# FROM MUSIC-VIDEO TO MUSICAL VIDEO PORTRAITS COLLABORATIVE PRODUCTION OF WOMEN'S ETHNOGRAPHIES IN MOZAMBIQUE

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#### ABSTRACT

Following Independence in Mozambique in 1975, the newly formed National Film Institute conducted a study into the reception of the audio-visual material being produced and distributed throughout the country by the new generation of Mozambican film-makers. The study, published in 1984, concluded that, for a country with 46 different languages, and high levels of illiteracy, one of the most effective cinematic languages their new generation of local film-makers could use was one drawing extensively on the language of music. Films based on images and music could transcend the cultural and linguistic barriers of the colonially divided nation. Soon after this study was published a civil war brought the training of young Mozambican film-makers to a grinding halt and the report on effective cinematic language for social change was all but forgotten. Only now, as peace and economic growth are bringing relative stability to the country, the next generation of Mozambican film-makers have returned to the language of the music-video as a means to inform, provoke and protest. In this paper, I reflect on how young Mozambican film-makers drew on this rich legacy of musical film language in the collaborative creation of a film series entitled "Fala Minha Irmã (Speak My Sister). I explore the collaborative methodology of the research and production of these six films, assessing the impact of the existing knowledge of the language of the music-video and the intimate connections between the film-makers and their protagonists had on the films and their diverse audiences.

#### KEYWORDS

Mozambique, film, participatory, music, women

#### Bro

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FALA MINHA IRMÃ (SPEAK MY SISTER) 6 MUSICAL PORTRAITS OF MOZAMBICAN WOMEN

www.falaminhairma.org

Eu canto uatu, Meu nom é Niassa, Não tenho nem vergonha De seres assim tão pobre Não tenho nem receio De seres assim tão fragil Niassa wo wo, Niassa Niassa lé lé lé mama wo wo I sing to you
My name is Niassa
I'm not at all ashamed
Of being so poor
I'm at all afraid
Of being so fragile
Niassa, wo wo, Niassa
Niassa la la la mama wo wo

Extract from Niassa (Massukos 2006) Authors' translation

The unofficial anthem of Mozambique's northern province of Niassa is carried on the air as the sun falls behind a large baobab tree. Shifting between Portuguese, Ciyowa, Makhuwa and Cinianja,¹ the four main languages spoken in this part of the country, the familiar melody reaches the bar where, beer in hand, young men stand transfixed by the images of sexy young Brazilians on the small TV screen. A voice interrupts the music, speaking in Portuguese. Only when repeated in Cinianja do most of those ending their day in this lakeside town learn that they are about to be treated to a film show.

"Hello people of Metangula. *Mulibwanji, Mulibwanji.*<sup>2</sup> The National Festival of Culture has arrived. Come and listen to the songs of the fair ladies of our land. Come and watch six new musical films from around Mozambique. We're here from Maputo, Inhambane, Beira, Quelemane and Lichinga and we bring our films with us. Speak My Sister, Sing My Sister, Dance My Sister. The first film is about to start."

Narciso Lufagir (Anakanga) Presenting the film series Fala Minha Irmã. Metangula, Niassa, Mozambique. July 2018

Jazzy rhythms from the south are now carried on the sweet-smelling smoke of the charcoal barbecues, past children pushing wire cars through the dirt, to the women at their sewing machines finishing the last order in the fading light. The crowd move towards the unusually crisp sound of the speakers and see a large screen where a young girl is walking between the trees in school uniform to a light syncopated rhythm and a woman's soft singing. It's as if she is whispering her message to the audience. While those gathered to watch the first film of the night do not speak the Tsonga³ language of the girl on screen, the music and images convey its meaning.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Spoken across colonial and regional borders, Mozambican languages do not have standardised spellings. Cinyanja, is also known as Nyanja or in Malawi Chewa or Chichewa, Ciyowa, is Xiyau, or Yawa; Makhuwa, Macua or Ximacua.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Mulibwanji: a greeting in Cinyanja, used across the region.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Tsonga is a group of Bantu languages spoken in the south of Mozambique, the dialect spoken in Gaza is often also referred to as *changana* or *Xichangana*, (pronounced shangana).

The film was made by four young Mozambicans from the southern province of Gaza, where they researched and shot the film, Nenha (Bahule 2018)<sup>4</sup>. Here, most adult men work in the underpaid migrant labour markets of South Africa. The film is a portrait of the three generations of women they leave behind, who sing and dance a local dance called *Xingomana* and share their relationships with the land, with men and with the dance. Those in the audience unable to read the Portuguese translation on the screen, will miss little of the film's message, much of which is communicated through the song and dance.



VIDEO 1: Opening sequence of Nenha (Bahule 2018) 1 (5'59'')

https://vimeo.com/435751764

The films that follow *Nenha* in the lakeside screening comprise a series of musical portraits called *Fala* Minha Irmã (Speak My Sister), six first films of a new generation of Mozambican film-makers that celebrate the creative voice of women from different corners of the country. All include an element of ethnographic and ethnomusicological research into the musical genres and dances they portray. The films feature various musical styles, from Tufo, a women's musical tradition from the north, to revolutionary hip-hop from the southern capital, Maputo. The series was made with two main objectives: first, to use the moving image to bring more voices of Mozambican women to others across the country, and second, to provide opportunities for men and women passionate about working with the moving image to develop their research skills, methodologies and authorial confidence through practical experience. All make extensive use of musical sequences and minimal use of the spoken word while addressing themes that range from overcoming the trauma of childhood sexual abuse through dance to managing marital relationships while living as a female musician in Mozambique. For five months, thirty young students had been researching, filming and editing these musical portraits in preparation for the bi-annual National Festival of Culture, held this year in the northern most province of Niassa. The theme of the film series was in response to the 2018 festival motto 'Culture promoting women, identity, and sustainable development'. For myself, as both director of the project and visiting researcher, I was exploring the potential of locally produced musical documentaries to empower and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 'Nenha' can mean 'strength', 'determination' and 'vitality', or 'victorious' or 'heroine'. In this revolutionary song, the double meaning is intentional. No author is ascribed to this song, but it's thought to have been taught to communities by the nation's first 'heroine', president Samora Machel's first wife, Josina Machel.

