In Their Own Image: Voluntary Filmmaking at a Non-Profit Community Media Organisation

A Collaborative Doctoral Project with Kirklees Local TV

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This thesis is dedicated to the late, great Robert K. Britton: a brilliant academic; vivid cartoonist; and one of the most fervent champions of their local community I have ever seen. Bob – I still haven't read Don Quixote, but I will one day.

Contents

List of Figures (NB: Some images have been redacted due to copyright)

Abstract

Kirklees Local TV is a non-profit social enterprise based in the town of Huddersfield (West Yorkshire, UK) that has been creating news programmes and documentary films about the Kirklees area since March 2011. As a participatory researcher, I spent twenty months as a contributing member of *KLTV* between January 2018 and September 2019, keeping a field diary of my experiences. In parallel, I conducted several qualitative interviews with regular contributors at the organisation as a means of collaboratively exploring this project's primary research question: **why do people volunteer at an organisation like *KLTV*?**

This thesis adopts Facet Methodology (Mason 2011) and the Generic Inductive Qualitative Model (Maxwell 2005; Hood 2007) as central pillars of its research design. I was persuaded by the inventiveness of Facet Methodology to create a docuseries of my own – four short research films (Appendices E1-E4) that represent different ways of looking at *KLTV*. By linking this arts-based research data to pertinent literature in the fields of Cultural Literacy, Critical Race Theory and Communities of Practice, this thesis posits *Kirklees Local TV* as a site of social, cultural, and digital learning for citizens of practically all ages.

Perhaps the most insightful connection drawn between this research and the wider world is with the work of Barry Barclay: a Māori (Indigenous New Zealand) filmmaker who believed 'every culture has a right and a responsibility to present its own culture to its own people' (2015, 7). Barclay's autobiography, *Our Own Image: A Story of a Māori Filmmaker* (2015), provides a series of illuminating analogies and metaphors about the Fourth (Indigenous) Cinema movement that, when extrapolated to the context of minority culture filmmaking in the UK, shed further light on why Kirklees' citizens choose to pick up the camera and hold it up to the world around them.

Preamble

In this section, I preface the thesis with some preliminary thoughts on the nature of the collaboration that has underpinned this doctoral project. I highlight some of the limitations that the thesis will have to abide by, before discussing the reasons why I wanted to do this project in the first place: my interest in documentary filmmaking, both as a scholar and a film practitioner; and the desire to represent one's own community in an empowering way that links a Black British Filmmaker of African Descent with the Father of Indigenous (Māori) Filmmaking in New Zealand.

Telling Others' Stories

> This Memorandum of Understanding intends to clarify the terms of engagement between Ryan and KLTV, therefore upholding the necessary conditions for an ethical and co-productive working partnership to flourish. **Above all, the project's success is dependent on all involved parties coming out of it better off than they were when the project began. (**Memorandum of Understanding 2018; see Appendix F)

Has this collaborative ethnography project achieved all its aims and objectives? The answer very much depends on whom you are asking. My answer, as the project's doctoral candidate (and hopefully, not long after submitting this thesis, a 'Doctor'), will be presented over the coming pages. This is the space in which I, the (sole) researcher, am given a license to depict in my own terms what happened during the course of a twenty-month fieldwork placement at a local community media organisation, *Kirklees Local TV*. Those words, in turn, will be scrutinised by a panel of professional academics - one from my University, another from elsewhere - who will ultimately decide whether the standard aims and objectives of a doctoral thesis have been met by my attempt. (If you are reading this right now, and you are *not* one of my examiners, then I might just have managed it.)

There is one voice missing from this conversation: the voice of *Kirklees Local TV* - the local community media organisation that took me under their wing, gave me a desk, allowed me unfettered access to their wealth of experience and resources, and treated me as one of their own for almost two years. It is a voice that I will do my best to represent authentically over the coming pages, but one that will be inevitably drowned out by the sound of my own. Such is the nature of most academic scholarships, 'collaborative', 'co-productive', or otherwise. 'In an academic setting', writes Lassiter, 'to this day the single-authored text is valued over the multiple-authored text, interdisciplinary work among professionals over collaborative work between professionals and non-professionals, and academic credentials over experiential ones' (2005, 89). There is, therefore, little incentive for academics to engage with wider communities in co-authored publications. But as Reigersberg rightly points out, the professional benefits for non-academic 'interlocutors', to whom writing academic texts does not tend to fit within the remit of their own careers, are practically non-existent (2019, 322). External partners are therefore invited to collaborate with the academy in order to co-generate new knowledge, but are rarely offered the opportunity to co-author the resulting publications.

Between January 2018 and September 2019, I spent almost 700 hours on fieldwork duty at *Kirklees Local TV,* spread across 119 day-visits. I say all of this not to boast of how 'collaborative' this project has been (although I am particularly proud of those statistics on a personal level), but rather, to give a sense of just how influential this external partner has been - not just to this PhD, but to my professional career as well. This thesis would not exist without them.

Amongst my many roles at *KLTV* (and this list is genuinely *not* exhaustive - there will be things I have forgotten): I operated a camera, edited films, directed projects, interviewed members of the public, took photographs, coordinated volunteers, founded a social media page, took minutes at meetings, assisted with studio productions, actively contributed to regular production meetings,

conducted research which was actually *applied* in a real-world context, mediated conflicts, and was even involved in a conflict or two of my own.

Besides the filmmaking aspects of the job (most of which I *had* done before, but not to the same professional standard I am capable of now), the vast majority of this work was completely new to me; even as a postgraduate student with relatively extensive experience of participatory research, I was very much outside of my comfort zone. But *KLTV* gave me training, taught me on the job, allowed me to fail (and, when I did, helped me to see *why* I did), and gave me skills that I will carry with me for the rest of my life. Such is the *KLTV* way; much like the pledge made in that Memorandum of Understanding (Appendix F), the people who come into *KLTV*, in my experience, always walk out of the organisation with more (personally and professionally) than they had when they first walked in.

I spent approximately 595 hours on top of that travelling to Huddersfield on buses, trams, and trains from my home on the outskirts of Sheffield – writing almost 100 field diary entries during those commutes. And I spent many more hours on top of that - in small chunks of time here and there - helping *KLTV* out from home: managing emails; writing social media posts; staying in touch and making myself available. I feel that these statistics indicate the degree to which I have attempted to immerse myself within the field. However, I also present these figures to give a sense of just how influential this external partner has been to the research that has come out of this doctoral project.

Like this thesis, the work of *Kirklees Local TV* tells stories about 'other' people too. But rather than merely telling them in their own words, they give those to whom the story belongs a platform - through the mode of ethical video- and film-making - to speak in their own voices and describe what happened to happen on their own terms. It is a sort of collaborative act; the generation and dissemination of someone else's narrative, but one which is nonetheless crafted *In Their Own Image*. Uncomfortable as I am trying to capture the experiences of many through the perspective of one, I

hope that what this thesis achieves, whilst not being 'collaborative' in an ideal sense, is as 'collaborative' as it possibly can be.

And whilst I would respect any reader's feedback on the degree of this project's success to that end, on a personal level, no opinion will register as significantly in my mind as that of those who I worked alongside for twenty months in Huddersfield; it is their image, after all, that this thesis portrays. I can think of no better way of echoing this sentiment than to borrow the words of Dr Heather Norris Nicholson, the volunteer coordinator for one of *KLTV*'s flagship community projects, who I interviewed amongst several other participants for this thesis:

> I think the real strength of the [Windrush: The Years After] project, and the real resource base for the project, has been the people, who have been brought together here at KLTV. It is that group that have made the project happen. (Heather Norris Nicholson, *Film 4*, 06:43-06:58)

By the same vein, it is *these* people - the group of volunteers brought together by *KLTV* - who have made this doctoral project what it is. An exploration of their role in documenting others through film, *In Their Own Image*, subsequently forms this thesis' central line of enquiry.

A Tale of Three Filmmakers: Barclay, Brown and Bramley

I have several participants to thank for this project. But in bringing the project into life in the first place, the credit must be shared between two filmmakers: one I have met countless times, and one that I will never get to meet. These filmmakers are worlds apart in many ways, but nonetheless united by their collective footing on the periphery of the white- (or 'Pākehā'-) dominated documentary film industry.

I was an MA student studying English Literature in 2016 when I first came across the work of the late Barry Barclay - a Māori [indigenous New Zealand] filmmaker who is widely credited as the 'first

Māori to direct a New Zealand film' ('Ngati' in 1987), paving the way for an emerging Māori filmmaking scene that now sees 'the Māori - who were largely absent from New Zealand film and TV - [...] now featured in large numbers' (Drinnan 2008). It was Barclay's efforts to give voice to the voiceless and help people tell their own stories which informed the theoretical backbone of this PhD project at the proposal stage:

> This artistic model of Māori filmmakers creating Māori films both about, and for, the Māori community, is one this thesis will attempt to adopt and emulate....
> (Extract taken from ESRC Collaborative Studentship 2016/17 Proposal Form)

Barclay, along with fellow Māori filmmaker Merata Mita, have been regarded as the 'first indigenous man and woman in the world to solo direct feature films' (Gordon Smith 2019, para. 2) - quite an achievement in an industry (both national *and* international) whose modus operandi was (and in many ways, still *is*) 'the colonial gaze' (para. 3). This rather grand declaration does, however, risk overlooking the influence of earlier indigneous film movements around the world, such as the so-called 'Indian Film Crew', founded in Canada in 1968. *These Are My People…* (1969), whilst being co-directed by four indigenous North American filmmakers (Daniels, Dunn, Mitchell and Wilson), was a short documentary 'made entirely by an Indigenous crew' (National Film Board of Canada No Date). A few years later, Bruce McGuiness, described by the National Film & Sounds Archive of Australia as 'a forerunner in Indigenous filmmaking', directed *Blackfire* (1972) and *A Time to Dream* (1974) (McNiven 2021, para. 8).

These short documentaries sparked a new era of 'indigenous self-representation and self-empowerment in the arts' (McNiven 2021, para. 8). Film workshops for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, such as the ones run by The National Black Theatre and depicted in Ande Reese's film *Tjintu Pakani: Sunrise Awakening* (1976), are said to have fostered a group of 'legendary

trailblazers in the Indigenous arts world' (McNiven 2021, para. 8). Australian filmmaker and songwriter Essie Coffey's *My Survival as an Aboriginal* (1979), a 'groundbreaking autobiographical film', became 'the first documentary...made by an Aboriginal woman'; she would follow it up with a sequel, *My Life As I Live It* (1993), fifteen years later (Chaves et al. 2019, 2). These films were not merely 'isolated productions', Hearne claims, but made by 'localized participants in larger, coterminous international movements'; Coffey had emerged in Australia as an 'Indigenous cultural activist' filmmaker at around the same time that Merata Mita and Barry Barclay had come to the fore in New Zealand (2012, 15-16). They did not receive the same critical reception or broad circulation that the films of their white mainstream counterparts were receiving, but Indigenous-led (if not wholly Indigenous-made) productions were, at the very least, finally being made. The medium of film, which had only served to 'other' non-white communities up until this point, was finally being used to self-represent minority ethnic groups across the world. The camera was at last in their hands - and they were not going to give it up.

*

Back on the ground, Barclay would later become 'a core member' of the Māori cultural collective known as 'Te Manu Aute': 'a similar gathering of like minds, Māori working in film and television, who first came together in Wellington in the 1980s to organise and support Māori story-telling and story-tellers' (Ngā Aho Whakaari 2016a, para. 6). Te Manu Aute, 'a collective of Māori in the film and television industry' that 'played a crucial role in driving the political agenda of Māori screen production in the 1980s' (Ngā Aho Whakaari 2016b, paras. 12-14), was a precursor to more formal Māori film organisations such as 'Ngā Aho Whakaari' ('strands of many visions') - 'the national representative body for Māori working in screen production including film, television, digital and

gaming in New Zealand' (Ngā Aho Whakaari 2020b, para. 3). Part of Te Manu Aute's constitution - and perhaps the most famous quote from it - reads:

> Every culture has a right and a responsibility to present its own culture to its own people. (Barclay 2015, 7)

This mantra is distinctly Māori, and I would be wise not to culturally appropriate it here. However, this notion of socio-cultural self-representation nonetheless resonates, in my opinion, with the ethos of the second filmmaker central to this thesis.

Milton Brown, who defines himself as 'of Black African descent' (Brown and Ward 2019, 92), has been running *Kirklees Local TV* (hereafter *KLTV*) since 2011. *KLTV* is a social enterprise and local media organisation based in Huddersfield (West Yorkshire, UK) that makes community media, including (but not exclusive to) short news programmes, studio debates and feature-length documentaries. When I interviewed Brown in mid-2019 for this thesis, he said this of *KLTV*'s 'storytelling' mantra:

> And the other thing is, we don't do stories to see if we can make a buck or two out of it; we do stories because stories - real life stories - are important to people. And that's where we are, like I said: we're the people's news outlet. (Milton Brown, *Film 1*, 14:18-14:34)

I am reluctant at this stage to draw too many similarities between indigenous filmmaking and community filmmaking without the necessary literary prefaces (e.g. the decolonisation of knowledge and power) that the Literature Review will attempt to provide. That said, in the notions of both 'a culture that presents itself to itself' and 'the people's news outlet', Barclay and Brown have both presented themselves (and their respective production companies) as having the responsibility to tell these stories to their own communities through the mode of filmmaking. Their respective quests

towards representing the diversity of voices within their own communities is stated more explicitly elsewhere:

> We want people to trust us as an authentic voice, for them. And in the main, when I reflect, we've never been held accountable for telling a wrong story; we've never been given grief because we've told a story and 'egged the plate' on the story. And when you look at the diverse range of people that's worked in here; that we've interviewed outside of the building; it covers absolutely everybody. We raise the profile of everyone and everyone in a very just and appropriate way, and I think that's the real credibility of our organisation. We got from bottom to top; not top to bottom. (Milton Brown, *Film 1*, 03:13-04:01)

> In my own documentaries I have tried to include a tapestry of people, partly because I was fortunate enough to get a grounding in the craft amongst Pākehā [non-Māori New Zealanders, typically of European descent] film-makers familiar with the British documentary tradition, who drew on and developed that tradition in New Zealand [...] I have found that grounding invaluable when working in the Māori world where the old people must have an opportunity to talk, and the youngsters too. The bankers and accountants, the farm labourers and the road workers - they all have voices. (Barclay 2015, 10)

As a postgraduate student completing my MA in English Literature in Sheffield in 2016 - not too far away from Huddersfield, and thousands of miles away from New Zealand - this desire to have diverse, *authentic* voices telling the stories, rather than white (Pākehā) actors and filmmakers, was a challenge that really appealed to me. I, too, was familiar with the British documentary tradition that Barclay spoke of so fondly, and saw the central tenet of the documentary style, the *interview*, as an illuminating mode of social, cultural and political enquiry. In 2014, I had tried to make my own film, *Born of Coal* (2015), about the 1984-1985 Miners' Strike in the UK and the way in which the

subsequent deindustrialisation of Britain's heavy industries (coal, steel, etc.) had negatively affected my working-class hometown of Barnsley (South Yorkshire, UK) and its people.

For *Born of Coal*, rather than interviewing the strike's better-known figures - prominent members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), local politicians of the time, and so on - I wanted to see it through the eyes of those who had been around long enough to experience it in both its industrial and post-industrial states, but on the ground level; *bottom to top*, as Brown might say (see *Film 1*, 03:13-04:01). The film itself is hardly of cinematic merit: it was filmed by an amateur videographer, using an entry-level DSLR camera, and littered with the sort of editing mistakes that you would expect from somebody who has never made a film before. But it opened up a new opportunity for me - a new method of understanding the social world that I was surrounded by, in a way that the dusty textbooks and articles of academic libraries could never have imparted. It is for the very same reason that I jumped at the chance of undertaking this doctoral project in 2016: to see more *tapestries of people*, and to possibly weave one or two more tapestries of my own.

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

Barry Barclay passed away in 2008 (aged 63), following an illustrious film and television directing and writing career that spanned four decades. Milton Brown, on the other hand, came to filmmaking much later in life - but his organisation continues to produce hundreds of videos every year, despite a lack (or rather, near-absence) of public funding and industry support. *Kirklees Local TV*'s productions may never break into the mainstream in the way that Barclay's films did, but they continue to place the camera into the hands of the people who are so often 'othered' by it.

This is not a thesis about indigenous filmmaking. But it is a thesis about Barclay's notion of Fourth Cinema: 'the idea of a communally-made film' that works 'with such a production base [...] that it

becomes easiest to do justice to the community that is itself being filmed' (Murray 2008, 3). It is an 'umbrella term' that, whilst containing 'the multiple forms of Indigenous cinema as it operates on an international level', can 'still reflect the specifics of individual cultural formations and iterations' (Murray 2008, 2). And it is a concept that is perhaps most aptly depicted by Barclay's metaphor of 'a camera on the shore' - a reversal of 'the direction of the colonial gaze' that would have 'indigenous people' (and, as I would argue in the case of *KLTV*, non-white people in general) seen 'as passive objects' (Gordon Smith 2019, paras. 3-4). At *KLTV*, the camera never leaves that shore.

Part One: Introduction

Here, I will introduce the primary research question of this thesis - **why do people volunteer at an organisation like *KLTV*** - and how I have pursued this line of critical enquiry through an (auto-) ethnographic lens during this collaborative doctoral project. I also justify the decision to adopt an inductive methodological approach: first observing the field as an immersed participatory researcher, and then selecting theories and methods that were relatable.

I will, of course, outline my methodology in greater depth later on. However, because this research orientation has significantly informed my subsequent literature review, this preliminary methodological overview of the Generic Inductive Approach Model (GIQM) serves as a necessary precursor to that chapter.

Time in the Field

When I first asked my supervisors if I could spend twenty of my thirty-six doctoral project months conducting fieldwork, I was met with a degree of surprise and (healthy) skepticism. To further complicate the issue, I was proposing to start that fieldwork process not in my second year, as social science doctoral candidates typically would (see MacNeill 2018), but only three months into my *first* year. While it is said that 'there remains minimal detailed description and discussion of the actual practice and processes involved in completing ethnographic fieldwork' (Gill and Temple 2014, 1), the concerned response from my supervisory team was wholly understandable. After all, the Economic and Social Research Council's own postgraduate funding guidelines, whilst making no specific reference to UK-based fieldwork, specifies that:

A student's [overseas] fieldwork visit will normally last for up to 12 months. If a student can

demonstrate a strong case for a visit longer than 12 months, fieldwork of up to a maximum of 18

months may be granted. (ESRC 2019, 22)

These guidelines are incredibly relevant to my own work, as it is a regionally-focused consortium of

the ESRC - namely, the 'White Rose Doctoral Training Partnership' (formerly the 'White Rose

Doctoral Training Centre') - that has funded this project. It is also stated by the ESRC that:

[Overseas] fieldwork must be an integral part of the PhD and take place during the life of the [doctoral

funding] award. Studentships will not be extended to reflect periods in the field. (ESRC 2019, 22)

In other words, the longer an ESRC-funded doctoral student spends in the field, the less time they will

have to complete the writing of their subsequent thesis (which is to be submitted within twelve

months of their funding end-date). This has been the case for me, despite the fact that the funding

scheme I am enlisted to is somewhat unconventional. The 'WRDTC ESRC Collaborative Awards', as

they were known in 2016/2017 (i.e. the year before the WRDT<u>C</u> was replaced by the WRDT<u>P</u>),

'require collaboration with a non-academic partner', and specify that such collaborations 'must

include substantive knowledge exchange and not just one way engagement' (ESRC 2015, 5).

The non-academic partner organisation was expected to 'be involved in the development of the

project', and was asked to make a 20% contribution, either financial or in-kind (i.e. in the form of an

internship or a placement opportunity), to the cost of the Collaborative Award (ESRC 2015, 5).

However, given that the project was working with a non-profit community filmmaking organisation,

it was neither fair nor desirable to ask the external partner to make a financial contribution. An in-

kind contribution was therefore opted for, whereby the external partner would provide the successful

student applicant with access to filmmaking resources (cameras, sound equipment, editing software,

etc.), as well as dedicated training from the organisation's community media professionals and volunteers.

As a prospective postgraduate research student who had already developed a significant interest in filmmaking as a practice-based research practice (see Bramley 2015), this collaborative studentship was of great appeal to me. And as a prospective collaborative studentship candidate, spending so much of my doctoral project time doing participatory fieldwork at *Kirklees Local TV* occurred to me as not only a way of getting to understand the nature of what I was going to write about, but also as a means of reimbursing this non-profit social enterprise organisation for their (in-kind) financial investment in the project.

Co-Production or Exploitation?

Unfortunately, research collaborations with community partners, led by universities, often result in the exploitation of the former by the latter. As Rasool (2017) indicates, 'in the past, collaboration has been used as a vehicle to secure knowledge from communities, and communities were given no ownership of that knowledge' (317). I would, in fact, argue that this phenomena - once referred to as 'rape research' by Reinharz, summarised by Lather as 'the norm in the social sciences: career advancement of researchers built on their use of alienating and exploitative inquiry methods' (1988 57) - is very much present, if not less common, at the time of writing. Bell and Pahl ask:

> Whilst co-production often assumes a degree of equality between academic and non-academic co-producers, this is likely to be undercut where non-academic co-producers are from disadvantaged, marginalized or oppressed communities. What does it mean, for example, when an exemplary piece of co-production helps the academic co-producer gain a promotion whilst non-academic co-producers - even with the potential benefits of any given project - remain subject to poverty, racism and gentrification? (Bell and Pahl 2018, 111)

The exploitation of communities by researchers in so-called 'collaborative' research projects - regardless of whether the researcher(s) is/are conscious of the unethical nature of their work or not - is not exclusive to the UK. It can be felt, and indeed *is* often felt, by any non-academic co-producers engaged in 'research which is imbued with an 'attitude' and a 'spirit' which assumes a certain ownership of the entire world" (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, 114).

In challenging the current state of co-productive research relationships, I would argue that the very notion of a 'non-academic co-producer' is, in itself, reflective of the 'institutional practices' which 'determine what counts as legitimate research and who count as legitimate researchers' (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, 114). As a so-called academic co-producer myself, it may well be assumed by the reader that the community-based organisation I have worked with (*KLTV*) are, by extension, 'non-academic' co-producers, but this would not be entirely accurate. The CEO of *KLTV*, Milton Brown, is (at the time of writing) in the process of completing his PhD at the University of Huddersfield. Another regular volunteer at *KLTV*, Dr Heather Norris Nicholson, is a former Senior Research Fellow from the University of Huddersfield's Centre for Visual and Oral History. Several other *KLTV* contributors (past and present) hold undergraduate degrees.

I have long considered whether one has to be awarded a higher education degree from a reputable institution to be classed as an 'academic' or a 'researcher'. That a university-led research project would seek to co-produce knowledge with so-called non-academic participants in the first place recognises the existence of ways of knowing beyond the academy. The 'interpretive turn in the social sciences, emphasizing dimensions of meaning, discourse and textuality' (Jasanoff 2004, 4) is cited as the fertile soil from which co-production continues to grow as 'an increasingly popular term' for researchers (Filipe et al. 2017, 1). However, 'communities and indigenous activists' have long criticised the ethics of the 'co-production' that contemporary universities and their researchers engage

in (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, 43). Some of these questions, as pertinent to my work as they are to any research project that professes to be 'collaborative', are summarised here:

> Whose research is it? Who owns it? Whose interests does it serve? Who will benefit from it? Who has designed its questions and framed its scope? (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, 43-44)

Co-Produced Research Design

Co-production is underpinned by four key arguments of what research, in the eyes of the co-producers, should be: '**substantive**' (its integrity is improved by meaningful engagement); '**instrumental**' (co-produced research often leads to implementation both inside and outside of the academy), '**normative**' (as so-called 'civic' universities, we have an accountability to both the academy and the public for the research we produce), and '**political**' (positively changing the attitudes of researchers towards communities, and vice versa) (Oliver et al. 2019, 2-3).

Responding to the community-led examination of collaborative research projects earlier posed by Tuhiwai Smith (2012, 43-44), there is (sadly) little that I can do about the first and second questions (i.e. 'Whose research is it?' and 'Who owns it?'). This doctoral thesis can only be authored by me; and, despite a 20% (in-kind) financial contribution from the external partner, it is inevitably owned by the principal funder (the ESRC) and the host institution (the University of Sheffield). Within those confines, however, there is still room for flexibility on the third question, 'Whose interests does it serve?', and the fourth, 'Who will benefit from it?'. In breaking the traditional mould of a social science doctoral project, I feel that this project has, at the very least, been able to address the fifth, the issue of 'who has designed' the research project, in a meaningful way – as I outline in more detail below.

The Methods

From Day 1 of the project, I knew that I wanted to write my own field notes, and analyse these in my thesis in order to explore my research question. Justifying to *KLTV* the decision to write about my time there was helped by the fact that the organisation already encouraged their volunteers to write their own 'reflective log' as part of their personal development, and had resources in place for this. I subsequently adopted *KLTV*'s template (Appendix A) for my own field notes.

Becoming a part-time volunteer at *Kirklees Local TV* for twenty months allowed me to conduct this autoethnography: to 'retrospectively and selectively write about epiphanies that stem from, or are made possible by, being part of a culture (Ellis et al. 2011, para. 8). In order to 'articulate insider knowledge of cultural experience' (Adams et al. 2017, 3), I had to immerse myself in that culture enough to become, if not an insider, an 'inside-outsider'. Also referred to as 'the space between', the researcher who takes 'the position of both insider and outsider' notes 'the ways in which [they] are different from others', whilst also noting 'the ways in which [they] are similar' (Dwyer and Buckle 2009, 60). In my case, I was working as a volunteer with *KLTV* on their own projects (insider), but simultaneously working towards my own PhD at the University of Sheffield (outsider) - a fact made explicitly clear to everyone I worked with/alongside during my time there. My presence in this liminal space is perhaps best articulated by my reflections on being invited to the *KLTV* Christmas Meal in December 2018 and, in particular, what my relationship was between myself and the other five people sat around the table:

> What is it that the six of us share? The responsibility for the relative fortunes of our communities? A desire to bring about social change through our actions? Or a communal optimism that, if we all try really hard, we might just make some sort of a difference out there?

I'm not sure. But through the remainder of my fieldwork at KLTV, I really hope I can get a little closer to finding out.

It was also refreshing to be the only white man at the table, and the youngest member of the team present (by at least ten years). I really do feel flattered that I am being asked to things such as these; the group do not only see me as a researcher and a fellow participant, but clearly as an equal, and for some, even possibly as a friend. (Field Diary Entry 32, 7th December 2018)

The 'culture' I became part of (albeit as an inside-outsider) was multifaceted. *KLTV* is, amongst other things: a community media outlet; a learning organisation; a social enterprise; and a non-profit initiative. Socially speaking, it is also a site in which people of diverse ethnic, religious and socio-economic backgrounds from Huddersfield and its hinterland are brought together, with the shared goal of empowering their local community. The 'usefulness of autoethnography' in this regard is its ability to present my personal navigation of this multifaceted space with 'credibility and transferability' (Wall 2008, 46-47), whilst acknowledging that the act of conducting this research places me neither inside nor outside of the field. Rather, I took up 'a third space, a space between, a space of paradox, ambiguity, and ambivalence, as well as conjunction and disjunction' (Dwyer and Buckle 2009, 60).

Despite being an inside-outsider, an autoethnography is, by virtue, a sole-authored piece. Whilst it might offer up a duplicity of perspectives (i.e. *KLTV* from a volunteer's view *and KLTV* from the researcher's view), it is the representation of just one person's gaze. To build a more multifaceted illustration of *KLTV*, I wanted to find a way in which a co-constructed narrative could be produced – one which appreciated the 'meanings of relational experiences, particularly how people collaboratively cope with the ambiguities, uncertainties, and contradictions' of working together in this space (Ellis et al. 2011, para. 23). Part of my reasoning for spending the majority of my first year

doing participatory fieldwork, was to hold informal discussions with prospective participants around how they would be comfortable contributing to this narrative, and actually willing to do so. I felt this to be an ethical approach to constructing the research design. This was validated very early on in the fieldwork process, when a method I was interested in doing - the arts-based practice of sensory ethnography - was ruled out following a discussion with *KLTV*'s CEO:

> Milton felt that my sensory ethnography idea was a good one, but perhaps not viable for KLTV group members who are already pushed for time. The fact that these autoethnographies would probably not be applicable to the participants' own work and personal development was also an issue. (Field Diary Entry 2, 1st February 2018)

Coming into the fieldwork placement, I had felt that sensory ethnography would have been a way of bringing myself and the reader 'close to other people's multisensory experiences, knowing, practice, memories and imaginations' (Pink 2012, 2). In this case, the 'other people' would have been the voluntary members of *KLTV*; the 'multisensory experiences', those that these members encounter in the places where they conduct their media-making activities (and, by extension, the parts of the local community their organisation seeks to represent). However, to ask these participants to do something that would have helped me (and not them) would have undermined the collaborative nature of this PhD, whilst also failing to recompense the organisation as a project stakeholder. Bell and Pahl (2018) warn against co-productive academics doing things that are 'unlikely to be a worthwhile use of a non-academic community's time' (109). Likewise, Oliver et al. (2019), writing from the perspective of health researchers, propose 'a cautious approach to coproduction'; one which examines:

> ...the costs and benefits to all involved, recognising the significant costs and risks to investing time and resources into good facilitation and management of expectations, establishing ground rules and processes, and deciding on evidence-informed strategies to achieve established and shared aims and outcomes. (Oliver et al. 2019, 6)

In this sense, the qualitative interviewing method seemed like the best fit for my project's critical and collaborative explorations of *KLTV*. Interviews and conversation were, after all, the mainstay of *KLTV*'s own media work. Whether they are making two-minute vox-pop style news programmes (i.e. filming short interviews with people on the streets of Huddersfield around a particular topic); one-off socio-cultural documentary films like *Young, British, Pakistani and Muslim* (KLTV 2013c) and *Caribbean Through the Lens* (KLTV 2014a); or studio-based discussions, such as the Question-Time style *Party Leaders Debate* (KLTV 2014b) with senior members of Kirklees Council - the interview has been, and continues to be, *KLTV*'s primary tool of choice when it comes to promoting the views of the public and holding local public figures to account. To ask *KLTV* members to take part in something they do regularly in their own work - despite asking them to be the *interviewed* rather than the *interviewer* - was placing them in a much more familiar environment than asking them to produce something they had likely never done before, such as sensory ethnography. On my part, I also felt much less self-assertive asking these participants to take part in an interview, given that they themselves would often ask other people to take part in one of theirs.

As well as thinking about how my interview participants would feel about giving me an interview, I also had to think about how the resulting data would be best framed. The academic interviewer is often encouraged to conduct interviews as a means of producing written transcriptions, as opposed to seeing the recordings (audio or audio-visual) as observable and analysable data in its own right. Verbatim transcription is generally perceived by qualitative researchers as a means of making their data 'rigorous', and is therefore seen by many as 'a desirable element in research methodologies across the social sciences' (Loubere 2017, paras. 9-10). However, written transcriptions alone, whilst being of use to me in this way, would likely provide little benefit to *KLTV*. To reinforce my interviews for this project as part of a 'shared aim and outcome', I decided to edit the raw footage I had recorded into a series of four documentary-style films. Other than the fact that this editing process

would form a part of the thematic 'coding' process (more on this later), it also enabled the creation of a series of artefacts that could be utilised by all parties involved in this collaboration: *Kirklees Local TV*, *The University of Sheffield*, and me. Under the headings of *Founding KLTV*, *'The People's News Outlet'*, *Why Volunteers Come (and why some of them stay)*, and *The 'Windrush: The Years After' Project*, these four short films have been made available for *KLTV*'s non-commercial use, as well as for this thesis. The idea to turn this interviewing process into a mutually-beneficial film project came from the organisation's CEO:

> I've always been reluctant to ask for what I need from KLTV, especially when it means taking time from volunteers that they could be using towards KLTV's work rather than mine. I don't want to be seen as just another one of those academics who does what they need to do to get their own project completed, rather than working towards a co-productive practice that benefits all involved.
>
> Fortunately, Milton's plan of using the interviews for a KLTV film as well as for my own research overcomes that barrier - I'll be doing this for KLTV now, as well as for myself, and that makes me feel a little less anxious about approaching potential interviewees. (Field Diary Entry 59, 31st May 2019)

When Milton Brown watched an earlier edit of *The 'Windrush: The Years After' Project* (*Film 4*) and called it 'a brilliant production' which would be 'publishable' in its current state (Field Diary Entry 94, 19th September 2019), I felt that I had managed to produce something that was 'worthwhile' for all involved. This outcome may have been achieved, at least in part, by the design of the interview questions. I had initially drafted these myself, but wanted to run them past Milton first, before posing the questions to his organisation's members:

> Milton offered to sit down with me and run through my proposed questions for the interviews before I begin to recruit participants from the Windrush project group tomorrow. Milton emphasised that he didn't want to 'take over' my questions, and that he would be happy for me to ask whatever I wanted

to, but he made some interesting suggestions, and I think it's important, whilst standing by my general line of enquiry, to also recognise the knowledge and understanding of those in the field; I made a few edits to my questions accordingly. In particular, Milton emphasised the significance of eliminating 'why' questions - in Milton's experience, 'why' often leads to an overly self-deterministic answer ('I did this, and that led to this') which often doesn't represent how things happened to happen in the world; I agreed. (Field Diary Entry 65, 13th June 2019)

The differences between my initial draft of the interview questions (Appendix B1), and the subsequent list of questions we co-produced (Appendix B2), are subtle but significant. Whilst not going as far as asking the people participating in my interviews to 'generate their own questions', I do feel like the 'power differences' between myself and them, 'inherent in being the one asking the questions and writing up the research', were mitigated by involving my external partner in the interview design in a substantive way (Ritchie and Barker 2005, 51-54). This also made me more accountable as the researcher to the people participating in my project; as I wrote during the data collection process of the fieldwork placement:

I do now feel more accountable to KLTV, given that what I produce is for their use as well as my own. This is not a disadvantage in my mind; if anything, [the project] is even more co-productive than what I had initially intended to do. But it does mean that I need to be more conscious of what I do/do not ask my interviewees now, given that the fate of the output for KLTV and for my PhD are both at stake. (Field Diary Entry 60, 5th June 2019)

The Research Question

The decision to focus primarily in the interviews on why people choose to volunteer at an organisation like *KLTV* did not occur to me until the day of my Confirmation Review (26 September 2018). When one of my reviewers put it to me that my proposal lacked an overarching research

question, and asked what I was most interested in, 'Why do people volunteer at an organisation like *KLTV*?' was my impulsive response, based upon what had been almost nine months of fieldwork participation by that point. It is a research question I have stuck to ever since.

Turning back to Tuhiwai Smith (2012), the question of who(m) this research belongs to (see 280-288) has been a central focus of mine throughout this doctoral project, as I believe it should be for any academic who claims to be conducting 'collaborative research'. Whilst the project itself is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council, and effectively 'owned' by The University of Sheffield by virtue of hosting me as the doctoral candidate, there was no legitimate reason in my mind why the knowledge that this project produced could not be of use to the community that said knowledge had derived from. Tuhiwai Smith states that 'research is about satisfying a need to know, and a need to extend the boundaries of existing knowledge through a process of systematic inquiry' (2012, 280). In the 'cross-cultural context' of my research project, I would need to ask myself not only 'What knowledge will the researcher gain from this study?', but also, 'What knowledge will the *community* gain from this study?' (2012, 288). This might be seen as a trade-off between two mutually exclusive entities, but in my experience, it has been possible to satisfy the wants of the community without sacrificing the desires of the researcher:

> Feeling much more reassured about the questions I'm going to ask in my interviews, now that I feel me and Milton have actually collaborated on this in some sort of meaningful way (although the questions are still definitely targeting the kind of answers that I want to explore in my thesis). (Field Diary Entry 67, 13th June 2019)

The Literature

My selection of literature for this thesis has also been heavily influenced by my prolonged engagement with *KLTV*. I am somewhat ashamed to admit that I had never heard of Critical Race

Theory until Milton left a book of the same name (i.e. Delgado and Stefancic 2017) on my desk; it will feature heavily in the Literature Review (and beyond). This was not the only way that I managed to encounter theories relevant to my project, of course; my field diary entries, whilst also serving as primary ethnographic data in their own right, also drew me towards certain social scientific concepts. From an early stage in the placement, I had become interested in the way in which learning takes place at *KLTV*, and more specifically, the need for volunteers to be competent in a wide range of roles, as opposed to specialising in only one or two:

> Such is the nature of the business: if one role is left unfulfilled, the rest of the team has to keep the cogs turning. [...] No-one is going to buy into a media organisation that doesn't produce media. So here I am, a stand-in, trying to perform as a competent social media manager (despite never having held the role before in my life). In absence of a straightforward how-to manual for social media publicity, [...] I learn on the job, finding out which type of language generates the most public engagement; what kind of writing style resonates with the local community; and what type of posts people actually want to see. (Field Diary Entry 14, 8th June 2018)

The concept of a 'community of practice' (see Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner 2015) quickly became a primary line of my enquiry, both in my field notes:

> ...this was precisely what my PhD on hyperlocal/community-led media was trying to do: to make sense of an under-acknowledged phenomenon in a way that can help others - both within the community of practice and beyond - to better understand what this thing actually is. (Field Diary Entry 26, 16th November 2018)

And subsequently, in my interviews with *KLTV* members:

> At KLTV, we have this philosophy, and it's an African proverb: It takes the whole village to raise one child. What that actually means is, although I'm the CEO, all the skills don't start and stop with me. If

you was to speak to our business administrator, she's got skills that can help so many other people in new areas. If you look at some of the students who come here, they quickly get up to speed about where everything is, and they become independent learners. So that's what I mean about Kirklees [Local TV] as a learning organisation: people come, and they learn under their own pace, and their own ambition, application and attitude. (Milton Brown, *Film 1*, 06:28-07:19)

You go out, you film, you interview, you go back and edit: so you've got loads of different kinds of skills there, whereas in maybe a bigger organisation, you're pigeon-holed into one kind of speciality. Whereas here, you can work with so many different people, and learn different things, y'know? I've learned so much about social media marketing, video editing, writing – which is something that I'm really trying to push at the moment, trying to really improve my writing skills. Yeah, it's brilliant, and that's why I'm still here! (Oliver Thompson, *Film 3*, 07:28-08:02)

All in all, the process described above fits into what some scholars have referred to as 'the Generic Inductive Qualitative Model' (GIQM).

Data Before Theory: The Generic Inductive Qualitative Model (GIQM)

Inductive > Deductive

This research project was designed as an attempt to build up as comprehensive an image as possible (within the space of three years) of the work conducted by *KLTV*'s members, through my own eyes (the 'inside-outsider') as well as the participants themselves (the 'insiders'). I am glad that I began my fieldwork so early in this case, because the majority of the reading I had done in the first three months of the project would prove to be of little use to my exploration 'on the ground'. Despite attempts to try to understand the field in question as best as possible ahead of the placement period (January 2018-September 2019), I found myself struggling to place my experiences at *KLTV* into the literary theories and concepts that I had read about in preparation. For example, in my Confirmation Review

submission in September 2018, I had written exhaustively around the notion of 'hyperlocal media' - a term appearing almost 200 times in my essay, as well as making specific reference to 'hyperlocal media organisations like *Kirklees Local TV*'. I drew extensively on Radcliffe's ideas around what hyperlocal media was – online news or content services pertaining to a town, village, single postcode or other small, geographically defined community' (Radcliffe 2012a, 6). Additionally, I focused on hyperlocal media's origins; the 'best [hyperlocal] sites' are said to stem 'from local need', and ran 'by people steeped in their communities' (Radcliffe 2012b, para. 16).

