Faced with the implications of what happened when traumatic memories were stimulated for re-enactment, Rouch ultimately turned away from such experiments.

¹⁵ Letter from ANCON, our collaborators on the Panama R.O.C.C.
solo con la introducción que se hizo en las proyecciones,
se ha creado un clima de motivación y de orgullo

comunitario entre los que la observaron, lo cual es muy importante para potencializar las posibilidades de desarrollo de estas zonas.

The screenings created a climate of motivation and pride in the community, which is very important in realizing the possibilities of development in these areas.

Reiterando nuestro agradecimiento,

Vicente Del Cid M

Coordinador Proyecto Coiba

ANCON

¹⁶ According to interview with local hotel manager Heinier Guzman, There was dispute over the development beaches and accusations of bribery. The Alianza has been a strong supporter of local management of resources while MINAE has expressed desire to take over control of the National Park, Marino Ballena.

¹⁷ Letter from ANCON, our collaborators on the Panama R.O.C.C.

¹⁸ CAVU is an organization that uses Flight and Film to protect biological corridors. www.Flightandfilm.org