provoke discussion around gender equality for both audiences and for knowledge-makers of the future. I was interested in the reception of our collaborative efforts within the diverse audiences we aspired to reach, as well as the impact that researching, producing and distributing these films had on the young film-makers themselves. Could a more gendered creative process and subject matter have a lasting effect of the knowledge producers of the future? And what contribution could the language of music and moving image make to this? I hoped music would serve as a creative entry-point to explore the given theme of gender and identity. It offered a more poetic approach to a theme that had, by 2018, become associated more with a donor-generated cultural agenda than with the stories, laughter and life of actual individuals<sup>5</sup>. 24 of the 28 film-makers involved in Fala Minha Irmã had already made at least one music-video. However, few had recorded audio, spent any time conducting research or explored any other creative techniques in the audio-visual representation of others. By making musical video portraits of women, the film-makers had one foot still firmly in the genre they were familiar with, while exploring another and engaging with real people and real stories. Fala Minha Irmã also gave young male film-makers an opportunity to work alongside women behind and in front of the camera, and to explore alternative portrayals of women than those found in most Mozambican music-videos<sup>6</sup>.

In this paper, I will explore the role the audio-visual language of the music-video played in the making of and reception of the *Fala Minha Irmã* film series. I will start with a contextual overview of the role music has played in local audio-visual production, both during the revolutionary 'heyday' of Mozambican cinema in the 1980's, through its subsequent 'reinvention' (Azevedo, 2017) in the 1990's and the films of the new 'music-video generation'. I will summarise the rationale and methodological approach to the production and distribution of the *Fala Minha Irmã* film series in the context of my own position within Mozambican film and music/music-video production. I will look at the creative choices made by the film-makers during the production of the film series and the lessons learned by studying the reception of these films in the initial phase of their distribution. In essence, this practice-led research aims to draw on feminist theory in its contribution to the eventual decolonisation of audio-visual production in Mozambique and to call on the language of music to do that most effectively. Can future, gender-conscious production be informed by the creation of a new genre that re-appropriates the audio-visual language of the music-video, the documentary and the ethnographic film into a genre suitable for the Mozambican context; the musical video portrait or 'videoclip-retrato'?<sup>7</sup>.

# Mozambique, its cinema, its music and me: from the revolution to the next generation

Mozambique's coastline stretches over 3,000 km's between its border with South Africa in the south and Tanzania in the north. In this long and culturally diverse country, 43 different languages are spoken<sup>8</sup>. Upon independence from Portugal in 1975 the new government wanted to encourage united collective involvement in the realisation of their utopic socialist vision throughout the country. With little access to education under the colonial power, much of the population, particularly the women, didn't speak the national language of Portuguese, let alone read or write it, so a united language of communication was essential. The non-verbal, affective languages of film and music were chosen as they could transcend the verbal communication barrier. Songs had been used as a powerful mobilisation tool during the liberation struggle and upon independence the language of moving image was added to this. Just five months after the Mozambican liberation front FRELIMO were settled in government in the capital city, the National Film Institute was created with its slogan 'delivering to the people an image of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> In Mozambique, responding to the donor agenda is sometimes the only way artists can finance their creative activities. Consequently, many films, musical compositions, plays and artistic works are responding to an externally imposed agenda and may lack the poetry and passion exhibited when artists follow their own creative inspirations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Film-making has traditionally been a male domain in Mozambique, reflected in the current reinforcement of gender stereotypes in Mozambican music-videos. Although these have long served as the voice of protest among the younger generation, especially in hip-hop (see Boswall, 2019a), they still tend to be presented from a male perspective.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> In this paper I assume a broad definition of the term 'music-video', implied in the term 'videoclip' used in Mozambique that doesn't carry the same commercial connotations. Here the focus is on audio-visual communication through music and moving image, and not the role of the genre to promote the work of a particular artist.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> This most cited figure see (<a href="https://www.ethnologue.com/country/MZ">https://www.ethnologue.com/country/MZ</a>). The exact number of distinct languages is nevertheless disputed.

the people' (Grey, 2020, p127)9. The films were screened out in the open, taken from village to village in a fleet of vans that formed the mobile cinema unit of the ambitious nationalised distribution plan. Rural communities who had never seen moving image before gathered under the stars to see what was going on in the rest of their country. Often the distorted audio from the loudspeakers would compete with the nocturnal calls of the crickets and frogs, plus the rumble of the generator and the excited murmur of children. The refined accents of the Portuguese voice-overs were difficult to make out, even if the audience did have some grasp of the Portuguese language, so creative solutions needed to be found to reach the widest audience. What resulted was a cinematic precursor to the music-video. Revolutionary songs and dances were incorporated into the early newsreels, while in the documentaries and features more creative musical solutions were found. Come 1981 three Mozambican films were released that became known for their effective use of music and image; Pamperi ni Zimbabwe 'Onwards Zimbabwe' (Costa & Henrique 1980), Música Moçambique 'Music Mozambique' (Fonseca e Costa 1981), and Canta Meu Irmão - Ajuda-Me Cantar 'Sing My Brother, Help Me To Sing' (Cardoso 1981). The first two were coproductions with Angola and Portugal respectively, while the latter was one of the first films to be made independently by Mozambicans at the National Film Institute, trained through a series of national and international initiatives in the first few years after independence. It takes the Festival da cancão e da Musica tradicional de Moçambique (Festival of Song and Traditional music) as its starting point and follows some of the artists back to their places of origin in eight of the ten provinces of Mozambique<sup>10</sup>. It seems no accident that in one of the first independent films from Mozambique, music and dance are placed at the heart of the nation's audio-visual self-representation. Images of Mozambicans going about their daily lives are woven together with musical performances in the community, a few short interviews with some of the musicians and sparse, poetic narration, in what could be described as a series of musical film portraits.