However, after nine months' volunteering with *KLTV*, and having very much held on to the idea that this organisation *was hyperlocal* during this time, my faith in this categorisation began to waver. What I was experiencing on the inside of *KLTV* was conflicting with what I had read and seen from the outside; this is not an uncommon phenomenon for the immersed researcher. There is a 'crisis of position as an insider and outsider', writes Shim, 'as we are always located in between [those] two Realms' (2018, 7). Shim is not warding the qualitative researcher away from autoethnography here; the 'misfit feeling as an insider and outsider' is, in her view, 'a virtue of research that scholars must acknowledge because nothing can be 'normalized'' (2018, 2-3). Autoethnography is a process through which Shim herself, who grew up in South Korea before continuing her studies in the United States, has been able to reflect on her own identity:

> While my learning, analyzing, reflecting, and sharing can introduce others to a new and different way of looking at the world as a social intervention, that cycle in turn affects my own perspective, thinking, and strategies as well. (Shim 2018, 4)

Similarly, Wiesner (2020), declaring 'The Need for the Undivided Self', writes about their individual 'journey of constantly becoming in the world', and advocates 'reflexivity' as a 'tool' for authenticity, empowerment, and 'making sense of my lived experience for either myself or when in conversation

with others' (668). It was my positionality within *KLTV* as a volunteer of the organisation that encouraged me to be reflexive; I could not continue to articulate what I was experiencing (through my fieldnotes) in terms that I myself no longer believed in.

By December 2018, I had removed the word 'Hyperlocal' from my PhD working title (Field Diary Entry 30, 5th December 2018). From that point onwards, I referred to the term just three times in my field diary entries, and only in relation to 'hyperlocalisation research' that I had conducted for *KLTV* back in those first few months of being there. On reflection, I was probably stubborn, if not a little narrow-minded, to think of *KLTV* in such terms, and for so long. Indeed, the research I was conducting on behalf of the organisation stemmed from their desire to *become* 'hyperlocal', rather than being hyperlocal already:

> ...had a really productive meeting with Milton this afternoon about moving the business forward with a new brand identity (i.e. 'Huddersfield I'). Being involved with the process of developing this organisation into a more community-facing, hyperlocal media group should provide some really good first-hand experience of how such an organisation can work - if, indeed, it does. (Field Diary Entry 12, 5th June 2018)

And as of August 2019, one month before my placement end date, the proposed 'hyperlocalisation' of *KLTV* was a process that was still very much at a conceptual stage of development:

> …[Milton] is now thinking of rebranding KLTV as 'KLTV Online', rather than establishing a new identity for the news-outlet side of the organisation (which was called 'Huddersfield i' for the first year or so of my placement here, before Milton changed it to 'Huddersfield Online' a few months ago). (Field Diary Entry 85, 8th August 2019)

What this particular episode taught me was the importance of *seeing first, theorising later*. As a qualitative researcher, this did not mean sacrificing all the social theories and concepts that I once

held dear. Nor did it mean relying solely on what knowledge was generated from the field, as a Grounded Theorist might proceed (more on Grounded Theory, and the inadequacies of that approach for this particular project, in the next section). As Davis writes, 'current methodological theory suggests that neither the insider nor the outsider position is necessarily a superior or inferior position from which to conduct research' (2014, 18). To sacrifice one position for the sake of the other would be to deny myself (and consequently the reader) the nuanced insights that being a liminal, inside-outsider researcher can bring - so long as the researcher is routinely reflexive about their shifting positionality, of course.

Both *inside* and *outside* experiences would still be of relatively equal value to the research - but the process through which knowledge was obtained needed to be reversed. I made the decision to let the practice drive my theory, rather than being led by theory (as I previously had been). This is my main justification for following a Generic Inductive Qualitative Model (GIQM) for this project.

Following a Generic Inductive Qualitative Model (GIQM)

I knew that I wanted to utilise an inductive model for my qualitative research; the question was which one. As one of the more popular methods in contemporary qualitative social research, with a rich history spanning seven decades, I found myself initially drawn to Grounded Theory (GT). 'Moving up from the detailed descriptive [level] to the more abstract, conceptual level' - in this context, observing things in the field, and *then* drawing on theory in order to better understand those observations - is an inductive approach explicitly advocated by GT and its followers (Bryant and Charmaz 2007, 15-16). On the back of scholarship concerned with 'how accurate facts can be obtained and how theory can thereby be more rigorously tested', the Grounded Theory Method (GTM) was a result of what Glaser and Strauss' regarded as the 'equally important enterprise of *how the discovery of theory from data - systematically obtained and analyzed in social research - can be*

furthered' (1967 1, emphasis in original). It is claimed, for example, that 'reviewing the work of other researchers' *after* data analysis 'completes and enriches the research', rather than seeking to simply verify it (Stern 2007, 123).

Whilst Grounded Theory was initially an appealing prospect for my project, which was to rely so heavily on fieldwork (ergo 'data') for its findings, the rigidity of GTM effectively turned me away from adopting it for this project. In her chapter in 'The SAGE Handbook of Grounded Theory', Hood (2007) went to great lengths to explain what she found to be the unnegotiable principles of the Grounded Theory Method; this list is non-exhaustive:

- 'the emphasis' that Grounded Theory places 'upon discovery of new theory developed from data' (155);

- Glaser and Strauss' notion that grounded theories are generated from the theory first, before any comparison to existing literature is made (see 155) - although Hood does add, 'I see no need to be purist about the use of the literature to develop one's theoretical sensitivity as long as one's codes are entirely supported by the data' (163-164);

- 'that Grounded Theory is guided by the theoretical relevance of each additional slice of data, and new data are selected because of their probable theoretical importance' (155);

- Above all, the so-called 'Troublesome Trinity' of 'theoretical sampling', 'constant comparison of data to theoretical categories' and 'focus on the development of theory via theoretical saturation of categories rather than substantive verifiable findings' (163). According to Hood, if a researcher fails to observe these three key elements in their research, 'one should not claim to be using Grounded Theory' (164).

It would subsequently be remiss of me to follow in the footsteps of 'most other researchers claiming to be doing GT' in vain, which 'has made the term 'grounded theory' meaningless in

the social science literature' (Hood 2007, 164). 'Unfortunately only a handful of studies have used the Troublesome Trinity correctly' (Hood 2007, 164); it was clear that my thesis was not about to be inducted into the GT 'Hall of Fame'.

However, I found a useful by-product of Hood's analysis of GT in the classification of 'GIQM' (Generic Inductive Qualitative Method), a term that is generally absent from the literature around inductive social research, but which brings together strands from other researchers in the field who have yet to come up with a household name for what it is that they are doing. Indeed, the absence of any specifically labelled or recognisable methodology has been a regular feature of contemporary research in the social sciences (see Liu 2016, 129). There are other scholars who write about what might be referred to as GIQM, albeit with the use of slightly different labels. Thomas' 'general inductive approach for qualitative data analysis', for example, 'provides a convenient and efficient way of analysing qualitative data for many research purposes' that is 'most similar to grounded theory' (2006, 241-246). Liu goes to the pains of synthesising the work of Thomas and Hood, as a means of clarifying 'the features of the generic inductive approach' - although, once again, the comparisons to the Grounded Theory approach are inescapable (2016, 129-130).

Hood relies heavily on Maxwell's *Qualitative Research Design* (2005) to 'provide an excellent example' of what is meant by GIQM:

> (1) Questions get at processes rather than 'variance.' Process questions ask 'how' rather than 'whether or not,' or 'how much' (Maxwell 2005, 74–75).

> (2) Researchers normally move back and forth among data collection, data, analysis, study design and focus, and emerging theory. However the GIQM allows for the use of existing theory in developing one's question as well as in interpreting results (Maxwell 2005, 43–47).

(3) Samples are purposeful ones that allow theoretical (cross population) generalizations (Maxwell 2005, 115–116).

(4) Analysis of data begins with the first observation and continues as additional data are collected.

(5) Researchers write copious memos of many sorts (concept maps, interpretive memos, research process memos) from the start of the project.

(6) Coding focuses on themes and sometimes theoretical categories.

(7) Data collection stops when additional cases no longer add new information.

(Hood 2007, 153)

I had already (incidentally) been following the majority of these principles during those first nine months of my fieldwork placement, if somewhat loosely. Going through these seven GIQM principles in-turn, I will contextualise each of them within the scope of this PhD project, illustrating how following this model as a whole proved beneficial to the remainder of my fieldwork research. I have slightly reworded some of these principles for further clarity.

(1) Designing questions that ask 'how' (process-based) rather than 'whether or not', or 'how much' (variance-based)

This is a feature of qualitative research projects more generally, and not necessarily fundamental to inductive inquiry. Nevertheless, it grounds an important element of the process of inquiry that this project has undertaken. In the original text that Hood (2007) derives the seven principles of GIQM from, Maxwell distinguishes 'variance' mapping from 'process' mapping (N.B.: I have quoted an earlier edition of Maxwell's text here to the one Hood cites from):

> One way to tell the difference is that a variance map usually deals with abstract, general concepts and is essentially timeless; it depicts how some factors or properties of things (conceptualized as variables)

influence others. A process map, on the other hand, tells a chronological story; there is a beginning and end, and the categories are presented as specific events rather than variables. (Maxwell 1996, 43)

To further clarify what is meant by 'process' in this context, Hood gives the example of a researcher wanting 'to gain an understanding of the various ways in which students structure their on-line learning experiences and discover a variety of real life contingencies that affect the learning process'; if focusing on process rather than variance, 'using focused open-ended interviews with a purposeful sample would make sense' (2007, 153). The research question, ***why* do people volunteer at an organisation like KLTV,** was approached in a similar way: focused, open-ended interviews that pursued 'topics' rather than 'questions' (see Appendices B1 and B2), with a selection of volunteers and employees of *KLTV* who had worked there for six months or more at the time of interview.

The semi-structured nature of this interviewing process granted the participants a degree of freedom and autonomy in the way that they answered, whilst still allowing each respondent's answers to be compared and contrasted with one another. As Weller et al. write, 'Open-ended questions are used alone or in combination with other interviewing techniques to explore topics in depth, to understand processes, and to identify potential causes of observed correlations' (2018, 2). Singer and Couper, addressing the use of open-ended questions in mixed methods research, similarly argue that the 'major advantage of embedding such questions in actual surveys rather than restricting their use to qualitative interviews is the breadth and representativeness of coverage they provide' (2017, 116). Despite being 'restricted' to the qualitative interview in the case of this doctoral project (on the contrary, I would argue, just as Webber et al. (2018) did, that the open-ended interview can act effectively as a standalone method), this interview schedule allowed for single issues to be explored from multiple points of view.

For example, at the beginning of *Film 4* (*The 'Windrush: The Years After' Project*), four respondents (Milton Brown, Niki Matthews, Heather Norris Nicholson and Khatija Lunat) define 'What is Windrush: The Years After' - a project they all worked on - but from very different perspectives. It was perhaps unsurprising that as 'Project Coordinator', Heather Norris Nicholson focused on workload management: 'very tight turnarounds, very long meetings, very tiring days' (*Film 4*, 01:24-01:42); on the flipside, Khatija Lunat, as a 'Project Volunteer' working on 'Interviewing and Research', spoke of the interpersonal: 'with lots of amazing people, who I thought I'd never meet on a day-to-day basis'. By designing interview questions that were process- rather than variance-based, the project was able to establish how single events were experienced by multiple people. The story of the 'Windrush: The Years After' project is mapped *chronologically*, as Maxwell would say, by *Film 4*; just as the past, present and prospective future of *KLTV* is depicted by Milton Brown in *Film 1 - 'Founding KLTV'* (Maxwell 1996, 43).

(2) Moving back and forth flexibly (between data collection, data, analysis, study design and focus, and theory (both <u>existing</u> and emerging))

This is an adaptation of the Grounded Theory Method which, unlike GTM, allows for 'the use of existing theory', and not just theory 'emerging' from the data (Hood 2007, 153). To emphasise how existing theory can be used fluidly as part of the data collection process, Maxwell (1996) provides the metaphor of *'Theory as Spotlight'*:

> A useful theory *illuminates* what you are seeing in your research. It draws your attention to particular events or phenomena and sheds light on relationships that might otherwise go unnoticed or be misunderstood. [...] By the same token, a theory that brightly illuminates one area will leave others in darkness; no theory can illuminate everything.' (Maxwell 1996, 33-34)

The light-based metaphor of *illumination* in Maxwell's spotlight analogy resonates with Mason's vocabulary in her presentation of the Facet Methodology (FM) approach to qualitative research (2011). Indeed, Facet Methodology, the 'purposeful' attempt to '*create a strategically illuminating set of facets in relation to specific research concerns and questions*', addresses the ability of the researcher to 'create flashes of insight with striking or revealing effects' (Mason 2011, 77; 80); it is up to the researcher to decide which area(s) their research 'illuminates', and which it consigns to 'darkness' (Maxwell 1996, 34). It is my firm belief that GIQM and FM are both compatible and mutually beneficial in the research design. The methodological alignment of GIQM and FM will be explored further in the Methodology chapter of this thesis (Part Three).

(3) Purposeful sampling that allows theoretical (cross population) generalizations

Hood writes:

> Rather than generalizing results from a sample to the population from which that sample was chosen as one does in survey research, qualitative researchers describe their samples in so much detail that readers can then decide whether or not to generalize conclusions to similar cases observed by other researchers. The criteria for making such decisions are theoretical rather than statistical. (Hood 2007, 153-154)

The question, **why do people volunteer at an organisation <u>like</u> KLTV,** is phrased with this in mind. It rests the focus of the study on one particular organisation (*KLTV*), whilst not discounting that the findings may prove useful to researchers observing different groups. Further still, it leaves open to interpretation what 'an organisation <u>like</u> *KLTV*' might actually look like. For example, whilst I might not find 'hyperlocal' to be an accurate categorisation of *KLTV* and the work its volunteers do (as earlier explained in this chapter), another researcher interested in hyperlocal media organisations may

find considerable overlap between what I have observed about *KLTV*, and what might be observable about the hyperlocal media organisation(s) they are looking at.

In a similar vein, whilst I have purposely selected a series of literary contexts that I feel are pertinent to a reading of *KLTV*, the reader might think, 'why did/didn't he look at this?' Whilst there are countless other literary contexts that would have undoubtedly provided different insights to this study, I would respond to such criticism with the justification that the literature I have chosen is situated within an inductive qualitative research process. In other words, what I have chosen to read and write about in this thesis, besides *KLTV* directly, has come predominantly from what I saw of the organisation whilst being *inside* it, as opposed to my time *outside* of *KLTV*, both before and after the twenty-month-long fieldwork placement.

(4) Analysis of data begins with the first observation

With the belief that 'the discussion of analysis is often the weakest part of a qualitative proposal', Maxwell claims that 'the **experienced** qualitative researcher begins data analysis immediately after finishing the first interview or observation and continues to analyze the data as long as he or she is working on the research, stopping briefly to write reports and papers' (1996, 77; emphasis my own). The analysis is subsequently treated 'as part of design, and as something that must itself be designed' (77). As an example of how analysis can be coupled with observation, Maxwell suggests 'listening to interview tapes prior to transcription', as well as 'the actual process of transcribing interviews or of rewriting and reorganizing your rough observation notes', as opportunities of analysis (Maxwell 1996, 78). The key method of keeping track of these on-going, ad-hoc analyses is the 'memo', as explained below.

(5) Writing copious memos from the start of the project

The memo to Maxwell 'is an extremely versatile tool that can be used for many different purposes' (1996, 11). Another difference between GTM and GIQM - and an additional justification for my selection of the latter - is the flexibility of form that these memos can take (see Hood 2007, 156). Memo in a GIQM context 'refers to any writing that a researcher does in relationship to the research other than actual fieldnotes, transcription, or coding', and 'can range from a brief marginal comment on a transcript or a theoretical idea recorded in a field journal to a fully-fledged analytic essay' (Maxwell 1996, 11). The principle purpose of these memos is 'as a way to facilitate reflection and analytic insight' (1996, 11).

In this project, as well as the more formal process of analysis depicted in Part Four of this thesis, I found myself coming across new ideas whilst editing the interview clips with participants (i.e. prior to transcription). For example, as I wrote to myself in a memo [personal correspondence] on 3rd July 2019,

> Worried about my transcription style being too haphazard. Started out doing verbatim transcription, trying to capture every smile, every emotion, every hand gesture [...] adding all those gestures in makes the actual re-reading of the transcription, particularly for someone who doesn't have the accompanying video as a guide, very difficult [...] 'intelligent transcription' seems better, as it seems to remove the necessity to retain any emotions/hand gestures/facial expressions altogether.

I altered my transcription style accordingly, and applied this consistently across the remainder of the interviews (some of which had yet to be filmed by this point).

Reflecting on the writing of *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*, Maxwell wrote, 'many of the examples in this book are memos, or are based on memos' (1996, 11). The ideas presented in this doctoral thesis have been influenced by memo writing to a similar degree.

(6) Coding focuses on themes and sometimes theoretical categories

Coding, the 'main categorizing strategy in qualitative research' (Maxwell 1996, 78), is the act of 'simplifying matters by breaking them down into more digestible parts' (Bernauer et al. 2013, 2). This is how the qualitative researcher is 'to make sense of new situations' - the 'essence of analysis' - but the danger, as Bernauer et al. (2013) explain, 'is to simplify things to such a degree that we lose the essence and richness of the original idea, approach, or context' (2013, 2). The way to approach this, in Maxwell's view, is to:

> ...not produce counts of things, but to 'fracture' (Strauss 1987, 29) the data and rearrange it into categories that facilitate the comparison of data within and between these categories and that aid in the development of theoretical concepts [or] broader themes and issues. (Maxwell 1996, 78-79)

Following a Generic Inductive Qualitative Model enables the researcher to draw 'coding categories' from both 'existing theory' and 'inductively by the researcher during the analysis' (Maxwell 1996, 79). This circumvents some of the restrictions placed on the coding process by Grounded Theory, whilst still recognising the value of theory induction from the primary data.

(7) Data collection stops when additional cases no longer add new information

In their seminal text on Grounded Theory, Glaser and Strauss defined saturation as the point at which 'no additional data are being found whereby the sociologist can develop properties of the category' (1967, 61). Hood (2007, 161), distinguishing 'the concept of substantive saturation commonly used in the GIQM' from the 'theoretical saturation' that Glaser and Strauss mention, adds:

> ...*inductive and contingent* non-probability sampling ends when the 'saturation point' is reached. That point is normally determined by the discovery that additional interviews are yielding so little new

information that more interviews would be a waste of time (Schutt, 2004: 299). (Hood 2007, 161; emphasis in original)

I have found this, of all GIQM principles, the hardest to follow. The time constraints on a PhD project make it difficult for the doctoral student to exhaust all avenues of data gathering, even on a single research question. A report into 'Doctoral Learning Journeys' (Wisker et al. 2010), funded by the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE), found time - or the lack thereof - to be a key issue. In a study that 'generated over 80 in-depth, high quality interviews' with doctoral candidates, the Report found, for example, that 'students reported that they found it hard to make time to keep a journal' (Wisker et al. 2010, 14). Time in general was reported to be just one of the 'wide range of internal and external barriers to successful learning experiences' (Wisker et al. 2010, 28), with one interviewee responding,

> '*Time is a real problem. It's a full time job and I never realised it, but there's so many other things get in the way; there's not a thing as a perfect research day is there?*' (Wisker et al. 2010, 28; emphasis in original)

In the example of my own doctoral project, I could have quite easily continued to interview participants at *KLTV*, and perhaps staged multiple interviews with some of the same participants (like I did with Milton). However, this would have added time not only to the data gathering process, but to the subsequent processes of video editing and data analysis. Of the three hours and thirty-four minutes of edited interview footage from ten interviews (not including the additional 28-minute long interview that Milton conducted with me at the end of the project), the four finished (and fully transcribed) research films last forty-eight minutes and two seconds in total; with time constraints in mind, I had already significantly cut back the amount of data that I was willing to transcribe. This has undoubtedly left some gaps of knowledge in my exploration of the research question, ***Why do people***

volunteer at an organisation like KLTV. This project limitation is perhaps best illustrated by the response of one of my participants, Nabila Waseem - ironically, this segment did not make it into any of the final research films - when she responded to one of my interview questions and (rather politely) recognised a gap in my own understanding:

> Ryan: I'm gonna ask you to tell me about a piece of work or a project that you've been working on at *KLTV*, and I imagine that's probably gonna be the 'Windrush' project?
>
> Nabila: Actually, no.
>
> Ryan: Ooh, okay, alright!
>
> Nabila: Well, being here at *Kirklees Local TV* full-time, there's loads of different strands to this place, not just certain projects that we're working on. There's things that you're probably not even aware of that we do here Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, when you're not here. So, one of the things is that we've been training the *Kirklees* apprentices up for the past, well, since February 2019… (Nabila Waseem, 'Nabila Unabridged', 01:53-02:34)

My field notes were arguably more 'complete' - almost one hundred entries recorded over the space of almost two years. Even then, in my closing field diary entry, I muse on how much more information could have been learned about *KLTV*:

> I've spent almost two years at KLTV, and yet, there's still so many things to be learned here. I could easily spend another 20 months on this placement and still be able to say the same thing! (Field Diary Entry 98, 28th September 2019)

The emphasis on pursuing data collection to the point of substantive saturation could be seen as one of the shortcomings of the Generic Inductive Qualitative Model (GIQM), particularly for doctoral students operating under the aforementioned time constraints (although it is hard to imagine a full-

time academic, with all the duties that role typically entails, having more time to dedicate to this cause). Even Glaser and Strauss conceded that 'making the theoretically sensitive judgement about saturation is never precise' (1967, 64). In view of this, much in the way that a 'true co-production' (i.e. all parties involved in a research project getting equal benefit from it) is both unachievable and immeasurable, substantive saturation is nonetheless something to be strived for; the endeavour will naturally result in a more informative research project.

Summary

This section began with the determination to produce a thesis as close as possible to the idea of a 'collaborative PhD' - an ideal, of course, because no such thing actually exists. This resulted in an attempt to establish the foundations of my methodological approach *prior* to the literature review, rather than after it. This is a somewhat unorthodox approach that might be seen as breaking conventions of what the social science doctoral thesis ought to look like (i.e. literature review before methodology). However, it aligns to the research design that I have chosen to pursue.

What follows is a series of thematic literature reviews that are both entrenched in, and inspired by, my experiences as an immersed researcher in the field: a volunteer at *Kirklees Local Television*. This situates the work of *KLTV* in a variety of contexts: the broader (and less endearing) landscape of social media (a mode of communication that *KLTV* primarily use to engage their audiences); educational theories relevant to *KLTV*'s day-to-day activities; and a broader overview of contemporary cinematic movements that *KLTV*'s work aligns itself with. By following the Generic Inductive Qualitative Model (GIQM) that Hood (2007) sets out, these 'literary contexts' are a reflection of how my understanding of *KLTV* has developed with time - synthesising what I knew before *KLTV*, what I learned during my time at *KLTV*, and what I subsequently engaged with after the *KLTV* fieldwork placement.

Part Two: Literary Contexts

<u>Literary Context 1:</u> Brexit, Social Media and The Cultural Politics of Emotion: How Communicative Technologies Shape Public Perception in a Digital World

Introduction

> Not all narratives of pain and injury work as forms of entitlement; so for example, to read the story of white male injury as the same as stories of subaltern injury would be an unjust reading. Whilst we cannot assume that such differences are essential, or determined 'only' by the subject's relation to power, we also cannot treat differences as incidental, and as separated from relations of power.
>
> -- Sara Ahmed, 'The Cultural Politics of Emotion' (2004b, 33)

Up to this point, what I have written about *Kirklees Local TV* – and by extension, local media in general – has placed an emphasis on the camera being placed into the hands of the people who are so often othered by it. My focus has been on community media-making as a source of empowerment: disenfranchised and marginalised members of society who are offered an opportunity to present themselves *In Their Own Image*. This does not show the full picture. According to Messing and Bernáth (2017), 'The media can be a powerful instrument of a group's inclusion into the mental map of a society, or, on the contrary, it can contribute to the group's exclusion and disempowerment' (650). The same tools of the digital media trade used by minority (or 'subaltern') communities - the camera, the microphone, the keyboard – have the potential to uphold the very power dynamics and social hierarchies that 'grassroots community news outlets' like *Kirklees Local TV* seek to challenge (Milton Brown [CEO], *Film 1*, 00:15-00:23). This dividing line is described by *KLTV*'s CEO as follows:

Lots of people are always writing stories *about* folks. Well, what we do here at KLTV, we get those people to tell their *own* stories, and it's authentic. Very little of narration we do. We go to the heart of the story, and we get those who are involved *in* the story to *tell* their story. And that's where I think we differ from most high street news tabloids. I think they have a mantra: if it doesn't bleed, it doesn't lead. Well we're very much about looking at the positives; we're not gonna sugar-coat something that's really negative, but there's a way to tell a negative story, *positively*. (Milton Brown [CEO], *Film 1*, 02:30-03:13).

To better understand the wider world in which *Kirklees Local TV* operates, the stories told on the other side of that dividing line – the ones that often marginalise and disempower communities, rather than uplifting and enabling them – need to be examined as well. After all, as the aforementioned interview excerpt from Milton Brown suggests, *KLTV*'s unique selling point is that it explicitly functions in contrast to 'most high street news tabloids' by encouraging 'those who are involved *in* the story to *tell* their story' (*Film 1*, 02:30-03:13). Highlighting the use of social media platforms[1] in

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[1] Whilst I use the term 'platform' to refer to social media websites (e.g. YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, etc.) throughout this thesis, I am aware of the ongoing debate as to whether these sites should be classified as 'platforms' for user-generated content, or 'publishers' of the content themselves. For example, Facebook has often publicly maintained that it is a 'platform', but in a court of law, representatives of the company have argued that it should be regarded as a 'publisher' from a legal standpoint (Levin 2018). This distinction has a wide range of implications: for example, a 'platform' is not responsible for users' posts and comments (and any legal issues which may arise from this content), whereas a 'publisher' must take responsibility in the sense that they have chosen to 'publish' said content (Adetunji 2020). I nonetheless use the term 'platform' on account of it being common parlance at the time of writing, although I accept the possibility that this terminology may soon become redundant.

propagating 'pro-Leave' and 'anti-EU' messages to the British public in the build-up to the 2016 United Kingdom European Union Membership Referendum, this section reflects on how political campaigns have been enabled to disseminate highly emotive narratives with the potential to create and exacerbate rifts in society. Social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook circumvent the editorial process of traditional forms of print and broadcast journalism, allowing anyone with a smart device (e.g. a smartphone, computer or tablet) and an internet connection to publish multimedia content in a matter of minutes. It is not always possible (nor desirable) to claim whether the social effects of a piece of media content on its consumers were intended by the author – such rights being protected, rightly or wrongly, by 'journalistic privilege' (Nel, 2005). However, it is necessary, if we are to better understand the social world in which we live, to comprehend *how*, *why,* and to *what* extent these media messages influence public opinion in a digital age.

After drawing attention to some of the key literary texts in this interdisciplinary field, I will subsequently conduct a close reading of a selection of Brexit 'dark ads' published by 'Vote Leave' on Facebook during 2016 – advertisements that could only be seen by the viewer targeted by the official pro-Brexit campaign group. This analysis is inspired by Ahmed's examination of public texts in *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (2004b), whilst similarly being aware that an Ahmedian reading 'is not 'about' those texts', but rather, what those texts 'evoke' (Ahmed 2004b, 14). The 'case' being examined here, to borrow another of Ahmed's terms, is similar to her own exploration of 'asylum and immigration in the UK' (2004b, 14). In many (but certainly not all) of the pro-Brexit messages on social media, immigrants (and in particular, so-called 'illegal' immigrants and asylum seekers) were a lightning rod for criticism; the EU's policy of 'freedom of movement' was subsequently portrayed as a cause of many of Britain's recent social and economic problems. Given this, I have chosen to look at the two emotions that Ahmed ascribes to the 'case' of immigration in the UK, 'Hate' and 'Love' (2004b, 14), in addition to 'The Affective Politics of Fear' (62) – an emotion that Ahmed herself

reserves for the case of 'responses to international terrorism', but which I nonetheless believe to be appropriate in the 'case' of anti-immigration, 'pro-Brexit' media communications.

In what Ahmed refers to as 'Affective Economies', 'emotions *do things*, and they align individuals with communities – or bodily space with social space – through the very intensity of their attachments' (2004a, 119). The 'things' that these emotions are seen to do are intrinsically tied to the type(s) of emotion that texts evoke in the reader. In this case, the emotions of love (of the NHS), hate (of the EU) and fear (of immigration and refugees) that were promoted by the various 'Leave' campaigns did more to persuade voters, particularly from economically and socially disadvantaged backgrounds, than the more reasoned and emotionally conservative arguments made by camps in favour of 'Remain' (i.e. Britain remaining as a member state of the EU). Media sensationalism has been present in western society long before digital media became the prevalent social force it is today. Arbaoui et al. (2016) link this back to the 'liberalization of West European television systems' (i.e. the introduction of private broadcasting channels) of the 'late 1980s and early 1990s' – a 'transformation' that saw television producers viewing their audiences 'as potential consumers' rather than 'as citizens who need to be informed and educated' (299-300). Kilgo et al. (2018) go further, suggesting that 'sensationalism is embedded in the history of news', but that the 'definition of sensationalism has evolved over time' (1498). According to their definition of sensationalism in a 'digital context', media content is only 'truly considered predominantly sensational' if it is so in both 'category' (e.g. 'sex and scandals') and 'form' (e.g. 'a tabloid-like way' that 'trivializes the news') (1499). The Brexit case study is therefore not an isolated incident of media sensationalism but does form a part of what one commentator referred to as 'possibly the heaviest and most doom-filled roll of news I've ever witnessed' (Leigh 2017, 50), illustrating how 'in the digital age', the phrase 'if it bleeds, it leads' has taken on 'an even deeper meaning' (Densley 2020, 308).

In the Public Interest* vs. *Of Interest to the Public

In 1989, Eric Pooley, in a *New York Magazine* article entitled 'Grins, Gore, and Videotape – The Trouble with Local TV News', wrote: 'The thoughtful report is buried because sensational stories must launch the broadcast: If it bleeds, it leads.' (cited by Klein 2020, 351). This 'ideology of newsworthiness' has been prevalent in the media long before the age of social media and mass digitalisation (Garcia and Arkerson 2017, 26), and present in not just local news, but across national and regional media as well (Klein 2020, 351). It is also seen to reflect the nature of the public's media consumption preferences: 'negative or shocking headlines and bulletin-leads are seen to be the bulk of the media we consume' (Leigh 2017, 50). In terms of what emotions are seen to *do*, it demonstrates 'the public's fear of, and fascination with, violence' (Densley 2020, 308).

KLTV's CEO Milton Brown used a variation of this phrase ('if it doesn't bleed, it doesn't lead') to distinguish *KLTV*'s work, created in the belief that 'there's a way to tell a negative story, *positively*', from the rest of the mainstream media sphere. Klein, writing very recently about the broadcast media landscape in the US, claims it has been 'long known' by media scholars 'that much of the news on cable channels like CNN, Fox, and MSNBC, as well as networks and local newscasts, tends to focus on content that generates rating and viewership at the expense of content that is important, but which cannot be summarized in a sensational sound bite' (2020, 351). Meanwhile, in the UK, the Leveson Report (2012), published following a six-month inquiry 'into the culture, practices and ethics of the press', found that, 'to a greater or lesser extent with a wider range of [news] titles, there has been a recklessness in prioritising sensational stories, almost irrespective of the harm that the stories may cause and the rights of those who would be affected (perhaps in a way that can never be remedied), all the while heedless of the public interest' (para. 32). Evidently, the ideology of newsworthiness – of news content which is *of interest to the public*, but not necessarily *in the public interest* – has continued to be pervasive long beyond Pooley's *New York Magazine* article in 1989.

'There's no rule book for working in the public interest', writes Johnston (2017), 'and, despite arguments that it is too loose, ambiguous and easy to hide behind, it is an integral part of the discourse, law, regulation and governance of modern democracies' (para. 18 of 19). The Leveson Report is no exception. In the Executive Summary and Recommendations authored by The Right Honourable Lord Justice Leveson, it was claimed that 'parts of the press' had acted unethically in pursuit of news that is *of interest to the public,* 'almost irrespective of the harm that the stories may cause and the rights of those who would be affected', and 'all the while heedless of the public interest' (2012, paras. 7, 32). Moreover, the Report found that, 'quite apart from this approach to the gathering of stories, there has been a willingness to deploy covert surveillance, blagging and deception in circumstances where it is extremely difficult to see any public interest justification' (2012, para. 34). The Executive Summary document refers to 'a true public interest' and 'a genuine public interest' (para. 33) but makes no explicit attempt to define what either of these phrases mean.

To explore the more complicated facets of the term *public interest* – whose meaning was said to have 'rather lost shape' (Elliott 2012, para. 1), the former *Guardian* readers' editor, Chris Elliott, consulted both readers and editorial colleagues whilst the Leveson Inquiry was ongoing. He wrote in summary:

> Both inside and outside the Guardian there is a widespread recognition 'that 'in the public interest' should by no means be synonymous with 'whatever interests the public', which is how most newspapers have chosen to interpret it'. People's private lives, especially their sex lives, tended to be viewed in the category of that which interests the public. Only a few thought that such exposure can be condoned with a public-interest argument. (Elliott 2012, para. 8)

The nature of 'public interest' is also said to change with time. Blogger Andrew Sparrow is 'wary about attempts to define' the term 'or to pin it down',

> …partly because I think this could end up being restrictive, but mainly because our view of what the public interest entails changes quite dramatically over time and I think, as journalists, we should be willing to fight the public-interest battle on a case-by-case basis. For example, 50 years ago it was assumed that there was a public interest in knowing that an MP was gay, but little or no public interest in whether he drove home drunk, hit his wife or furnished his house using wood from non-sustainable sources. Now, obviously, it's the other way round. Society does – and should – constantly redefine what the public interest entails and journalism should be part of that. (Elliott 2012, para. 14)

The Independent Press Standards Organisation (IPSO), which replaced the Press Complaints Commission (PCC) in 2014 following the Leveson Inquiry, makes explicit a number of elements encompassed by the term 'public interest', including 'Protecting public health or safety', 'Protecting the public from being misled by an action or statement of an individual or organisation', and 'in freedom of expression itself' (IPSO 2021, 'The Public Interest'). In cases where news stories and reportage 'can be demonstrated to be in the public interest', 'exceptions' can be made to a series of conduct clauses, including the IPSO Code on 'Privacy', 'Reporting of Crime' and 'Harassment'. However, as recently as 2019, an independent evaluation conducted by the Media Standards Trust found that IPSO failed 25 of the 38 recommendations for an independent self-regulatory scheme set out by Leveson in 2012. Regarding public interest specifically, IPSO was found to have 'no control over the application of public interest justifications and no capacity to provide a record of public interest applications' made by journalists and/or news outlets (Media Standards Trust 2019, 16). The very independence of IPSO was also brought into question, with substantial evidence provided to suggest that the regulatory body is not 'independent of the [media] industry and of government' (Media Standards Trust 2019, 26).

The prolonged absence of an independent-in-practice media regulator has allowed national, regional and local news outlets in the UK to continue to publish stories that may well satisfy the public's

appetite for the negative and the sensational (thus maximising profits from 'pay-per-click' advertising revenue), but often at the cost of the safety and livelihood of certain members within that population. This may at first glance appear to be an over-exaggeration, but there are numerous examples of research across disciplines which have found negative perceptions in the media to have a profound impact on the wellbeing of individuals in society. To illustrate this (but by no means provide an extensive literature review on the subject), the way the media has negatively 'framed' ('organized, presented, and interpreted') matters such as mental illness (Sieff 2003, 259), immigration (Meltzer et al. 2017), sexuality (Esmail et al. 2010), race and multi-culturalism (Alibhai-Brown 1998, 114) have shaped societal attitudes in such a way that those who do not fit the idealized 'norm' (i.e. mentally 'well', 'attractive', 'straight', 'white' and 'Christian') are seen as a 'threat' (Meltzer et al. 2017, 2). Moreover, the idealization of 'thin' female bodies (Halliwell 2013) and 'muscular' male bodies (Leit et al. 2002), and the social stigma around disability (Esmail et al. 2010) can, in addition to the socio-cultural barriers they present, lead to an individual's internalisation of a negative image of the self which can often lead to the manifestation of eating disorders, body dysmorphia and a general low sense of self-worth.

In the case of immigration, Meltzer et al. discuss how 'exposure to a new article framing migrants as delinquents increases negative perceptions of immigrants as a threat to security' (2017, 5-6). Indeed, migrants in Britain are framed as 'potentially dangerous' in 'prevailing political discourse' in Western society, including speeches from high profile politicians such as former Labour Party MP and then-Secretary of State for the Home Office, David Blunkett in 2002, and former Conservative MP and then-Prime Minister of the UK, David Cameron in 2016 (Rosowsky 2018, 413-414; 428). These factors are often misrepresented or (at best) overinflated. For example, Rosowsky's study on the multilingualism of young British Muslims (2018) found that 82% of 66 questionnaire respondents 'claimed English to be their main or first language', contrasting 'significantly and dramatically with

the prevailing essentialising discourse that often accompanies discussion around young Muslims and languages' which frames 'these young people as a linguistic problem' (419-421). Meltzer et al. (2017) believe that a 'positive or at least non-threatening depiction of migrants might make members of the host community more familiar with them' (13). This may be theoretically accurate, but in practice, positive news stories tend to be deprioritised by newspaper editors and news programme producers, as they bring less profit to a media outlet than negative coverage. Going against the 'if it bleeds, it leads' model can be costly. *City Reporter*, a Russian news site, 'lost two-thirds of its normal readership' during a day in which they 'only reported good news' (Epstein 2014, paras. 1-2). Epstein, a media commentator, branded this 'smorgasbord of sunshine, lollipops, and rainbows – that absolutely no one wanted to read' as 'a rather disheartening social experiment' (2014, para. 2).

The non-profit model of media production that organisations like *KLTV* adopt partly circumvents the need to publish negative stories for greater 'clicks' (and bigger profit margins by extension), although a non-profit media outlet still needs to be 'seen' to be heard. As such, it is hardly surprising that the largest, most pervasive media outlets in our society are run for-profit, for the benefit of wealthy shareholders and conglomerates, whose concentrated ownership continues to grow in the digital age. The 'Who Owns the UK Media?' reports by the Media Reform Coalition (MRC) found that in 2019, 'just three companies (News UK, Daily Mail Group and Reach) dominate 83% of the national newspaper market (up from 71% in 2015)'; these three companies, in addition to Guardian and Telegraph, 'dominate nearly 80% of the market' when online readership is included (2021, para. 2). The case is similar for 'local news titles' (80% owned by five companies), 'commercial local analogue radio stations' (46% owned by two companies), and commercial digital stations (two-thirds owned by two companies) (MRC 2021, para. 2).

The 'driving force behind [this] process of amalgamation into fewer, larger groups' is 'the potential for economies of scope and scale', transforming once-struggling local and regional titles into profitable businesses despite the 'permanent downward curve' of daily and weekly newspapers (Aldridge 2007, 38). Examples of these economies of scope and scale include the cutting of newspaper costs by 'using equipment and staff to produce several similar products' (Aldridge 2007, 42), the ''reformatting' or 'repurposing'' of news stories across multiple titles owned by the same company (42), and the attractiveness of a multi-platform media portfolio to potential advertisers who can negotiate a single deal to show off their products in multiple news outlets (48). These options are 'only open to the very biggest players in the industry' (Aldridge 2007, 49); suffice to say, none of these economies of scope and scale are available to independently-owned news titles such as *Kirklees Local TV*.