Canta Meu Irmão - Ajuda-Me Cantar, (Cardoso, 1981) served as an important musical, cinematic and methodological reference for the Fala Minha Irmã film series. Although much about it reflects the 'patriarchal attitudes' that 'have not vanished with the coming of a new society in Mozambique' (Urdang, 1989 p28), it is inspirational in its use of music and image and an important part of the struggle across Africa to decolonize audio-visual production.<sup>11</sup> Sadly, Mozambique's early successes towards the Pan-African goal of self-representation were short-lived. Shortly after independence Mozambique was embroiled in a crippling civil war, and by the late 1980's, film production of any kind was all but impossible. The tragic death in 1986 of the first President Samora Machel<sup>12</sup> - one of the greatest advocates of the importance of the moving image for self-realization - marked a shift in priorities for the struggling Mozambican government. The Mozambican government abandoned its revolutionary ideology and socialist policies, and drastically reduced public sector funding to the cultural sectors, Film production limped along until 1991, when a devastating fire at the Film Institute accelerated the transition from nationalized to privatized audio-visual production. By the early 1990's televisions were now found now in bars, cases, and sometimes in people's homes. Some of the technicians trained at the film institute moved to secure jobs at the national television station TVM, which began to fill the gaps between the news and Brazilian soap operas with popular and cost-effective in-house music-videos. With the state no longer able to bankroll the nation's longer-form film production, the now independent filmmakers turned to international broadcasters, development organisations and film funds to finance their productions.

In this second, market-driven chapter of Mozambican cinema, despite the shifting ideologies and enforced new objectives of international funding sources, music continued to play an important role in much of the nation's audio-visual production. Two directors who started producing their films independently at this time were Licinio Azevedo and Sol de Carvalho and both continued to recognise

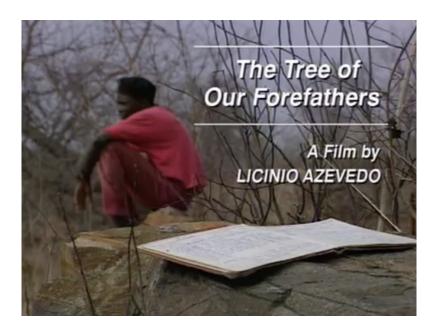
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Over the first decade after independence, 119 short documentaries, 13 long documentaries and feature films were produced and taken to all corners of the country in mobile film units alongside 395 editions of the weekly newsreel 'Kuxa Kanema' (Andrade Watkins, 1999, p188).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> For more on these musical films see Grey, 2020 p186-189). Jean Rouch also made a film at the first National Festival of Music and Dance in 1978 entitled *Unity in Feasts* (1980) For more on this and Rouch's work in Mozambique see Diawara 1992 p 96).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Much is written on the successes and failures of the decolonisation of African cinema. See, for example Manthia Diawara (1992) and Kenneth Harrow (1999).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See Samora Vive (Vuvu, Chabela, Albuquerque, 1997) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7j6vo1NLgCQ

the importance of music for their national and international audiences. Azevedo was a pioneer of the use of video for broadcast quality films. In 1986 he made the first Mozambican music-video. 13 His early films for international broadcast also used music (both diegetic and non-diegetic) to complement, inform and drive the narrative.



VIDEO 2: Arvore Dos Antepassados Tree of Our Forefathers (Azevedo 1993) https://vimeo.com/435792812

Opening Musical Sequence Musical Direction, Arrangement and Sound Design, by Karen Boswall (With kind permission from the producers Ebano Multimedia Lda)

Sol de Carvalho's films were less international in their outlook. Sol always considered his main target audience as "precisely those from whom I heard the stories" (Carvalho, 2020). His musical fiction film Muihipiti Alima (Carvalho, 1996), set on Ilha de Mocambique demonstrates his understanding of the importance of music in reaching this audience. Here, members of a musical group face the stigma of illiteracy and take the decision to learn to read and write. The film was scripted, scored and filmed in collaboration with the musical performers who played themselves in the film.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> See "Melancolia" by Jose Muchavele (Azevedo, 1986).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> As a local production for local audiences, collaborative methodologies were being developed within the revolutionary decolonial context of Mozambican film production. The script was developed during a prolonged period of collaborative ethnographic research and participatory methodologies of self-representation and self-reflection were explored throughout the production. Muitipiti Alima (Carvalho, 1996) could therefore also be described within the anthropological and some would argue, more colonial framing of 'ethno-fiction'.



VIDEO 3: Muihipiti Alima (Carvalho, 1996)
https://vimeo.com/435792481
Opening Musical Sequence Sound Recorded by Karen Boswall
(With kind permission from the producers Promarte Lda)

These were two of the early Mozambican films I worked on as musical director and sound designer that changed my own perspective on non-fiction musical film language and participatory production practices. I worked with the first generation of Mozambican film-makers for the next fifteen years and eventually took this collaborative methodology into the production of my first music-video.



VIDEO 4: Recomeça (Begin Again) Timbila Muzima, Karen Boswall (2006) https://vimeo.com/435792730

The conceptual and methodological approach to *Fala Minha Irmã* was based on my experiences working on these films and the collaborative approaches that I subsequently continued to explore in my own work. This was combined with my curiosity in a parallel world of moving-image production that had begun to exist in the 1990's; the world of the Mozambican music-video. After many initiatives to

decolonize Mozambican audio-visual production. 15 it was eventually in the production of independent music-videos that moving image production was truly in 'the hands of the people'. Cameras, microphones and editing equipment had become affordable and music-video production became an effective and self-sustaining training ground for the next generation of Mozambican film-makers. Here, film-makers were autonomous and self-reliant - key objectives of early Mozambican revolutionary cinema. In addition to the music-videos produced in-house by the national broadcaster, in the early 1990's independent videos begun to be produced, largely by children of the urban elite, who had access to basic camcorders and improvised VHS tape to tape editing. They were not influenced by the cinematic language of the Italian Neo-realism, French New Wave and Latin American Cinema Novo, as the revolutionary intellectual generation before them had been. The starting point and inspiration for this young generation was the African and Black American music-video. They wanted to make a difference, to reflect on and shape their world, and they want to do it their way. They copied the videos of North American hip-hop bands such as Wu-Tang Klan, who struck a chord with the young Mozambicans looking for the voice of their generation. For some this led to successful careers in musicvideo production, commercials, and eventually documentaries and feature films. 16 Their success offers hope to the next generation, that they too can find their cinematic voice through the language of the music-video. Fala Minha Irmã took them further on this journey.

## The project Fala Minha Irmã and its collaborative methodology

The methodological approach to Fala Minha Irmã, was devised collaboratively, first with the institutional partners, the state university of the creative arts (ISArC), and Mozambican Film-makers Association (AMOCINE) and later with the participants. At its heart is the recognition that with a smart phone or small digital camera and access to the internet, the powerful language of moving image is finally accessible to all. Yet, despite increased access to the means of production, and a broader understanding of the long-term impact of colonialism and other institutional hegemonies, the long established and sometimes seemingly insurmountable power paradigms of class, race and gender remain. With Fala Minha Irmã we wanted to contribute to the development of viable intersectional and decolonial approaches to audio-visual production in Mozambique and beyond. In essence, Fala Minha Irmã continues a long-standing Mozambican revolutionary tradition of transformative audio-visual production and distribution, which as part of its decolonial methodology has generally incorporated participatory research and production techniques but has, as yet, remained predominantly patriarchal in its outlook. We wanted to contribute to the development of sustainable, de-colonial approaches to audio-visual production, and to do so from a feminist perspective.

Key to the eventual success of the initiative was effective institutional partnerships. The *Instituto Superior de Arte e Cultura* (Higher Institute of Art and Culture) or ISArC is a young state university opened in 2008 and offering a degree in film theory and practice since 2014. Although desperately under-funded and poorly equipped, the course offers sustainable solutions to some of the historic obstacles to representative film production in Mozambique. As a state university, its students can access the government bursary and scholarship schemes attracting young passionate students from all over the country who previously thought film making was not for poor people like them, now have access to a four-year combined theory and practice degree course which 'provides training in cinematographic and audio-visual production and direction'.<sup>17</sup> Targeted course promotion has also introduced more women to a historically male discipline. The second institutional partner, the Mozambican Film-makers Association, (AMOCINE), has worked to support Mozambican film production and distribution since the early 90's and provided invaluable technical and logistical support and advice Some of this came in the form of stories from the Association president Gabriel Mondlane. He remembers all the previous attempts to decolonize Mozambique's audio-visual production, the international advisers, projects and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Among others, there were two oft-cited and ill-fated interventions between 1978 and 1979, by the French avant-guard film-maker Jean-Luc Godard, and the French anthropologist and film-maker, Jean Rouch. See Diawara, 1992, Cardosa, 2003, Grey, 2020).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Resgate (Fonseca, 2019) is the first Mozambican feature to be independently financed and distributed. Now available on Netflix USA.

<sup>17</sup> See http://www.isarc.edu.mz/

experiments going back the heyday of the National Film Institute. Gabriel's good-humoured, wise and irreverent determination to keep searching for solutions to the intersectional challenges to decolonial film production informed many of the eventual methodological choices behind the research. Another key to the success of *Fala Minha Irmã* was the partnership with the National Festival of Culture. Film students from ISArC had traditionally gained work experience at the bi-annual festival and the festival theme for 2018 was 'Culture, promoting women, identity and sustainable development.' I was excited by the possibilities this created for embedding a gendered approach to each phase of the research project. It took some time to finalise the details of the partnerships, not least due to national budgetary crisis that limited the scope of the project<sup>18</sup>, however, in March 2018, I was finally in a room full of film, cultural studies and cultural management staff and students in an animated group planning discussion. By the end of the first meeting, we had agreed:

- The festival theme would serve as a creative entry-point for proposals for an individual or group video portrait of around 10 minutes in duration.
- The students would conduct independent research on their own subjects. I would be supporting them, while also conducting my own research on the process.
- The students would have two weeks to conduct preliminary research and develop their ideas before submitting their proposals
- 5,000MT (€70.00) would be available for each proposal selected to cover costs of local travel, food and consumables. Only projects that could be completed within these financial restrictions would be considered.
- A jury made up of producers, distributers, trainers and researchers would select the proposals that would go into production.
- Filming and editing equipment would be made available from ISArC and AMOCINE<sup>19</sup>
- A series of open masterclasses would be offered in all aspects of film research, project development and production during these two weeks.
- Continued technical training and project development would be offered during each stage of production.
- Proposals from mixed teams of men and women would be well received.
- The students would also assess the reception of their finished films amongst the communities where the films were shot, among diverse urban audiences of Maputo and in Niassa during the Cultural Festival.
- The series would be called Fala Minha Irmã, "Speak My Sister".

This meeting marked the beginning of many new discoveries over the following months and form the focus of the rest of the analysis below. Six musical portraits were selected. 28 young first-time film-makers took part, sixteen men and ten women from eight of the ten provinces of Mozambique. All proposals were based on aspects of musical expression. This gave participants the opportunity to build on the existing knowledge and experience of music-video production. Time needed to develop relationships of trust was reduced as all portraits selected were of individuals or groups with a personal connection to the film-makers portraying them. All participants were taking part voluntarily, in their own time, with no pressure from the university to satisfy assessment objectives. Participants began with some theoretical understanding, limited practical experience and unlimited enthusiasm to put their theory into practice and learn from this opportunity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> In 2018 the festival, due to take place in Niassa, the poorest and most remote province of Mozambique, was going to cost a lot more than previous festivals. However, due to a spectacular and ongoing corruption scandal, international donors cut funding to any government initiatives. For more on this financial crisis of 2016/7 and donors' response, see: Tvedten & PICARDO (2018) and Hanlon (2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> All films were shot in Full HD on domestic DSLR cameras. Separate sound was recorded on small Zoom recorders and external microphones, and resynchronised in post-production. Tripods were also provided, introducing optional techniques new to the film-makers.



**IMAGE 1:** Lourdes Rubaine, fourth year film student, radio producer from Niassa, taken during camera training at AZGO international music festival, Maputo 2018



IMAGE 2: Crew at ISArC university campus filming the interview for *Stella (Mulla, 2018)* From right to left, Samo Mulla (Director)<sup>20</sup>, Francisco Valia (Producer), Maltonato (Editor), Percia (Sound), Stella Protagonist

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Most of the films in the series were authored collaboratively. Although a director and producer were identified and named for each film, and took more creative and conceptual responsibility during the production and post production of their films, these were collaborative efforts.