In the absence of effective and independent media regulation in the UK (as is indeed the case in much of the world), national and local news outlets owned by media conglomerates can continue publishing stories, often inaccurate and nonfactual, that reinforce negative social perceptions and attitudes (Alibhai-Brown 1998, 114). This is done not *in the public interest*, but because it is *of interest to the public* (and by extension, a tried-and-tested way to maximise profits). If anything, the 'if it bleeds, it leads' mantra is more pertinent now than it was when Pooley popularised the term in 1989.

Social Media and Regulation

The effects of negative representations in the media on personal wellbeing have been increasingly attributed to social media over the past fifteen years. Exposure to Twitter (Chrisler et al. 2013), Instagram (Ridgway and Clayton 2016) and Facebook (Tiggemann and Slater 2013) has been linked to the internalisation of unrealistic and/or unobtainable media ideals, with 'vulnerable' users (e.g. people with 'high body image concerns') often experiencing more negative affect (e.g. 'more

thoughts about dieting', 'the need to exercise' and 'body dissatisfaction') (Chrisler et al. 2013, 649).

Reportage on the impacts of social media on society (e.g. Barr 2020) routinely attributes the negative effects of media to the very existence of landmark apps such as Facebook, Twitter and Tumblr, whose emergence in 2004, 2006 and 2007 (respectively) marked the beginning of the global phenomenon of social media. However, the negative affect of media consumption was regularly cited by researchers long before any of these apps existed (i.e. Sieff 2003, Leit et al. 2002). Social media, often seen as the architect of poor mental health and wellbeing (e.g. McDougall 2017), is rarely seen as an extension of the 'if it bleeds, it leads' mentality that was prevalent in the media industry as a whole long before the proliferation of the internet and the digitalisation of society.

Nonetheless, the word 'digitalisation' is a surprise omission from the Leveson Report, with 'social media' only mentioned twice:

1. The accelerating speed of technological change, leading to the explosion of television channels, 24/7 news coverage (not least on the BBC, a rival also online), the internet with its many sources of news and information (usually free), blogs, and **social media** such as Twitter have all contributed to a dramatic change to the cost base and economic model on which newspapers are based. In turn, this has increased the pressure for exclusive stories. (2012, para. 16)
2. …it is indisputably the case that newspapers in this country cannot be viewed as once they were, as being uniquely responsible for the delivery of news. They are not. Control over information which might have been possible in an earlier age can be defeated instantly on Twitter or any one of many other **social media** sites, based out of the UK and not answerable to its laws. (2012, para. 18)

It was in 2016, only four years after the Leveson Report was published, that Donald Trump was elected the 45th President of the United States. President Trump used Twitter as his primary form of communication with the wider world, tweeting to his 88 million followers prior to him being banned by the platform in January 2021 'due to the risk of further incitement of violence', following the

attack on the US Capitol building by pro-Trump supporters on 6th January. Social media has rapidly become increasingly powerful as a means of influencing society, with more and more adults relying on apps such as Facebook and Twitter as a source for news about the wider world. According to the UK communications regulator (Ofcom)'s 'News consumption in the UK' report in 2013 – published one year after the Leveson Report –'Almost one third of adults (32%) say they use the internet for news', and '27% of those who consume news online [i.e. approximately 9% of adults] say they do this by reading news-related comments or articles on blogs or social networking sites' (2013, 9). By 2016, the year of the Brexit Referendum, the figure for news consumption via the internet had risen to 48%, with 42% of those adults [i.e. approximately 20% of all adults] using social media sites for news (Ofcom 2017, 34-35). In 2019, 49% of UK adults claimed 'to consume news via social media nowadays' (Ofcom 2019b, 41).

Despite the number of social media-based news consumers in the UK rising from approximately 1-in-10 of all adults to 1-in-2 between 2013 and 2019, the latter survey found that 'measures such as quality, accuracy, trustworthiness and impartiality' were 'weakest among users of social media' (Ofcom 2019b, 7). Whilst 58% of readers surveyed stated that social media as a news platform 'is important to me personally', only 39% said it was an 'accurate' source of news (Ofcom 2019b, 73). Whilst the Independent Press Standards Organisation (IPSO) has been criticised for not being an effectively independent regulator for newspapers, social media sites have no regulator at all. Platforms such as Facebook and Twitter have long operated under a policy of self-regulation: 'community standards' and 'terms of use' 'that users agree to when joining a platform' (Woodhouse 2021, 6). Users are encouraged to 'report' content that breaches the conditions of these policies, which can initially result in individual posts being removed from the platform or, in more severe cases, accounts being banned altogether. At the time of writing, several high-profile media personalities – most (in)famously President Trump, but also supporters of 'the bogus QAnon

conspiracy theory' who have purposefully spread misinformation – have been recently banned from Twitter on this basis (Morse 2021). However, social media apps nonetheless allow the publication of 'harmful', 'indecent' and 'misleading' content in the first place, which are often accessed by hundreds (if not thousands or millions) of users before being removed from those sites (Select Committee on Communications 2019, 48). Despite the House of Lords' Select Committee on Communications recommending 'the development of a comprehensive and holistic strategy for regulation', no such structure exists at the time of writing (2019, 3).

Cambridge Analytica: How The Referendum Vote Was (Unethically) Won

As is the case with the ownership of other forms of news media (newspapers, radio, etc.), 'the digital world has become dominated by a small number of very large companies' (Select Committee on Communications 2019, 3). This has significant ramifications for the way in which social media platforms are used to influence societal perceptions and behaviours:

> These companies enjoy a substantial advantage, operating with an unprecedented knowledge of users and other businesses. Without intervention the largest tech companies are likely to gain more control of technologies which disseminate media content, extract data from the home and individuals or make decisions affecting people's lives. (Select Committee on Communications 2019, 3)

In the same report, the founder of the World Wide Web itself, Sir Tim Berners Lee, is said to have 'expressed concern that this has led to a power imbalance, allowing these large companies to treat users unfairly and with little regard to negative consequences for society as a whole' (Select Committee on Communications 2019, 8). This clamour from the world's biggest companies to grab as much control over as broad a spectrum of the media as possible is not a new phenomenon. Herman and Chomsky (1988) discuss how in the mid-20th century, 'many older newspaper-based media

companies, fearful of the power of television and its effects on advertising revenue, moved as rapidly as they could into broadcasting and cable TV' (12).

The largest of these 'media systems', as Herman and Chomsky regularly refer to them, can (and do) 'set the national agenda' (1988, 4). This was certainly the case in Britain during the 2016 EU Referendum Campaign, with one legal commentator claiming that 'the final tally was procured by fraud' (McGaughey 2018, 339). Christopher Wylie, a former employee of political consulting firm Cambridge Analytica, claimed that the harvesting of 'personal data from up to 87 million [Facebook] users' on behalf of the 'Vote Leave' campaign 'may well have swayed the EU referendum result' (Martin 2018, para. 8; Sanders IV 2018). This 'misused data' was used to 'psychologically' identify 'roughly 7 million people' deemed receptive to (but undecided on) 'Brexit' (in what is popularly known as the 'Cambridge Analytica Scandal'), forming part of one of the largest social media data breaches to-date (McGaughey 2018, 339). Vote Leave, working jointly with a smaller campaign, 'BeLeave' (thus breaching UK electoral law), subsequently spent £2.7m on a co-ordinated Facebook 'dark ads' initiative, targeting demographics based on age, interests and locality with emotionally-driven messages which could only be seen by chosen recipients, invisible from the view of the general public (BBC News Online 2018).

The 'dark ad' campaigns orchestrated between Vote Leave and BeLeave may well explain (at least in part) why the Brexit Referendum result 'came as a surprise to many in metropolitan centres' (Walkerdine 2020, 143) – they were oblivious to the 'contagion' of inaccurate information that was being transmitted to the phones and computer screens of swing voters. For example, 'older voters' were sent adverts suggesting that the money the UK sends to the EU – a reported £350m per week; a figure since disproved by the UK's independent fact checking charity (Full Fact 2019) – could be used to 'build a new NHS hospital every 7 days' (BBC News Online 2018). Meanwhile, Facebook

users in Yorkshire, a region severely damaged and disrupted by storms Desmond and Frank in December 2015, were targeted by adverts suggesting that the alleged EU membership fee could be spent on 'Flood defences for Yorkshire' instead. An online 'FactCheck' report from Channel 4 found this claim to be 'unfair', given that 'Britain actually gets money from the EU for flooding' (Worrall 2018, paras. 33-39).

The UK's independent Electoral Commission subsequently found Vote Leave guilty of breaking 'the electoral rules set out by Parliament to ensure fairness, confidence and legitimacy at an electoral event (i.e. the 2016 EU Referendum)' by working with the BeLeave campaign (The Electoral Commission 2019). As well as 'exceeding its legal spending limit of £7 million by almost £500,000' via 'a common plan' with BeLeave, 'Vote Leave also returned an incomplete and inaccurate spending report, with nearly £234,501 reported incorrectly' (Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee 2018, 39). However, as per their current 'Enforcement Policy' (effective from 5 April 2016 onwards), The Electoral Commission are only empowered to impose financial sanctions, and/or compliance/restoration notices (outlining 'the action that must be taken by a regulated organisation or individual who has breached the law') (2016, 19-23). In other words, whilst Vote Leave were fined £61,000 for their 'multiple offences under electoral law, committed during the 2016 EU referendum campaign', the Referendum result itself stood unchanged (The Electoral Commission 2019). The use of 'dark ads' later became the object of parliamentary scrutiny, with the Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Select Committee branded Facebook as 'failing to take responsibility for the misuse of its platform' (2018, 23). Further, it branded Vote Leave Director Dominic Cummings' refusal to appear before the Committee 'unprecedented in the history of this Committee's inquiries', and regarding his 'contemptuous behaviour' as underlining 'concerns about the difficulties of enforcing co-operation with Parliamentary scrutiny in the modern age' (2018, 5). The Select Committee subsequently stated:

If companies fail to adhere to their own Code of Ethics, the UK Government should introduce regulation to make such ethical rules compulsory. (Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee 2018, 25)

Whilst the Cambridge Analytica Scandal might explain (at least to some extent) how social media platforms were used by Vote Leave to sway public opinion in favour of 'Brexit', the question of how the campaign was able to appeal to the electorate is a more complicated one to answer. It is, however, directly and intrinsically tied to the culture of 'if it bleeds, it leads' which has dominated traditional media consumption in the Western world for decades. In 2017, and on reflection of the previous year's Referendum vote, the Campaign Director of Vote Leave, Dominic Cummings, wrote in *The Spectator* that '650,000 votes might have been lost' to the 'Remain' campaign –enough to overturn Leave's ~1,300,000-vote winning margin – if it wasn't for 'the baseball bat marked 'Turkey/NHS/£350 million'' (Cummings 2017, para. 29). In the following section, I will look at the 'simple foundations' of the Vote Leave Campaign, according to its Director (Cummings 2017, para. 72), in light of Ahmed's theories of Affective Economies (i.e. 2004a) and The Cultural Politics of Emotion (i.e. 2004b). The exploration of the following three 'cases' (see Ahmed 2004b, 14), illustrated (in some form or other) via targeted political 'dark advertising' on social media platforms, will attempt to show how 'emotions work to align some subjects with some others and against other others', and consequently, why these messages were so effective for the successful Leave campaign (Ahmed 2004a, 117):

1. 'Vote Leave to take back control of immigration policy' (Cummings 2017, para. 79)

2. 'The euro is a nightmare, the EU is failing, unemployment is a disaster, their debts and pensions are a disaster, if we stay YOU will be paying the bills' (Cummings 2017, para. 81)

3. 'The official bill of EU membership is £350 million per week – let's spend our money on other priorities like the NHS instead' (Cummings 2017, para. 74)

A Note on Emotions and Research

It would be remiss of me to write in the following passages about the emotions evoked by pro-Brexit media messaging, without recognising how my own positionality as the researcher is influenced by my emotions or 'affective states' (Jones et al. 2012, 1). In writing on her engagement with 'Steeltown' (an anonymised post-industrial town in South Wales whose community was 'decimated' by the closure of its steelworks in 2002), Walkerdine discusses how the 'process of engaging with these interviews' stimulated 'an affective response within the author, which [was] then checked against other data and developed into a tentative way of reading and theorizing' (2010, 91-92). In contrast, in a review of Ahmed's *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (2004b), Sapegno wrote, 'the refusal of any ideological precondition is definitely one of the assets of the book' (2006, 371). I will do my best to follow suit in the passages below, whilst also acknowledging the intrinsic and inseparable relationship between what I feel and what I write. I therefore feel ethically obliged to state at this point that I write from the position of a Remain voter, ideologically opposed to many (if not all) of the narratives that I am about to examine. Indeed, UK-based academics in both the run-up and aftermath of the Referendum have generally 'backed the Remain cause' (Finn 2018). As a consequence, early attempts by researchers to understand why Brexit supporters (generally 'working-class voters') felt so passionately about leaving the European Union has led to a 'pathologisation of the affective life of ordinary people', perpetuating the stereotype of said people being gullible and/or xenophobic (Walkerdine 2020, 144).

Emotion plays a part in all research, and despite the enduring appeal of objectivity that lingers long after the positivist tradition fell out of favour amongst social scientists, the notion of the 'detached researcher' is now generally considered to be an 'impossibility' in practice (Holland 2007, 196). Walkerdine suggests that 'in order to engage with the complex dynamics (in this

case of class) that involve not only plays of disciplinary power but also entanglements, projections, defences', the researcher needs to consider 'what it might mean to research 'with' and not on participants', and take 'seriously the notion of qualitative research as a form of working with' (2020, 153). In the absence of time and scope to conduct such a study here, I will steer clear of any attempts to understand the psyche of Leave voters (or any members of the British public for that matter) in my analysis, choosing to focus as Ahmed does on the emotions that the texts in question evoked (Ahmed 2004b, 14).

Writing About Media in a Digital Age: a *Brexit/Vote Leave* case study

The Cultural Politics of Emotion and the 2016 EU Referendum
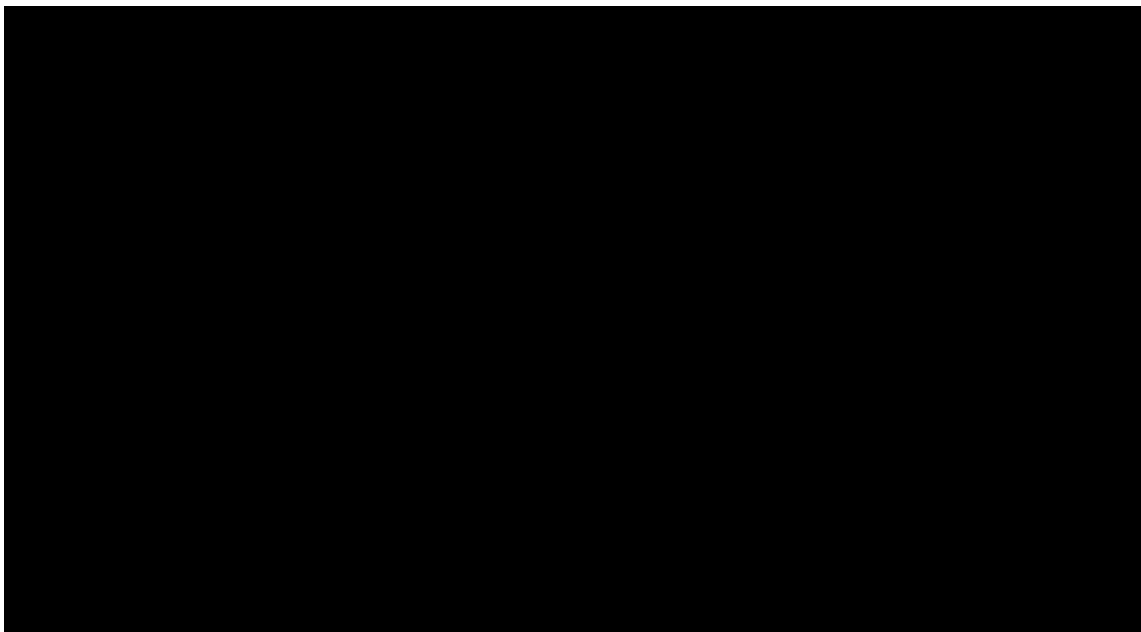
Figure 1: 'The UK Independence Party (UKIP) has been harshly criticised for a new pro-Leave poster which some say resembles anti-Semitic Nazi propaganda from the Second World War' (Bartlett 2016)

Defining the nature and the extent of the media's multifaceted and multi-platformed influence in the present day often presents a challenging task for media commentators and analysts alike, who simply cannot keep up with the pace at which the industry continues to evolve, and the continual shifts in

64

power that result from that evolution. The 2016 EU Referendum in the UK presents an interesting case study that illuminates some of these rapid media landscape changes. Of the last ten polls before the 'Brexit' referendum vote (between 18th-22nd June 2016), seven wrongly predicted defeat for the 'Leave' campaign; most notably, the poll conducted by *Populus* on 22nd June, using the largest sample size (4,700) of all ten surveys, predicted a 55%/45% win in favour of 'Remain'. This is despite the fact that, according to one study, 45% of 928 referendum-focused articles in mainstream newspapers 'were in favour of leaving [the EU]', with 'only 27% in favour of staying' (University of Oxford 2016, para. 1). Another survey of British media coverage in the ten weeks prior to the vote found that 'media interest in immigration [had] more than tripled...rising faster than any other political issue and appearing on 99 front pages', 79 of which 'were published by pro-leave newspapers' (Martinson, 2017); indeed Britain's hostility to contemporary immigration policy was, in the eyes of several critics (e.g. Tilford 2016; Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies 2016), a (if not _the_) key driving force that delivered the 'Leave' vote in 2016.

The majority of Brexit-related polls failed to recognise not only the degree of pro-'Leave' bias perpetuated by national newspapers in the run-up to the Referendum vote (in print *and* online), but also the use of social media to further establish and publicise a 'set of falsehoods' (Sunstein 2017, 11) as universally-recognised 'truths'. According to one commentator:

> Remain lost the battle online long before it lost the political battle on the ground...yet many Remain supporters chose to ignore the voice of the internet as something that has no connection with the real political world. They believe that Britain would never vote to leave the EU and discounted social media as a playground for trolls and teenagers. (Polonski 2016, para. 5)

Discounting social media was a costly error for both pollsters and the 'Remain' campaign; as was the decision by Remain to 'rely on calculated rational arguments and a relentless tide of economic

forecasts' (Polonski 2016, para. 6). The Overton Window, 'a model for understanding how ideas in society change over time and influence politics', has been presented as a way of understanding how the idea of Britain leaving the EU that was 'self-evidently ridiculous in 1997, came to be a reality in 2016' (Mackinac Center for Public Policy 2019; Lanchester 2016, para. 3). According to the Mackinac Center think-tank that Overton served as Vice President prior to his death, the Overton Window stipulates that politicians 'only pursue policies that are widely accepted throughout society as legitimate policy options'; they 'risk losing popular support' if they 'champion ideas…outside the Overton Window' (2019, para. 1). Brexit was not within the 'window' when the short-lived UK *Referendum Party*, campaigning on the single issue of a referendum on the UK's relationship with the EU, won zero seats in the 1997 General Election. However, the 'window' had shifted significantly by the 2016 EU Referendum. Social media is to be held at least partly accountable for that exceptionally rapid shift in public behaviour, allowing 'malevolent state actors, political parties, corporations or other agencies with an opinion-forming agenda *to move the Overton window without our being aware of it*' (Pimm 2018, para. 10; emphasis in original).

Claims that Turkey, a country renowned for political instability in recent years, was to imminently become an EU member state; and that the £350 million Britain reportedly sends the EU every week (an 'invented figure') could be instead used to fund the struggling National Health Service (NHS), were arguably the two most frequently-cited (and thus, effective) 'fake news' stories disseminated by 'Leavers' across social media in the weeks prior to the referendum vote (Applebaum, 2017). In fact, in the case of the NHS, it has even been argued that 'the NHS will struggle to retain its current level of funding, let alone receive a much-needed increase, if the UK leaves the EU' (Exworthy, 2021, para. 2). It comes as little surprise that the 'Turkey membership' and '£350m EU contribution' stories have since been factually disproved. However, both narratives nevertheless influenced the vote in a significant (if not acutely measurable) way:

...there is a good case to be made that the unfounded claims made by the Leave campaign about Turkish membership of the EU have ultimately cost Britain its own membership of the Union.' (Ker-Lindsay 2018, para. 11)

Pundits and MPs kept saying 'why isn't Leave arguing about the economy and living standards'. They did not realise that for millions of people, £350m/NHS was about the economy and living standards – that's why it was so effective. It was clearly the most effective argument not only with the crucial swing fifth but with almost every demographic. Even with UKIP voters it was level-pegging with immigration. Would we have won without immigration? No. Would we have won without £350m/NHS? All our research and the close result strongly suggests No. Would we have won by spending our time talking about trade and the Single Market? No way (Cummings, 2017, para. 71)

Vote Leave's role in influencing public opinion in the contemporaneous case of Brexit lies not in its circulation of fact-based evidence, but in its appeal to the emotional side of voters, and the subsequent rejection of meaningful political discourse. Dominic Cummings (quoted above), Director of the 'Vote Leave' campaign, acknowledged this in his campaign strategy, opting for causes that evoke love (NHS) and fear (Turkey), rather than engaging in a balanced discussion about more complicated features of leaving the EU, such as 'trade' and 'the Single Market', which most members of the public struggle to form an emotional connection with. It seems that Britain's decision to leave the EU, therefore, was primarily an emotional one. Even Sunstein, who has written fairly extensively on the role of social media in the Brexit referendum vote, cannot resist breaking from academic tone to declare his own personal position on the EU Referendum - 'Even if Brexit was a good idea (and it wasn't)' (Sunstein 2017, 11).

Social media provides fertile ground for far-reaching emotional discourse, because 'emotions are an inseparable part of how people use [it]' (Hyvärinen and Beck 2018, 1797). Unlike traditional, non-digital forms of media, where news is user-facing and one-directional, *Twitter* 'tweets' and *Facebook*

'posts' allow a space for thought sharing, consensus making, and community building. This was particularly important in the case of Brexit: one study of a large social media dataset found that there were 'twice as many Brexit supporters' on *Instagram*, and seven times more on *Twitter* (Polonski, 2016, para. 3). Furthermore, Leave supporters on *Instagram* were 'five times more active than Remain activists' and received '26% more likes and 20% more comments' than their Remain counterparts (Polonski 2016, para. 3). In this sense, 'Leavers', who relayed 'more relatable emotional messages' than the Remain camp, were able to subsequently build stronger and larger communities than their opponents, by sharing 'high arousal emotions such as anger and irritation' that could 'spread faster' than any other Brexit-related media (Polonski 2016, paras. 4-6).

Sadly, media-based community-building, whilst undoubtedly bestowing a sense of belonging to anybody who can consider themselves a member of the resulting community, can also have negative ramifications for society - particularly for those who are excluded from it. Sunstein argues that 'to date, social media have not helped produce a civil war, but that day will probably come' (2017, 11). That said, if civil war can be defined as conflict between citizens of the same nation, then the spike in reported racial and religious hate crime in the UK in the month following the Brexit vote – up 41% on the same month the previous year (Forster 2016) - appears to illustrate a textbook definition of the term. Social media's potential to incite civil war is, indeed, not without precedent. In contrast to Sunstein's statement, Brown et al. (2012) present a series of literature illustrating social media's influential role in mobilising activists in Egypt, Tunisia, Syria and other Arab countries during the Arab Spring of the early 2010s.

The link between mass media coverage of social minorities and the relative livelihoods of those so-defined is distinct and enduring. Van Dijk, in pursuit of knowing 'what role the media in general, and news in particular, play in the reproduction of 'racial' and ethnic inequality in [western] societies'

(2000, 33), uncovered through his discourse analytical approach a 'systematic negative portrayal of the Others' which 'vitally contributed to negative mental models, stereotypes, prejudices and ideologies about the Others, and hence indirectly to the enactment and reproduction of racism' (2000, 49). This observation has been reinforced by quantitative data that supports the belief that 'media portrayal of minorities encourages discrimination' (Burrell, 2014); further highlighted by social media campaigns such as '#AllWhiteFrontPages' (Asumadu, 2013); and extended to encompass media-facilitated issues facing other social 'outgroups', such as the normalization of violence against women (Cumberledge, 2017), the perpetual stigma around the LGBT+ community (Jones, 2015; Lovelock, 2017), and the justification of the privilege of the upper classes by presenting 'negative stereotypes about the working class and the poor' (Kendall, 2011: 2).

The historical distinction between the terms *old racism* and *new racism* is disputed, but the general consensus is that racism in society has gradually evolved from 'traditional prejudice…characterised by its overt, blatant and aversive form', to become more covert and systemic amidst 'the taboo of expressing overt forms of racism within contemporary Western societies' in the post-Civil Rights era (Seet and Paradies 2018, 445-447). As with *new racism* as a whole, contemporary mass media discourse favours symbolism over disambiguation, presenting a form of 'hegemony, premised on seemingly legitimate ideologies and attitudes', which 'may be just as effective to marginalize and exclude minorities' as *old racism* was (van Dijk 2000, 34). The main problem here, for anyone wishing to represent people and communities in a *just* way, is that it is difficult to put a finger on what exactly makes a media representation *unjust*. Often, there is a reliance on 'local meanings', where 'choosing one word rather than another often has contextual reasons' (see van Dijk 2000, 39-40). For example, Noor et al. (2018) conducted a study with EU Referendum voters (190 adults – 97 Leave and 93 Remain) to ascertain their attitudes towards Thomas Mair, the man who murdered the Remain-supporting MP for Batley and Spen, Jo Cox, one week before the EU referendum (485-486).

The study found that 'Leave supporters…were significantly more likely than Remain supporters to attribute Mair's killing to mental illness relative to terrorism' (Noor et al. 2018, 487). Indeed, individuals are much more likely to make '*exculpatory* attributions' (e.g. mental illness) to distance themselves from a violent actor if they form part of the same 'in-group' (e.g. white British), and make '*condemnatory* attributions' in cases where the violent actor is part of a 'out-group' they 'dislike' or feel 'threatened by' (e.g. British Muslims) (Noor et al. 2018, 485; emphasis in original).

Van Dijk's discourse analytical approach allows him to extract the negativity present in a headline such as 'BRITAIN INVADED BY AN ARMY OF ILLEGALS' (see van Dijk 2000. 42-48), but in news purveyed by less blatantly-racist media outlets than *The Sun*, what counts for negative representation is more coded, and much more difficult to explain. This was certainly the case for the Brexit dark ads campaign, and the rationale behind bringing in the 'close and careful reading' that Ahmed utilises for 'familiar narratives' – 'an analysis of affective economies, where feelings do not reside in subjects or objects, but are produced as effects of circulation' (2004b, 1-8).

What is perhaps most striking about the three 'cases' I am about to examine is the subtlety in which pro-Leave media messaging evoked the emotions of love, hate and fear. To return to the example of the *terrorist*, Ahmed writes:

> Importantly, the word 'terrorist' sticks to some bodies as it reopens histories of naming, just as the word 'terrorist' slides into other words in the accounts of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq (such as fundamentalism, Islam, Arab, repressive, primitive and so on). Indeed, the slide of metonymy can function as an implicit argument about the causal relations between terms (such as Islam and terrorism), but in such a way that it does not require an explicit statement.. (Ahmed 2004b, 76).

This example demonstrates what Ahmed refers to as the 'sociality of emotion' – a critique of the psychological 'inside-out' model that argues against the assumption 'that emotions are something that

'we have'' (2004b, 9-10). Indeed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* resists the idea of emotions as 'property, as something that one has, and can then pass on, as if what passes on is the same thing' (2004b, 10). In Ahmed's view, 'emotions are not 'in' either the individual or the social, but produce the very surfaces and boundaries that allow the individual and the social to be delineated as if they were objects' (2004b, 10). The sociality of emotion model subsequently argues that 'the work of emotion involves the 'sticking' of signs to bodies: for example, when others become 'hateful', then actions of 'hate' are directed against them' (Ahmed 2004b, 13; emphasis my own). This is a particularly useful approach (albeit not the *only* approach) for analysing how the pro-Leave 'dark ads' disseminated on social media by Vote Leave (and to a lesser extent, BeLeave) were so effective, persuading members of the British public that the EU was a 'disgusting object'; an 'offence to [the UK's] bodily space' and something to be 'expelled' (Ahmed 2004b, 86-87).

Facebook Dark Ad 1: Fear - 'Take Back Control of Immigration Policy'
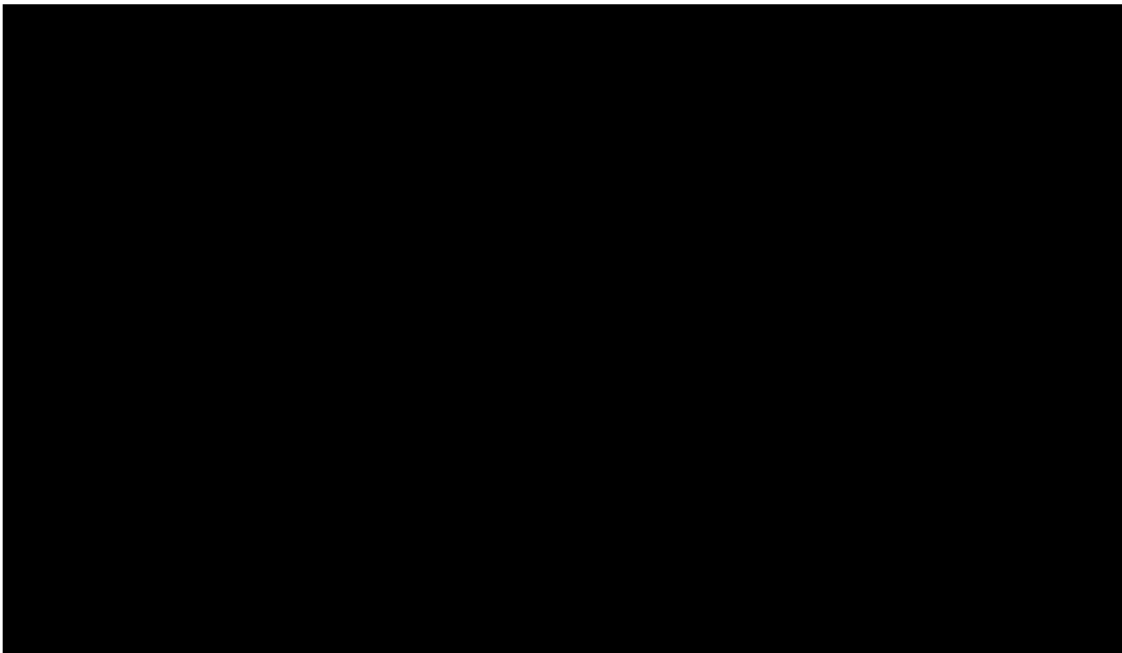
Figure 2a: 'Immigration was another common theme, with one ad appearing to suggest the entire Turkish population was headed for the UK' (BBC News Online 2018)
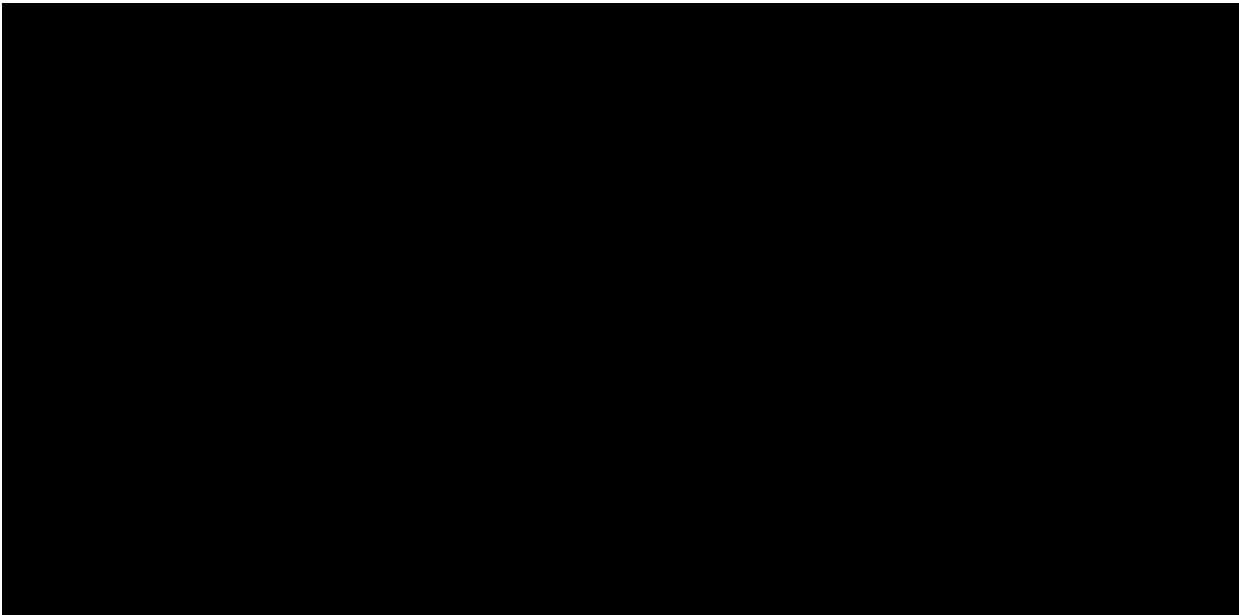
Figure 2b: A (slightly) more detailed variation of the same advertisement (King 2019, 289)

> It is not that the bear *is* fearsome, 'on its own', as it were. It is fearsome *to* someone or somebody. So fear is not in the child, let alone in the bear, but is a matter of how child and bear come into contact. This contact is shaped by past histories of contact, unavailable in the present, which allow the bear to be apprehended as fearsome. The story does not, despite this, inevitably lead to the same ending. Another child, another bear, and we might even have another story (Ahmed 2004b, 7)

In the chapter 'The Affective Politics of Fear', Ahmed asks, 'What makes us frightened? Who gets afraid of whom?' (2004b, 62). In response, she claims that fear 'is not simply a question of some body being afraid of some body who passes by', but rather, an emotion dependent on '(mis)reading the other's feelings' (2004b, 63). Both advertisements above (Figures 2a and 2b) are minimal in both verbal and illustrative content, and yet, they evoke a multifaceted sense of fear in their positioning of a symbiotic relationship between the subject (the UK) and object (Turkey) of that emotion. Here, 'red' Turkey is depicted as a threat to the vulnerable, beloved 'blue' body of the UK. In exploring the question 'Which bodies fear which bodies?', Ahmed describes vulnerability as involving 'a particular kind of bodily relation to the world, in which openness is read as a site of potential danger, and as

demanding evasive action' (2004b, 68-69). The two adverts above present the image of the UK as a vulnerable body - open to Turkey and its 76 million people. Ahmed adds that 'the openness of the body to the world involves a sense of danger, which is *anticipated as a future pain or injury*' (Ahmed 2004b, 69; emphasis in original). The future pain to be feared here is the loss of the UK's identity; Turkey's 'red' is illustratively incompatible with the UK's 'blue'.

According to Ahmed, 'the 'truths' of this world are dependent on emotions, on how they move subjects, and stick them together' (2004b, 162). That Turkey's European Union accession negotiations have been formally ongoing since 2005 (11 years at the time of the Referendum and 15 years at the time of writing), with several significant legal and democratic barriers still preventing it from becoming a member state, is irrelevant to the advertisements (European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations 2019). That Turkey's membership, even if it *did* happen, would never in reality result in its entire population of (a reported) 76 million people immigrating to the UK, is also irrelevant. The modality of these statements – that Turkey *could* one day join the EU; that any one of its 76 million inhabitants *could* subsequently come to the UK under the EU's Freedom of Movement policy – 'works to conceal the emotional and embodied aspects of thought and reason' (Ahmed 2004b, 170).

In the 'wake' of the EU Referendum, 'the notion of 'post-truth' gained a new prominence', with the term being voted the 'Oxford Dictionaries Word of the Year 2016' (Walkerdine 2020, 143). Walkerdine recently observed that the analytical focus on the unexpected Brexit vote outcome has shifted away 'the political manipulation of spin', with commentators giving attention instead to a 'pathologisation' of 'ordinary people's failure to understand 'the facts' and to be swayed by emotions in controlled posts shared on social media' (2020, 144). King, for example, reasons that 'the spread of higher education in the last 20 years within the UK' resulted in a high 'Remain' vote amongst

younger people (in contrast to the relatively under-qualified generation of voters aged 65+) (2019, 288). Meanwhile, Ball, in the provocatively-titled book *Post-Truth: How Bullshit Conquered the World*, points towards the group of Brexit voters 'sometimes referred to (mildly insultingly) as 'low information voters', a term for people not overly interested in or engaged with politics', arguing that 'if these unlikely voters had not been inspired to turn out and vote for Leave, Remain would have won' (2017, 37). Whilst claiming that the 'bald figures say nothing about what it is about higher education that might encourage particular attitudes towards politics', King hypothesises that 'the extent of critical thinking tends to increase with level of education' (2019, 288) – reinforcing the derogatory stereotype of Brexit voters as gullible (see Walkerdine 2020, 144). What is all-but-missing from these analyses is what Ahmed has 'suggested throughout' *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*: 'the 'truths' of this world are dependent on emotions' (Ahmed 2004b, 170). Ball (2017) focuses more on the purveyors of 'post-truth' (i.e. the *bullshitters*), but only refers to 'emotion'/the 'emotional' three times in the entire book; King's article (2019) on post-truth's consumers (i.e. the *bullshitted*) makes no reference to emotions at all.

The emergence of post-truth politics has also led to the re-appraisal of Hoggart's *The Uses of Literacy: Aspects of Working-Class Life* (1957) – an interdisciplinary field which is now commonly known as Media Literacy. Media Literacy is to be distinguished from Hartley's 'Digital Literacy', a reading of 'the shift from 'read-only' participation in public affairs and popular representation to a 'read-and-write' mode of socially networked mass digital literacy' (Hartley 2012, 92-93), which is more concerned by 'algorithms, risk and innovation and the threats to mainstream media from 'the writing public'' (Hartley 2012, 216; cited in McDougall et al. 2020, 2). Instead, Media Literacy opts to re-apply 'Hoggart's themes' to the 'development of a digital media mass culture', to better understand 'the [contemporary] lived experience of class': 'a configuration of resources, place and time culminating in both self and external perception of individuals and communities' (McDougall et

al. 2020, 2-9). It has, according to Livingstone et al. (2012, 8), 'both an explanatory and a normative agenda':

> We must ask, first, what do citizens and consumers know about their changing media environment and, further, what should they know? And then, most critically, what does it matter if they don't have this knowledge and in whose interest is it if they do? (Livingstone et al. 2012, 8)

The establishment of various independent fact-checking organisations over the past decade in order to combat misinformation and 'fake news' – several of which, including *Full Fact* and *Channel 4's 'Fact Check'*, are referenced in this chapter – seems to suggest that media literacy is deemed important to the public interest and, by extension, society as a whole. After all, commentators' and academics' attempts to understand how and why people from working-class areas felt emotionally invested in the pro-Brexit messaging by Vote Leave – much of which was based on misinformation – has resulted in a tangible socio-geographic class divide between the Remain-supporting 'metropolitan elite' and the 'working-class voters outside metropolitan areas' (Walkerdine 2020, 145-150). This is acutely felt by 'ordinary people' who are,

> …in one way or another, understood as lacking the reasoning or capacity to stand back and engage with what we might colloquially call 'the facts' (Walkerdine 2020, 146).