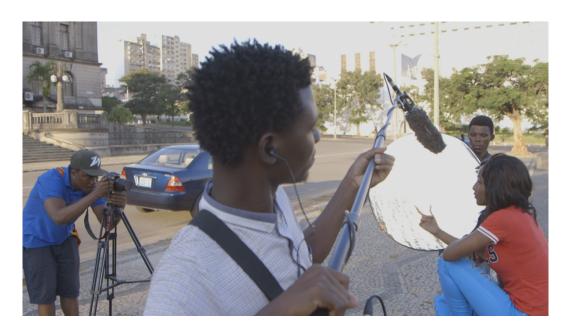


Image 3: Crew making 'Ritmo Arte Poesia Vida' Rhythm, Art, Poetry and Life (Lampião, 2018)
From right to left, Guiggaz M Black (composer, performer & activist), Gabriel Pita (Lighting), Alexandre Pita (Producer/Sound Recordist), Lutegardo Lampião (Director, Camera)



**IMAGE 4:** Alzira Guetza, fourth year film student, community arts activist from Maputo filming at the National Festival of Culture, Niassa

Researching and filming six films in time for the Festival in July 2018 was an ambitious objective. <sup>21</sup> The logistical and technical challenges that beset any film production were exacerbated by the harsh conditions of filming in Mozambique. Nonetheless, five of the six films were completed in time for the festival and seven of the thirty students accompanied them to Niassa, screening them in rural and urban contexts. The students later replicated this distribution model in both Gaza and Maputo province.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The partnership with ISARC was finally confirmed in December 2017 and with AMOCINE in January 2018. The academic year begins in Mozambique in late February and the National Festival of Culture was due to take place in Niassa in July 2018. This determined the tight timescale of the project, between March and August 2018.



**IMAGE 5:** Fala Minha Irmã on the road in Metangula, on the banks of lake Niassa



**IMAGE 6:** Before a community screening in Lipende, Niassa



IMAGE 7: The Fala Minha Irmã film-makers take Pandeiros da Mafalala (Tamborines of Mafalala) to the community of Barrio Mafalala, Maputo where it was filmed. From right to left: Angelica Novela (Director of ISArC Film Department),

Alice Cunha (Sound Recordist) César Vitorino (Director)



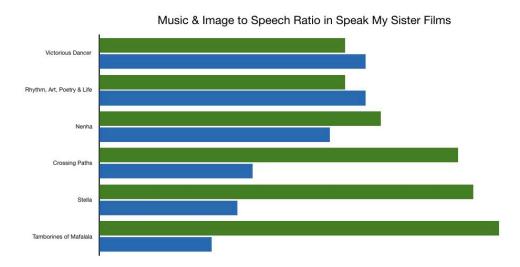
**IMAGE 8:** Setting up the projector in Barrio Mafalala, Maputo. From right to left: André Bahile, Narciso Lufagir, Clemente Horácio, Alice Cunha

## Fala Minha Irmã: the films

The Fala Minha Irmã films are between 9 and 13 minutes in length and represent Mozambican women from across the country's social and geographical divides. The protagonists range from university educated young women living and working in Maputo in Rhythm, Art, Poetry and Life (Lampião, 2018), to illiterate migrant women living in the capital's historic poor migrant neighbourhood in Tamborines of

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Mafalala (Vitorino, 2018).<sup>22</sup> Five of the six portraits are in Portuguese. The sixth, Nenha (Bahule, 2018), was filmed in changana, a language spoken in the south of Mozambique and subtitled in Portuguese. Despite not being conceived as music-videos, due to the background of the film-makers and the nature of their subject matter, each film in the series employs the visual language generally associated with the music-video genre. For example, in five of the films, images of the musicians in recording studios, rehearsals, or in performance are intercut with shots of them going about their daily life. The montage sequence in Tamborines of Mafalala and the single unedited hand-held shot for the choreographed rape scenes in Victorious Dancer are other such examples of the influence of the visual language of the music-video in these films. In the sound-track too, the sync sound is removed entirely from some sequences, a device generally associated with music-videos and avoided in documentaries or ethnographic films. All films in the series also make sparing use of speech throughout, choosing instead to let music and image tell the story.



Percentage of Screen Time (Green Music & Image, Blue Speech)

Rhythm, Art, Poetry and Life, is one of three films in the series that draw more directly on the language of the music-video. It opens with a fast-paced, minute-long pre-title sequence built on a pumping bass and drum beat and a celebratory MC who calls the audience to attention in the local African language of changana. A young woman with braids, shades and attitude (Guiggas M Black) leaves her home on her way to work. She greets young girls playing in the street with smiles and kisses, before meeting her equally vibrant friend (Enia Lipanga). They walk through the sandy streets of Polana Caniço<sup>23</sup>, and into the recording studio. After the title sequence, a series of short, spoken introductions from the band members temporarily break with the music-video conventions before powerful free-style performances from Guiggaz M Black and Enia Lipanga produce a musical introduction to their own feelings about gender inequality. Lampião's hand-held camera fluidly follows the artists movements, as shots of women training to be electricians, plumbers and other traditionally male occupations are intercut with spokenword performances and interviews. The editing style has a youthful confidence that breaks every rule of

<sup>22</sup> I use English translations of the films in this paper. These are my translations of the original titles and most are literal translations. However in the case of '*Pandeiros da Mafalala*' (Vitorino, 2018), I used poetic licence and translated *pandeiro*, as 'tambourine'. Tufo does in fact use a frame drum without metallic resonators.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Polana Caniço is one of the city's historically black urban residential neighbourhoods that grew up in Maputo during colonial times to house the workers of the white residential neighbourhood of 'Polana Cemento'. It now has houses made of cement, as opposed to the 'caniço' or thatch in the name, but still no paved roads.

continuity and narrative construction while conveying all the vitality and revolutionary power of these young women.

A conscious choice is made by the film-makers to provoke and politicise their audience instead of lamenting the hardship and the challenges they all faced and continue to face. The familiar language of the music-video invites the viewer into questions around gender inequality. However, Lampião chose not to include the parts of the intimate conversations he filmed where two women share experiences of violence and the impact of these on their life decisions. One had grown up in an abusive environment; another had married into one. However, these testimonies didn't make it into the film, instead, the drummer, Tauzene, harshly criticises women who are 'sitting at home with nothing to do and think that life is easy' (Tauzene, 2018). This is not the victimised image of Mozambican women international audiences are used to. It is a home-grown message from young Mozambican women impatient for change. They understand the difficulties everyone faces, yet are intolerant of the apathy of their young urban audience. "Wake Up" the band's founder Guiggaz says direct to camera at the end of the film, "There are all sorts of activities men do that we can do too. Let's do whatever we dream to do. There's something inside us all. I was born to do something and I know what it is. You have to discover what you were born to do" (Guiggaz M Black, 2018).



VIDEO 5: Rhythm, Art, Poetry and Life (Lampião, 2018) https://vimeo.com/435756731

The film-makers behind *Crossing Paths* also use their film to provoke its urban middle class audience out of complacency. The husband-and-wife team sit in the recording studio working on a new song that shames the young 'city boys' who 'sit and do nothing' as others suffer.

Hey boy, help put this sack of cassava on my head to sell and stop the pretence, because the rain is coming, and you city boys still sit and do nothing You appear with your trendy clothes on television and say we have no vision, but then you don't produce, you don't study, why?

Extract from 'As formas de viver' (Ways of living) by F.t and Black Rose, featured in *Crossing Paths* (Sive, 2018) (author's translation)

The editing techniques in this film follow a clear narrative. The couple start their day at home, to a sound-track of their own recordings, before making their respective journeys to work. Black Rose is a

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carpenter specialising in sound-proofing recording studios and F.t a hospital administrator. The director, Castigo Sive, was very keen to present a more 'feminine' image of women involved in hip-hop. He wanted to portray hip-hop artists living a life the audience would find familiar and respect. "Just because they wear trousers and speak their mind, people think women in hip-hop are all lesbians" he told me (Sive 2018). F.t and Black Rose share their friends views, not only on the perceived sexuality of female hip-hop artists, but also the unnecessary sexualization of women in most music-videos. They want their video to contribute to making hip-hop accessible for the more conservative mainstream audience. They go to great lengths to show F.t humbly dressed in the colourful cloth known as a capulana, the traditional working attire of women across Africa.<sup>24</sup> She sweeps the yard, washes up and hands her husband his breakfast before they both go out to work. Sive also shows F.t as an autonomous woman however, chatting with her husband in front of the television, and composing songs with him on the sofa in the recording studio. When they carry a heavy sack together across the busy street, it is as if he is saying they work together as a couple and together share the burden of more than the sack they carry. Some of the young audiences of the series may identify more with the radical and proactive attitudes associated with western feminism reflected in Rhythm, Art, Poetry and Life. However Crossing Paths attempts to contribute to alternative ways of representing women in hip-hop. In doing so, it could be viewed within the decolonial discourse which Obioma Nnaemeka describes as 'Nego-Feminism'. This is an African feminism where 'nego' stands for 'negotiation' and 'no-ego', based on the 'shared values of African cultures' of 'give and take, compromise and balance' (Nnaemeka, 2004, p377). The Nego-Feminists Nnaemeka describes, which are both African women and young African men, know when, where and how to 'detonate, or negotiate around patriarchy in different contexts' (ibid, p378). In the case of F.t and her self-representation in Crossing Paths, she is negotiating a patriarchy where women are criticized for wearing trousers, so she puts on her capulana and stands at the washing up bowl before she reveals herself in a recording studio. Then, Sive argues, when she speaks her mind about other aspects of intersectional inequality, such as the disconnect between rural and urban, she might be heard.



VIDEO 6: Caminhos Cruzados 'Crossing Paths' (Sive, 2018) https://vimeo.com/435754524

The Nego-feminism of the Tufo dancers in *Tamborines of* Mafalala takes a different form. They choose to celebrate their beauty and autonomy through confident self-representation. Although the group's

<sup>24</sup> The capulana is a coloured cloth worn by all Mozambican women around their waists, their shoulders or on their head. They use it for carrying children, water, firewood and belongings. Old ones are worn at work and new ones at social occasions. Capulanas are always part of a wedding dowry and often used in songs and poetry as a metaphor for Mozambican women's versatility, hard work and pride.

'Queen', or 'rainha', Zaquia Rachid, explains how she was taken out of school to care for her father before she learned to read and write, she is more interested in sharing what she has achieved than her suffering along the way. This is reflected in Vitorino's montage sequence that weaves together beautifully shot images of the 16-piece dance group dressed in their colourful capulanas and head-dresses, proudly painting their faces with the traditional white msiro<sup>25</sup> masks and travelling to different political, community and touristic events around the town. The short interview clips of the husband-and-wife team behind the group reinforce this careful feminine negotiation of power, celebrating not only the women's beauty, but also the resilience and determination of all those who enrich the community through music.

One objective of Fala Minha Irmã was to provide an opportunity for interdisciplinary ethnomusicological research between young cultural researchers and film-makers. Tufo is a much studied and celebrated dance from the north of Mozambique. Brought to Mozambique Island in the north of the country by Arab traders in the mid-19th century, it was secularised and popularised in the 20th century. It is now rare to find men dancing Tufo. Instead, the dance became an iconic part of the nation's cultural heritage, a symbol of Mozambican women's beauty and a celebration of its rich and diverse cultural identity. However, despite having conducted in-depth research about this history and the social practices associated with this celebrated musical genre, only one passing reference is made to this in the film. Instead, the women's smiles, radiant and laughing, are juxtaposed with contrasting images that reveal the harsh conditions they live in. The film tells of the modernisation and adaptation of this women's song and dance tradition in the modern, cosmopolitan capital city through images of a torn plastic bag melting as it lights the charcoal stove, or the few coins received at the end of a performance for tourists, or party political campaigns counted in candlelight at the end of the day.