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

Like the bear in Ahmed's analogy (2004b, 11), Turkish people are not inherently 'fearsome', but the matter of how Turkey and Britain come into contact (in the mind, if nowhere else) is 'shaped by past histories of contact'. Here, Britain's apprehension of Turkey is founded upon a series of geopolitical, historical and cultural contexts, and reinforced by 'the work done by metonymy' (Ahmed 2004b, 76). Turkey, being a transcontinental country whose land mass 'is positioned 95% in Asia and 5% in

Europe' (Kiprop 2017, para. 2), is situated in the Middle East. Moreover, its population is reported by the European Commission's educational 'Eurydice' network as being 99% Muslim (Eurydice 2021). Whilst this statistic should be nuanced by the fact that 'every Turkish citizen is automatically registered as Muslim at birth, and many Turks identify as Muslim without being particularly religious' (Suzdaltsev 2016, para. 4), Turkey is still seen as a metonym for Islam. Indeed, the 'characterisation of Muslims as a single group of traditional and possibly fundamentalist believers, antagonistic to the West' has long been seen as the principal reason for Turkey's incompatibility with the EU, 'at whose core lie the values of democracy, respect for universal human rights and the rule of law' (Zürcher and van der Linden 2004, 45). It is hardly surprising that negative perceptions of Turkish people have been linked to voting patterns and a rise in right-wing populism, both in the UK and across the EU (Yavçan 2013, 159).

As Ahmed writes, 'the work done by metonymy means that it can remake links – it can stick words like 'terrorist' and 'Islam' together – even when arguments are made that seem to unmake those links' (2004b, 76). As another example of this, Ahmed reflects on the use of '*sticky words* and language' by leading British politicians in the early 2000s, using 'words like 'flood' and 'swamped'' in speeches on asylum seekers 'which create associations between asylum and the loss of control and hence work by mobilising fear', whilst echoing the inflammatory language of Enoch Powell's infamous 'Rivers of Blood' speech of 1968 (2004b, 46). Whilst neither of the two Vote Leave 'dark ads' on Turkey used such words, their illustration 'still evokes the sensation of being taken over by others', thus 'generating effects', such as creating 'impressions of [said] others as those who have invaded the space of the nation, threatening its existence' (Ahmed 2004b, 46). It is hardly surprising that an independent *YouGov* survey on 'Britons' net preferences for immigration for selected countries' in the year of the EU Referendum touted Turkey as the least preferable, with more people (24% of a total 1668 surveyed) responding with 'We should not allow any [immigrants] from this

country at all' than they did for any other nation (YouGov 2016, 3). The fear of Turkey was seemingly validated in mainstream media one month after the Brexit vote, with a failed coup d'etat attempt in Turkey resulting in 'hundreds of lives lost and thousands wounded', predominantly in the major cities of Ankara and Istanbul (Shaheen 2016). Despite this – and somewhat ironically – Turkey remained one of the most popular destinations for British tourists before the Covid-19 pandemic, with 2.5 million visits made in 2019 (Foreign & Commonwealth Office 2021).

Facebook Dark Ad 2: Hate - 'If we stay YOU will be paying the bills'
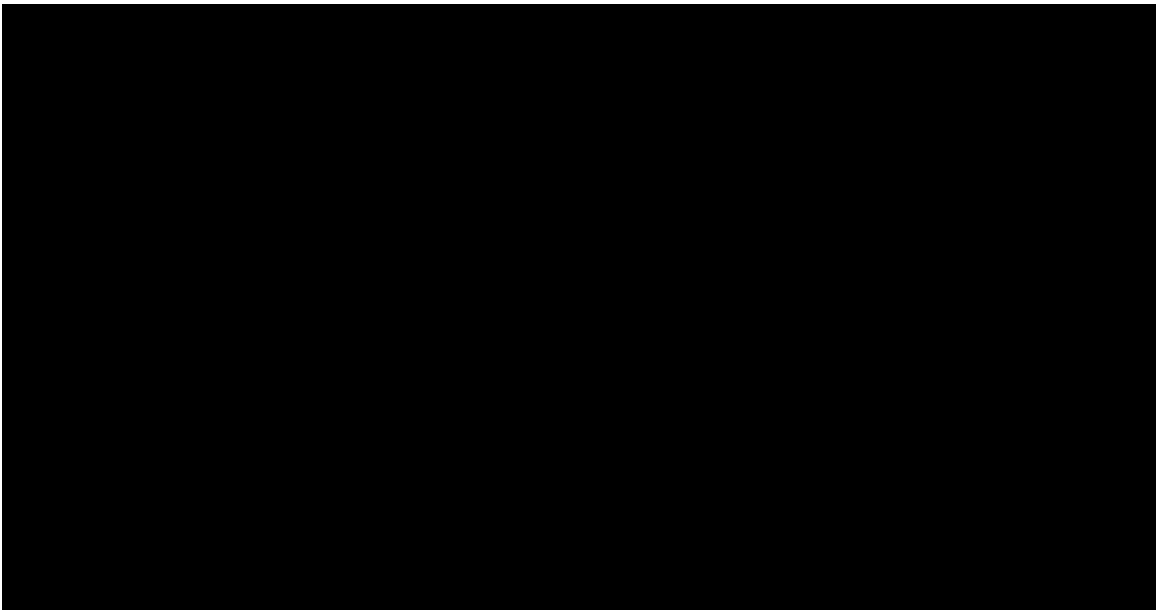
Figure 3: 'The micro-targeted adverts parrot discredit claims about EU funding and future member states' (Dugmore 2018)

> 'Hate is economic; it circulates between signifiers in relationships of difference and displacement.'
> (Ahmed 2004a, 119)

A key element of the Vote Leave campaign, from the point of view of its Director, was its alignment 'with the [British] public who had been let down by the system' (Cummings 2017, para. 78). The costs of UK government's austerity programme, implemented from 2010 onwards (and in the aftermath of the 2008 global financial crisis), are said to 'have fallen disproportionately upon the

poor, women, racial and ethnic minorities, children, single parents, and people with disabilities' (Alston 2018, 18). This has led to a decline in 'social well-being', with twice as many people using food banks in 2017 compared to 2013, alongside 'cuts to welfare payments, housing subsidies and social services' (Mueller 2019, paras. 10-11). In a statement on a Visit to the United Kingdom in 2018, Professor Philip Alston, United Nations Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights, wrote:

> The results [of austerity]? 14 million people, a fifth of the population, live in poverty. Four million of these are more than 50% below the poverty line, and 1.5 million are destitute, unable to afford basic essentials. The widely respected Institute for Fiscal Studies predicts a 7% rise in child poverty between 2015 and 2022, and various sources predict child poverty rates of as high as 40%. For almost one in every two children to be poor in twenty-first century Britain is not just a disgrace, but a social calamity and an economic disaster, all rolled into one (Alston 2018, 1)

Such a situation promotes anger - a form of hatred which, if not 'contained by an external object', 'seeps outwards, towards all that makes the story possible' (Ahmed 2004b, 38). In this context, Vote Leave's dark advertising on Greece (Figure 3) seeks to find 'a 'them' to blame in the story' (Ahmed 2004b, 38). Greece's debt crisis following the 2008 global recession was well documented in the media (The New York Times 2016; BBC News Online 2016), as has its tumultuous financial history since joining the so-called 'eurozone' (i.e. adopting the euro as its official currency) in 2001 - 'misrepresenting its finances' in order to do so (Council on Foreign Relations 2020). The concern for the EU in 2010 was that Greece could 'default on its debt' to the Union, 'threatening the viability of the eurozone itself' (Amadeo 2020). The EU subsequently bailed Greece out in 2010 - and again in 2012 and 2015 - to ensure that they could continue to make payments. It was reported in 2020 that the amount loaned to Greece by 'the various European authorities and private investors' since 2010 amounted to 'nearly 320 billion euros' (Amadeo 2020).

Knight argues that the 'focus on Greece as the par excellence example of cavernous corruption, economic extravagance, and social unrest has been manufactured in northern Europe to distract sceptical publics from controversial budget cuts in nations such as France, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom' (2013, 148). The image of Greek people protesting that is superimposed on the nation's flag (Figure 3) therefore acts as a useful backdrop for the notion of the British public paying off Greek debt (i.e. Figure 3), which was, and remains to be, a fabrication. As a BBC 'Reality Check' report found in the run-up to the EU Referendum, Vote Leave's claim 'that 'UK taxpayers will keep paying for the huge bills caused by the euro crisis' and that 'these bills will only increase'' was inaccurate (BBC News Online 2016, para. 1). In fact, the UK made no contribution 'via the EU' for the three Greek bailouts (para. 8). Even the UK's indirect liability for approximately £600 million of the European Union's loan to Greece in 2015 was covered by a deal made between the UK government and the EU, exempting 'the UK and other non-eurozone countries' from 'any risk of losing money' (paras. 13-14). Once again, Ahmed's point rings true: 'the 'truths' of this world are dependent on emotions, on how they move subjects, and stick them together' (2004b, 170).

In the case of hate, 'the language and bodies of hate don't operate on the terrain of truth, they operate to make and unmake worlds, made up of other bodies' (Ahmed 2004b, 59). If the 'love for the nation' is 'an investment that should be returned (you are 'the taxpayer')', then hate is 'to feel injured by these others, who are 'taking' what is yours' (Ahmed 2004b, 1). Vote Leave's campaigning on the Greek debt issue was effective because it evokes a sense of injustice that is linked to hate (see Ahmed 2004b, 57). However, the injustice that is depicted - that Britain (and its people) is/are being forced by the EU to pay for debts that Greece cannot afford - veils the political injustice of Britain's own state of poverty. By presenting Greece (and, by extension, the EU) as the object of hate, that emotion is channelled away from the UK and towards an external agent - one from whom the UK has now distanced itself. This is a convenient 'truth' for a nation for whom 'poverty is a political choice'

according to the UN's Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights, who added, 'austerity [in the UK] could have easily spared the poor, if the political will had existed to do so' (Alston 2018, 22).

Facebook Dark Ad 3: Love – 'Let's Spend Our Money on the NHS Instead'
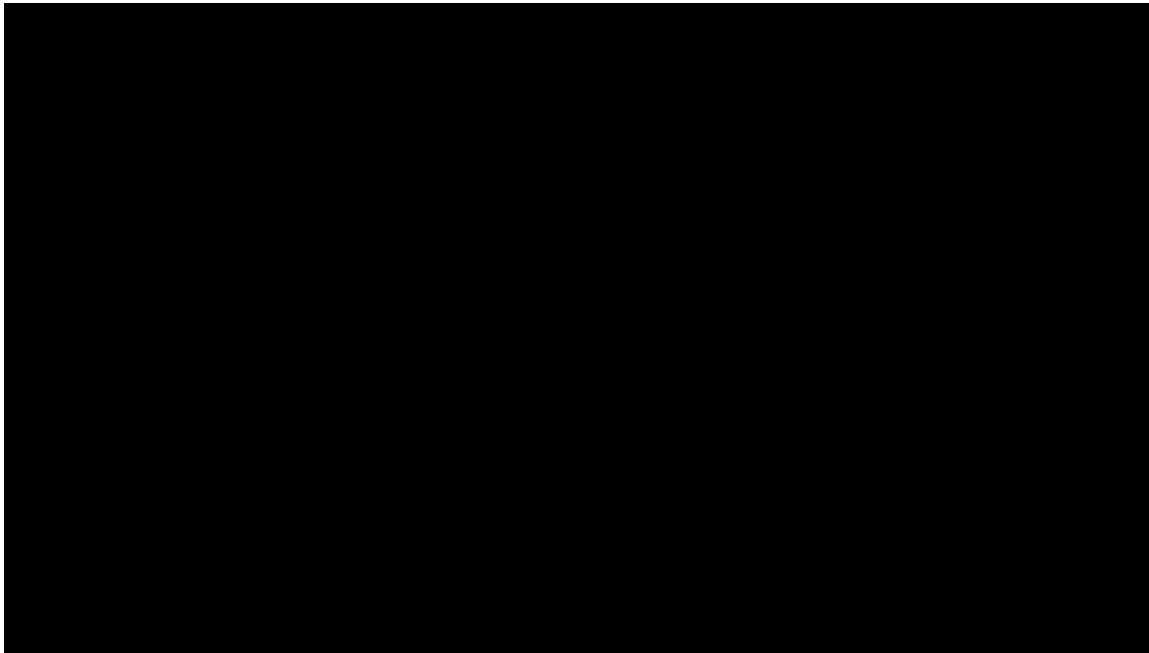
Figure 4: 'Older voters tended to be treated to claims about how much money the UK was sending to the EU. More than 140 ads made reference to the controversial claim that £350m a week sent to the EU could be spent on the NHS instead' (BBC News Online 2018)

> As [Descartes] argues, we do not love and hate because objects are good or bad, but rather because they seem 'beneficial' or 'harmful' (Descartes 1985, 350). Whether I perceive something as beneficial or harmful clearly depends upon how I am affected by something. (Ahmed 2004b, 6)

The *let's fund our NHS instead [of the EU]* case, popularised by its appearance on the side of an (in)famous red campaign bus, was a principal feature of the Vote Leave campaign. The NHS has long been an object of love for the British public. Street, writing in The Conversation, refers to a survey in 2015 in which 60% of participants were 'quite or very satisfied with the NHS' (2016, para. 2). A report in 2016 subsequently claimed that 63% of British people 'said the NHS worked well' – 'in

contrast, only 25 percent of those from the U.S. said the same about their health system' (Street 2016, paras. 3-4). It makes sense, therefore, that the NHS is the object of love because it is perceived as being beneficial (see Ahmed 2004b, 6).

As an institution, the NHS also forms part of the British identity. An Ipsos MORI poll (2014) found the following:

> More than half (52%) of the public say the NHS is what makes them most proud to be British, placing it above the armed forces (47%), the Royal Family (33%), Team GB (26%) and the BBC (22%). (Quigley 2014, para. 1)

However, the same cannot be said for NHS staff, who have regularly been the object of public scorn in recent years. Junior Doctors, with the support of the British Medical Association (BMA), held a series of industrial strikes in 2015 and 2016 against proposed reductions to overtime pay (Health Matters 2016). On April 25th 2016, the Telegraph ran with the headline, 'The tragic naivety of immature junior doctors and their strike' (Kirkup 2016). On 29th September 2016, the Sun referred to the NHS junior doctors as 'militant' (Wooller 2016). The racial demographic of the NHS workforce was also portrayed in a negative light in the run-up to the 2016 EU Referendum. The Sun's Health Editor, Nick McDermott, wrote: 'TOO many foreign NHS nurses are damaging patient care and trust, a study has claimed' (2016, para. 1; emphasis in original). Meanwhile, an article from the Daily Mail's Home Affairs Correspondent, Ian Drury, led with the headline, 'NHS signs up MORE foreign nurses: Bosses accused of using cheap labour to 'undercut' British staff over plans to recruit 14,000 medics over the next four years' (2016; emphasis in original).

In her article *Affective Economies*, Ahmed writes of how 'a subject', such as the NHS, 'is presented as endangered by imagined others whose proximity threatens not only to take something away from the subject…but to take the place of the subject' (2004a, 117). The NHS, seen as a key signifier of

British pride and patriotism, is presented as being under threat from a variety of culprits: the *militant* junior doctor; the *damaging* foreign nurse; and – as was illustrated in much of Vote Leave's campaign advertising – the *greedy* European Union. By extension, a threat to the NHS is conceived as a threat to the very foundations of 'Britishness':

> The nation can also be taken away by migrants or asylum seekers who don't accept the conditions of one's love. *Identifying oneself as British means defining the conditions of the love one can or will give to others.* Indeed, multiculturalism – especially since September 11 – has been viewed as a security threat: those who come into the nation 'could be' terrorists, a 'could-be-ness' that extends the demand for surveillance of others who are already recognisable as strangers… (Ahmed 2004b, 134)

It is true that the NHS was (financially) under threat around the time of the EU Referendum in 2016. A report by the independent Kings Fund charity published in July 2016 found that 'NHS providers and commissioners ended 2015/16 with an aggregate deficit of £1.85 billion (unaudited), a threefold increase on the previous year' and 'the largest aggregate deficit in NHS History' (Dunn et al. 2016, 1). However, rather than regarding the UK's departure from the EU as a way to 'save' the NHS, the same report warned that the 'political and economic instability following the UK's vote to leave the EU adds to these risks', citing 'a prolonged fall in the value of sterling' and 'the ability of the NHS to recruit and retain staff from EU countries' as key areas of concern (Dunn et al. 2016, 27). In other words, *Brexit* – the emotional solution to the NHS emergency (as presented by the Vote Leave campaign) – would likely exacerbate the Service's financial crisis, rather than fix it.

The Kings Fund's warning over the financial impact of Brexit has been subsequently reinforced by Bloomberg Economics, who predict that 'the cost of the UK's vote to leave' in 'lost economic growth' is on track to 'eclipse the total amount the UK has paid toward the European Union budget over the past 47 years' (Colson 2020, paras. 1-2). Bloomberg Economics' research was first reported

in January 2020, before Covid-19 was formally declared a pandemic by the World Health

Organisation on 11th March (WHO 2020). That the £13.4 billion of NHS debt was subsequently

written off by the UK Government on April 1st 2020, to 'provide much needed financial support

during this unprecedented viral pandemic', validates Alston's aforementioned statement on poverty

being 'a political choice' in the UK (Department of Health and Social Care 2020, para. 4; Alston

2018, 22). However, the emotionality of Vote Leave's anti-EU argument overrides its lack of factual

underpinnings. Regardless of the lack of truth behind the notion that leaving the European Union

would free up money that could fund the then-impoverished NHS, Dominic Cummings and the Vote

Leave campaign had what Ahmed describes as 'the right to declare themselves as acting out of love'

(2004b, 122). Indeed, Cummings did so in his article for The Spectator, *How the Brexit referendum*

was won, in 2017:

> Pundits and MPs kept saying 'why isn't Leave arguing about the economy and living standards.' They
> did not realise that for millions of people, *£350m/NHS was about the economy and living standards –*
> *that's why it was so effective.* (Cummings 2017, para. 75)

Summary: 'the 'truths' of this world are dependent on emotions' (Ahmed 2004b, 170)

In their book chapter *Gender, Race and Media Representation*, Brooks and Hébert write, 'Media are

central to what ultimately come to represent our social realities' (2006, 297). Given this, the fact that

social media continue to operate in a relatively unregulated sphere, and have a significant influence

on societal behaviours in the UK and beyond, is alarming. The same could be said of the entire media

industry and *has* been said for many years now (e.g. Entman 1989). However, the current age of

digital media, brought about by the proliferation of the internet and advancements in communicative

technologies since the turn of the century, has enabled political organisations to disseminate

information in an ungovernable manner. In this context, the British mainstream press, seeking to

maximise their profits online (against the backdrop of print newspaper decline), has been criticised for its absence of ethical regulation. That said, in the Independent Press Standards Organisation (IPSO), a regulatory body *does* exist (regardless of how 'independent' it may actually be in practice). In contrast, social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter are left to their own devices, operating under their own codes of conduct. This environment allowed for Vote Leave's dark advertising campaign of 2016 that has been credited, by those both inside and outside of the campaign, as a major contributor to the outcome of the 2016 EU Referendum vote.

The majority of Vote Leave's 'dark ads' in the run-up to 'Brexit' have been subsequently disproven by independent 'fact check' organisations. The campaign was fined by the Electoral Commission for multiple offences under electoral law. Nonetheless, Dominic Cummings claimed to have acted in the public interest – the Vote Leave Director arguing from his position outside of the establishment (i.e. he is not a politician) that 'it is wrong to think that public interest in an issue is proportional to the attention paid by politicians and newspapers in SW1 [i.e. the Whitehall postcode]' (2017, para. 68). At the time of writing, Cummings finds himself very much 'in' the establishment he once professed to be opposed to, being made Chief Adviser to the Prime Minister in July 2019. Meanwhile, the people who were swayed by the appeal of leaving the EU – predominantly working-class voters across the UK – continue to be pathologized by commentators and academics alike, 'understood as lacking the reasoning or capacity to stand back and engage with what we might colloquially call 'the facts'' (Walkerdine 2020, 145-146). This is an apt representation of the post-truth society we now live in – the discourse having 'shifted away from politicians and elites and to social media, shadowy forces (e.g. Russia, China) and the irrationality of working-class people on social media' (Walkerdine 2020, 144)

In this context, the traditional media mantra, *if it bleeds, it leads*, is as pertinent now as it has ever been. The emotional messages of fear, hate and love disseminated by the Vote Leave campaign had a measurable influence on the voting behaviours of the British electorate. That this had a significant impact on the outcome of the nation's 'biggest political decision of the century', the 2016 EU Referendum, demonstrates the sizable role that social media plays in society today (Elgot 2016). *Kirklees Local TV*'s belief that there is 'a way to tell a negative story, *positively*' therefore goes against the grain of the media industry (Milton Brown [CEO], *Film 1*, 03:10-03:13). Talking in mid-2019 about how the organisation's news service will adapt to the future challenges of social representation, *KLTV*'s CEO, Milton Brown, stated:

> …it's not [going to be] a political, anarchist type 'paper, because I love my town, and I love my region, and I love living in West Yorkshire. But, y'know, when I look at all the tabloids, they're just not getting beneath the surface on some of these stories, and the communities are crying out for a platform to tell their story…(*Film 1*, 13:48-14:11)

If 'always writing stories *about* folks' in a sensationalised manner is a method of maximising a media outlet's profits, then *KLTV*'s endeavour to 'get those people to tell their *own* stories' has likely limited the not-for-profit organisation's ability to generate revenue (Milton Brown [CEO], *Film 1*, 02:30-02:39). In fact, the very nature of *KLTV*'s status as a non-profit organisation seems to suggest that the company is not primarily interested in raising as much money as possible – neither directly (e.g. through advertising) nor indirectly (e.g. swaying public opinion at the ballot box for the political elite, such as a *quid pro quo*). Despite this, the organisation has continued to operate an internet TV station and video production company since 2011, retaining its independent status throughout that period. This would seem to indicate that in the age of social media, there is still a demand, both within *KLTV* and amongst the people of Kirklees, West Yorkshire (UK), for news media that represents marginalised communities *In Their Own Image* – 'asserting a cultural confidence so that, if we shape

things our own way, we shall come to make images that will be attractive to those humans on the planet who wish to enjoy them' (Barclay 2015, 78). This quality might be referred to as 'cultural literacy', a term Brown himself uses to describe his experience of running *KLTV* for the past decade:

> Every student, every volunteer, every elder – anyone I come into contact with within my work, I feel so enriched by them. And that makes me a better person, it makes me more knowledgeable, it gives me a kind of cultural literacy that I never had before I met this person, and therefore, wherever I walk, I walk with those new skills of learning that I've embraced, y'know. So, personally, I can go into any community in this town and feel comfortable. I've been working in communities now for the best part of thirty years, and I'm very comfortable in just about every community; that could not have come if I didn't open myself up for learning as well. So it's a two-way street; it's *KLTV*. (Milton Brown [CEO], *Film 1*, 08:15-09:07)

Literary Context 2: *Kirklees Local TV* 'as a Learning Organisation': Cultural Literacy, Critical Race Theory and Communities of Practice

Introduction

> At KLTV, we have this philosophy, and it's an African proverb: *It takes the whole village to raise one child*. What that actually means is, although I'm the CEO, all the skills don't start and stop with me. If you were to speak to our business administrator, she's got skills that can help so many other people in new areas. If you look at some of the students who come here, they quickly get up to speed about where everything is, and they become independent learners. So that's what I mean about *Kirklees [Local TV]* **as a learning organisation**: people come, and they learn under their own pace, and their own ambition, application and attitude. (Milton Brown [CEO], *Film 1*, 06:28-07:19; emphasis my own)

One of the difficulties I have often found in talking to people about *Kirklees Local* is explaining what happens there in a clear and concise way. The complexity of defining *KLTV* is reflected in the diverse representations of the organisation on the internet and social media. A search of 'Kirklees Local TV' on the Google search engine returns the terms 'Social Enterprise' (Youtube 2021), 'online media company' (Twitter 2021), 'broadcasting and media production company' (Facebook 2021), 'local media Production Company' (Instagram 2021) and 'internet-based TV station' (KLTV 2019a). In my participatory interviews, it was similarly described as an organisation that deals in media: an 'internet online station' (Oliver Thompson [Volunteer], *Film 2*, 00:15-00:29), a 'grassroots community news outlet' (Milton Brown [CEO], *Film 1*, 00:15-00:43), and even 'the 'Guerrilla TV': doing everything, any way you can think of, but getting the story *first*, as it were' (Dave Hodgson [Volunteer], *Film 2*, 06:16-07:15).

One aspect of *KLTV*'s operations that is not immediately obvious is its work as 'a learning organisation' (Milton Brown [CEO], *Film 1*, 06:28-09:07), and yet, when I interviewed *KLTV*'s members to ask what the organisation offers to the people who volunteer there, almost all of them (including some of the volunteers themselves) referred to learning as a central part of what *KLTV* do:

> I think *KLTV* does offer a lot of opportunities for students, and the younger generation, so that's good; well, younger people *as well*, y'know, college students, university students – it gives them a springboard really, to go on to wherever they want to be at the end of it. (Oliver Thompson [Volunteer], *Film 2*, 03:52-04:08)

> Through my time here, I've seen so many students come in, even for, like, a week. So it just gives everybody that opportunity; it doesn't matter [about] age, there's such a range of letting people get skills, whilst giving something back. (Leah Conway [Volunteer], *Film 2*, 04:23-04:39)

> And it's a real proud moment to see young people coming into an organisation – or maybe somebody who's been out of work for a while, and come into the organisation – and grow so much, whether that's through the confidence of being in that environment, of being able to express themselves; or whether it's just in gaining those skills and *utilising* those skills to the best of their ability, to get what they want out of professional life. (Niki Matthews [Consultant; formerly Business Director], *Film 2*, 05:26-05:53)

This literary context chapter, stimulated by Milton Brown's description of *Kirklees Local TV* 'as a learning organisation' (*Film 1*, 06:28-09:07) explores this underrepresented facet of *KLTV*'s work from the perspectives of Critical Race Theory, Cultural Literacy and Communities of Practice. These three theories, pertinent to the study of education and educational settings, have been brought to my attention through an inductive process. In other words, they feature here because they featured heavily in my fieldwork experiences, as reflected in the field diaries I kept during my twenty month

placement as a *KLTV* volunteer. As I explained earlier in this thesis with regards to the Generic Inductive Qualitative Model (GIQM), my fieldwork experience guided me away from my studies on hyperlocal media, and towards a more appropriate reading of the organisation I was embedded within. The goal of this approach is to effectively achieve the 'interpretation of rich data' (Hood 2007, 156). As such, the volunteers and employees of *KLTV* are presented as 'active knowing agents' in a field of practice, as opposed to 'tools' for academics who are viewed to possess 'privileged knowledge' (Goldman 2003, 834-835). After all, this doctoral project is primarily concerned with the question of why volunteers have decided to participate at *KLTV*; it seems only appropriate, ethically and intellectually, to engage with their own responses in a meaningful way. This approach, treating *KLTV* members' responses to the research question as substantive to the research design itself, follows in the footsteps of Barker and Ritchie's 'qualitative, feminist framework', and subsequently seeks to 'reduce power differences' between the researcher(s) and their participants (2005, 49-51).

This chapter, utilising the scholarship around Critical Race Theory (CRT), Cultural Literacy (CL) and Communities of Practice (CoP), establishes a critical foundation of educational literature for the analysis of data later in the thesis. These three fields have been selected not only for their relevance to the research, but for their compatibility with one another: 'a strategically illuminating set of facets in relation to specific research concerns and questions' (Mason 2011, 75):

1) **CRT:** 'A race-conscious theory' that posits race as 'a central structure in society' that 'permeates every aspect of social life' (Zamudio et al. 2011, 2-3)

2) **CL:** Literacy is not solely dependent on the comprehension of words and phrases in isolation; it requires 'the comprehending reader' to 'bring to the text appropriate background information that includes knowledge not only about the topic but also the shared attitudes and conventions that color a piece of writing' (Hirsch 1987, 13-14)

3) **CoP:** The notion that, 'in contexts other than formal educational contexts', 'learning takes place through our participation in multiple social practices, practices which are formed through pursuing any kind of enterprise over time' (Farnsworth et al. 2016, 140)

This literary context section will subsequently justify the theoretical relevance of CRT, CL and CoP to this research by applying them to three short data excerpts (field diary entries and interviewee quotes) gathered by this project. As a result, it begins to explore what I have learnt and gained from my time working with this learning organisation. Being a volunteer at *KLTV* for almost two years taught me to think more critically about race and society; taught me to consider my own media and cultural (il)literacy when stepping into unfamiliar communities; and taught me to better respect the challenges involved when negotiating competence in an unfamiliar community of practice. I subsequently argue that the practical experience of working as a researcher in an educational context beyond the academy has better equipped me for academic practice, by alerting me to critical theories and concepts that my own whiteness (and the whiteness of the academy) had previously sheltered me from.

Case Study 2: KLTV as a Learning Organisation – Three Excerpts on Education

Excerpt 1: Critical Race Theory

> **Directly addressing the room, [Milton] then spoke of my community and heritage, 'growing up in a pit village and being working-class', and how some of the things that I've had to deal with whilst growing up and doing what I do now, bears similarity with many of the experiences of the African Caribbean descent community…(**Field Diary Entry 76, *After the Windrush: The Years After Community Screening*, 9th July 2019)

The Critical Race Theory movement's origins lie in the legal profession, with 'the early writing of Derrick Bell, an American civil rights lawyer and the first black [person] to teach at Harvard Law

School', recognising in the early 1970s the need for 'new approaches' to 'cope with the less sympathetic public and the more nuanced forms of racism that were developing' (Delgado and Stefancic 1998, 467). As a theoretical framework, it has since been adopted by many disciplines across the social sciences, including education (e.g. Solórzano 1997) – where it has continued to gain academic prominence over the last several years (Montgomery 2017; Larnell et al. 2016; Cole 2012; Hiraldo 2010). Indeed, Critical Race Theory has been used by scholars in conjunction with the recent (and ongoing) Decolonising the University/Curriculum and Black Lives Matter movements (Quinn and Vorster 2017; Withaeckx 2019; Hill II 2017).

The CRT theoretical framework 'is comprised of the following five tenets' according to Hiraldo, who defines them in relation to higher education (2010, 54-56):

1) **Counter-Storytelling:** providing people of colour 'a voice to tell their narratives involving marginalized experiences' (Hiraldo 2010, 54)

2) **The Permanence of Racism:** the suggestion 'that racism controls the political, social and economic realms of U.S society' (Hiraldo 2010, 54) – and, indeed, in the UK as well (see Cole 2012, 176-177)

3) **Whiteness as Property:** a 'systemic reality' that 'works against building a diverse and inclusive higher education environment because it supports the imbedded hierarchical racist paradigms that currently exist in our society' (Hiraldo 2010, 55)

4) **Interest Convergence:** for example, 'White individuals' are often 'the primary beneficiaries of civil rights legislation', as opposed to people of colour (Hiraldo 2010, 56)

5) **Critique of Liberalism:** viewing liberal ideologies such as 'colour blindness' as actively working 'against dismantling social inequities' (Hiraldo 2010, 56)

Critical Race Theory consequently implies an uncomfortable truth: that race and racism are 'endemic' and 'permanent' (Solórzano 1997, 6). The 'apprehension' that many view CRT with may well stem from this uncomfortability; the notion that racism is 'fundamental' to society unsettles 'many people

[who] are trying to dismantle and work against it' (Hiraldo 2010, 57). Hiraldo refers to the recognition of racism's permanence as 'a necessary step that society needs to take in order for society to progress' (2010, 57), but there is significant resistance to the application of CRT within higher education and beyond. In some cases, this resistance can be conscientious in intent: Bergerson (2003), who identifies as 'a white person seeing the world from a privileged perspective', argues that she 'cannot use CRT as a method for 'understanding' the experiences of people of colour' – but still believes that '[white people] can use CRT to the extent that they become critical race theorists' (59).

However, given the 'distinct processes of white supremacy in education' and the 'white masculinist cultures of our academic institutions', there is a lack of incentive for white academics (and, in particular, white male academics) to critique the same structures of inequity in education that they stand to benefit from (Pechenkina and Liu 2018, 1-2). By the same token, academics who are 'female' and/or 'belong to an ethnic minority group', such as Pechenkina and Liu, are deincentivised from 'engaging with issues of racial power' due to the precariousness and instability that taking this critical 'position' brings to their professional lives (2018, 2). Perhaps more surprisingly, the academic resistance to Critical Race Theory extends to students as well as staff. Alemán and Gaytán's participatory study observed 'mutual experiences of racial disenfranchisement' amongst students of colour, with one ethnic studies course participant of colour writing 'in his final paper: 'I don't really know why I'm in this class, it doesn't really sort of speak to me'.' (2017, 139). Indeed, the 'inextricable' link between 'the everyday microaggressions experienced by People of Color', 'institutional racism (i.e. structures and processes' and 'ideologies of white supremacy that maintain racial subordination' is a 'complex relationship' (Pérez Huber and Solórzano 2015, 298). That Critical Race Theory identifies, highlights and challenges the very 'racial microaggressions' that have resulted in 'Black students [changing] majors, [dropping] classes, and even [leaving] campus to avoid [them]' may explain why people of colour are often reluctant to engage with the framework (Yosso et

al. 2009, 661). Ahmed (2009) – whose earlier work on emotion has already contributed theoretically to this thesis (see Literary Context 1) – gives a personal account of the 'emotional labour' that challenging institutional racism demands (Pechenkina and Li 2018, 4):

> Our arrival is read as evidence of commitment, of change, of progress, Our arrival is noticeable. I am speaking of whiteness in a seminar and someone in the audience says, 'but you are a professor', as if to say if Black women become professors then the whiteness of the world recedes. If only we had the power we are imagined to possess, if only our proximity could be such a force. If only our arrival was their undoing. **I was appointed to teach 'the race course', I reply. I am the only person of colour employed on a full-time basis in our department. I hesitate. It becomes too personal. The argument is too much to sustain when your body is so exposed, when you feel so noticeable. I stop, and do not complete my answer to the question.** (Ahmed 2009, 41; emphasis my own)

In 2016, Ahmed resigned from her post as Professor of Race and Cultural Studies at Goldsmiths, University of London 'in protest at the failure to deal with the problem of sexual harassment' (Ahmed 2021). In contrast, as a young, white, mid-twenties male in academia, experiences of racism and/or sexism have generally been consigned to the realm of stories and hearsay. Disenfranchisement across these dimensions have not been an ever-present in my professional life, nor in the lives of many of my senior academic colleagues. In Hiraldo's experience, university professors, 'the driving force in higher education', are predominantly white (Hiraldo 2010, 55). Here, Hiraldo is writing about a 'faculty' in the US, but in the UK, the picture at the professorial level is similarly lacking in heterogeneity. In early 2020, the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) reported that of over 21,000 professors at UK universities, 140 (0.7%) 'identified as black' (Adams 2020, para. 4). The same dataset showed that whilst progress has been made by these institutions to employ more female than male professors over the last five years, 'male professors continue to outnumber females by three to one' (Adams 2020, para. 6). This does not mean to say that women and black people do not

participate in higher education in the UK. Indeed, in 2017/18 there were more female students in higher education than men (Department for Education 2019, 1), and 6.8% of HE students during the same academic year identified as 'black' (Office for National Statistics 2020). However, as the HESA figures show, the proportion of female and black people engaging in higher education declines drastically beyond the undergraduate level. This phenomenon is commonly referred to as 'the leaky pipeline': 'the concept that women [and people of colour] disappear from the career ladder at some point' (Equality and Diversity 2014, para. 2).

Given that the 'owners of the curriculum' – faculty professors and senior departmental academics – are predominantly white and male, it is hardly surprising that I had not meaningfully encountered Critical Race Theory in the five years of studying for one Bachelor's (English Language & Literature) and two Master's degrees (English Literature and Social Research) prior to my placement at *Kirklees Local TV* (Hiraldo 2010, 55). It is, after all, a theoretical approach that challenges the very foundations of the institutions which continue to promote white men (above all other demographics) into positions of power, setting guidelines for what academic material and scholarship students should (and shouldn't) engage with, and earning a healthy salary for doing so. For those very same 'curriculum-owners' to encourage their undergraduates to use Critical Race Theory in their work would be, for lack of a better expression, to *bite the hand that feeds* – or rather, to empower students to bite the hand that feeds their superiors. For this reason, as any critical pedagogist will be painfully aware, 'raising the issue' of institutional racism comes 'at great personal and professional cost': 'to call out a problem is to be cast as the problem' (Anonymous Academic 2019, para. 7). The perils are highlighted by Maisuria and Helmes' appraisal of *The Guardian*'s 'Academics Anonymous' blog from which that last excerpt was taken: 'the name of the blog clearly indicates the precarity of academics who require anonymity for safety reasons' (2020, 40). In my own review of that work, I wrote,

Our universities need to have a difficult conversation with themselves about what they want to be – their identity, their civic responsibilities, and their role in society – if they are to remain relevant to the wider and ever-changing world. (Bramley 2020, 3)

Despite being frequently criticised to this end for not including 'social class and gender as part of its framework due to its focus on race', Critical Race Theory encourages scholars to think of race, class, sexuality and gender as 'interrelated' (Hiraldo 2010, 57). This does not necessarily mean that the CRT framework alone is sufficient to address all inequalities in society, but it does provide a useful starting point for further approaches to develop from. Annamma et al. (2018) reflect on how CRT has 'failed to adequately address intersectionality, focusing primarily on single-axis explanations of structural inequity' (49). This subsequently led to the development of Disability Critical Race Theory (or 'DisCrit'), 'taken up by scholars to expose and dismantle entrenched inequities in education' (Annamma et al. 2018, 47). Similarly, in *Other People's Daughters: Critical Race Feminism and Black Girls' Education*, Evans-Winters and Esposito (2010) argue, 'Black women deserve a theoretical framework that combats racial and gender oppression from multiple standpoints' (19). Critical Race Feminism, 'a branch of CRT', is subsequently proposed as an 'anti-essentialist' framework which 'focuses on the lives of women of colour who face multiple forms of discrimination, due to the intersections of race, class and gender within a system of White male patriarchy and racist oppression' (Evans-Winters and Esposito, 2010).

It is at this point that I return to the excerpt from my *Kirklees Local TV* field diary, foregrounded at the beginning of this section. Milton Brown, having just shown the *Windrush: The Years After* documentary (2019) to the residents of a retirement home in Huddersfield, connected my experiences of ''growing up in a pit village and being working-class'' to 'the experiences of the African Caribbean descent community' that had been depicted in the film (Field Diary Entry 76, *After the Windrush: The Years After Community Screening*, 9th July 2019). The diary entry continues:

I gave a bit of a speech myself after that: referencing the famous Monty Python 'Four Yorkshiremen' sketch; saying 'pain is pain'; and addressing the fact that, whilst many of our experiences are different, they nevertheless bear a similarity, and that we should come together to share these stories, rather than be divided by them. (Field Diary Entry 76, *After the Windrush: The Years After Community Screening*, 9th July 2019)

In the article *Co-producing research with communities: emotions in community research* (Brown et al. 2020), Milton Brown writes a similar testimony in his own words:

In the [*Windrush: The Years After*] project, there was a big discussion about how everybody's got heritage, how everybody's got history, everybody's got culture…And this process has really given me an acceptance that there are more similarities than differences. (Brown et al. 2020, 101)

The decision to adopt Critical Race Theory in this study is a practical example of how, 'when you fuse the two together, the university and the community, that produces interesting work' (Brown et al. 2020, 103). To be more specific to the context of this project, what makes my engagement with CRT so interesting is that it would not have been so prominent in my research – and might not have featured at all – had it not been for my co-productive relationship with *KLTV*: a learning organisation outside of the academy of higher education. CRT is by no means a perfect one-size-fits-all framework, as this section has briefly demonstrated, but it does provide a provocative platform for matters of social and educational equality to be addressed and, where necessary, challenged. It has, like Bergerson, made me more aware of 'my own white privilege and the racism experienced by people of colour' (2003, 51).

Excerpt 2: Cultural Literacy

And, as within any learning organisation, it's a two-way street. Every student, every volunteer, every elder – anyone I come into contact with within my work, I feel so enriched by them. And that makes

me a better person, it makes me more knowledgeable, it gives me a kind of cultural literacy that I never

had before I met this person, and therefore, wherever I walk, I walk with those new skills of learning

that I've embraced, y'know. So, personally, I can go into any community in this town and feel

comfortable. I've been working in communities for the best part of thirty years, and I'm very

comfortable in just about every community; that could not have come if I didn't open myself up for

learning as well. So it's a two-way street; it's *KLTV*. (Milton Brown [CEO], *Film 1*, 08:11-09:07)

In this excerpt, Brown refers to 'cultural literacy' as a two-way learning process: he learns about

another community through his engagement in its culture (and vice versa), and becomes more

'literate' in that community (and with its members) as a result. Elsewhere, he has referred to this

binary relationship – the development of one's 'enriched cultural narrative around the other, so you

[can] walk anywhere' – as the process of becoming an 'edgewalker' (Brown et al. 2020, 106). Krebs

defines edgewalkers in society 'as people who find themselves marginalized by race, ethnicity,

spiritual choice, or sexual orientation', and consequently 'choose to embrace their complex identity

and engage the mainstream effectively' (2000, 25). In academia, edgewalkers are 'researchers [who]

occupy the edge, or margin, between multiple worlds and perspectives' (Beals et al. 2020, 593).

Relating this phenomenon to the role of the 'shaman' in 'ancient cultures', Neal describes how being

'able to walk between the two worlds was necessary for survival'; it is subsequently argued that 'the

skill of walking between the worlds' is 'probably even more relevant today' (2006, 2). However, to

'walk between two worlds but remain true to yourself' in the present day is said to have 'costs on the

individual'; the edgewalker 'may experience intense pain as they attempt to remain true to themselves

rather than taking the easy way out and becoming a part of the whole' (Beals et al. 2020, 597). The

tension inherent in attempting to retain a sense of self identity as an edgewalker is echoed in

Rampton's work on linguistic and language 'crossing', i.e. 'code alternation by people who are not

accepted members of the group associated with the second language that they are using' (1995, 485).

By this virtue, 'the hold of ethnicity as inheritance is no longer absolute' (Rampton 1995, 508); this is certainly the case in Hall's discussion on 'new ethnicities' in relation to Britain's African Caribbean descent community in the late 20th Century (1997):

> Third generation young Black men and women know they come from the Caribbean, know that they are Black, know that they are British. They want to speak from all three identities. They are not prepared to give up any one of them. They will contest the Thatcherite notion of Englishness, because they say this Englishness is Black. They will contest the notion of Blackness because they want to make a differentiation between people who are Black from one kind of society and people who are Black from another. Because they need to know that difference, that difference that makes a difference in how they write their poetry, make their films, how they paint. (Hall 1997, 59)

However, Cultural Literacy has not always been used, as Brown uses it, to describe the need for citizens to develop a better understanding of a community's culture before engaging with that community. In fact, when Hirsch first popularised the term in *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know* in 1987, it signified quite the opposite:

> All nationwide communications, whether by telephone, radio, TV, or writing are fundamentally dependent upon literacy, for the essence of literacy is not simply reading and writing but also the effective use of the standard literature language. In Spain and most of Latin America the literate language is standard written Spanish. In Japan it is standard written Japanese. In our country it is standard written English. (Hirsch 1987, 3)

To become 'part of the whole' (Beals et al. 2020, 597) – to have a 'high level of universal literacy' – was seen by Hirsch as a means of 'modern society' becoming 'a just society' (1987, 12). On paper, the 'literate culture' that Hirsch was advocating was not a means of integration, but of assimilation:

'[literate culture] excludes nobody; it cuts across generations and social groups and classes; it is not usually one's first culture, but it should be everyone's second, existing as it does beyond the narrow spheres of family, neighborhood, and region' (21). It is an idea that holds practical merit, particularly when considering that formal communications (such as job applications and tax forms), and most media communications, are in the 'standard literate language' (2-3). But in Hirsch's view, 'the chief reason' for the advancement of Cultural Literacy in the United States was 'broader' (2); he pointed to the 'disturbing' knowledge that 'two thirds of our seventeen-year-olds do not know that the Civil War occurred between 1850 and 1900', and that 'three quarters are unfamiliar with the names of standard American and British authors' (7-8). He subsequently argued, 'Children also need to understand elements of our literary and mythic heritage that are often alluded to without explanation', and moves on to list dozens of examples of biblical, fairy tale and Ancient Greek texts (30). This foreshadows the much longer list of *What Every American Needs to Know* in the book's appendix, which in-turn prefaces *The Dictionary of Cultural Literacy* published one year later (Hirsch et al. 1988), described by Hoffman as 'a compendium of information that competent readers should possess' (1990, 112), but classified (and criticised) by Giroux as part of:

> …an agenda and purpose for shaping public schooling and higher education under the terms of a cultural discourse in which the concept of difference is seen as a threat to what is labelled Western culture. (Giroux 1992, 5)

Hirsch's Cultural Literacy is unidirectional. As Mullican points out, Hirsch does little to encourage the 'middle- and upper-class Americans', whose culture *is* 'the culture he advocates', to better educate themselves on the non-dominant cultures of their fellow Americans (1991, 244). This is reflected in the corpus of material collated by Hirsch's attempt to 'impose an eccentric variant of prevailing dogma, patriotic and patriarchal, upon the country's school children' (Sledd et al. 1991, 718). The 'Hirsch agenda', as it has been referred to, 'calls for the formation of a general umbrella

culture that melts multicultures into one national culture' (Sledd et al. 1991, 723); it perceives 'schooling' as a means of 'overcoming or erasing difference rather than at incorporating it into an ongoing democratic or pedagogical project' (Giroux 1992, 5). Sledd et al. (1991) declare that to 'attempt to establish' such a 'broad discourse culture through a narrow canon' is 'to argue that the richness of multicultural literacy can be whitewashed into ceremonial rhetoric when the community conventions are limited' (723). Whilst the third (and most recent) edition, *The New Dictionary of Cultural Literacy* (Hirsch et al. 2002) attempts to broaden the scope of American Cultural Literacy by adding over 500 new entries (including 'the digital divide' and 'Kwanzaa'), it is still criticised for 'boiling down our entire intellectual heritage down to hors-d'ouevre-size bits', and arguing that 'acquaintance with a large number of rudimentary concepts' is all the average citizen needs to be culturally literate (Shulevitz 2002, 63).

The *Dictionary of Cultural Literacy* itself, put together by three white male academics (i.e. Hirsch, Kett and Trefil) who dictate which texts are central to the 'American' identity, could be levelled with the same criticisms that Critical Race Theorists place on an educational system that 'further reinforce[s] and perpetuate[s] the system of White supremacy' (Hiraldo 2010, 55). Cultural Literacy in the Hirschian sense, a reproduction of the 'colonial forms of knowledge' observable in Western universities, fringes bases of knowledge that are 'othered' by the dominant culture (McLaughlin and Whatman 2011, 367). In an Australian context, this results in 'the colonial norm of non-Indigenous people representing Indigenous knowledge, cultures and peoples through simplistic approaches, with a self-serving agenda and priorities' (McLaughin and Whatman 2011, 368). In Britain and America, the outcome of pedagogical practices dictated by the dominant culture is an educational system 'which stratifies social actors along class lines and prevents the poor (predominantly people of color) from dealing critically and creatively with reality' (Mocombe and Tomlin 2013, 24-25). MacKinnon and Manathunga's assessment is equally bleak:

By cancelling all but the dominant literacy from the university curriculum a student's capacity to contribute to the class from their own cultural experience is greatly diminished, as are their learning opportunities. (MacKinnon and Manathunga 2003, 131)

In contrast, Brown (and, by extension, *Kirklees Local TV*) posit a Multilateral Cultural Literacy that enables multiple communities to learn from one another, rather than the non-dominant culture learning from the dominant culture (and on the latter's terms). The result of this process is, as *Excerpt 1* revealed, a greater sense of cultural awareness that allows a person to 'edgewalk' between communities without losing a sense of self (see Brown et al. 2020, 106). The 'marginality' of this space is, according to bell hooks, a 'position and place of resistance' that is 'crucial for oppressed, exploited, colonized people' (1990, 242). In bell hooks experience, the 'struggle to maintain that marginality even as one works, produces, lives, if you will, at the center' stems from the belief that marginality is 'a site one stays in, clings to even, because it nourishes one's capacity to resist' (1990, 341). Interviews with two of the *KLTV* volunteers who worked on the *Windrush: The Years After* (2019) documentary – but did not belong to the 'four generations' of 'African-Caribbean descent community in Huddersfield' that the film depicted (University of Huddersfield 2019, para. 1) – subsequently speak to the mutual empowerment of a Multilateral Cultural Literacy:

I've learnt so much. I mean, I didn't really know much about African Caribbean culture, and about their traditions – all I knew was that they have a carnival once a year, and that is it. I've learned so much with being part of this, so yeah, I just think it opens your eyes, and it gives you a wider perspective of what goes on within the community that you live in! (Nabila Waseem [Business Director], *Film 4*, 05:01-05:23)

…and for other communities, I think it's saying, 'Why don't you get your voice out there as well? You lay your mark on this land as well' – because it's not just one community that makes Kirklees great, or

England great; it's all of these communities, and they've all got a story to tell, no matter where they're from. (Khatija Lunat [Volunteer], *Film 4*, 06:18-06:38)

Excerpt 3: Communities of Practice

I was a little reluctant at first to agree to passing on my film for someone else to finish, but Milton reassured me that this was simply 'how things are done' at KLTV. It does indeed follow the due process of almost every other film that comes out of this organisation. (Field Diary Entry 91, 6th September 2019)

In October 2018, nine months after my placement at *KLTV* had begun, I reflected on some of the praise given to me by the CEO: 'As Milton said in the meeting today, I'm a 'veteran' at *KLTV* now, and I've managed to 'develop an understanding of the culture within the organisation' in the time that I've been there' (Field Diary Entry 25, 15th October 2018). However, eleven months (and 66 diary entries) later, I still felt that my working habits and the way *Kirklees Local TV* worked as an organisation were not entirely complementary. Less than a month away from the end of that fieldwork placement, I pondered: 'Am I protective over my own work?' (Field Diary Entry 91, 6th September 2019).

It is consequently helpful for my reading of the twenty months I spent as a participatory researcher within *Kirklees Local TV*, as 'a social process of negotiating competence in a domain over time', to follow the 'notion of [a] community of practice' (Farnsworth et al. 2016, 143). Community of Practice (CoP) is a '*theory of learning*' – the result, according to Wenger (the architect of CoP; also known as Wenger-Trayner), of 'an attempt to place the negotiation of meaning at the core of human learning, as opposed to merely the acquisition of information and skills' (Farnsworth et al. 2016, 145). It is not 'a new idea'; communities of practice were, according to Wenger et al. (2002), 'our first knowledge-based social structures, back when we lived in caves and gathered around the fire to

discuss strategies for cornering prey, the shape of arrowheads, or which roots were edible' (5). However, the Community of Practice model brings 'a new approach' to assessing learning in organisations, focusing 'on people and the social structures that enable them to learn with and from each other' (Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner 2015a, 4). CoP subsequently stipulates that the 'central drive' behind 'human learning', and the result of said 'negotiation of meaning', is 'the process of becoming a certain person in a social context – or more usually a multiplicity of social contexts' (Farnsworth et al. 2016, 145).

Despite being one of 'the most widely cited social theories' in contemporary educational research, Communities of Practice has not received the same degree of critical engagement in the literature as the other educational theories I have explored in this chapter (Farnsworth et al. 2016, 139). Although they located approximately 3,500 journal articles and books that use the term 'Communities of Practice', Farnsworth et al. (2016) found that 'the literature does not offer much discussion of the theory itself, its critical appraisals and the ways theory is augmented through its various applications and interpretations' (139-140). This formed the basis of an article that attempted to redress this lack of critical balance by interviewing Wenger-Trayner himself, questioning him on several areas that his social learning theory covers such as 'Power and Boundaries' (153-155), 'Learning, Inclusion and Exclusion' (155-157), and 'Theory as a Tool for Educational Research' (157-158). However, as an article co-written with Wenger-Trayner as well as featuring him as an interviewee, it falls short of identifying any key weaknesses of Wenger-Trayner's theory, or suggesting any ways in which it might be further improved. Farnsworth et al. concluded that CoP was 'a good theory' based on the fact it was 'not static but amenable to revision', before hailing its applicability in a variety of educational settings (157-158). In a refreshing break from the academic cheerleading of CoP, Handley et al. (2006) identify 'Wenger's portrayal of the compartmentalization of practice' as 'highly problematic' when considering 'how individuals manage their roles, actions and relationships within

multiple communities', as he argues 'that learning (and therefore, identity) is fully situated with little possibility of transfer or translation across contexts' (647). Fortunately, my study solely considers volunteers' navigation of a single community of practice (i.e. *Kirklees Local TV*), rather than the multiple communities that any one of those volunteers is simultaneously a member of (e.g. college, university, etc.).

The 'technical terms of the theory' (see Farnsworth et al. 2016, 142-143) are as follows:

> **Practice:** the shared 'concern' or 'passion' that brings a CoP together, learning 'how to do it better as they interact regularly' (Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner 2015a, 1). Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner are keen to stress that 'not everything called a community is a community of practice', and that it is 'the development of a shared practice', which 'may be more or less self-conscious', that separates a CoP from 'a community of interest' (2015a, 2)

> **Domain:** 'the area in which a community claims to have legitimacy to define competence' (Farnsworth et al. 2016, 143). 'Membership' of this 'shared domain of interest' implies both a 'commitment to the domain' and 'a shared competence that distinguishes members from other people' (Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner, 2)

> **Community:** 'in pursuing their interest in their domain, members engage in joint activities and discussions, help each other, and share information' (Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner, 2). The members of this community of practice 'do not necessarily work together on a daily basis', but 'build relationships that enable them to learn from each other; they care about their standing with each other' (Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner, 2)

> **Identity:** Individuals 'are members of different CoPs to different extents', and a member's 'personal identity will result from their experience of multimembership and will involve reconciliation of one identity across many boundaries, influenced by their varying levels of commitment and participation

within those communities' (Anderson 2008, 87). For example, Mael and Ashforth (1992) look at the relationship between university 'alumni' and their 'alma mater', for whom they often continue to make 'financial contributions' and participate 'in various organizational functions' whilst being members of other CoPs elsewhere (109; see also Islam 2008, 282)

Regimes of Competence: 'Over time, communities of practice develop regimes of competence, which reflect their social history of learning, and to which learners are now accountable' (Farnsworth et al. 2016, 145). The regime of competence 'includes a social dimension', given that CoP defines learning itself as a social process (Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner 2015b, 14). Subsequently, the regime of competence 'is not static', and can be shaped by a community of practice's members, just as it 'shapes' their 'personal experience' in turn (Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner 2015b, 14).

Broken down in this way, and described in the members' own words (i.e. in my interviews with them), the community of practice at *Kirklees Local TV* can be defined as such:

a) KLTV's Practice

Khatija Lunat, who had been volunteering at *KLTV* for 'over five years' at the time of being interviewed (*Film 3*, 01:46-01:52), referred to *KLTV*'s practice in antithesis to the 'negative side of communities' that is typically 'portrayed in national media' (*Film 2*, 01:32-02:21). Lunat believed that 'community stories and community people are at the forefront, and *should* be at the forefront, of stories, that represent the basis – I'd say the backbone – of society', and that '[getting] those stories across' is 'important for a cohesive society' (*Film 2*, 01:32-02:21). Niki Matthews, a Consultant (and formerly Business Director) for *KLTV*, also referred to the need to 'celebrate the community, and the diversity within that community', stating that it was the drive to 'celebrate where they live' that 'sets *KLTV* apart from other media companies' (*Film 2*, 02:36-03:02). And in working towards that goal, Matthews reflected on the organisation's 'real thirst for knowledge: whether that is learning about

new people and promoting their stories through media; whether that's providing opportunities to students at the University [of Huddersfield] and the colleges, and via [the] JobCentre, to come and work with *KLTV* as part of their work experience, to gain the skills that they *need* and they wouldn't necessarily get in an educational institute' (*Film 2,* 04:39-05:53). Another criticism of Communities of Practice (albeit a rare one) is that the misnomer of community as 'a group of homogeneous individuals whose motivations and behaviours can be controlled by management', which is 'familiar in relation to longstanding debates on organizational cultures', has 'been neglected in relation to communities of practice' (Handley et al. 2006, 648). In my experience, the Community of Practice at *Kirklees Local TV* is in many ways the antithesis of homogeny, as reflected in the diversity of age, gender and ethnic backgrounds of the interviewees presented by my four research films.

Lunat added that it was 'a shame' that the responsibility falls 'upon people like *KLTV* [who] *have* to represent those communities, to celebrate those communities', adding, 'it should be done on a national level' (*Film 2*, 01:32-02:21). The absence of organisations like *KLTV* in the UK was reinforced by another volunteer, Leah Conway, who said: 'I think [*KLTV*] is quite unique, 'cos I haven't really seen anything like it before, and the fact that it's really community driven – everything's about the community and for the community – I feel like there should be more things like it' (*Film 2*, 02:21-02:36). And a third volunteer, Oliver Thompson, said: 'There's no other internet online station for and in Huddersfield, and [*KLTV*] offers another kind of way – another version – than what's already here, y'know, the local 'paper and things like that' (*Film 2*, 00:15-00:29).

b) KLTV's Domain

Defining *KLTV*'s domain is a somewhat more complicated task. Niki Matthews said, 'There are so many different facets to what *KLTV* is involved with, that you're learning new things about, y'know,

processes, and systems, and people; the place that you live; it challenges you, in a really positive way' (*Film 3*, 05:48-06:48). Rather than forming separate communities of practice within the organisation, Oliver Thompson's testimony shows how the work is organised within a single community of practice, where the 'shared practice' is community representation. In contrast to 'a bigger [media] organisation' where 'you're pigeon-holed into one kind of speciality', Thompson describes how at *KLTV*, 'You go out, you film, you interview, you go back and edit: you've got loads of different kinds of skills there' (*Film 3*, 07:28-08:02). This results in the development of a series of professional skills that the volunteer often does not expect to engage with. According to Business Director Nabila Waseem:

> When I first came here, media wasn't really high on my agenda to be honest, 'cos it's not really something that I've been interested in. But obviously being here, you can't be away from it, because it *is* a production company. […] I've done a *little* bit of camera training – and, yeah, it's really opened my eyes, yeah! (*Film 3*, 11:31-12:26)

Likewise, Thompson, who originally 'wanted to get involved in, kind of, producing films – producing mini little contents about the hometown that I live [in], and I've been brought up in!' (*Film 2*, 00:15-00:44), said he had 'learned so much about social media marketing, video editing, writing – which is something that I'm really trying to push at the moment, trying to really improve my writing skills' (*Film 2*, 07:28-08:02). For him, the outcome of this experience was a positive one: 'Yeah, it's brilliant, and that's why I'm still here! [laughs]' (*Film 2*, 07:28-08:02).

c) KLTV's Community

Dave Hodgson, a retired BBC technical operator who now volunteers for *KLTV* (*Film 3*, 03:48-05:16), gave an overview of how the organisation's community of practice operates on a regular basis:

It operates like professional TV should: we have a CEO, we have an administrator, we have editors, we have production staff to actually do the programmes, and we have presenters. We try to be helpful to the others, but we don't start making rules for the presenters to do – that comes from the CEO. He'll talk to us about it, but the actual orders come from him. And the same with the production of the programme: in the end, what that person who's responsible for [the programme] says, goes. (*Film 3*, 06:48-07:28)

Whilst *KLTV* was described as 'unique' as a media organisation in its 'community-driven' nature (Leah Conway [Volunteer], *Film 2*, 02:21-02:36), the organisation presented in Hodgson's testimony as being very similar structurally to the organisations he previously worked for within the BBC. Similar to the advent of internet TV, he said his work in local radio 'was great' because 'there were no rules written down for it! *We* made it up as we went on!' (*Film 3*, 03:48-05:16). He added that it was his pursuit of 'something that was new and different, and hadn't been tried before' that brought him to *KLTV* (*Film 3*, 03:48-05:16).

d) KLTV's Identity (and the Identity of its members)

Matthews spoke of both the professional achievements of *KLTV* - the 'absolutely fantastic' successes 'of those people who've worked with *KLTV* and have gone on to do amazing things in this area' - and linked this to her personal pride:

And it's a real proud moment to see young people coming into an organisation – or maybe somebody who's been out of work for a while, and come into the organisation – and grow so much, whether that's through the confidence of being in that environment, of being able to express themselves; or whether it's just in gaining those skills and utilising those skills to the best of their ability, to get what they want out of professional life. (Niki Matthews [Consultant; formerly Business Director], *Film 2,* 04:39-05:53)

Indeed, the volunteers who continue an active membership with *KLTV* beyond their initial placements often appear to do so because of an intrinsic link between their individual identities and the identity of the organisation. Oliver Thompson, who originally applied for a placement at *KLTV* after graduating from university with an MA in Film and Television, said:

> …I found KLTV, and it's, it's just brilliant! And it's worked. So I applied, and I spoke with Milton and then we, well – the rest is history! Y'know, ten months later, here I am, still! Ha ha (*Film 3*, 00:15-00:44)

Khatija Lunat originally met *KLTV*'s CEO, Milton Brown, as part of a joint project in her 'daytime job' at a local 'infants' school', but found herself volunteering for the organisation for several years:

> So, I've been at KLTV – or I've volunteered here at KLTV – for, I think, over five years now? I initially met Milton Brown whilst working in my daytime job – which is in Batley, at an infants' school – and he came to do some diversity training. So, I think we worked on that for about eight to nine months, and he trained me and a colleague up, and then we cascaded that training onto our colleagues. And it was an experience, working alongside Milton, and he was inspirational, and all his views, and when we came over to KLTV and looked at what he had – his organisation, how they worked, what they were involved in – it was mindblowing! It inspired me to want to do more on a community level; I already was in Batley, but this was more Kirklees-wide. I've been involved ever since! (*Film 3*, 01:46-02:53)

And for Nabila Waseem, it was the departure from an entirely different community of practice that led to her participation with *KLTV* as a Business Director:

> I was working as a midwife back in, 2015? And, due to personal reasons, [I] had to give that up that in, yeah, it was 2016, when I came back from Pakistan. So, because of our family circumstances, I couldn't go back to doing shift work, and my husband's been abroad, and, one thing or another had to

give, and it was my job, unfortunately. So I was a full time mum, for two years, and just by chance, I bumped into Milton, having a good chat, and he was like, 'Oh, y'know, there's volunteer opportunities at my place; why don't you come?' So I was like, 'Alright, okay', y'know – I've got a business degree, I've got my midwifery degree; I thought, yeah, I can use that to my advantage and maybe bring some new skills to this place, and maybe gain some new skills whilst I'm here! So, yeah, that's how it all started! [laughs] (*Film 3*, 00:44-01:46)

e) KLTV's Regimes of Competence

The 'community's social negotiation of what constitutes competence' that 'results in a regime of competence' – a 'dynamic interplay' between members' 'own experience of practice' and how it 'may reflect, ignore, or challenge the community's current regime of competence' (Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner 2015b, 14) – is reiterated by Niki Matthews in her response to the question, *What is it like to work at 'KLTV'?:*

> I've been with *KLTV* now about five years. I don't plan on leaving *KLTV* for any reason! Because it's always changing, it's ever-evolving, and with that, you evolve, and you learn and you grow all the time (*Film 3*, 05:48-06:48)

As a result, some of the 'challenging' experiences for Matthews have involved 'things that can be very close to your heart, and really do prick at the side of you', but she explained a need to 'be able to see [the situation] from other people's perspectives, and understand where those perspectives are coming from' (*Film 3*, 05:48-06:48). From those experiences, a competency has developed, similar to that described by Milton Brown regarding cultural literacy in Excerpt 2 (*Film 1*, 08:11-09:07):

> I'm a Huddersfield girl born and bred, I live in the leafy suburbs of the town, and what KLTV has brought to me is, it's probably opened my eyes a little bit more than what they were. Y'know, I've always like to think of myself as, someone that embraces what's going on around them. But whether

that's due to the circles that you go on, whether it's the workplace that you settle at, the clubs that you join; whatever on earth that is, you generally do that in the area that you live, because it's your community that you want to support – and, you know, you might know other people there. But working with KLTV, I've gone into communities that I haven't necessarily had the opportunity to go in before, not for any reason that I didn't want to, or I wouldn't want to, but I didn't know anyone there, y'know, whether that was personally or professionally. And, since working at KLTV, I can confidently walk into any of those communities, and feel…feel safe, feel that I belong there, I've a right to be there, and y'know, at the age that I'm at, [and] as a White British female from Huddersfield, that's a really nice thing to be able to say. (Niki Matthews [Consultant; formerly Business Director], *Film 3*, 14:29-16:14)

<div align="center">*</div>

Using Communities of Practice as a model for defining the work of *KLTV* conveys some of the complexities involved in such a task. This is hardly surprising: as the interviews with its members confirmed, the organisation is somewhat 'unique' in its attempts to be a community-led media organisation for the people of the Kirklees region. However, what the CoP model also reveals is the difficult in defining any organisation in which the members' experiences influence its aims (and vice versa):

CoPs continually define themselves by the needs of their members, and are constantly changing, providing ongoing challenges to the facilitator. […] the facilitator can promote the community's development by defining the community's focus, normally after observing any emerging ideas and attitudes among possible group members, identifying and building relationships between members, and identifying topics and projects that would be exciting for community members. (Mitchell et al. 2008, 130)

On 5th December 2018, I wrote of how I tried to justify a change of this thesis' focus – away from 'filmmaking' and towards community-led media as a whole – to my primary supervisor:

> …filmmaking, whilst still massively important, is no longer central to my thesis, by virtue of what I have experiences at KLTV. Rather, filmmaking falls within a broader field of media making; not everyone at KLTV makes films, but almost everyone is involved, in some way, in the production of some form of 'counter narrative' media. (Field Diary Entry 30, 5th December 2018)

My theoretical focus in defining *KLTV* had changed from January 2018 to December 2018 as a result of my experiences within the organisation, but it might be possible that *KLTV*'s community of practice had also adjusted within that timeframe in accordance with its members' wants and needs – myself included. By the same virtue, and given the fact that some of the people who took part in my interviews during mid-2019 are no longer active members of the organisation (at the time of writing), if I were to conduct the same method a year later, *KLTV* might be represented in an entirely different light. This does not mean to say that my interviews (and indeed, my ethnographic fieldnotes) are thereby null and void, but they should be recognised as capturing a snapshot of an ever-evolving organisation within a finite period.

Summary: Learning at *KLTV*

One of the primary concerns shared by my confirmation reviewers when assessing the viability of this research project was whether it had enough of a theoretical focus on 'education', the discipline in which my studies are currently based. It was a fair and reasonable criticism: a doctoral partnership with a local news media outlet likely connotes the fields of Journalism, Media Studies, and even Sociology, rather than Education. However, as this chapter has gone to considerable lengths to demonstrate, *Kirklees Local TV* is not a typical media organisation that is easily generalisable with the rest of the industry. Given that *KLTV* cannot be placed easily or neatly within a single category, it

is perhaps fitting that the theoretical underpinnings of my analysis are similarly interdisciplinary. Critical Race Theory, Cultural Literacy and Communities of Practice provide three interesting ways of exploring the activities of this learning organisation within its broader social, cultural, and educational contexts. There are other theories that could have justifiably featured here, but as my Generic Inductive Qualitative Model (GIQM) demands, my theoretical framework has been influenced primarily by my experiences within the field of practice, rather than my preconceptions as a detached researcher.

I came into the *KLTV* fieldwork placement as a doctoral student curious about hyperlocalism, media representation and social justice. I left almost two years later with a much deeper interest in racial inequality, intercultural dissonance and identity making. Leaving behind my original concept of what this thesis should look like was a difficult process; changing a PhD topic midway through the project is far from uncommon (see Thomson 2017), but for me, it involved familiarisation with theories, such as CRT and CL, of which I had little-to-no prior understanding. Thomson believes that the 'primary task in the first few months of PhD candidacy is to revisit and refine your initial topic so that it becomes a research-able project' (2017, para. 4). However, what might be deemed 'research-able' for a traditional doctoral project in the social sciences may well differ from that of a 'Collaborative PhD', for which stakeholders beyond the candidate and their university exist. What I hope this literary context section illustrates is how a significant proportion of my learning came from *outside* of the academy. I did not simply 'gather data' from *Kirklees Local TV*, to be published in a thesis that is unlikely to ever be read by its members; I participated in their activities, and contributed substantially to their work. In the next and final literary context chapter, I look at one of the major projects that took place at *Kirklees Local TV*, 'Windrush: The Years After – A Community Legacy on Film', as an example of this meaningful collaboration, and an illustration of the collaborative documentary filmmaking techniques that they employ.

Literary Context 3: 'A Community Legacy on Film': Using Collaborative Documentary Filmmaking to go beyond representations of the Windrush Generation as 'victims'

Introduction

> I never felt 'inspired' to do it. I felt there was a need to do it.
>
> -- Milton Brown, CEO of Kirklees Local TV and 'Windrush: The Years After' Project Lead
>
> (National Lottery Heritage Fund, 'Were there any surprises?', 2019, para. 1)

On the 12th July 2018, *Kirklees Local Television* (also known as *Kirklees Local TV* or *KLTV*), a non-profit 'internet-based TV station and film production company' serving 'the diverse local people' of the UK region of Kirklees in West Yorkshire (*KLTV*, 2020), were awarded a £34,500 'Heritage Grant' by the National Lottery Heritage Fund (NLHF). The funding was for the production of a film capturing the personal experiences of local people of African-Caribbean descent; it was entitled 'Windrush: The Years After – A Community Legacy on Film'. The project emerged in the aftermath of a national political scandal, which saw 1,175 people unlawfully deported from the UK between 2014 and 2016 (Hewitt 2020, 111; Jones 2018). This figure does not include 'the locking up of thousands' in detention centres (Harris and Pickles 2018, para 1), nor those who were sent letters from the Home Office during the same period, asking for extensive proof of their right to remain.

Many of those deported or threatened with deportation were of the so-called 'Windrush Generation': economic migrants from British colonies in the Caribbean who were invited to live and work in the UK between 1948 and 1972. Despite Part 1 (Section 1, Subsection 1) of the 1948 British Nationality Act granting 'the status of a British subject' to 'every person who under this Act is a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies' – and subsequently, indefinite right to remain in the UK – many of the Windrush Generation were never encouraged to obtain formal proof of their immigration status

after arrival (Valverde and Latorre 2018, 209). This was further hampered by the Home Office's reported destruction of 'thousands of landing card slips recording Windrush immigrants' arrival dates in the UK, despite staff warnings that the move would make it harder to check the records of older Caribbean-born residents experiencing residency difficulties' (Gentleman 2018, para 1).

This section highlights how one community in the post-industrial North of England, with a significant African-Caribbean descent population, used collaborative documentary filmmaking methods to implicitly respond to the Windrush Scandal in its immediate aftermath Here, I will focus on 'Windrush: The Years After' from a documentary theory perspective, placing it within the broader contexts of Fourth Cinema (films made by/for indigenous audiences) and Participatory Video/Film methods (i.e. engaging the participants of a documentary film in the actual production process). I will also situate 'Windrush: The Years After', a feature-length documentary film (2019), amongst other documentary representations of the Windrush Generation and the town of Huddersfield that predominantly present people of minority ethnic backgrounds as victims – thus illustrating the 'key ethical, political and aesthetic dilemmas' of representing trauma and atrocity in the middle voice in documentary filmmaking (Marx 2006, 23). I argue that such narratives, whilst informative to the general public, are not representing these communities in a way that suits *their* needs. 'Windrush: The Years After' follows a different, non-traditional approach to documentary filmmaking that prioritises the wishes of the participants over the wants of the public viewership, engaging interviewees in all stages of the filmmaking process. However, as my experiences working with *KLTV* on the 'Windrush: The Years After' project proved, participatory documentary filmmaking does demand a level of engagement from a community that might not always be feasible in a given context, as well as an greater level of investment in the project and its outcomes. In the case of this film, *KLTV*, whilst offering an opportunity for participants to influence the direction of the final film, still retained

editorial authority of the project. In this light, the extent to which the documentary could be said to be in the community's 'own image' is limited.

A Note on Windrush Heritage Initiatives

> How does a community redefine itself after events that undermine social cohesion at neighbourhood, national and global level? (Rasool 2018, 7)

To understand how 'Windrush: The Years After – A Community Legacy on Film' was made, it is important to outline the social and political context that brought it into being. After all, this was a documentary made in direct response to the Windrush Scandal, funded by the National Lottery Heritage Fund (NLHF). The NLHF has been providing sustained support to several Windrush-related heritage projects across the UK, long before news of the Windrush Scandal emerged in 2017. Run by local groups and initiatives embedded in their respective communities, these projects reflect just some of the ways in which 'communities can develop their own strategies' to address issues 'through small-scale projects' (Rasool 2018, 8). These projects are devised and run on the community's own terms (so long as they pass the National Lottery Heritage Fund's criteria, of course).

NLHF-funded, community-led Windrush projects prior to the emergence of the Windrush Scandal focused heavily on cultural preservation and intergenerational education. They have included:

1. 'Windrush Recollections', an 'oral history project' to 'document the experiences of Watford residents' who were the first of the Windrush Generation to settle in the UK (National Lottery Heritage Fund 2008);

2. 'Each One Teach One', to 'preserve and share the oral history of the Windrush generation from Moss Side and Hulme in Greater Manchester' (National Lottery Heritage Fund 2016b);

3. 'The Windrush Intergenerational Project', where 'young people at Pentrehafod School' in Swansea, Wales 'worked with older people of West Indian heritage living in Wales to learn about the experiences of subsequent 'Windrush generations' (National Lottery Heritage Fund 2016a).

However, in the immediate aftermath of the Windrush Scandal, NLHF-funded Windrush projects became increasingly and intrinsically tied to the uncertainties around personal identity and senses of belonging that had been directly challenged by the UK Government's immigration policy during 2014-2016. In her description of her photography project 'Eulogy', Susan Pitter said, 'From the onset, I was clear that Eulogy, particularly the exhibition, should go beyond media narratives and visuals of the Windrush Generation as victims' (National Lottery Heritage Fund 2019a, 'Not just a 'community project', para. 3). Similarly, on reflection of the 'Windrush: The Years After' film project, *Kirklees Local TV* CEO Milton Brown wrote, 'I wanted the film to be a celebration of our journey, an acknowledgement of the struggle, and a closure and a motivation for the future' (National Lottery Heritage Fund 2019b, 'Why did you want to make this film?', para. 3). Following the Windrush Scandal, the language of these local heritage projects had shifted away from cultural preservation (i.e. something to be saved), and towards social and cultural activism (i.e. something to be done).

Documentary Representations of the Windrush Scandal

As of October 2019, it was estimated that '164 of the Windrush generation have been wrongly removed or detained during the [Windrush] scandal', with 'at least 11 people who were wrongly deported to the Caribbean' having since died (*The Guardian*, 2019, 25:17). These figures are featured in the final shots of 'I'm part of Windrush and am returning to Jamaica after 50 years', a 26-minute documentary directed by filmmaker and journalist, Irene Baqué, for *The Guardian* newspaper (as part of their online *G Documentaries* series). The film depicts the return of Paulette Wilson to the country of her birth, Jamaica, in 2019. Two years prior to her journey, Ms

Wilson had been held in the Yarl's Wood immigration detention centre near the town of Bedford, East England, with the threat of deportation to a country she had not lived in for almost 50 years. She had been formally categorised as 'an illegal immigrant', and despite being eventually released from the detention centre 'after an intervention from the Refugee and Migrant Centre in Wolverhampton', had 'lost her benefits for the past two years and also lost her flat' as a direct result of the Home Office's wrongful categorisation of her immigration status (Gentleman 2017, para. 5).

Paulette Wilson's story was first reported in The Guardian in November 2017, and led to the subsequent exposé of Home Office 'deportation and removal targets' in April 2018 (Hewitt 2020, 111). On 25th April 2018, the Home Minister at the time, Amber Rudd MP, initially denied any knowledge of such targets (Hewitt 2020, 111-112), but was subsequently found to have 'inadvertently misled the Home Affairs Select Committee over targets for removal of illegal immigrants during their questions on Windrush', and tendered her ministerial resignation on the 30th April, just five days later. The Guardian journalist Amelia Gentleman was subsequently named British Journalism Awards' '2018 Journalist of the Year' for her investigative reporting on what is now generally known as the 'Windrush Scandal' (Rawlinson 2018, para. 2).

The documentary, published by *The Guardian* two years after her release from Yarl's Wood, juxtaposes Ms Wilson's forced deportation to Jamaica that never happened, with the trip she later took on her own terms. The film's dramatic climax comes when Paulette visits her mother's grave, having not seen her since she was sent to Britain to live with her grandparents at the age of four (18:20-18:50). Paulette lays on the tiled grave, hugs the headstone, and says 'I'm home mummy', before reciting, 'Give thanks and praise to the most high, Jah Rastafari'. This is one of several sequences in the film that features Paulette crying, often along with friends and members

of her family who made the trip with her. It is in these moments that the camera (and, by extension, the viewer's gaze) can feel the most intrusive.

Whilst it is unobjectionable that Paulette Wilson has experienced a series of deeply traumatic events in her life – the near-lifelong separation from her mother; the loss of her home in Britain; the questioning of her very right to *be* in Britain – the filmmaker, as 'the interlocutor of trauma and its victims', presents what Lesley Marx refers to as the 'risks of *over* identification, either with the victim or the perpetrator, inherent in the practice of middle-voicedness' (2006, 27). The middle voice, its relationship with narrative popularised by the work of Barthes, is 'between active and passive'; 'a tense that implies the subject is affected by the action undertaken' (Presutti 2013, 175). Further, it 'denotes an action performed by the subject whose effect is limited to the subject rather than directed outwards to another person or thing (active) or received by another source (passive)' (Barry 2008, 115). Whilst the concept of middle voice has traditionally applied to written narratives that deal with trauma - such as literary representations of the Holocaust (e.g. White in Presutti [2000] 2013, 176) - it has also been used as a way of understanding the ways in which a filmic text represents trauma, and the effects of that representation on the viewer:

> What is the relationship between the filmic text and the reality with which it engages? What are the film's voices? How many voices does it allow? What role does genre play in the shaping of the content? How does aesthetic choice suggest and/or complicate the ethical position of the film and of the filmmaker, especially with regard to victim and perpetrator? To what extent does the choice of subject enable a complex truth about victim and perpetrator? (Marx 2006, 27-28).