VIDEO 7: <u>Tamborines of Mafalala (Vitorino, 2018)</u> https://vimeo.com/435755242

# Ethnographic films for Mozambicans by Mozambicans

"I was in a context with people who communicate in the same way when it comes to music but communicate in a different way when it comes to language. Speak My Sister showed me that music had a power. It opened up a place where I could reflect on how music can function as a vehicle to tell stories and to bring about

 $<sup>^{25}</sup>$  Msiro is a paste made from a tree bark traditionally used as a face mask by coastal and island women in the northern Mozambique and through to be part of the secret of their legendary beauty.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> See Hebden (2020), Boswall (2019), Arnfred (2011) for more on Tufo.

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change".

Andre Bahule 2019 (From a recorded interview. Author's Translation)

An element that unites the six films is the participatory approach used in the representation of the protagonists. While Lampião (*Rhythm*, *Art*, *Poetry and Life*) and Sive (*Crossing Paths*) worked with musicians active in their own creative world of hip-hop, Guetza (*Victorious Dancer*) and Mulla (*Stella*) chose to focus on friends and colleagues from other departments in the university. Their films were developed collaboratively alongside their subjects who creatively and conceptually contributed to decisions made around their own representation. Times were agreed for each 'shoot', during which time the protagonists were given the creative space to 'perform' themselves going about their daily activities, singing, dancing and in formal interviews. This collaboration led to a familiarity around the camera which translates onto the screen.



**VIDEO 8:** <u>Stella (Mulla 2018)</u> https://vimeo.com/435755970



VIDEO 9: <u>Bailarina Vitoriosa 'Victorious Dancer' (Guetza, 2018)</u> https://vimeo.com/435753581

The teams behind the films Nenha (Bahule 2018) and Tamborines of Mafalala (Vitorino, 2018) on the other hand, worked with larger musical groups they had only previously encountered at cultural events and wanted to explore further. In both cases, the film-makers shared a mother tongue with their protagonists and grew up living in or visiting grandparents in similar environments. The home of the group leader was also the rehearsal space in each film and each were shot over a period of time when the film-makers were based at this house, developing their relationship as they filmed. The film-makers cooked and ate with their subjects, observed, and filmed their activities and conversations, learned their songs and their dances, and at key moments during their time together, conducted formal interviews. Tamborines of Mafalala was filmed over three weeks on days agreed with the group, while the film-makers of Nenha stayed in the house of the band leaders during an intensive four-day filming period. The filmmakers began with a series of research questions they hoped to answer, and as more appeared over the course of the filming, they followed them up adapting their plans accordingly. They continued to learn as they reviewed and edited the material, adapting the original argument of their films and the narrative structure as they edited. Both then screened the first edit to the community and made alterations and adjustments based on the feedback. These 'participatory' and 'shared' methodologies were named and described by the North American and European ethnographic film-makers of the 1960's, 70's and 80's, such as David MacDougall (1998), and Jean Rouch (Feld, 2003). In the case of Fala Minha Irmã however, the Mozambican researchers and film-makers were communicating over a generational rather than a cultural divide.

The film-makers of Fala Minha Irmã found six different, creative ways to explore issues of gender inequality in their society; new methods of representation, new recording and editing techniques and new ways to communicate with others through music and dance. Their search for stories around the festival themes of women, cultural identity and sustainable development led them to share stories of extraordinary women they may otherwise not have considered. Through their familiarity with the music-video, they were able to find an entry point for this research. Not only did they reflect on their own perception of women's representation and gender equality, they could now also start calling themselves film-makers and look toward their next films with this in mind.

"Fala Minha Irmã came at the right time, because we young people, we want to be able to tell our own stories and this experience woke us up to the fact that we can. Now we can say "I've made a film" "Would you like to see my film?". To the uncles and grandfathers of cinema, we can now say we have arrived, we are coming with all we've got, so open the door and let us in!"

Andre Bahule 2019 (From a recorded interview. Author's Translation)

The audience reception also inspired these young film-makers. When projected onto the side of the crumbling wall in Niassa or against the black curtains of a downtown theatre in Maputo, the film-makers were able to join their audiences watching their film on the big screen. Afterwards they were able to talk about their films with them. The feedback they received gave them confidence in themselves as film-makers and in their contribution to the continued efforts towards women's equality. At screenings in the rural villages and towns of Niassa and Gaza, the film-makers learned from their audiences what had impacted them the most and how effectively the musical sequences in the films had communicated meaning, bridging the ever-present language divide found across Mozambique.

"You showed us that nowadays a girl is worth something, a woman too. Now women have a voice. In our time, women weren't respected. I'm so happy thinking about the film ..., because I've never seen anything like it before ... I thank you so much."

Comment in changana from audience member Cecilia during after screening feedback Nwajohane, Gaza, Mozambique (Author's translation)

"These women are something else! I have to thank you from the bottom of my heart for bringing these films to us. We've never seen anything like this."

Comment in Nyanja from audience member Julia during after screening feedback Metangula, Niassa, Mozambique (Author's translation)

Comments and conversations after the screenings generally went through translators, and the film-makers were able to learn for themselves the impact the audio-visual language of music and image had on their audience, as those who had analysed the reception of the revolutionary films had a generation before.

# It's time for succession: rethinking ethnographic filmmaking in Mozambique

"Mozambicans should be able to tell our own stories, and stories that we identify with as Mozambicans. I want to look at the screen and know ah! This was made by a young Mozambican man, this was made by a young Mozambican woman"

Andre Bahule 2019 (From a recorded interview. Author's Translation)

My decision to support Mozambican film-makers in the production of Fala Minha Irmã engages with a discourse around representation found at the heart of the study and practice of ethnographic, African and indigenous film. It began as soon as it was possible for people to represent themselves and others through moving image. Colonised people were seen by the world through the eyes of those who had the cameras, the post-production facilities and controlled distribution. Until African countries began to gain their independence in the 1950's, this was invariably the colonisers. Then in North Africa, later West Africa and eventually Southern Africa, indigenous film-makers negotiated different approaches to exercising their right to self-representation through the moving image. However, when the Fala Minha Irma films were made, over forty years after the country began its own national film production, most Mozambican men and women are still being represented in moving image by people who come from other parts of the country and other social backgrounds, don't speak their language, and more often than not are still white and male.