Sat in a bedroom in Jamaica, Paulette says:

For black people in England, it's hard. Really hard. To live a life comfortable and, y'know?

You're still getting called names. You have to struggle to survive. I'll be walking down the street,

you're calling me 'black', 'nigger', 'wog' and all this, 'get back to Africa, ya monkey!' I'm not a

monkey. I'm a human being. I get it all the time, even where I live now. 'Er, that black bitch, you

shouldn't be here'. No man. And it's still happening. So how you want me to feel about England?

It hurts here. Y'know, it really hurts. ('I'm part of Windrush', 21:09-22:05)

Racism in Britain 'cannot be understood from a position of simply before or after' (Presutti 2013,

172) because, in Paulette's words, 'it's still happening'. Traumatic events, to Presutti, 'exist in a

liminal time, between two moments, their sources unclear and their effects often reverberating

long afterward' (2013, 172). This description is very similar to the concept of 'social haunting' –

'an animated state in which a repressed or unresolved social violence is making itself known'

(Gordon 2011, 2) – which has been similarly applied as a means of better understanding wider

post-industrial communities in the North of England continue to be affected by past traumas (e.g.

Bright 2016). In Paulette Wilson's case, referring to racist treatment that she still receives (as of

late 2019) demonstrates just one of the ways in which the relatively recent trauma of being

detained and threatened with deportation in 2017 can emotionally resurface. Conversely, the

'unlawful' treatment of British citizens of African Caribbean descent during the Windrush

Scandal brings to bear the historical and multifaceted racism that has been an ever-present for

'waves of migrations' to the UK, and a 'daily reality for ethnic minorities' who live here (Anwar

1991, 2).

Paulette is presented with no possibility for recourse: for the racist abuse she still receives on the

street; nor the 'unlawful' treatment she received from the UK Government. Moreover, the

perpetrators are, in most cases, represented as passive agents (if they are presented at all). The

film ends with an apology speech from former UK Prime Minister, Theresa May, in the Houses

of Parliament (25:00-25:20). However, the apology is middle-voiced – May apologising to 'those who have mistakenly received letters challenging them', and 'to anyone who has been caused confusion or anxiety felt as a result of this', without taking responsibility for the Scandal itself. The middle voice, in its various forms, presents 'a worldview where no design or salvation can be found' (Barry 2008, 116). The 'complex truth about victim and perpetrator' that Marx wrote of (2006, 28) is revealed but not directly addressed, in a documentary film that speaks in its own middle voice to present Ms Wilson, 'and other victims of the Windrush scandal' (*The Guardian*, 2019), as exactly that – 'victims'.

Images of Huddersfield

The post-industrial town of Huddersfield (West Yorkshire) has not enjoyed the best reputation in British mass media of late. In 2019, *BBC Three* broadcast 'Hometown: A Killing' – a six-part documentary series centred on the return of journalist Mobeen Azhar (the film's writer and presenter) to 'his hometown of Huddersfield to cover the death of Mohammed Yassar Yaqub', which 'forces him to face some ugly truths about his community' (BBC Three, 2019). In Mobeen's own words at the beginning of the first episode ('Series 1: 1. A Killing', 00:17-00:26): 'When I was growing up, Huddersfield was just another town that barely made the news. But all that changed on the 2nd January 2017' (i.e. the date Yasser Yaqub was shot in a police operation in Huddersfield). 'Hometown: A Killing' (2019-2020) paints a picture of a town ravaged by drugs, organised crime, and gang-related murders; its focal point, Blacker Road in Birkby, 'one of two Pakistani neighbourhoods in Huddersfield' ('Series 1: 1. A Killing', 04:18-04:30).

Writing on the theme of social haunting in the North of England, Bright claims that as recently as the early 2010s, 'precarity had become, we might say, the everyday context of lives in the former coal-mining communities' (2016, 147). Huddersfield very much falls within that bracket; if anything, life

is arguably more precarious in Huddersfield than in most other former British mining towns. A annual poll held by satirical website 'ilivehere.co.uk' has put Huddersfield within the top three 'worst places to live in England' for three consecutive years (1ˢᵗ in 2018; 2ⁿᵈ in 2019; 3ʳᵈ in 2020) – with one local online newspaper recently declaring, somewhat sarcastically, 'things are getting better in Huddersfield – it's no longer ranked as the second worst place to live in England' (Ballinger 2020). Against that negative backdrop, 'Hometown' presents a reality of Huddersfield through the lens of a self-proclaimed member of its own community, but is not necessarily a representation of the community in its own image. Having faced numerous complaints from Huddersfield residents – including Huddersfield's MP, Barry Sheerman, who branded the series as 'disreputable journalism' (Azhar 2020) – the response from the BBC was not to stop making documentaries about Huddersfield, but to make *more*. Mobeen Azhar went back to Huddersfield again, six months later; 'to face his critics' and film two follow-up documentaries under the 'Hometown' heading (BBC Three, 2020). On 12ᵗʰ March 2020, one day after *BBC Three* broadcast the first of two new episodes of 'Hometown', *BBC Radio 5 Live* released the first two episodes of 'Hope High', a seven-part radio documentary series presenting 'the real life story of a year behind the scenes in a small community in Huddersfield fighting county lines drug gangs and violence and the school at the centre of it all' (BBC Sounds, 2020).

In a clip featured in the first of the two 'Update' episodes of 'Hometown' (2020), Mobeen appears on Kirklees-based Asian Radio Station, 'Radio Sangam', to respond to critics of the first series and defend the docuseries' portrayal of the town and its people:

> I was sad that so many people in Huddersfield felt so strongly that I shouldn't have told a bad news story about *our* town. But, it did feel like they were trying to hide from the facts. And more worryingly, some people were actively trying to silence any discussion at all. ('Update: 1. Turf War' 2020, 05:18-05:36)

A distinction can be drawn between the way that the middle voice represents 'Paulette as victim' in *The Guardian*'s Windrush documentary, and 'Mobeen as perpetrator' in 'Hometown'. Through Mobeen's narration, 'the spectator is placed in two or more positions, identifying with the character [i.e. residents from the community complaining] but influenced by [the narrator's] authority at the same time' (Ghaffary and Nojoumian 2013, 273). One of the participants of the Radio Sangam podcast accuses Mobeen of having perpetrated a sense of personal 'shame' about Huddersfield, to the point that they would rather say they were from the nearby city of Leeds; another caller accuses him of having 'caused more harm than good' with the docuseries ('Update: 1. Turf War' 2020, 05:06-05:18). And yet, Mobeen, the ever-present narrator around which the entire narrative is framed, is the one who 'feels sad'. Through the documentary's use of middle voice, it is the narrator's feelings that the viewer is encouraged to identify with.

One way of potentially bypassing the dilemmas of middle (in its various guises) in documentary film – and consequently producing documentaries that are arguably more ethically appropriate to those on-screen – is to give the so-called 'subjects' of a film greater control over the way in which they are represented. This requires a re-imagining of the relationship between 'filmmaker and subject' as something more 'collaborative' (Coffman 2009, 65). By extension, this precipitates a re-framing of the 'subject' of a documentary film as a 'collaborator' (see Thomas 2012, 341), and demands 'less 'traditional' ways' of making film (Coffman 2009, 63). In this regard, a lot can be learned from the tropes of 'Fourth Cinema' (also known as 'Indigenous Cinema'), a movement that originates from indigenous (Māori) filmmaking traditions in New Zealand.

Fourth Cinema

Telling a story about a community that will be predominantly shown to people outside of that community – represented in such a way that members within that community are not comfortable

with – contravenes the ethics of what Māori (Indigenous New Zealand) filmmaker Barry Barclay referred to as 'Fourth Cinema':

> …by which I mean Indigenous Cinema — that's Indigenous with a capital 'I'. […] The phrase Fourth Cinema comes as a late addition to the First-Second-Third Cinema framework with which you will be familiar, First Cinema being American cinema; Second Cinema Art House cinema; and Third Cinema the cinema of the so-called Third World. (Barclay 2003, 7)

What separates the first three 'Cinemas' from the Fourth is the notion of invasion; the 'Cinemas of the Modern Nation State' are, 'from the Indigenous place of standing', 'invader cinemas' (Barclay 2003, 10). Underpinning Fourth Cinema, as declared in Te Manu Aute's (the National Organisation of Māori Communicators) constitution, is the belief that 'every culture has a right and a responsibility to present its own culture to its own people'; a responsibility 'so fundamental it cannot be left in the hands of outsiders, nor be usurped by them' (Barclay 2015, 7). Fourth Cinema was, at the point of its conception in the early 2000s (and due, in part, to 'the scarcity of films that qualify as such'), 'more of an ideal than an actuality' (Columpar 2010, xi). However, it is an ideal that has nevertheless inspired a respectable corpus of literature on Indigenous Cinema (e.g. Columpar 2010; Turner 2013; Hokowhitu 2013).

According to Fourth Cinema, the notion of 'what kind of truth' a filmmaker tries to tell seems intrinsically tied up with who is making that film. Barclay believed that the people who knew best what a community needed was the community itself. Moreover, he felt that the primary beneficiaries of the Fourth Cinema should not be the outsider looking in on an unfamiliar culture, but those from within the community itself. These sentiments are exemplified by Barclay's directing of the documentary 'Te Urewera' (1987), 'looking at the unique spiritual relationship between the Tūhoe people, and the birds and the bush of Te Urewera National Park' (*NZOnScreen* 2020):

As [Barclay] has documented when outlining the making of the 1987 documentary *Te Urewera* among the Tūhoe, Barclay thought it vital to invite trained Māori technicians onto the crew, to seek Tūhoe permission for the filming and (crucially) to assert that the images made will be returned to the community following the editing process. (Murray 2008, 27)

'To put it another way', Barclay wrote,

I am not much interested in seeing a film made by Welsh people who want to explain their situation to the British authorities in London. The Welsh will have to make films of that kind from time to time, but I do not think I would go out of my way to view them. On the other hand, I would be very interested in watching a film made by Welsh communicators trying to make a metaphor for their own people, a film they would have made whether other people in the United Kingdom saw it or not. (Barclay 2015, 78)

*BBC Thre*e's depiction of Huddersfield in 'Hometown' and *The Guardian*'s portrayal of the Windrush Generation in 'I'm part of Windrush' are both made for audiences far beyond the communities they represent. 'Windrush: The Years After' on the other hand is, as the tagline suggests, 'A Community Legacy on Film'. People of African Caribbean descent, as well as local people of other cultures (including myself), were trained to work on the film, as well as appearing *in* it. Contrary to popular belief, Barclay's view was 'that if a film has cultural integrity, it will have much more appeal to other cultures than if it were tailored for them' (2015, 78).

Participatory Video

Whilst not specifically referring to films made by Indigenous Peoples, 'Participatory Video', defined as 'the practice of using video as a participatorily-produced communication tool in social change efforts' (Margolin 2010, as quoted in Miño Puga 2018, 193), shares many traits with Fourth Cinema.

Expanding upon Margolin's definition of Participatory Video, Miño Puga (2018) draws upon 'three specific elements':

1) '**the production process**, which relies on the active engagement of members in a particular community';

2) '**a community's goal**, aiming towards the completion of common objectives';

3) '**the product itself,** as a means of communication both within the group and to society as a whole' (Miño Puga 2018, 193-194; emphasis my own)

In a similar vein, the 'collaborative nature' of 'Fourth Cinema' films 'is established long before filming itself starts, with dialogue between film-maker and subjects establishing the ways in which the production will work and the reciprocity that lies at the heart of the film-making process' (Murray 2008, 51). Both the concept of Participatory Video, and the growing Fourth Cinema movement, attempt to destabilise the status quo of conventional documentary filmmaking – a 'smarter' form of storytelling that prioritises the needs of the participants over the wants of the public.

My PhD project with *Kirklees Local TV* has broadly pivoted around the notion that community-led collaborative documentary projects such as 'Windrush: The Years After' share more in common with the central tenets of Fourth Cinema – 'Indigenous Cinema' (Barclay 2003, 7) – than any other cinematic movement. I will later evaluate how a Fourth Cinema-esque conceptualisation of 'the production process', 'a community's goal' and 'the product itself' have enabled a recounting of trauma-related narratives in *Kirklees Local TV*'s documentary filmmaking project, 'Windrush: The Years After – A Community Legacy on Film'. I do not stylistically analyse the film itself (of which I was a part of the production, and arguably 'too close' to critique it); this may present an opportunity for further academic study.

Challenging the Majority Culture

Before the analysis, it is important to point out that 'Windrush: The Years After' was not produced by Indigenous Peoples, per-se. As a production, it was made with the help of a multi-cultural group of local people. As reported in *The Voice*, a British Afro-Caribbean national newspaper:

> As well as individuals from across the Caribbean, a diverse team of volunteers from different faiths, cultures and backgrounds, including from South Asia, Zimbabwe, China, Ireland and Barnsley[2], have come together to learn how to interview, film and edit under the leadership of Milton Brown, CEO of Kirklees Local Television. (*The Voice* 2019, para. 4)

I am keen not to misappropriate the use of the term 'Fourth Cinema' to describe people who do not form part of the global Indigenous community. However, the term 'Indigenous' takes on a very different meaning when applied to different national contexts. In New Zealand, for example, Māori are 'othered' (Te Hiwi 2007, 12); the same has been said for Indigenous communities globally, who continue to be 'othered' by 'colonial culture' in a postcolonial world (MacNaughton and Davis 2001, 86). In Britain, however, it is the citizens of former colonies who were invited to live and work in Britain – such as the Windrush Generation – who continue to find themselves 'othered' in society (Ellis 2001, 219). In Barclay's terms, both Māori in New Zealand and African-Caribbean

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[2] For those unfamiliar with the social and cultural geography of the UK, Barnsley is another post-industrial town in the North of England (South Yorkshire), approximately 20 miles away from Huddersfield. It is also my hometown. The suggestion here – made lightly – is that to be from Barnsley is to be from another culture; an 'outsider'.

Descendants in Britain find themselves excluded by each nation's 'majority culture' (Murray 2008, 15).

Majority culture (or 'dominant culture') – closely aligned with 'dominant ethnicity' (Kaufmann 2004, 6) or 'dominant *ethnie*' (Smith 2004, 19; emphasis in original) – 'refers to the phenomenon whereby *a particular ethnic group exercises dominance within a nation and/or state'* (Kaufmann 2004, 3; emphasis in original). Dominance in this context, as well as cultural, can be 'demographic, […] political, and economic'; it typically correlates with whichever ethnicity 'comprise[s] a plurality of the population', but not always (Kaufmann 2004, 3). The concept of dominance is multifaceted: at a time where the British state has pursued a 'project of moral regulation and control' – as reflected by the UK Government's 'increasingly muscular attempts to construct and pin-down Britishness and British cultural values' - 'white, English, middle class culture' has been found to be 'the most prominent' (Morrice 2017, 413). As a white male myself, active in the middle-class business of academia, I could be legitimately seen to form part of that majority culture. That said, the 'Windrush: The Years After' group's insistence on constructing my identity around my post-industrial hometown of 'Barnsley', rather than England or Britain, is a recognition of my working-class heritage.

'Windrush: The Years After' is clearly not an Indigenous film, but it does form part of the anti-invader documentary tradition consolidated by the Fourth Cinema movement. It demonstrates some of what can be achieved by a community outside of the majority culture that - with the help of fellow activists not necessarily of that cultural group - takes up its 'responsibility' to 'present its own culture to its own people' (Barclay 2015, 7). This is achieved by a collaborative filmmaking model which allows participants in front of the camera to participate in the pre- and post-production phases of making a documentary film.

Case Study 3: 'Windrush: The Years After – A Community Legacy on Film'

Figure 5: The 'Windrush: The Years After' project logo. © 2019 Kirklees Local TV

The Production Process

'The documentary', according Le Roy and Venderbeeken, 'is supposed to give an 'objective' and 'truthful' representation of reality' (2016, 199). However, the extent to which a documentary can be said to be objective remains up for theoretical dispute (see Carroll 2006, 168-169). In Taihei's view, anything that is 'a human act' must 'pass through human subjectivity'; documentaries are therefore '*always records of human thought, an expression of only those things the mind can know, which is why they are a factual record of human interiority*' (Taihei, translated by Baskett, 2010, 55). The documentary filmmaker must therefore negotiate the paradox of documentary aesthetics: producing an artefact that the viewer expects to be objective, whilst acknowledging that complete objectivity in filmmaking is impossible.

What interested me about 'Windrush: The Years After', as both a researcher and a part of the *Kirklees Local TV* team working on it, was the way in which the production team was structured. *Kirklees Local TV* CEO Milton Brown 'oversaw' the project, as earlier stated. However, the project's direction

was steered 'by committee' – namely, the production group that met on a weekly basis to discuss the film's progress. This multi-cultural production group brought together locally-based educators, college and university media students, graphic designers, researchers, social entrepreneurs, and community activists – all of whom influenced the project. Discussion points would cover all manner of topics associated with the production of the film and the broader work around it, including (but not limited to) the delegation of production roles (interviewers, camera crew, editors, etc.); the selection of potential interviewees for the film; the documentary's narrative direction; and even what colour the film's logo should be. For many of the project's team (including myself), this was their first time working on a large-scale, feature-length film project.

Collaboration in film production is not unique to non-mainstream documentary projects. Renowned Hollywood sound editor, Walter Murch, is quoted as saying in an interview with Michael Ondaatje:

> 'Each of those moments of collaboration, each contribution by someone other than the director, adds a slightly different perspective to the work, some chisel mark slightly at an angle to the central vision. And each of those moments, these facets, has the potential to make the work 'sparkle' in a creative sense, and make it accessible to a greater variety of people over a longer period of time.' (Ondaatje 2002, cited in Hodge 2009, 19)

Collaboration is present in every film project ever conducted; even the sole filmmaker has to 'collaborate', to some extent, with what is presented in front of the camera: people, landscapes, the unpredictability of the weather (etc.). However, in the case of 'Windrush: The Years After', Brown relinquishes the traditional role of film author or 'auteur', and acts more as a facilitator than a director. The rule of thumb at *Kirklees Local TV* is that film and video productions are generally attributed to the organisation, rather than to a sole director. This defies the convention of 'film director as original copyright holder' that is enshrined in European Union law; 'largely as a result of

the influence of auteur theory' that grew from the French New Wave movement during the 1950s (Chaudhuri 2013, 80). It does, however, explicitly foreground the 'infusion of subjective visions' - the 'multiplicity of voices that we are accustomed to sum up as 'the author'' – that auteur theory often refuses to recognise (Hongisto 2016, 200-201).

What I witnessed during my time working on the 'Windrush: The Years After' project was a film made not by a director, but by a community. Inevitably, the high level of collaboration led to a greater degree of creative conflict (Hodge 2009, 18) – the specific details of which I cannot ethically discuss here. However, the 'quality' of such a project can be judged by its ability 'to establish common ground where those involved can pursue different sets of interests and negotiate, combine, and materialize them in a collective fashion' (Flores 2004, 40). *Kirklees Local TV*'s ability to premiere the 75-minute-long 'Windrush: The Years After' documentary to the public at the University of Huddersfield in July 2019 – just 12 months after the National Lottery Heritage Grant was awarded – is a testament to the production group's capacity for negotiating these conflicts in an efficient and effective way.

A Community's Goal

Unlike *The Guardian*'s 'I'm part of Windrush' (2019), and *BBC Three*'s 'Hometown' docuseries (2019-2020), 'Windrush: The Years After – A Community Legacy on Film' was not intended for mass national viewership. At the time of writing, it has only been shown at several small-scale, non-profit screenings, predominantly in the Yorkshire area; it has not been made available for the public to view online. The film is described by Heather Norris Nicholson, an academic who was involved with 'Windrush: The Years After' as a project co-ordinator, as a documentary that 'tells a story of national and international significance from a local perspective' (University of Huddersfield, 2019, para. 13). The film was subsequently made with the intention of presenting a local community with

an image of itself – the community's goal – rather than showing images of a local community to the (outside) majority culture.

The expectations of the majority culture often conflict with the wants of a community that finds itself excluded from that culture. When New Zealand's national broadcaster, *TVNZ*, wanted to reduce the '133-minute edit' of Barclay's 2005 documentary 'The Kaipara Affair' to a '70-minute cut' for television (Murray 2008, 88), Barclay's response was less than positive:

> 'The more minutes are removed from the existing edit', Barclay writes, 'the more the context will be diminished, and, as context is removed, the more our core cast will be turned into 'spokespersons' on issues…In the case of this documentary, duration, contexting, cultural probity and core cast are intimately linked'. (Barclay 2006; cited by Murray 2008, 88).

Making a film for the insider, it seems, does not correlate well with making a film for the majority culture; conducting a cultural project to be viewed by the community does not necessarily align with the undertaking of a profitable project for the general public. 'Windrush: The Years After' challenges the mainstream narrative of the Windrush Generation *as victims* – as reinforced by mass media narratives of the Windrush Scandal – by juxtaposing the 'constant theme of struggle' with what Milton Brown refers to as the 'quiet dignity among the majority who came here' (University of Huddersfield, 2019, paras. 5-6).

Barclay believed that 'in Fourth Cinema – at its best – something else is being asserted which is not easy to access' (Barclay 2003, 7). 'Windrush: The Years After' enables 'a complex truth' that cannot be obtained through the majority culture's 'over identification' of the Windrush Generation as victims, which has been particularly reinforced following the Windrush Scandal (Marx 2006, 27-28). The well-known 'economic and social pressures, including day-to-day racism' (both before and after the 'Scandal') are included, but documented alongside this, according to Brown, is the story of how

the Windrush Generation 'retreated from the mainstream of society and started to build social and economic dependence within their own community'; how they 'showed an ability not to quit, even though the odds were stacked against them' (University of Huddersfield, 2019, paras. 5-6). This is the way in which the film's participants, through their collaboration with the interviewers, chose to represent themselves. It is, to paraphrase one of Barclay's book titles (2015), a representation of a community *In Their Own Image* – as summarised in Brown's voiceover narration for the film's trailer:

> It's about the tears, laughter, hopes, aspiration and fears, bringing to light the challenges of navigating race and defining multiple identities in the celebration of their heritage, tradition, rituals, faith and culture. (KLTV 2019f, 00:43-01:02)

The Product Itself

Figure 6: Milton Brown introduces the 'Windrush: The Years After' private screening in June 2019, hosted by the University of Huddersfield. © 2019 Kirklees Local TV

Figure 7: At the end of the private screening of the film, the audience – which included members of the local community who had participated as interviewees – were invited to feedback on what they thought to the film, and share their ideas on how it might be improved ahead of the public release. © 2019 Kirklees Local TV

The interview participants in 'Windrush: The Years After' do not legally 'co-own' the final recording, as has been the case with some collaborative documentary projects dealing with trauma; this model was adopted, for example, by the *Unheard Voices* project in post-conflict Northern Ireland (see Dyer 2019, 1-2). However, the participants of the project were the first to see the film in its entirety: a 'private screening' was held at the University of Huddersfield in June 2019, one month prior to its first public viewing. Only people who took part in the project, both in-front-of and behind the camera, were invited to attend.

The 'Windrush: The Years After' documentary's interviewees, who gave *Kirklees Local TV* access to their image and their personal narrative, were given the opportunity to influence what the final version of the film would look like. As well as providing a chance for *Kirklees Local TV* to document

some of the first reactions to 'Windrush: The Years After' for promotional purposes (KLTV 2019h), this private viewing process allowed the team to gather written and verbal feedback from the participants on how the film could be improved, and what alterations they believed should be made, before it would be shown to the broader community (i.e. people from outside of the project). Suggestions on changes to the film ranged from formalities, such as the rewording of onscreen speaker titles, to more subjective elements, such as stylistic choices (e.g. film editing, use of certain cutaways, soundtrack selection, etc.). Of course, it was up to *Kirklees Local TV*'s discretion whether to act upon each individual point or not, but the result was an end product that reflected the general consensus of its on-camera participants, whilst also respecting the production team's editorial prerogative.

In addition to constructive criticism, the positive feedback that 'Windrush: The Years After' received from the private screening's attendees reinforced the film's narrative as an ethical one, further validating the purposes of the project as a whole. To exemplify this point, the following is a quote from one of those attendees, Claude Hendrickson, which was included in *Kirklees Local TV*'s video 'review' of the private screening:

> It's all important to show our children and our grandchildren what their grandparents did. And what I saw today was the foundation, the laying of the foundation. Our parents, and that generation of young people that came across here, laid the foundation for us. And we're now celebrating their foundation, which is [their] legacy. (*KLTV*, 'Windrush: The Years After – A Community Legacy on Film | Review', 2019b, 02:16-02:42)

Whilst the process of collecting, processing and acting upon viewer feedback delayed the public release of the film by a matter of weeks, it enabled a sense of community ownership of 'Windrush: The Years After' that is rarely seen in documentary projects that deal with trauma. This broadly fits in

line with the 'Fourth Cinema principle' of making films 'available to communities engaged in the kinds of struggles similar to those that took place' in the documentary (Murray 2008, 90). It is unlikely that mainstream documentary projects that are predominantly driven by profit will take up this collaborative approach to filmmaking any time soon, given the additional time and resources required. However, it is a model that may be of interest to fellow non-profit initiatives akin to 'Windrush: The Years After', where the quality of a film's narrative is the primary goal. To the National Lottery Heritage Fund's credit, they understood *KLTV*'s desire to limit (rather than maximise) the number of viewers of the film in its first screening, and representatives from the NLHF were present at both the public and private screening of the documentary to offer their support.

Summary: 'After Windrush'

> 'As with any traumatic incident, consequences clearly outlast the event itself, and it can take years before finally conceptualizing a definitive conclusion.' (Miño Puga 2018, 200)

The full impact of the Windrush Scandal, 'another chapter in the continuing inequality and structural racism faced by black communities in the UK', is yet to be realised (Vernon 2019, para. 1). In this context, the 'Windrush: The Years After' film, like other collaborative documentary projects that deal with the immediate aftermath of trauma, has offered a much-needed 'glimpse of early empowerment' and enabled members of the community to bring 'attention to their specific needs' (Miño Puga 2018, 201). It is, at the time of writing, impossible to conceptualise the contribution that the 'Windrush: The Years After' project has made – and will continue to make – to the African Caribbean descent community of Huddersfield. In an interview with the National Lottery Heritage Fund in October 2019, *Kirklees Local TV* CEO Milton Brown said, 'we have more than 70 interviews that we haven't been able to use, I've got some big plans to share those stories and learnings' (National Lottery Heritage Fund, 'What's next for you?', 2019, para. 1).

My time with the 'Windrush: The Years After' project came to an end in September 2019, which was also the end of my doctoral fieldwork placement. Based on my experiences during that twenty month volunteer placement, the continued work of *Kirklees Local TV* production company – including its long-term engagement with the African Caribbean descent community of Huddersfield – is worthy of further attention from academics and filmmakers alike. The same can be said for the practice of collaborative filmmaking as a whole; despite the qualitative wealth of associated literature reviewed in this chapter, this topic has received limited scholarly attention to-date. To those engaged in and/or researching such practices, the collaborative documentary filmmaking model adopted by 'Windrush: The Years After' – where contributors to the film's narrative are invited to actively participate in the pre- and post- production stages, rather than being limited to the role of the camera's 'subject' – may well be of interest.

When a community outside of the majority culture is empowered to speak for itself and on its own terms, as was seen to be the case through the 'Windrush: The Years After' project, the middle voice of the outsider – the interlocutor between that community and the majority culture it finds itself excluded from – is rendered as an unnecessary device. Participants, when included at all stages of the documentary filmmaking process, become agents of the narrative they helped to generate. These narratives may not neatly align with the dichotomy of 'victim and perpetrator' that the majority culture endeavours to perpetuate – particularly when representing those within communities that are excluded or 'othered' by that majority culture. As such, they may fall short of destabilising the status quo: the construction of 'Britishness' that places whiteness, as well as patriarchal and middle-class values, at its core – and consequently marginalising anything demographically, socially, politically or economically 'other' than that norm. The 'hostile environment' that led to the threat of (and in some cases, literal) deportation of British citizens of African Caribbean descent – the Windrush Scandal itself – is a poignant reminder of how

powerfully that dominant culture can question the legitimacy of minority ethnic citizens' right to remain; their 'Britishness'.

In reaction, collaborative documentary filmmaking serves as a reconstruction tool; a force of agency in the face of structural institutional adversity that allows minority communities – such as the African Caribbean diaspora in Huddersfield, England – to relocate their sense of belonging in a nation state that continues to relentlessly challenge their identity. Its potential for instilling significant and sustainable social change is constrained, due to the fact collaborative filmmaking as method is yet to be accepted in the mainstream; funding for such projects is more likely to come from the heritage sector (as it did with the 'Windrush: The Years After' project) than from traditional public film investors such as the British Film Institute (BFI). It is nonetheless a model that challenges the hierarchies in play whenever the camera is turned upon a subject, redressing (at least to some degree) the balance of power between the interviewee and the interviewed.

Part Three: Methodology

In this section, I justify my methodological approach to this project's primary research question, ***Why do people volunteer at an organisation like KLTV?*** Building on my earlier explanation of the Generic Inductive Qualitative Method (GIQM), I present an overview of Facet Methodology, an 'inventive research orientation' that encouraged me to produce four collaborative research films[3] based on the inductive process of participatory fieldwork (Mason 2011, 75). Each film subsequently forms the basis of four 'facets' in my analysis chapter, defined by Mason as 'mini investigations that involve clusters of methods focussed on strategically and artfully selected sets of related questions, puzzles and problematics' (2011, 79). These facets are as follows:

> **Facet 1: *Founding KLTV*** – why was *Kirklees Local TV* created?

> **Facet 2: *'The People's News Outlet'*** – who does *KLTV* serve, and how?

> **Facet 3: *Why Volunteers Come (and why some of them stay)*** – exploring what volunteers get out of the experience of being at *KLTV*, in their own words

> **Facet 4: *The 'Windrush: The Years After' Project*** – speaking to the people behind one of *KLTV*'s biggest film projects to-date

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[3] I use the term 'research films' rather than 'videos' because they follow the style of the documentary filmmaking tradition that *KLTV*'s work is also influenced by. However, it should be noted that the footage used in these 'films' was recorded as video (using a DSLR camera) and edited using the video editing software, 'Adobe Premiere Pro'.

The methods that each of these facets utilise – interviewing, documentary-style filmmaking, video/film discourse analysis, and the (auto)ethnographic process of keeping a field diary – combine to generate different ways 'of looking at and investigating *something* that is theoretically interesting or puzzling in relation to the overall enquiry' (Mason 2011, 79). In contrast to 'bricolage' (see Kincheloe 2005), the underlying Facet Methodology (FM) approach 'does not require adherence to one particular version of a connective ontology'; the four facets I have constructed have been designed based on 'the *ideas* of contingency, implication, entwinement and multi-dimensionality' that FM demands (Mason 2011, 79). The subsequent goal of FM is to generate mini-investigations that are 'entwined' with one another: facets are insightful in their own right, but exploring 'facets-in-relation through different associations and constellations' adds further 'flashes of insight in relation to the overall problematic' (79-81). In the following pages, I will illustrate how being an 'active and imaginative agent' in the research field influenced the design of these facets: the aspects of working at *KLTV* that they focused on; the methods they employed; and the 'intellectual and creative energies' they honed (80). Ultimately, I hope to demonstrate my ability to make 'inventive' decisions about 'which might be particularly compelling lines of enquiry' for this research project to undertake (Mason 2011, 80).

Facet Methodology
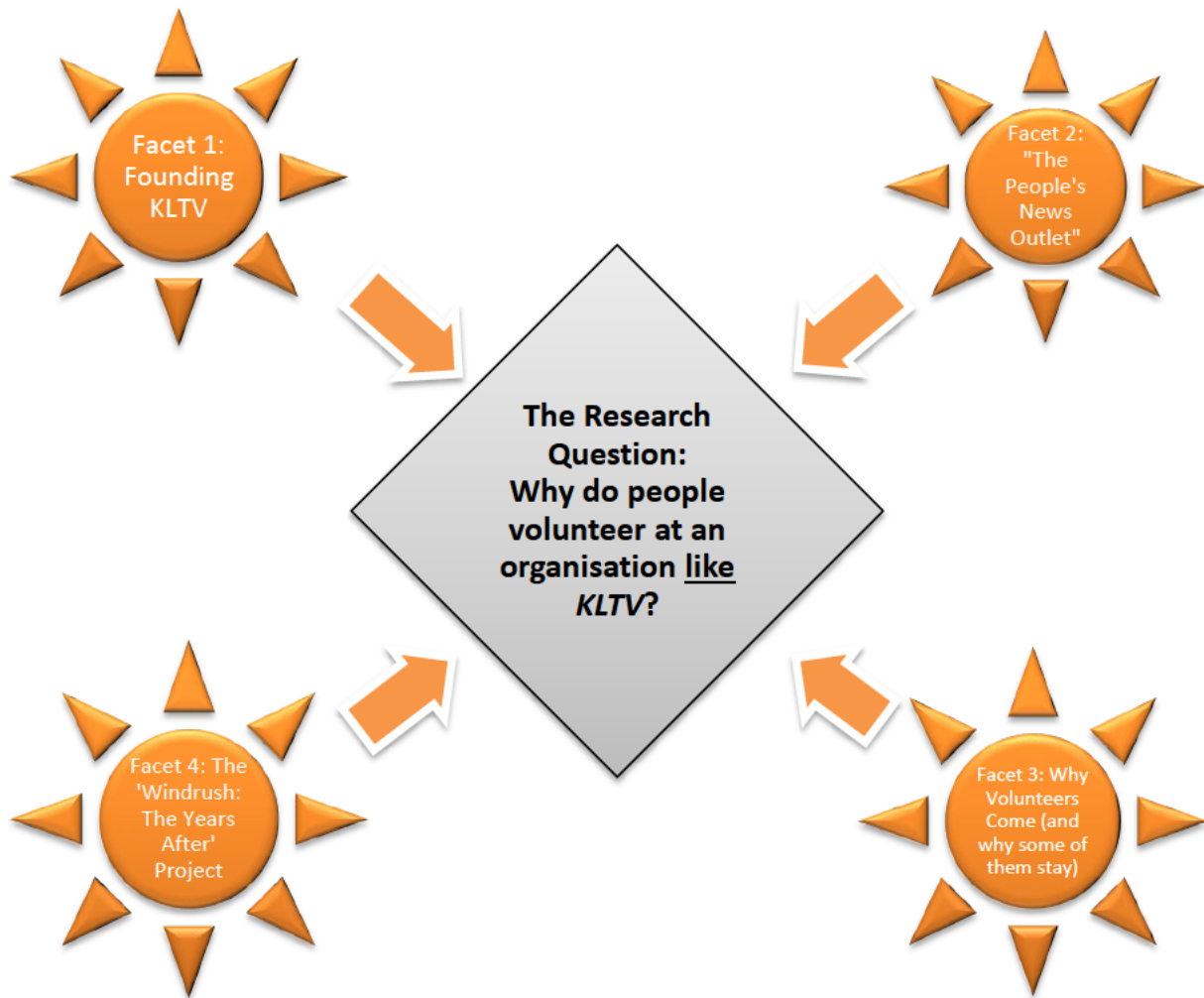
Figure 8: Following Mason's (2011) Facet Methodology analogy, the 'gemstone' represents the research question, and the 'facets' are the aspects of the research question that the researcher has chosen to illuminate. As well as 'shedding light' on the research question, the facets are designed to illuminate one another. For example, Facet 4 may provide insight to Facet 3, as a mini-investigation of the kind of project that KLTV volunteers might expect to be involved in.

The 'Gemstone' Metaphor

The facets in a cut gemstone reflect, refract and intensify light, taking up the background, and creating flashes of depth and colour as well as patches of shadow. It is in the way the light is cast and plays in the facets that we come to perceive and appreciate the distinctive character of the gemstone. (Mason 2011, 77)

Facet Methodology was first developed by the 'Realities – Real life methods for researching relationalities' project (2008-2011), supported by the National Centre for Research Methods (NCRM) (Mason and Davies 2011, 3). The project, based at the Morgan Centre for Research into Everyday Lives at the University of Manchester (UK), generated a 'multi-faceted qualitative research strategy for generating situated personal narratives of critical associations that can be linked to broader cultural, sub-cultural and academic narratives about the 'goods' and 'shoulds' of relationships' (Davies and Heaphy 2011, 6). Following the Realities project's conclusion, FM was presented in a special issue of the *Methodological Innovations Online* journal as 'a way to move beyond the impasse in the 'politics of method' created by opposing views about whether research should pursue causality or description' (Mason and Davies 2011, 3). Mason goes on to describe the usefulness of the 'gemstone' metaphor in *Facet Methodology: the case for an inventive research orientation*:

> In facet methodology, the facets in the gemstone are conceived as different methodological-substantive planes and surfaces, which are designed to be capable of casting and refracting light in a variety of ways that help to define the overall object of concern. They will involve different lines of enquiry, and different ways of seeing. What we see or come to know or to understand through the facets is thus always a combination of what we are looking at (the thing itself, the ontology), and how we are looking (how we use our methods to perceive it, the epistemology). (Mason 2011, 77)

According to Facet Methodology, the 'thing itself' – in this case, ***Why do people volunteer at an organisation like KLTV?*** – is something 'lived and experienced', and therefore 'multi-dimensional, contingent, relationally implicated and entwined' (Mason 2011, 78). Facet Methodology is not the first research orientation to acknowledge the multidimensionality of lived experience, but rather, a recognition of a movement away from one-dimensionality in social science (and in science in general) that spans back over several decades. In *The Social Construction of Reality*, Berger and Luckmann presented 'the world as consisting of multiple realities' – even the 'reality *par*

excellence…the reality of everyday life’ is posited as being experienced ‘in terms of differing degrees of closeness and remoteness, both spatially and temporally’ (1966, 35-36). Moravcsik (1984) subsequently argued that an ‘implicitly or explicitly one-dimensional framework’ and ‘a correspondingly one-dimensional methodology’ for research was a ‘fundamentally incorrect way of looking at problems which, from the very outset, distorts reality and hence is unable to arrive at truly insightful conclusions’ (75). Referring to ‘singularity’ instead of one-dimensionality, Law argued that ‘by escaping the postulate of singularity, and responding creatively to a world that is taken to be composed of an excess of generative forces and relations’, the researcher might be able to ‘imagine and participate in politics and other forms of the good in novel and creative ways’ (2004, 9).

Facet Methodology is not explicitly presented as a social constructivist research orientation; it is ‘not contained within any one methodological tradition, or paradigm’ (Mason 2011, 82). That said, its emphasis on lived experience as multidimensional echoes social constructivism’s recognition of ‘the process of identity formation’ as ‘a continual, two-way interactive process between the individual and the social environment’ (Horowitz and Newcomb 2002, 1). The ‘facet methodologist’, according to Mason, has ‘a primary interest’ in understanding how dimensions of the lived world – the ‘socio-cultural, economic, spatial, temporal’ and ‘historical’, to name but a few – are ‘connected and entwined’ (2011, 79). To have focused solely on my own experiences at *KLTV* (as captured in my autoethnographic field diary) would have disregarded the lived experience of my co-participants, who played a fundamental role in my own. To have presented their voices (as captured in their interview responses) without offering my own experiences as a volunteer at *KLTV* would have overlooked my role and influence in that social environment, which was intrinsic to the kinds of knowledge produced by this study and its methods. My research design is limited in its ability to capture this multiplicity (these limitations are described in more detail later), but it has been devised in a way that

acknowledges 'the complexities, the nuances and the entwinements of this world' (Mason 2011, 82); 'one research method alone cannot hope to capture its complexity' (James 2013, 18).

The last vital distinction to be made about Facet Methodology is that it is not a mode of triangulation, i.e. 'the more methods used, the greater the verification' (James 2013, 18). The visual metaphor of the gemstone stipulates that there are 'many different angles' which a research question can be explored from, and that it is down to the researcher to decide which 'lines of investigation' to follow (Mason 2011, 76). FM rejects the notion of a 'total set' of facets, or even a 'representative set' (Mason 2011, 77). This is not to say that there are an infinite number of ways to look at a research question, but in the 'dynamic context' of 'the lived world', any given problematic is subject to the 'nature of its changes and the processes of its movements' (Kincheloe 2005, 327). In line with this, Davies and Heaphy's FM study 'resisted the temptation to evaluate which one of our facets was the most successful' (2011, 14). James makes a similar case in his book, *Socialising Children*:

> I make no claim, therefore, to provide a comprehensive overview of the socialisation process but, instead, offer a series of snapshots that are, in my view, informative of that process. For this I make no apology since it is not my intention to make any claims about the generalisability of the data I draw on; rather, I use it illustratively, to look closely at some of the processes involved for children in becoming social. (James 2013, 19)

Drawing 'imagination, creativity, inventiveness and intuition into research practice'

According to Draper, 'the 'fit' between research question and research design underpins the whole foundation of the research process' (2004, 70). That the research methodology should match the research question is a relatively uncontroversial statement, but the use of 'qualitative and participatory approaches' requires the researcher to select the research's 'values': 'whose questions and whose voices will be included or excluded, which methodology and methods will be selected, and

144

what conclusions or recommendations will be advanced' (Chouinard and Cousins 2014, 113). I have subsequently attempted to follow the idea of Transformative Participatory Evaluation (T-PE) advocated by Chouinard and Cousins (2014) as best I can; my selection of these values has been based, where possible, upon meaningful engagement with my participants (113).

When the selection of a project's values is 'embedded in the very dimensions of practice, beginning with the identification of the research problem, the definition of research questions, and the choices surrounding process and selection of methods', the resulting research is 'action-orientated, transformative, and political' (Chouinard and Cousins 2014, 113-114). It took me until September 2019, nine months since my fieldwork placement began, to decide what my research question would be (after being criticised in my Confirmation Review for not yet having one). The rationale for the delayed devising of my research question – and the subsequent certain lines of enquiry, or 'facets' (Mason 2011) – was in the pursuit of collaborative research that is as co-productive as it realistically could be. The 'critical aspect' of such partnerships, in Robinson and Tansey's words, is that they are:

> …designed, as much as possible, on two principles: **mutual benefit** (the partnership activity would contribute to the goals of both sides), and **maximum overlap and synergy** (insofar as possible, the partnership activities would themselves be activities and the partners and researchers would engaged in anyway, or find directly useful for their purposes) (2006, 154; emphasis my own)

Co-productive research 'destabilises academia as a privileged site for the production and dissemination of knowledge', which 'understands that useful and critical knowledge is dispersed throughout society and seeks to activate, expand and apply this knowledge to effect change' (Bell and Pahl 2018, 107). I concur with Pool and Pahl (2015) that co-production should not be 'viewed as the joint manufacture of a product', but something that is 'continually in process'; it occurs 'through a set of moments', and does not always work 'successfully' (82). For this very reason, I earlier discussed

how the Generic Inductive Qualitative Model (GIQM), proposed by Hood (2007), had encouraged me

to *see first, theorise later* – in other words, to better understand the field before seeking to explore it.

GIQM is not so much a distinctive model of conducting qualitative research, as it is a summary of the

generic values that a qualitative researcher pursues. To recap, the principles of GIQM are as follows

(adapted from Hood 2007, 153):

1) Designing questions that ask 'how' (process-based) rather than 'whether or not', or 'how much'
   (variance-based)

2) Moving back and forth flexibly (between data collection, data analysis, study design and focus, and
   theory (both existing and emerging))

3) Purposeful sampling that allows theoretical (cross population) generalizations

4) Analysis of data begins with the first observation

5) Writing copious memos from the start of the project

6) Coding focuses on themes and sometimes theoretical categories

7) Data collection stops when additional cases no longer add new information

Whilst GIQM provided a useful framework for initially inducing the theoretical and methodological

values this thesis has been founded upon, it lacked the 'creativity' and 'inventiveness' required to

establish a research design that puts these values into practice (Mason 2011, 76).

Despite Facet Methodology not being interested in 'the more passive idea of our object of interest

being illuminated by the collection of maximum data' (Mason 2011, 81), I have otherwise found FM

to be generally compatible with GIQM, whilst adding a creative dimension to the research design

which GIQM is reluctant to encourage. For example, I could have settled on a single investigative

study for this thesis, based on Facet 3 (i.e. *Why Volunteers Come (and why some of them stay)*), and

attempted to collect as much data as possible – to the point of saturation. This would have likely

responded to the PhD's primary research question, ***Why do people volunteer at an organisation like***

KLTV, and made an original contribution to knowledge around community representation and contemporary uses of digital media. However, this would not have spoken to the more generalisable appeal of community-led media and filmmaking beyond *KLTV* – the kind of appeal that I witnessed during my fieldwork placement, through my participation in the *Windrush: The Years After* (i.e. Facet 4). Nor would it have responded to the question of why *KLTV* was founded in the first place (Facet 1), nor the reasons for which it brands itself as 'The People's News Outlet' (Facet 2). FM's encouragement for the researcher to be 'imaginative' (Mason 2011, 80) also brought me round to the idea of using filmmaking methods myself – a method not only advocated by Arts-Based Research (ABR) practitioners (e.g. Chamberlain et al., 2018, 132; see also Leavy 2015) but utilised by *KLTV* themselves.

In this sense, my research methodology does, at the very least, match the research question – regardless of how successful it is in answering it. Indeed, both facet methodologists and co-productive researchers argue against the conventional notion of 'success' as a means of evaluating the usefulness of a given methodology. In Facet Methodology, Davies and Heaphy believe that the 'sole or even primary basis on which we would wish to evaluate our methodology' should not be how 'successful' facets were in 'getting at the kind of narratives we set out to explore', but rather, 'how it illuminated the possibilities *as well as* the challenges and difficulties of generating critical narratives' (2011, 14). As for co-production, Pahl points to how 'failure' can be 'generative' (2016, 133). Illustrating this point, the artist Steve Pool, a frequent collaborator of Pahl's, is quoted from personal correspondence: ''the space of failure is the space of possibility, of something different happening, part of the emergent space of knowing and acceptance that things may not turn out as planned – a place of contingencies'' (Pahl 2016, 133). In the limitations section of this chapter, and in response to the claim that 'the possibilities of failure are often not completely articulated within academic writing' (Pahl 2016, 133), I will return to the notion of failure as generative, describing how some of

the project's methodological shortcomings resulted in a research design that was more attentive to the 'situated contexts' (Davies and Heaphy 2011, 14) from which knowledge was garnered.

Methodological Influences

Collaborative Ethnography and Participatory Action Research (PAR)

The nature of this research – how it should and, perhaps more importantly, how it *should not* be conducted – has been largely inspired by the participatory and/or collaborative projects of fellow researchers, both in the social sciences and beyond. Whilst collaborative ethnographers have adopted feminist and postmodernist approaches to develop 'contemporary strategies for collaborative ethnographic practice', and producing 'more humane and dialogic accounts that more fully – and more collaboratively – represent the diversity of experience' as a result (Lassiter 2005, 89-94), such options were not possible nor desirable for this project. For example, the 'most direct' method of ethnographic collaboration, the 'creation of cowritten texts', would have required a considerable amount of time from *KLTV* volunteers and employees – time that they simply did not have. This became clear at the very beginning of the fieldwork placement, and further demonstrates the need to be open and inductive when designing a research project that involves participants over a significant period:

> Milton felt that my sensory ethnography idea was a good one, but perhaps not viable for *KLTV* group members who are already pushed for time. (Field Diary Entry 2, 1st February 2020)

Participatory Action Research (PAR) is another approach that calls on participants to contribute to research both before and after data collection process. In PAR, 'the researched become the researchers' through engagement 'in the whole research process: including selecting the research topic, data collection, and analysis and deciding what action should happen as a result of the research

findings' (Baum et al. 2006, 854). This involves a meaningful dialogue between the researcher and their participants that 'cannot exist without humility' – the sort of dialogue that Freire advocates in *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*: 'How can I dialogue if I am closed to – and even offended by – the contribution of others?' (1993, 90). PAR has been subsequently adopted by educational researchers who are 'committed' to a 'transformative social justice agenda', and believe that 'ordinary people can understand and change their own lives through research, education and action' (Brydon-Miller and Maguire 2009, 81-82). Again, this would have demanded too much time from the participants, who may have come to 'resent' the research process (see Flicker and Nixon 2018, 153).

However, I would go one step further to say that such practice is potentially unethical in certain research contexts. The form of sustained engagement that PAR advocates risks reproducing the very 'colonising' effects that it seeks to 'reduce' (Baum et al. 2006, 855). This fear is articulated by Flicker and Nixon (2018), who detail some of the criticism that collaborative research projects have received from the community participants involved. On the process of co-authorship of research material, it was claimed that 'working on this form of writing usurps valuable time and resources that could be more meaningfully spent doing frontline support, advocacy work or more accessible forms of knowledge translation'; 'peer-reviewed publications' were described as 'largely inaccessible documents that serve dominant, colonial interests' (Flicker and Nixon 2018, 153). Again, this was something I observed early in the fieldwork process; conscious of the pre-existing demands on Milton Brown's time as CEO of the organisation, I respectfully declined his generous offer and sought other methods of participatory engagement with the research process:

> The fact these sensory ethnographies would probably not be applicable to the participants' own work and personal development was also an issue. Milton said it might be good for my thesis though, and that he would be more than happy to write a few lines and/or dictate for a transcription. (Field Diary Entry 2, 2nd February 2018)

In light of Critical Race Theory (CRT), I also had to be mindful of my own privilege as a researcher. Even as a funded PhD student – a fairly low position in the university hierarchy in terms of salary (£15,285 per year as of 2020/21) – I was earning considerably more during my time than most of *KLTV*'s regular members, the majority of whom were unpaid volunteers. They would receive nothing financially for their participation in my research (with the exception of a modest thank-you meal paid for by my Research Training Support Grant), whilst I would continue to receive in excess of £1,200 per month from my research stipend.

Writing can also be 'painful' for 'those who have been systematically silenced and taught that their own voice is unworthy' (Flicker and Nixon 2018, 153). My earlier case study on the *Windrush: The Years After* project illustrated some of the extra considerations that need to be put in place when asking people from vulnerable communities, such as the British African Caribbean descent community (hundreds of whom had been unlawfully detained and/or deported in the mid-2010s), to share personal stories and experiences on camera. However, as my analysis will later explore, many of the people who came to work on the production of that project had been motivated to do so because they came from other local communities which have been similarly marginalised by the majority culture in recent times. To have asked these *KLTV* volunteers to contribute several hours to a research process they did not sign up for, and which may have little (if any) benefit to their personal and professional lives, may have discouraged them from working with me or, worse still, with *KLTV* altogether. This is not an irrational concern. In one case described by Flicker and Nixon, the act of collaborating in a peer-reviewed research publication led to a community-based participant feeling ostracised from their own community for ''selling out'' and participating in 'the academic industrial complex''; the fallout from this experience was a loss of 'considerable trust from fellow community members' and a hit to her and her organisation's 'reputation' (2018, 153).

I have subsequently compromised on my methodological position, engaging participants' ideas and concerns in the research design whilst not demanding an unreasonable amount of their time. As per the Facet Methodology approach, reaching compromise to the satisfaction of all parties (the external partner, the funder and the host university) has required 'researcher skill, inventiveness, insight and imagination' (Mason 2011, 77). After all, regardless of how useful these research findings are for *KLTV*'s own needs, this 'collaborative doctoral project' will always benefit me more than the organisation, by virtue of the doctorate's prestige and the opportunities the qualification will likely bring to me – should I be successful in achieving it. It has therefore been important for me to seek out as many opportunities for *KLTV* to benefit from my PhD work as possible, in order to justify its classification as a 'collaborative' project. One significant example of this, as I outline later in the section, is my endeavour to ensure that *KLTV* and its members have effective and meaningful ownership of their own images (i.e. the ones generated by my interviewing process).

The Immersive Researcher

I have already described my reluctance to engage in what might be defined as Participatory Action Research (PAR), given the unnecessary demands it would place on my participants and the exploitative, colonial methodologies the PAR approach risks reproducing.. The framing of PAR often places the ownership of that knowledge within the hands of the university, far removed from the community partners who contributed to its generation. They *participate* (or co-produce) in the creation of knowledge for the university, but the university then lays claim to all Intellectual Property derived from the researcher's engagement (which I will touch on in more detail in the 'ethics' section of this methodology). As Goodwin observes in *The Problem and Promise of Coproduction*, 'coproduction emerges as a 'second best' solution which exploits poor and informal communities' (2019, 503).

Nevertheless, I was inspired by PAR's 'collaborative and liberating' force, drawing from Freire's encouragement of 'the active participation of researchers and participants in the co-construction of knowledge, the promotion of critical awareness and an orientation towards transformative action' (Schugurensky 2014, 368-371). To make my research 'transformative', I consequently sought a way of flipping the dichotomy of Participatory Action Research in a way that would provide further benefit to the host community (*Kirklees Local TV*), who were granting me access to the data I required for my PhD. As the researcher, I would *participate* in the regular activities of *Kirklees Local TV*, lending my skills and expertise (as both a filmmaker and a researcher) to the external organisation. This would serve a dual purpose: *KLTV* would benefit from having me working for them two days a week pro-bono, whilst I would get a first-hand experience of what it was like to be a voluntary participant within this organisation (i.e. in the sense that I was not getting paid by *KLTV* for my services) – receiving extensive training from *KLTV* members in the process. My field diary entries illustrate moments of this collaboration in practice:

> Conducted my first off-site (i.e. out-of-office) interview for the Windrush project. We interviewed a long-standing member of the local community in their home. A volunteer conducted the interview, whilst I assisted MB with the filming. We used two cameras, a light rig, and two lapel mics hooked up to a transmitter attached to MB's camera, which was focused on the interviewee; my camera was fixed on the interviewer. (Field Diary Entry 51, 21st March 2019)

Being immersed in *KLTV*'s own practice enabled me to include the host community's ideas and concerns in the research design in a more indirect (but nonetheless substantive) way. Immersion is a term often used by qualitative researchers with regard to the data they gather, e.g. 'it is critical that other research group members should fully immerse themselves in the data' (Green et al. 2007, 547). However, it has also been used in relation to the work of ethnographers, who pursue an 'interpretive research design inspired by anthropology that emphasizes that research phenomenon must be studied

within the context of its culture' (Bhattacherjee 2012, 40). This typically requires the researcher to spend '8 months to 2 years' with a certain community or culture (Bhattacherjee 2012, 40); indeed, I spent almost 2 years with *KLTV*. Not only does this equip the researcher with a 'sensitiveness to the [research] context [and] the rich and nuanced understanding it generates' (Bhattacherjee 2012, 40-41), but it also helps to generate trust between the researcher and the host community. This is particularly important when the community the researcher is engaging with is 'marginalized and embattled' (Mohebbi et al. 2018, 24). In March 2019, I helped *KLTV*'s *Windrush: The Years After* project team in conducting a series of three filmmaking workshops with a small group of pupils at a local secondary school. After the final workshop, I detailed how my time working in the school had given me a greater appreciation of what young British people of African Caribbean descent encounter in an education system that underrepresents their communities and cultures:

> The school workshops have given me much to think about in a whole. The upshot of these is that they were a valuable exercise, not only for the pupils, but for us as well. For me in particular, they have given me a new insight into how the issues that the Windrush generation faced as far back as the late 1940s continue to affect young people today, several generations on. I can only hope that the legacy of these project workshops is able to live on beyond our intervention; I fear, as one of our participants said in that earlier feedback discussion today, that there is not sufficient room in the curriculum for the teaching of a history that these pupils can relate to, and therefore insufficient opportunities for these young people to revisit their heritage and cultures again in the context of their secondary formal education. (Field Diary Entry 50, 15th March 2019)

Barclay's *Our Own Image* (2015), a personal account of the Māori filmmaker's directorial career from 1972-2009, details the benefits (and challenges) of representing the indigenous communities of New Zealand in TV and cinematic productions. This text is central to my current understanding of the issues surrounding the audio-visual representation of marginalised communities. Whilst I do not make

the claim that non-white British communities in the UK are comparable to the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa/New Zealand in terms of culture or identity, the lives of both have been significantly affected by colonialism, and continue to be treated as 'second-class citizens' by their respective nations in the postcolonial present (Tawhai 2017, para. 3; Movement for Justice 2018). The lack of opportunities for British school pupils of colour to 'revisit their heritages and cultures' (and for white pupils to learn from a more diverse account of British socio-cultural history) is reminiscent of an excerpt in which Barclay described the majority culture's lack of understanding of Māori traditions and values in New Zealand. Some of the Pākehā-dominated film crews the Māori director worked with – other than being seen as of a superior technical ability to Māori filmmakers, even by some Māori themselves (see Barclay 2015, 30-31) – demonstrated a 'lack of appreciation of how things operate on a marae' (71). Reflecting on directing the funeral scene for the feature-length drama film *Ngati* (1987), Barclay described a misunderstanding between the 'Pākehā' art department and Phil Taratoa, the 'Māori' standby props person:

> The night before we were due to shoot the men of the village cutting up the meat which would feed the mourners, Phil came up to me. It was 7.30 in the evening. Phil looked to me as if he might have been close to tears. He showed me what the art department had given him as props. He held in his hands two rolls of cooked roast beef, wrapped in clear plastic which they had bought at the supermarket. The two rolls would not have been enough to feed more than half a dozen men. (Barclay 2015, 72)

Other than reinforcing a general call for a Multilateral Cultural Literacy (a case I made in the literature review, i.e. the majority culture becoming more literate in the minority culture settings they find themselves within, and not just the other way around), Barclay's experiences demonstrate the importance of prior understanding any cultural rifts between filmmakers/researchers and those being represented in their eventual outputs. It is through 'the politics of living identity through difference' that the indigenous people of New Zealand and the African Caribbean diaspora in the UK 'are

composed of multiple social identities, not one' (Hall 1997, 57). In the UK context, Hall speaks of this politics as having 'the effect of locating us socially in multiple positions of marginality and subordination' (Hall 1997, 57). What might seem like a triviality to members of the dominant culture – the use of rolls of cooked meat rather than mutton carcasses for the reconstruction of a tangi ceremony [a ritual Māori burial] – has the potential to bring members of the represented culture to tears. This should not be the outcome of any film and/or research, and my project is no exception.

(Auto)Ethnography

In *Our Own Image*, Barclay (2015) discusses the importance of understanding the traditions of another's community, particularly when you are a member of the dominant/majority culture who has been welcomed into a minority culture's community. Here, Barclay discusses the importance of dining etiquette on a marae (a Māori community's meeting grounds), and how they differ from Pākehā (white New Zealander) traditions:

> On a marae the cooks are treasured. There is a strong rule that when the cooks call you to eat, you go and eat. There are good reasons for this. To feed say, 100 people, then to clear the tables and feed another 100 people, takes hard work and the co-operation of many. A dining room on a marae is not like a McDonald's or a high-class restaurant, where one expects to eat at will. Māori are trained to respect the call of the cooks. 'Haere mai ki te kai [Come and eat].' You do not have another cigarette, nor do you sit in the sun finishing a conversation. You move immediately. (Barclay 2015, 70-71)

With all of this in mind, I quickly realised that it would be inappropriate for my ethnographic field diary – originally intended as a means of recording my experiences of interacting with others at *KLTV* – to record the names and/or personal information of my fellow volunteers, particularly having spent no time at all with them prior to the start of my fieldwork placement in January 2018. I still kept a field diary for the duration of my time at *KLTV*, excerpts of which serve as a useful reflection of how

ideas for my research design were induced as my understanding of the social and cultural context of the research increased. However, I have omitted any identifiable reference to *KLTV*'s members from this diary, except for my interactions with the organisation's CEO and founder, Milton Brown. This is because my conversations with Milton over the fieldwork period were fundamental to the evolving design of this research project. In addition, Milton is the research participant that I worked with most closely, and with whom I consulted frequently to design methods that the organisation and its members would be comfortable engaging with. In this sense, Milton acted as a 'super connector' for my research: someone or something (i.e. an organisation) which is 'found to link many diverse networks together' in a 'super-diverse community' (Swinney 2017, 2018). To omit reference to him in my field diary would be to refuse to acknowledge his influence on this project and the way in which it has been conducted.

Arts-Based Research (ABR)

One of the shortcomings of research methodologies that adopt community immersion (such as action research and ethnography) is that the generalisability of the findings is 'often restricted to the context where the study was conducted' (Bhattacherjee 2012, 40). However, the community of participants that helped to generate the researcher's data are rarely presented with meaningful access to that data. Collaborative research outcomes are often presented in formal research publications (e.g. journal articles) that, like most research, is written in a relatively inaccessible way. Shon's *How to Read Journal Articles in the Social Sciences* (2015) describes academic reading as 'work', even for those 'professional social scientists' who possess 'the right tools and the right techniques' to decipher the meanings of complex texts (81). Moreover, academic texts uploaded to journals are often hidden behind a paywall to the public which demands exorbitant fees for even temporary access; students, as

members of an academic institution, bypass this paywall by virtue of their membership fee[4] (in this case, the cost of yearly tuition). In short, the host community that granted access to the researcher is rarely granted meaningful access to the subsequent data in return. This hardly feels like a fitting way to conclude a three-year *collaborative* doctoral award.

As a result, I have thought of ways in which the research outputs of this collaborative doctoral project may be more accessible to the participants who contributed to it. Arts Based Research (ABR) presented such an opportunity: the adaptation of 'the tenets of the creative arts in order to address social research questions in *holistic* and *engaged* ways in which *theory and practice are intertwined*' (Leavy 2015, ix; emphasis in original). ABR, a term that encompasses several arts-based research practices (such as 'art as inquiry', 'practice-based research' and 'scholartistry'), is 'free from academic jargon and other prohibitive barriers' and has been adopted by social science researchers since the 1970s (Leavy and Chilton 2015, 403-406). It presents 'a set of methodological tools used by researchers across the disciplines during all phases of social research, including data generation, analysis, interpretation, and representation' (Leavy 2015, ix). Among these tools are 'narrative inquiry, fiction-based research, poetic inquiry, music, dance and movement, drama, film, and visual

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[4] It should be noted that digitalisation has 'enabled more open practices within the academic community', including the emergence of 'open-access (OA) publishing' (i.e. with no financial barriers to accessing research publications); for example, 'a number of research councils in the United Kingdom have had policies on OA since 2005', as part of an overriding commitment to making Research Council UK (RCUK) funded publications freely accessible to the public (Zhu 2020, 41). Ironically, the article this information on Open Access is referenced from, published by the *Journal of Information Science*, was behind a paywall that only my University of Sheffield credentials could bypass.

art' (Leavy 2015, x). I subsequently selected documentary film as an ABR method, not only as a means of representing the interviewee participants in a mode familiar to them (i.e. they all volunteer for a community media organisation that makes videos and films), but one which they could easily access if they so wished.

Filmmaking as research practice blurs the lines between researcher and participant, broadening the definition of what is/is not 'scholarship' in the process. Kip Jones, a social science film practitioner, claims that 'a key purpose of my efforts' is to make the academic audiences of his films 'forget themselves as academics' (Jones 2012, 15). Vannini points to how 'easy' it is for an ethnographer to upload 'a video on YouTube or Vimeo', which can then be embedded into an online news article or blog – just as easily accessed by the viewer (2013, 448). Filmmaking as research method is perceived by many academics as 'on the margins' of academic work (rather than central to academic enquiry), but it is described by film practitioners as a transformative act – a way to 'change hearts and minds' (Jones and Leavy 2014, 3). Leavy (2015) goes further still, describing the use of 'the arts' in social science research as a method that 'can connect us with those who are similar and dissimilar, open up new ways of seeing and experiencing, and illuminate that which otherwise remains in darkness' (ix). This resonates well with the 'researcher creativity' that the Facet Methodology orientation both 'requires' and 'celebrates' (Mason 2011, 76).

Research Design

This study utilises a 'question-driven' qualitative methodology to provide 'flashes of insight' to the primary research question, ***Why do people volunteer at an organisation like KLTV?*** (Mason 2011, 83). I spent the first twelve months of my twenty month fieldwork placement working with *Kirklees Local TV* as a volunteer, two days a week (typically Thursdays and Fridays), and keeping a field diary of my experiences. This inductive process allowed me to design the remainder of my research

methods in a manner appropriate to the research context, having developed an internal understanding of the social and cultural sensitivities that were present within the host community, as well as an awareness of how practical those methods would be (given the participants' existing time commitments to the organisation itself). The resulting research design is consequently based on many of the same principles that *Kirklees Local TV* operate under, as experienced during my twenty month fieldwork placement at the organisation (and recognised in my literature review):

- *Autoethnography*: *KLTV* encourage their volunteers to fill out a daily 'Reflective Log' as a means of tracking their personal and professional development during their time within the Community of Practice; I subsequently adopted the same template for my field diary in November 2018.

- *Interviewing on Camera* was a decision made based on *KLTV*'s adoption of participatory and collaborative video techniques for their own news and documentary content. I conducted interviews with eight *KLTV* members (3 male, 5 female) between June and September 2019.

- *Documentary-Style Filmmaking:* Following an arts-based approach to social research, I sought to replicate the style and method of *KLTV*'s documentary productions for my own four research films.

- *Video/Film Discourse Analysis* is another practice central to what *KLTV* do (i.e. members providing observations and points of view on the media their colleagues have created to help improve the work); I have conducted my own discourse analysis of some of *KLTV*'s productions to help illustrate the style and nature of their work.

Methods

Autoethnography

I wrote a total of 98 field diary entries between 31st January 2018 and 28th September 2019. After writing my first 25 field diary entries in the form of short (digital) Word documents, I used *KLTV*'s formal 'Reflective Log' template (Appendix A) for the remaining 73 entries, asking myself the three following questions after each day of work for the organisation:

- What did you do?

- How do you feel?

- What did you learn?

As well as being used to inform and shape the remainder of the research design, I selected extracts of these fieldnotes that integrated well with a given facet of enquiry. For example, for Facet 4 (***The 'Windrush: The Years After' Project***), I included fieldnotes that reflected on my own experience of working on the same project, such as this one:

> I am frustrated, albeit unsurprised, by the lack of recognition for KLTV's work within the academy. And to be allowed to participate in such a discussion as a member of KLTV (and more specifically, the Windrush: The Years After project) is not only eye-opening, but a privilege as well. (Field Diary Entry 40, 8th February 2020)

The names of the facets themselves served as thematic codes for my ethnography analysis, each of which containing a series of sub-codes. For example, the research film *Why Volunteers Come (and why some of them stay)* (*Film 3*) consists of the following sub-codes:

- Why did you come to *KLTV*?

- What's it like to work at *KLTV*?

- Tell me about a project you've worked on here?

- What have you gained from working here?

I recorded a large amount of field diary data over a relatively long fieldwork period; coding in this way helped me to retrospectively select excerpts that I felt created the brightest 'flashes of insight with striking or revealing effects' (Mason 2011, 80).

I conducted an 'unstructured observation', entering the field (i.e. *KLTV*) 'with no predetermined notions as to the discrete behaviours [I] might observe' (Mulhall 2002, 307). This approach differs

from a structured observation, where the researcher attempts 'to remain objective and not contaminate the data with their own preconceptions' (Mulhall 2002, 307); as a participant as well as an observer in the field, it was my own (subjective) experience of the field that I was primarily interested in. Autoethnography posits that 'social reality is contextually constructed'; the autoethnographer 'cannot exactly represent how the event was or has been lived', but becomes a 'vicarious insider' that can 'translate' social and cultural experience in their own way (Shim 2018, 9; Britzman 1995, 229).

As long as the autoethnographer is aware of 'the weaknesses of autoethnographical approach' – the fallibility of their memory, the singularity of their voice and the fact that 'a same event tells different stories' – the texts they produce can still possess the ability of exploring social reality without making members of the host community feel exploited (Shim 2018, 9). By exploitation, I am referring to the impact that 'feeling observed may have on participants' behaviours' – the sense that they are the object of the researcher (and by extension, subject to objectification) (Lopez-Dicastillo and Belintxon 2014, 524). Often described as a 'revolving door', retaining recruits at a voluntary organisation is particularly difficult, and *KLTV* is no exception (Allen and Meuller 2013). Despite gaining ethical approval from my university to do so, I felt wary that asking fellow members of *KLTV* to sign the consent form (Appendix C), enabling me to write whatever I wanted about them in my fieldnotes, would be detrimental to *KLTV*'s work in the community. Autoethnography presented a way of capturing experiences in the field that were influenced by fellow participants, without making any specific reference to another individual (anonymous or otherwise) – with the exception of Milton Brown who, as earlier explained, was influential to the development of this project's research design over the inductive fieldwork period.

'When researchers do autoethnography', according to Ellis et al. (2011), 'they retrospectively and selectively write about epiphanies that stem from, or are made possible by, being part of a culture',

but must also 'use personal experience to illustrate facets of cultural experience' and 'consider ways other may experience similar epiphanies' (276). This requires the guidance of an 'implicit narrative structure' (Bruner 2001, 264) that 'make[s] characteristics of a culture familiar for insiders and outsiders' (Ellis et al. 2011, 276). The structure of the *KLTV* reflective log template I used for most of my field diary entries – i.e. what I did, how I felt, what I learned – presents my experiences of being at *KLTV* for twenty months in a recognisable way to people both inside and outside of the organisation. As well as illustrating what life is like (at least from my own gaze) as a volunteer at *KLTV*, these entries form part of a long-term narrative on 'the crisis between insiderness and outsiderness in research' (Shim 2018, 2). My attempts to balance the needs of the host community with the criteria of my research project, as well as managing the conflict in my own dual identity as a *KLTV* volunteer and PhD student, are well documented in my autoethnography. For example, in June 2019, I made the decision to apply for further research funding to 'enable me to visit *KLTV* once per month during the write-up year (2019-2020), to maintain the working relationship we have worked so hard to build, and to keep *KLTV* informed of my project progress in the post-fieldwork phase' (Field Diary Entry 61, 6th June 2019). These considerations are central to the thesis as they relate to my positionality and, by extension, my analysis and interpretation of the data I have gathered.

Interviewing on Camera

I conducted ten interviews with people involved with *KLTV* between the 14th June and 12th September 2019. I used a high-quality DSLR camera (loaned to me by *KLTV*) to record the video, along with a 'shotgun mic' attachment to capture audio. Seven of these interviews were conducted with separate individuals who I had identified during my fieldwork as 'regular' members of *KLTV* (i.e. they had been working for the organisation for at least six months). It is also worth noting that, unlike many of the volunteers at *KLTV*, none of these 'regular' participants were on fixed-term work placements with

the organisation – they were working with *KLTV* indefinitely. The remaining three interviews took place between me and CEO Milton Brown on 14th June, 23rd August and 12th September 2019 respectively.

Barclay's discussion of some of the difficulties in getting funds for Māori community-led filmmaking projects provides a useful 'lesson' for any researcher working with people who might feel their words are not worthy of scholarly attention:

> The lesson for me in this is that many Māori are intimidated by the climate which has been put in place by the majority culture. They are afraid even to articulate their idea outside their immediate circle, for fear it will appear childish when compared with the ideas educated students at art college come up with. In other words, on top of all the normal nervousness you have when faced with that blank page on which you must set the first word, you have the problem of setting your words out knowing that what you are writing about may not look sufficiently sophisticated to those who are going to scrutinise it. I am not talking about the flow of the words, about literacy as such, but about the concepts behind the words. You feel you do not have the right clothes to go to the Pākehā party, even when people are waiting to welcome you at the door. (Barclay 2015, 23-24)

Whilst all of eight participants were fairly familiar with me (and I with them) at this point (by virtue of working alongside one another in the same community of practice for at least six months), I took care to recognise the effects that 'systematic social divisions and characteristics, such as class, ethnicity, age, sexuality and so on' can have on 'the ability to know the 'Other' through interviews' (Edwards and Holland 2013, 19). The majority of the interviewees (five) were women, and four of the eight were people of colour (i.e. non-white). I therefore acted as both the interviewer and camera operator for each interview, to try to mitigate any potential power imbalance between the interviewing team and the interviewee as much as possible (see Edwards and Holland 2013, 19). These interviews followed the 'constructionist tradition' of co-constructing knowledge between

researcher and participants, but placed an emphasis on the 'study of the others' experiences and the aspiration to understand them', given that I had already divulged many of my own experiences via the method of keeping a field diary (Karnieli-Miller et al. 2009, 279).

For the seven 'participant' interviews, I followed a semi-structured interview schedule. I felt semi-structured interviews would best suit the project as they attempt to 'elicit open responses by the participants that enable lines of conversation to be developed in situ', whilst still retaining some sense of structure that would allow participants' responses to be compared and contrasted to one another (Brown and Danaher 2019, 77). I prepared a list of questions consisting of several areas of enquiry that I felt were key to exploring the research question, ***Why do people volunteer at an organisation like KLTV?*** (Brown and Danaher 2019, 77). These questions were split into two key categories: KLTV as an organisation, and *Windrush: The Years After* as a project. The same schedule would be followed for the three 'CEO' interviews, but these two categories would be explored in greater detail (i.e. one interview for each category), with the addition of a third interview that would ask questions only Milton Brown could answer, e.g. 'The reasons for founding *KLTV* in the first place' (Appendix B2).

This initial series of interview questions (Appendix B1) was then shared with Milton Brown prior to recruiting participants. Brown 'offered to sit down with me and run through my proposed questions for the interviews' (Field Diary Entry 67, 13th June 2019); I felt it would be wise to take this advice onboard, given that much of Brown's filmmaking work for *KLTV* involves him asking people questions on sensitive subjects such as the Holocaust (KLTV 2020a) and the Windrush Scandal (KLTV 2020c). Brown's offer of collaboration allowed us to co-produce a slightly amended interview schedule (Appendix B2) that would glean data useful to *KLTV*, whilst still 'definitely targeting the kind of answers that I want to explore in my thesis' (Field Diary Entry 67, 13th June

2019). Whilst Brown had 'emphasised that he did not want to 'take over' my questions, and that he would be happy for me to ask whatever I wanted to', including his input in a meaningful way helped me to 'recognise the knowledge and understanding of those in the field' (Field Diary Entry 67). One of the main benefits of Brown's input was the elimination of a couple of the 'why' questions from my interview schedule. We both agreed that ''why' often leads to an overly self-deterministic answer ('I did this, and that led to this') which often does not represent how things happened to happen in the world' (Field Diary Entry 67). Indeed, similar advice is given by Harvard University's sociology student guide, *Strategies for Qualitative Interviews*: 'Ask 'how' questions rather than 'why' questions to get stories of process rather than acceptable 'accounts' of behavior' (Harvard University 2020, 4).[5]

Documentary-Style Filmmaking

Qualitative researchers regularly refer to the products of their interviews as 'data' and are increasingly looking to 'computer-aided' data analysis software (such as *NVivo*) to better understand them (Edwards and Holland 2013, 26). Whilst this form of analysis has its uses, it can seem like a rather impersonal and detached way of exploring participants' responses which were gained through a 1-to-1 interaction with a trusted co-volunteer (i.e. myself). I have come to think of the interview material that the participants provided me with not so much as data, but to see it as Barclay does: an 'image' that has been 'gifted' to me and my project (see Barclay 2015, 84-85). When interviewing

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[5] I should note at this point that I retain the word 'Why' in my primary research question, i.e. **Why do people volunteer at an organisation like KLTV?**, because I feel it best describes what this thesis is interested in exploring in a concise way. Underpinning this is a series of non-'why' questions, which are outlined in my interview schedule (Appendix B2).

participants on camera and being entrusted 'as the custodians of other people's image gift' (Barclay 2015, 85), it is important to 'be true to the material collected' (Rose 2017, 62). Analysing the written transcripts of audio-visual material with a computer, whilst consigning the raw footage to an archive, is of little use to the participants who gave me and this project their time and wisdom. Unfortunately, this is often the way that things go, in both academia and the film industry:

> What with deadlines and travel costs there is little real hope that we can simply pop back to show people what they have gifted. Overnight we become custodians of other people's spirits. (Barclay 2015, 84)

Once I had completed all ten interviews for this project, I was left with just under four hours (approximately 234 minutes) of unedited interview footage. Rather than transcribing the entirety of this footage (which would have taken a considerable amount of time; a professional estimate for transcribing one hour of audio is anything between 4-10 hours (Weizs 2019, para. 4)), I sought a means of processing this interview footage which would retain the richness of the 'data', as opposed to reducing it to a written form. Data reduction is often regarded as a research asset rather than a limitation; 'representing audible talk as written words' makes 'the written text readable and meaningful' (Bailey 2008, 127). However, Crichton and Child argue that coding tape recordings in their original format 'reduces the impact of [written] transcription (loss of data through flattening into a two dimensional text format)' and 'reduces the risk of misrepresentation, transcription errors, and loss of context' (2005, cited by Tessier 2012, 451). In the words of Ellsworth, 'some knowings cannot be conveyed through language' (2005, 156); this is certainly the case for video/film-based research.

Given that I had used the arts-based method of film to record participant interviews, it made sense to use the arts-based method of video editing to code the interviews' findings. Video editing is not a conventional method of qualitative data processing, but it has been long adopted by institutions such

as the University of Alberta's International Institute for Qualitative Methodology (IIQM) to 'capture and reflect complex phenomena from a variety of perspectives' (Spiers 2004, 57). Creating a series of four research films allowed me to 'reorder material in time and space' and 'arrange different hierarchies of importance', i.e. material that I felt was pertinent to the PhD's research question (and therefore worthy of inclusion in the research films), as opposed to material that was not particularly relevant in this context (Penn-Edwards 2004, 272-273). This drastically reduced my useable 'data' from 234 minutes' footage to 48 minutes – a manageable dataset that would allow me 'to focus on short segments of video data at a micro-analytical level' (Jewitt 2012, 5). Moreover, the format of the short documentary encouraged me to code interview segments thematically, forming the basis of my four case studies or 'facets': *Founding KLTV*, *'The People's News Outlet'*, *Why Volunteers Come (and why some of them stay),* and *The 'Windrush: The Years After' Project*. Each film provides a different insight into the question of why local people work at an organisation like *KLTV*. Where possible, I have used extracts from the activities described by *KLTV* volunteers to further illustrate what they are referring to, for the benefit of any outsider viewer unlikely to be familiar with that work. The use of the semi-structured interview to garner participants' responses meant that I could combine answers from different participants to the same question (as posed by the film), reflecting the complexity of the lived world from multiple realities. Participants' perspectives did not always neatly correspond with one another (as my analysis will later show), and one of the key strengths of using filmmaking as a research method is its ability to represent these differences of opinion within the context that they were given.