Struggles for the decolonization of indigenous or more specifically African film have borne some fruit over the past half-century, but in a time where even the word decolonisation has been reduced to a buzzword within western academy, is it moving too slowly? In 2019 three Mozambican feature films were released to great acclaim.<sup>27</sup> Each of the film-makers, light-skinned men from Maputo who had been trained abroad, were nevertheless navigating the representation of others in different ways. Ethnographic film-makers have also been evaluating their representation of others over the same halfcentury, the discourse often revolving around the importance of reflexivity on and off-screen. Many ethnographic films began to be presented in the first person, the positionality of the author often becoming the focus of the study. The question as to whether, in their representation of others, or 'The Other' (Barnouw 1993:255), the ethnographic film-maker should be "speaking nearby" (Minh Ha 1983) or "speaking for, speaking with or speaking alongside" (Ruby, 1991) could no longer be ignored by filmmakers. As early as 1993 Peter Loizos argued that the 'logical outcome' of reflexivity in ethnographic film was "films made by the people themselves" (Loizos 1993:13). The same argument had been made by the French anthropologist and visual ethnographer Jean Rouch, in 1961, "When all is said and done, neither Rogosin, Graham or I will ever be Africans and the films that we make will always be African films by strangers .... it's time for succession" (Rouch (1961-62) 2005:77). Fala Minha Irmã is my response to this call and my contribution towards the succession of the next generation of Mozambican filmmakers, an intersectional Mozambican audio-visual ontology, epistemology and aesthetic. In

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> See Sol de Carvalho (2019), Joao Ribeiro (2019) and Fonseca (2019).

questioning my representation of others and working closer and closer with my subjects, my evolution as an ethnographic film-maker has followed a 'evolutionary trajectory' similar to the genre itself.<sup>28</sup> I wanted to see what would happen if instead of authoring one film, I supported Mozambican film-makers to research, film and distribute six of their own. I was no longer the author, I didn't accompany the film-makers during their research, or when they filmed. I only occasionally sat with them as they edited. I could see my influence here and there, most notably in the emphasis on women's stories, in the films' musicality and creative use of sound, but also in the ethnographic methods used and the role of music as a methodological tool, providing a common starting-point to address larger issues, recognizing the role music plays in communicating beyond the verbal. Yet, these were not my films, as the film-makers proudly noted at the screening described at the start of this article, these were "Mozambican films, by Mozambicans, for Mozambicans", a dream of the decolonial knowledge-makers of the revolution. *Fala Minha Irmã* however, went further than this. The films were by men and women from the same race, the same class, the same language group, and in some instances the same gender as those representing them.

There is still a long way to go. Only in making films and trying out new techniques, can the next generation find their individual cinematic language, creative voice and realise this dream of truly intersectional succession. Although this was a small study and much more could be done to expand this research, *Fala Minha Irmã* has demonstrated that there are ways, even with limited time and funds, that the next generation of Mozambican film-makers can develop their audio-visual language in a sustainable and affordable way, and that the exploration of the music-video can play an important role in this.

This research also sought to address questions around the role of women in Mozambican audiovisual production, both behind and in front of the camera. In many ways this is perhaps the greatest challenge to the next generation, as they are unable to build on the work of those who came before them. Questions of power, poverty, class, education and cultural identity were addressed in Mozambique's revolutionary films and a cinematic language was developed to bridge some of these divides, but still, the films were made by men, and the representation of Mozambican women was done so from their perspective. Fala Minha Imã not only puts the Mozambican 'sister' on the screen, it addresses some of the obstacles to putting her behind the camera too. Taking its cue from the women who communicate their concerns through music and dance in the films, it too found a musical approach to this next all-important challenge.

At times, I have wondered whether Fala Minha Irmã was a personal response to my own burden of the privilege of authorship (Behar 1995:7) and that the root of my decision to look for viable ways to enable Mozambican authorship came from what Ruth Behar describes as 'women's anxiety of authorship' (1995:16). "We struggle to make ourselves heard and to convince ourselves that our writing in a time of increasing poverty, racism, inequality, xenophobia and warfare still somehow matters" (ibid). If anything, however, my perspective as a woman has informed my commitment to contribute to a more gender-conscious representation of Mozambicans by Mozambicans. The still ever increasing poverty, racism, inequality, xenophobia and warfare, contribute to my finding appropriate methodological responses to these problems. Through Fala Minha Irmã, I was, in part, responding to my evolving anxiety of authorship, but within the context of long struggle for the decolonization of African representation and a belief that, "it's time for succession." I was able to support a feminist approach to that succession, and my ally in this challenge was music.

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28 See De Groof, (2013 :110).

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1987 Samora Vive (Live Samora). Produced by the National Institute of Cinema. 32 min. Mozambique.

## **Discography**

#### BAHULE, Lenna

2016 Nômades, Loop Discos ASIN: B01HS8LP2S

#### **GHORWANE**

1993 *Majurugenta*, Real World Records, CD RW 29 (UK & Europe) & CAROL 2336-2, 0777 7 88289 2 1 (US)

1997 Kudumba, Piranha Records. CD-PIR 1150

2003 Vana Va n'dota, Milan. CD 301 728-9 (Europe) and M2-36134 (US)

#### MASSUKOS

2006 Bumping. Poo Productions Ltd. PPLCD001

https://youtu.be/JJSH5UOjX8I

# ORCHESTRA STAR MARRABENTA DE MOÇAMBIQUE

1989 Independence. Produced by Piranha, Germany.

http://www.piranhashop.de/orchestra marrabenta star de/independance/marrabenta/7988/en/

## MANUEL, Stella

2018 Futiku, Futiku. Recorded live at Gungu Theatre. To be released in 2020. Maputo.

## TIMBILA MUZIMBA

2004 Conta Propria. Produced by Inovacoes. Porto. Portugal