Video editing can also be used as a collaborative tool that enables interview participants to engage in the production of their own image, although this was not viable here given my participants' existing commitments to their own film and media projects; Harris and Nyuon describe a similar reluctance from their 'ethnocinema' participants, who 'were not overly interested in learning filmmaking' (2012,

21). That said, even in a case where I as the researcher had complete autonomy in which interview segments were included or excluded from the final films, I felt a greater responsibility to appropriately represent the images of the participants when they were exactly that – a series of audiovisual 'images' – than when verbal responses are extracted and transcribed on the page. The method of documentary-style filmmaking also provided me with an opportunity to use some of the creative film and editing skills that *Kirklees Local TV* helped me to develop during my time with the organisation, so that the final products of the collaborative partnership might be of some use to *KLTV* as well. I showed the fourth and final film, *The 'Windrush: The Years After' Project*, to some of the *KLTV* team during the final month of my placement. I was 'really nervous about how *KLTV* would view the film' (Field Diary Entry 94, 19th September 2020), and whether the participants in the film would be comfortable with the way that I had represented them. The feedback I received – which I listed in my field diary – alleviated my concerns around ethical representation, and reassured me that the research films were something that all collaborative partners could benefit from:

- Praise for the film from MB: 'a brilliant production'

- Praise for me from MB: 'talented', 'top boy', 'creative', 'you've got vision',

- Constructive criticism from MB: 'it took you long enough (to make it)!' - this later led into a conversation about how I had been 'holding on' to the production for as long as I could; we spoke about why this might have been the case (specifically with regards to my levels of 'trust', not just in other people, but more so in myself)

- Also received some pointers for improving the film, but MB (and others) said they were happy with the film, and that it would be 'publishable' in its current state (Field Diary Entry 94, 19th September 2020)

Despite the fact that this project's submission is a written thesis rather than practice-based (by virtue of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Sheffield not currently accepting practice-based

submissions), I hope that I have been able to represent the 'aesthetic power' of these research films, and 'the incisiveness, concision, and coherence of the final creative form', in writing (Chilton and Leavy 2014, 415). This thesis is accompanied by digital copies of the four research films that I made, which I would encourage any reader to watch in order to fully appreciate the 'image gift' that these participants gave willingly to this project.

Video/Film Discourse Analysis

Figure 9: The logos for 'Summat Yorkshire' and 'Public Eye', two of KLTV's regular news programmes.

I earlier outlined how the peer feedback process central to *KLTV*'s work is used to help improve the organisation's media outputs (as well as my research films). *Public Eye* and *Summat Yorkshire*, two of *KLTV*'s weekly news programmes that I worked on closely during my fieldwork placement (as a videographer, interviewer, and occasionally a presenter), were no exception:

> Last week, Milton told the filmmaking team that he wanted our vox-pop shows ('Summat Yorkshire' and 'Public Eye') to be more exciting and animated. We discussed the idea of going around with a Go-Pro camera as well as the static [camera], and running up to people 'Anneka Rice style'[6]. (Field Diary Entry 17, 21st June 2018)

Drawing from this, I have conducted my own discourse analysis of some of *KLTV*'s productions to help illustrate the style and nature of their work. Discourse analysis has a rich and long-standing tradition as a method in qualitative research but, like Arts-Based Practice (ABR), has become a victim of its own popularity, with 'confusion' amongst scholars as to what the term actually means (Cheek 2004, 1140-1141). Under this umbrella term are modes of analysis such as Critical Discourse Analysis (e.g. Fairclough 2010), Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (e.g. Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine 2017) and Conversation Analysis (e.g. Sidnell 2007). These analytical approaches not only dispute what aspects of discourse the analysis should focus on, but what counts as discourse in the first place. To demonstrate this, Cheek (2004) provides three examples from the literature – from 'linguistic', 'poststructural' and 'social theory' research orientations respectively – that represent 'the diversity in definitions afforded to discourse' (1142).

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[6] Anneka Rice is a famous British television presenter of the 1980s and 1990s, well known for her flamboyant style of running up to people (whilst being followed by a cameraman) on the Channel 4 TV show, 'Treasure Hunt'.

To clarify in the context of this research project, the *discourse* I have analysed – in addition to the aforementioned field diary, qualitative interview and documentary film data – is a selection of film and video footage produced and published by *Kirklees Local TV*. My examination of this digital discourse has been largely influenced by Multimedia Discourse Analysis (MDA), a linguistically driven orientation that has sought to better understand the various modes of texts produced by 'the proliferation of communication technologies' since the early 2000s (Scollon and Levine 2004, 1). Multimodal 'texts' (e.g. videos and films), like written texts, are considered as constructions of social reality. In addition to studying *what* a text says (as a content analyst would), discourse analysis is interested in *how* it is said – 'the way the writers have chosen to formulate their accounts linguistically' (Cameron and Panović 2014, 7). With the exception of screenshots (which I will use whenever necessary), the format of this thesis has limited me to representing this discourse by written means (i.e. transcriptions of what appears and/or is said, rather than audio-visual extracts from the videos and films themselves). However, this has still provided me with enough textual information to help better understand the fruits of *KLTV* volunteers' labour and, by extension, has further illuminated my exploration of why those volunteers chose to become contributing members of this community-based organisation.

Recruitment of Participants

Eight 'regular' *KLTV* participants were recruited for the interviewing phase of this study. Their names (in order of appearance) and active roles (at the time of interview) are as follows:

1. Milton Brown [*KLTV* CEO and Founder; 'Windrush: The Years After' Project Lead]

2. Oliver Thompson [*KLTV* Volunteer]

3. Nabila Waseem [*KLTV* Business Director; 'Windrush: The Years After' Project Volunteer –

Interviewing and Research]

4. Khatija Lunat [*KLTV* Volunteer; 'Windrush: The Years After' Project Volunteer – Interviewing and

    Research]

5. Leah Conway [*KLTV* Volunteer; 'Windrush: The Years After' Project Volunteer – Videography and Editing]

6. Niki Matthews [*KLTV* Consultant and Former Business Director; 'Windrush: The Years After' Project Volunteer – Administration/Evaluation]

7. Dave Hodgson [*KLTV* Volunteer]

8. Heather Norris Nicholson ['Windrush: The Years After' Project Coordinator – Educational/Historical Research]

All eight participants were recorded with *KLTV* filming equipment, at a series of locations within Huddersfield including the *KLTV* studio, Greenhead Park and St Peter's Street Public Garden (known

locally as 'Pigeon Park'). I conducted all-but-one of the interviews personally; one participant (who shall remain anonymous) requested that Milton asked them the questions rather than me, as they felt more familiar with him as an interviewer, and therefore more comfortable. Given my PhD project's commitment to mitigating potential risks to the wellbeing of the participants (as outlined in the ethical review), I respected this request and was happy for the interview to proceed under these terms. Other than the change in personnel, this particular interview was conducted in the same manner as the others, with the same interview questions being asked of the participant. All eight participants signed a consent form (Appendix D2) stating that they were happy for their interview to be used for the purposes of this project, as well as any subsequent research publications. Whilst all eight interviewees consented to my use of the audio-visual recordings that we made, they were also presented with two alternative options that would have made use of their audio only, identifiably (i.e. 'Option 2') and anonymously (i.e. 'Option 3'). As a way of remunerating the interviewees for the time and expertise they lent to this project, I offered to take each individual out for lunch (courtesy of the project's Research and Training Support Grant) following completion of the interview. This aligned with the organisation's own practice; Milton would take *KLTV* volunteers (including myself) 'out for lunch' on a regular basis (e.g. Field Diary Entry 87, 16th August 2020).

Data Analysis

Facet Methodology is not interested in the collection of 'maximum data', nor the triangulation of methods and data (Mason 2011, 81; see also Barbovschi et al. 2013, 7-8). FM seeks out 'the most telling flashes of insight into conceptual issues that already problematise the entwined and contingent nature of the world' (Mason 2011, 80). As such, the analytical strategy pursued by a Facet Methodologist differs from studies that seek to verify primary data findings with secondary data, or build as much knowledge as possible about a research question. This methodological approach has

helped me to interpret the data in a way that prioritises 'thick description' – a representation of 'the multiplicity of complex conceptual structures' which the ethnographer 'must contrive somehow to grasp and then to render' (Geertz 1973, 9-10) – whilst not being tempted into the reductionism of 'authorising a single account of out-thereness' (Law 2004, 122). The realities of life as a volunteer at *Kirklees Local TV* are 'interactive, remade, indefinite and multiple' (Law 2004, 122); this thesis' analysis of multimodal qualitative data does its best to reflect this phenomenon and, by extension, present a constructionist reading of the social world.

Each of the four facets (or mini-studies) is presented as an essay, generated from a cluster of methods that have been used to bring about an investigation into one aspect of how volunteers navigate and manoeuvre *KLTV*'s creative space and educational community. Each facet has been designed to stand alone as a study in its own right, but to also complement one another's insight as a set. This 'illumination' helps us to see what the research question 'looks like', but Facet Methodology maintains that the image of that object is 'contingent at least in part on how the light is cast' (Mason 2011, 81). In other words, just as any given event might be experienced by multiple people in multiple ways, another study with a different research design would present the same research question in a different light. Just like looking at a gemstone in a glass cabinet from different angles, the 'association of flashes' (i.e. 'elements shine particularly brightly or intensely') depends on the viewer's perspective (Mason 2011, 81). In the subsequent Discussion section of this thesis, I will further explore the research question in light of all four facets, bringing together all of their findings in a way that brings about further insight.

The Ethics of Collaborative Research: Active Listening and Giving Back

In addition to the standard ethical review process that acts as a prerequisite to any participatory research engagement, I needed to fully consider the external partner's stake in this project as a

collaborative partner. To this end, this research has been guided by the University of Sheffield's *Principles of Engaged Learning and Teaching*, a series of criteria 'formulated in liaison with experienced academics working in engagement' in order 'to help staff understand the challenges and opportunities presented in this kind of work' (University of Sheffield 2021). The principles are as follows:

- **Reciprocity.** Ideally, community partners and the University should benefit from the engagement

- **Co-production**. Community partners and University should work to co-develop initiatives wherever possible

- **Exploring ways to facilitate partner-led approaches**, in which initiatives can respond to community needs and/or aspirations

- **Sustainability.** The importance of maintaining relationships with community partners, and avoiding instrumentalising them

- **Good and timely communication** with partners is important, and should ideally include feedback about outcomes and the sharing of outputs.

- **Appreciation of impact on organisations.** Activities involving external organisations should be planned to avoid repetitious or numerous requests.

- **Reputation.** Not leaving 'debris' behind us, and considering the implications of new projects on existing/established relationships between the city and the institution

- **Recognition/Thanks.** Exploring forms of recognition for partners (University of Sheffield 2021)

Pursuing these principles of best practice required me to be attentive to *KLTV*'s wants and needs as they continued to adapt to the challenges of operating as an independent provider of news and media content to their local community. For example, the Memorandum of Understanding, signed at the very beginning of the placement (Appendix F), represented a meaningful attempt to produce

collaborative research of reciprocal benefit. However, collaborative researchers must also be mindful that the social world is 'dynamic' (see Dahms 2007), and that not every scenario can be predicted or planned for. For example, the 'Level 3 Journalist course' that *KLTV* hoped I could help 'establish and deliver' as part of my placement never surfaced. Whilst this is a shame (and could at worst be seen as a failure to uphold my part of the agreement), the placement saw me working on things for *KLTV* that had not been envisioned by either party prior to my engagement, nor reflected in the Memorandum of Understanding (Appendix F). This includes my work on the *Windrush: The Years After* project, for which funding had not been secured until mid-2018, several months after the placement had begun.

These are just a couple of examples of how a qualitative, participatory inquiry can evolve. One of the biggest challenges for a researcher in this sort of context is captured by Navarro and Zeni (2004), in the form of Zeni's personal correspondence: ''…so often the researcher can't predict where it will go and what the ethical dilemmas may be!'' (*Othering Ourselves*, para. 1). I have made a concerted effort to acknowledge these changes and adapt to them as much as possible, but could never seriously profess to have achieved ethical perfection. It is much more realistic to strive for ethical mindfulness: 'a constant alertness to, and engagement with, ethical dilemmas' (Warin 2011, 809); my field diary has paid specific attention to the ethical challenges this research collaboration has presented, and how I have tried to overcome them.

To be ethically mindful is to acknowledge that an organisation that has for several years been embedded in the community the research is trying to represent, might be in a better place than the incoming researcher to ascertain the ethical challenges of working within that context. With regard to my conduct as an immersed researcher working within *Kirklees Local TV*, I followed the organisation's own code of practice when participating in activities on its behalf, including adherence to their risk assessment for filming on-location in public spaces. Operating in a dynamic research

context, I occasionally found myself in scenarios that I had not anticipated. For example, on one filming job, I was verbally threatened by a member of the public:

> Also, I was threatened for the first time at KLTV today. During an outdoor film job, a random passerby accused me of recording them on camera without their permission, and followed up with the threat: 'I'll spazz your camera up and smash you both in'. (Field Diary Entry 20, 5th July 2018)

Whilst this was an upsetting experience, it was also an isolated incident, and one which I had been fully trained and prepared for by *KLTV*. On the whole, my placement with *Kirklees Local TV* was a positive experience both personally and professionally, and the unexpected elements of the project were often the most academically enriching:

> Arrived at KLTV in the morning, fully expecting to have a generally quiet day preparing Windrush project Facebook posts for next week. Within 5 minutes of arriving, I had been invited to help lead three Windrush teaching sessions at a secondary school in Huddersfield in early March (still waiting to hear whether my PhD expenses account will cover the necessary accommodation for these events), and was subsequently (and unexpectedly) whisked off to interview several people at the Kirklees Visual Impairment Network (KVIN) office in Huddersfield town centre. (Field Diary Entry 43, 15th February 2019)

This was also the primary way in which I *gave back* to the community from which the data for this project was (co-)produced. Giving back should always be a feature of collaborative research where possible, but Hammett et al. (2018) warn against 'moves towards institutionalising giving back [to community collaborators] in particular ways' (380), arguing instead for a 'more holistic, and contextually sensitive, approach to giving back that does not privilege information or data as the only – or most valuable – way of doing so' (383). The Memorandum of Understanding (Appendix F) gave

KLTV the opportunity to tell me how my contributions could best help them, rather than 'giving back in a predetermined form' (Hammett et al. 2018, 382).

The successes of this project's ability to produce reciprocal benefits is further reflected by events after the formal placement period ended in September 2019, in that I continued to visit the organisation once a month to maintain the working relationship that we had spent the best part of two years building together. Subsequently, in June 2020, I was invited to become a Director for *Kirklees Local TV*, as well as Digital Strategist for the organisation. I continue to perform this role at the time of writing, and feel empowered by the faith that *KLTV* has given me to do so. I accept that this may be perceived as a potential conflict of interest, and one which may affect my ability to critically engage with data gathered from (and about) an organisation that I now consider myself as being part of. However, I would echo Campbell and Vanderhoven's claim that 'seeing the world through 'other's' eyes is crucial to being able to make meaningful co-productive relationships' and is, by extension, essential for the generation of valuable co-produced knowledge (2016, 31). If anything, retaining the positionality of an 'edgewalker' (see Beals et al. 2020), occupying an insider/outsider identity on the margins between the university and the community partner, has enabled me to maintain a degree of critical distance with either organisation – a distance necessary for me to both 'know' and 'conceptualize' my own experience (Buckle and Dwyer 2009, 59). Dwyer and Buckle (2009) believe that a researcher's membership 'of the group under investigation does not unduly influence the process in a negative way', so long as that researcher engages with 'disciplined bracketing and detailed reflection on the subjective research process, with a close awareness of one's own personal biases and perspectives' (59).

Sustaining my partnership with *Kirklees Local TV* beyond the formal fieldwork placement was a decision made not only to further my investment in the organisation (which has undoubtedly had a

positive effect on my own academic career development by extension), but in the interests of being 'open, authentic, honest, deeply interested in the experience of one's research participants, and committed to accurately and adequately representing their experience' (Dwyer and Buckle 2009, 59). In the N8 Research Partnership's report on the social research potential of co-production, Campbell and Vanderhoven (2016) duly criticise the lack of financial support made available by universities for 'the maintenance of potentially highly valuable [co-productive] relationships beyond the time limits of a research contract' (32). In the absence of substantive institutional backing for the maintenance of a long-term relationship between The University of Sheffield and *Kirklees Local TV* – 'universities are generally not known for flexibility' (Campbell and Vanderhoven 2016, 31) – I took the matter of sustaining a fruitful long-term relationship with the community partner upon myself. I hope that the tangible benefits of this approach may serve as encouragement to universities engaging in co-productive research to act upon the recommendations of the N8 report, in making adequate provisions available to build more sustainable relationships with community stakeholders.

Limitations and Revisions

Turning back to the notion of 'failure' as 'generative' (Pahl 2016, 133), I conclude this section by considering some of the limitations of this research design which emerged through various stages of the research process. This is by no means an exhaustive list, but I have chosen to highlight the issues that I feel were most relevant to the project. Whilst these have served as barriers to this collaborative project's research potential, I hope that by considering them here, I might be able to provide some insight into some of the challenges faced by a collaborative researcher immersed in the field.

Facet Methodology as New Methodology

What I have found to be most problematic about my adoption of Facet Methodology as a research orientation is its state of relative infancy as a methodological approach, and the corresponding lack of

literature around it. Huggins, who praised FM in her PhD thesis for enabling her to 'revisit the research design and amend it as a result of initial investigations', acknowledged that 'there were few existing research studies to inform directly my research design and approaches to data analysis' (2014, 94-96). This posed a problem for Huggins, who 'felt a constant pull to investigate and incorporate any aspects' of her research trips, and struggled to find literary reference points to help her retain 'a tight focus of the study, both conceptually and organisationally, so as not to diffuse its effectiveness' (2014, 96).

Other than the work of those who conceived Facet Methodology in the first place (e.g. Davies 2011; Muir and Mason 2012), and the notable exception of Hackett's chapter on 'Multimodality and Sensory Ethnographies' in *The Routledge Handbook of Literacy Studies* (2015), Facet Methodology remains on the periphery of social science research practice, acknowledged by very few academics to date. It is not a 'buzzword', like 'co-production', that research council applicants are encouraged to use to secure funding (Flinders et al. 2016, 267) – but that is not necessarily to Facet Methodology's detriment. Indeed, researchers claiming to be doing 'co-productive' work often do not acknowledge the risks associated with a co-productive approach, such as the paradoxical reinforcement of 'hierarchical structures' that university-led co-production can foster (269). The 'dark side of co-production' has been well documented (see Steen et al. 2018; Oliver et al. 2019; Williams et al. 2020); despite 'the pressures on researchers to coproduce in order to create research impact', there is little consensus as to 'what coproduction is, how to do it, what the effects are, and an evidence-based set of techniques to achieve these effects' (Oliver et al. 2019, 2). In fact, Steen et al. (2018) go as far to say that 'research on effects' [of co-production] is the least developed part of research in this area' (284).

In contrast, Facet Methodology is not one of the 'predictable research methodologies' that researchers are encouraged to use en-masse for its compatibility with 'the existing research ethics template'; it challenges 'the ethical roadblocks […] installed for innovative and critical research' that does not conform to the qualitative research trends of the day (Haggerty 2004, 412). FM is a creative approach that I felt best suited the nature of this research project, based on my experiences within the field. This follows Bryman's belief that 'the research question is supposed to have a pivotal role because decisions about research design and methods are supposed to be made in order to answer research questions' (2007, 6). In this sense, I have chosen to disregard 'methodological preferences' based on how 'desirable' a method is seen to be, in favour of a research design that is primarily concerned with 'the fit between research questions and research methods' (Bryman 2007, 13). This may hamper my ability to get the findings of this doctoral project published, but I feel this is a worthy trade-off. I would far sooner compromise on my publishing record than follow 'the path of least institutional resistance', at the cost of my research integrity (Haggerty 2004, 412).

The Impartiality of Participatory Research

Participatory research, especially when the researcher is 'embedded and personally involved' in the research context, 'brings innate and embodied knowledge' that can 'enrich' the work (Rose 2017, 62). However, this engagement can also be 'problematic', as the researcher deals with their 'entanglement within the object of their work', and the influence that their dual identity as an academic and a community participant can have on the findings they generate (Rose 2017, 62). Whilst absolute objectivity in social science is no longer seen as a viable option for researchers (who are, by virtue of living and breathing, inextricably part of the social world they seek to understand), we are nonetheless encouraged to pursue a 'good enough objectivity' (Jenkins 2002, cited by Letherby et al. 2013, 83) that 'is necessary for our work to be taken seriously by those outside the discipline' (Letherby et al.

2013, 83). In this vein, Williams argues for 'situated objectivity': an appreciation that whilst 'the questions social scientists ask and the process of asking them takes place in a social context', there are 'objective features of investigation (truth and differentiation) that transcend context' (Letherby et al. 2013, 103). As an illustration of this, Malcolm points towards the scientific specification of 'a few, but very important laws (e.g. gravity, thermodynamics) that operate in all circumstances humans find themselves in', comparing these to the 'lower level laws and regularities' that social beings are also subject to (Letherby et al. 2013, 104).

One of the nine *Questions That Won't Go Away in Participatory Research*, according to Long et al. (2016), further articulates this concern around researcher accountability:

> How should professional researchers navigate tensions between what members of the community want and what colleagues and members of the academic community want? How can these tensions be best communicated to everyone? (Long et al. 2016, 252)

Despite wanting to represent the multidimensionality of the lived world, this doctoral study inevitably prioritises my own interpretations over that of the participants, given that the PhD has to be a 'sole-authored' narrative. I could have tried to find a way of including my interviewees in the analysis of their own data, as other participatory-led projects have done before (e.g. Ritchie and Barker 2005), but this would have required these volunteers to give even more time to my project, which would have been detrimental to *KLTV*'s work. Again, I was keen to adhere to my host university's Best Practice in Engaged Learning and Teaching, including 'Appreciation of impact on organisations' and 'Sustainability' (University of Sheffield 2021). Many of the findings drawn from the data are based upon my own understanding of the social context of *KLTV*, having operated within it as a participatory researcher for almost two years (and continuing a professional involvement with the organisation up until the time of writing). Like almost all ethnographic research, the researcher's

interpretation of events has pride of place; even when I have made observations about the things that the interviewees have said, they are *my* observations. This is unavoidable, but I have done my best to recognise the limitations of my own understanding, whilst still acknowledging that my perspective is necessary if the data is to be read in the context it was garnered within. In doing so, I hope to use my participatory experiences to this research's benefit, allowing the things 'that are not always visible during the directly observable interaction', such as 'hierarchical relations of power', to be seen wherever possible (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 73).

'In Their Own Image' – But Who Owns That Image?

> The very mechanisms and the cost of film-making turns one into a robber of sorts. […] each day's snaps are taped in cans by the camera assistant and flown out to the nearest laboratory. The image has left the area and will probably never return. (Barclay 2015, 83)

A collaborative research project working with external communities, according to the University of Sheffield's own guidelines for best practice, should 'avoid instrumentalising' community partners, 'respond to community needs and/or aspirations', and 'ideally' allow all parties to 'benefit from the engagement' (University of Sheffield 2021). Unfortunately, an ethical issue with regards to the copyright of the interview footage risked jeopardising the relationship I had built up with *KLTV* as a research partner, giving the impression that they would not have meaningful ownership of their own images. Having been instructed by the university ethical review panel to use the template consent form rather than one I had drafted myself, two of the interviewees, upon re-reading the consent form they had already signed (i.e. Appendix D1), said that they could not agree to the following clause, and told me they wished to rescind their consent:

> All intellectual property and know how generated in the course of the Project ('Arising IP') shall belong to Sheffield.

There was an error of interpretation on my part, in that I adopted the consent form template without changing any of its clauses. The ethics review panel had stated that I needed to use the template because my version was not General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) compliant, and I was cautious not to make any substantive changes to the new form to prevent my research from breaching GDPR. However, in personal correspondence, the University of Sheffield also accepted that the instructions provided with the generic consent form could have been clearer, and made changes to the template for future students – including explicitly stating that the form 'can be adapted to your needs'.

Whilst standard ethical practice would be to destroy the data the participant had helped to produce once a withdrawal request has been received, there are two key reasons why I did not. Firstly, the consent form was erroneous, and did not correspond with the Collaborative Agreement that had been agreed between the funder (the White Rose Doctoral Training Partnership), the host institution (the University of Sheffield), and the collaborative partner (*KLTV*) in late 2017, underpinning the entire project. That document stated that the 'Collaborative Partner' would be granted 'a licence to use its Arising IP for the project, for internal use and non-commercial purposes'. Secondly, I had already taken up a considerable amount of these volunteers' (and by extension, *KLTV*'s) time conducting these interviews, and it would have been unfair for me to have asked these two participants to let me interview them again – particularly considering that the ethical error was through no fault of their own. I therefore agreed to facilitate a conversation between *KLTV* and the University of Sheffield's contracts team, whilst agreeing not to use the data until a resolution between the two parties was reached, and storing the footage on a secure hard drive in *KLTV*'s possession in the meantime. These were the community's images, after all – recorded in the community, and using *KLTV*'s camera equipment. It would have been wrong for me to have 'robbed' these images from them, as most filmmakers are seen to do (see Barclay 2015, 83).

In the end, a new agreement was reached between the University and *KLTV* that went further than the original Collaborative Agreement did, granting joint ownership of the edited research films to either party, rather than the former administering a licence to the latter (i.e. Appendix D2). This was a time-consuming process: the copyright discussion I facilitated between the University and *KLTV* ensued long after the fieldwork placement formally ended in September 2019. However, this was a necessary step in order to honour the agreement on which this research partnership had been procured, as well as staying true to the term 'collaborative' itself. I would stress that the need to conduct engaged research ethically in the eyes of the community (as well as the academy) is a standard that every collaborative project should strive for and achieve, and I hope that this thesis stands as testament to that virtue.

Part Four: Analysis

Film 1: 'Founding KLTV'

Film Introduction

Founding KLTV (Appendix E1) is the first of my[7] research films, and at 14 minutes 34 seconds, it is the second-longest of the four. The film was made with the intention of outlining what *Kirklees Local TV* actually is (and is not), prior to further explorations of volunteers' participation within the organisation. It features three interviews recorded between June-September 2019 with a single participant, Milton Brown – the only member of *KLTV* (at the time of writing) to have been active in the company since it was founded in 2011. As such, Brown was the only person who could speak about all stages of *KLTV*'s development over the past eight years from direct experience. Brown's representation of *KLTV* provides a useful reference point for the perspectives of the organisation's volunteers as presented in Films 2-4. In addition, Film 1 is illuminating in its own right, illustrating the social, cultural and political contexts of *KLTV*'s conception in the early 2010s, as well as

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[7] I have been keen to highlight the creative input of Kirklees Local TV in the pre- and post-production of these films (as well as the time given to me by the members who agreed to an interview), and the subsequent co-ownership of these images between Kirklees Local TV and the University of Sheffield, throughout this thesis. However, I am equally mindful to stress that these films are a product of my creative expression as a filmmaker, and are consequently 'mine' in that sense. This follows auteur theory's stipulation that the director is the 'creator' (but not the owner) of the film 'in the personal sense we accept for the other arts' (Sarris 1963, 26), whilst UK copyright law specifies that where a film 'is made by an employee in the course of [their] employment, [their] employer is the first owner of any copyright in the work' (IPO 2014).

highlighting some of the more prominent challenges the company has had to overcome, under

Brown's stewardship, in its endeavour to become 'the first YouTube of Kirklees' (Milton Brown,

Film 1, 02:06-02:11).

What is Kirklees Local TV?

When posed with the question, 'How would you describe *Kirklees Local TV*?', CEO Milton Brown

described *KLTV* as 'a grassroots community news outlet' that utilises 'multiple social media

platforms' in order to cover stories that are not covered by other news titles locally or nationally, but

which are 'equally interesting' (Brown, *Film 1*, 00:15-00:43). When referencing 'interesting' news

stories, Brown is likely referring to stories that can be described as 'in the public interest' as opposed

to 'of interest to the public'[8]. Later in the film, he describes *KLTV*'s objective as finding 'a way to tell a negative story, *positively*', directly contrasting its media coverage with 'most high street news tabloids [that] have a mantra: if it doesn't bleed, it doesn't lead' (*Film 1*, 02:53-03:13). Brown also highlights that *KLTV* produces a different kind of journalism to its competitors, further distinguishing it from the rest of the industry:

> …we go out to find those stories that, I would argue, our local [news]paper doesn't cover; the national [news]paper might not cover; but [stories that are] equally as interesting. (Brown, *Film 1*, 00:30-00:43)

One thing that I observed during my fieldwork at *KLTV* was just how many different phrases were used to categorise the organisation's work. On its YouTube channel, *Kirklees Local TV* is described as 'a Social Enterprise' (YouTube 2021), as well as 'an internet-based TV station and film production company' (KLTV 2017). Whilst the majority of *KLTV*'s videos on its YouTube channel exhibit a local media service that provides the community 'an opportunity to make known their viewpoints on a variety of subjects' (YouTube 2021), the company's tagline, 'Your vision made reality' (see Figure 11 below), presents *KLTV* as more of a business proposition than a news outlet. Indeed, later in *Film 1*, Brown explains that the funding for *KLTV* 'has come from, more often than not, [the] private sector' (09:45-09:51), to whom the organisation provides a professional video production service. It is not irregular for news media companies to similarly fund their journalistic operations from other,

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[8] The distinction between these two terms was earlier defined in the first Literary Context Chapter, 'Brexit, Social Media and The Cultural Politics of Emotion: How Communicative Technologies Shape Public Perception in a Digital World'.

more profitable arms of the business, including the biggest names in UK broadcasting – as highlighted in a briefing paper published by the Media Reform Coalition in 2011:

> …it is also the case that the UK's most popular television bulletin and news website [i.e. the BBC] is subject to a public service remit and subsidised by a licence fee; that Sky News has long been supported by the profits made by sports subscriptions at BSkyB; that the *Guardian's* far-sighted investments in digital and commitment to investigative journalism has been made possible by its unusual Trust ownership status; and that the losses of many print titles have been borne by proprietors eager for political influence. (Co-ordinating Committee for Media Reform 2011, 7)

Whilst *KLTV* is presented by Brown as being different to the mainstream in terms of the types and tone of news stories it produces, its funding model bears similarity with the UK's most influential media companies. This is likely to be one of the main reasons why *KLTV* has managed to continue operating since 2011, despite the local news coverage industry being recently described as close to 'collapse' (Waterson 2019, para. 1). Critics of local media's economic viability were quick to highlight Johnston Press entering administration in 2018 as further evidence of this decline; Johnston Press was the fourth largest regional newspaper group in the UK before its assets were taken over by JPI Media Ltd (Greenslade 2018; Ponsford 2018). Despite this grim backdrop, *Kirklees Local TV* has managed to continue producing and promoting local news content, having amassed over 1,400 videos on its YouTube channel alone between March 2011 and February 2021.

Figure 11: The header image of Kirklees Local TV's YouTube page (YouTube 2021); in the centre, the KLTV logo with the strapline, 'Your vision made reality'.

Why was KLTV founded in 2011?

Figure 12: Posters on a display wall in Kirklees Local TV's studio show some of Milton Brown's past civic engagement projects, including the 'Parents of Black Children Association' (Film 1, 01:05)

KLTV was established by Milton Brown in 2011, following a near-30 year career of 'civically engaging local authorities, civically engaging universities, and empowering [his] local community' across a range of 'local, national, [and] international' projects (*Film 1*, 00:47-01:08). Photos from one of these initiatives, the 'Parents of Black Children Association' (PBCA*)*, can be seen in a cutaway clip during this interview segment. Amongst its projects, PBCA helped to develop a new Kirklees African Caribbean local history archive to celebrate 60 years since HMT Empire Windrush's first voyage (Hirst 2008); this was also ten years prior to the start of the 'Windrush: The Years After' project, demonstrating how *KLTV* has managed to continue PBCA's legacy of cultural representation and community engagement. Brown continues to outline how the idea of *Kirklees Local TV* was born out of the same national austerity measures that saw budget cuts to organisations like the PBCA:

> …I was devastated because the minute austerity came in, the council cut everybody's budget. And the first people's budget to go, was those social entrepreneurs; the voluntary sector organisations, that

didn't have core allegiance with the council. And that hurt. Because for all the work I'd ever done, was always outward-facing, empowering people, and I always defended the council, and I always wanted the best for the council and my community. So, I licked my wounds, thought about it: what can I do that is still in line with empowering people; still in line with giving people a voice; still in line with civically engaging people…and I had the idea of 'Kirklees Local TV'. (*Film 1*, 01:08-02:01)

Local news coverage has been identified as a central component to an effective democracy, both in the UK and beyond (Greenslade 2018; European Federation of Journalists 2020). This sentiment is further echoed in the Cairncross Review (2019), an independent investigation into 'a sustainable future for journalism' carried out at the request of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS):

> For a society to have ready access to high-quality news is essential not just for the moment, but for the long-term sustainability of democracy. The type of news most under threat is that reported by regional and local publishers, undertaking the humdrum task of covering the machinery of regional and local government in the broadest sense. The [Cairncross] review is particularly concerned to protect the supply of this 'public-interest' news… (DCMS 2019, 91)

In his response to the question of 'What is *Kirklees Local TV*', Milton describes a similar commitment to public service as that outlined in the Cairncross Review:

> I wanted to create the first YouTube of Kirklees. That means it was a whole mixture of everything and everything – raising the profile of people; raising the profile of the council; informing people what the council do; informing people what some private sector [companies] do with regards to the council; and raising the profile of community, social [and] political activists – all in the right way. (Brown, *Film 1*, 02:06-02:30)

Kirklees Local TV was founded in the immediate aftermath of the 2010 General Election, at a time

when the newly instated Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition Government was promoting local media (and in particular 'Local TV') as part of its broader cultural agenda. This shift in policy direction is reflected in the Shott Review (Shott 2010) and the Local Media Action Plan (DCMS 2011), two documents published by the UK Government's Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) advocating the creation of a new 'Local TV Network'. The Shott Review, exploring the commercial viability of 'Local Television' in the UK, claimed that 'an effective local press that can hold the political institutions to account is an essential part of [the democratic] process' (Shott 2010, 18). In the Local Media Action Plan (2011), then-Culture Secretary, Jeremy Hunt, further echoed the Shott Report's claim:

> For local democracy to flourish I believe that our most important media medium must be able to report on local content in depth and to a high standard. As such the Coalition Government will do all it can to ensure that localness is at the heart of our media sector and that local television services can flourish (DCMS 2011, 4)

Terrestrial television, 'a media platform [that] remains a powerful and trusted form for viewers', was presented as a means of giving 'individuals an alternative way to engage with their local community and political structure' (DCMS 2011, 10). Potential broadcasters were subsequently invited to bid for 'L-DTPS'[9] (Local Digital Television Programme Service) licences administered by Ofcom (the

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[9] The L-DTPS licences issued to Local TV Network members from 2013 onwards were made available by Ofcom in accordance with the 1996 Broadcasting Act (Ofcom 2012, 4), but this is not the first time that local TV service provision have been made available in the UK; the Restrictive Service Licence (RSL) was introduced by the 1990 Broadcasting Act and administered by the Independent Television Commission (i.e. the regulatory body preceding Ofcom). *TV12*, a local TV channel on the Isle of Wight, became the first

'Office for Communications'), which would allow them to host their own TV channel in a specific region (Ofcom 2014). Despite the £25m provision made available by the DCMS (publicly funded by money recouped by the BBC's annual television licence fee) to cover the start-up costs of 'up to twenty local TV services' in 2013/14 (Hunt 2010, 2), Huddersfield was not listed as a potential Local TV location by Ofcom; the Emley Moor television transmitter that provides terrestrial television signal to homes in Huddersfield was already earmarked for a Leeds-focused channel (Ofcom 2012, 79). *KLTV* nonetheless continued to use online platforms (such as its YouTube channel) to disseminate local news coverage, a model which has allowed them to operate for ten years and counting. Meanwhile, the Local TV Network (LTVN) struggled to make good on the pledges outlined in the Local Media Action Plan (2011), with the early losses reported by the majority of its channels – most notably 'London Live', which made a loss of £12m in 2014 (Sweney 2015a) and an additional £6m in 2015 (Sweney 2015b) – prompting one media commentator to brand the Local TV Network as 'a busted flush from the start' (Greenslade 2015, para. 4).

As evidence from the DCMS-backed Local TV Network project continues to suggest that Local TV is not a profitable enterprise – no different to the local and regional newspaper industry in this regard (see Greenslade 2018) – *Kirklees Local TV*'s continued status as a non-profit organisation is seemingly well justified. However, as an organisation operating independently of Ofcom, *KLTV* has no obligation to broadcast a certain quantity of local media content to the community it serves. In contrast, and as one of the conditions of the L-DTPS licence (as by extension, the start-up funds

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RSL analogue local TV broadcaster in 1998 (Mansfield 2000) – although it was shut down by the ITC in 2002 and replaced by a new service, *Solent TV* (Welsh 2002). *Solent TV* subsequently ceased broadcasting in 2007 due to insolvency (Perry 2007).

provided by the BBC and endorsed by the DCMS), Local TV Network channels have been required

to submit to an 'annual return', committing to a set number of hours of first-run 'originations' (i.e.

programmes made by the channel itself) 'acquisitions' (i.e. programmes acquired from other

broadcasters which have not been previously shown on the network) and news bulletins – proving

that they meet the conditions of the licence (Ofcom 2012, 62-63). That said, Ofcom have been under

prolonged pressure from the LTVN to reduce the local programming commitments that were

originally stipulated in these licenses (see Ofcom 2019c). As a result, Local TV channels now rely

'heavily on repeats' of non-local programmes – so much so that viewers 'probably don't realise they

are watching a local channel at all' (Youngs 2021, paras. 5-10). Prior to the 2020-21 Covid-19

pandemic (which has seen a halt to London Live's local news coverage altogether), Local TV

Network channels were only required to 'make as little as a quarter of an hour of local TV a day'

(Youngs 2021, paras. 12-19).

In Ofcom's absence, *KLTV* is not actively regulated by a media standards body. As such, the

organisation is not obliged to sign up to the Ofcom 'Broadcasting Code' for its video-based media

productions (Ofcom 2019a). As previously indicated in Literary Context 1, the lack of effective (and

independent) media regulation allows broadcasters and news titles to act in their own interests,

without abiding to press standards on the quality of the information they disseminate. However, as I

also highlighted in the same chapter, the effectiveness of media regulators such as Ofcom and the

Independent Press Standards Organisation (IPSO) to oversee the appropriate production and

dissemination of news content is well documented. Local TV is no exception. In April 2020, London

Live were found to have breached Rule 2.1 of the Code for their broadcast of an interview with

conspiracy theorist David Icke, which contained 'potentially harmful statements about the

Coronavirus pandemic' (Ofcom 2020a) – although London Live faced no further sanctions from

Ofcom, and were merely ordered to remove the programme from their online platforms, as well as

broadcasting an apology live on air on the 22nd April (Ofcom 2020b). In contrast, 'London Real', the media production company that made the offending Icke interview, continues to host the video on its website (Digital Freedom Platform 2020); at the time of writing, it had amassed approximately 3,750,000 views.

The fact that the regulated London Live broadcaster was ordered to remove the 'harmful' David Icke interview, whilst 'London Real' continues to make it freely available to the public, illustrates a key threat that the unregulated landscape of independent media production fails to mitigate. However, in defence of community-based media organisations like *KLTV,* Radcliffe (2012b) claimed that being unregulated 'does not [necessarily] mean your standards are any lower' (para. 50). Radcliffe, a former employee of Ofcom (Townend 2012), has argued that hyperlocal publishers[10] do not need to be regulated as they tend to 'take questions of balance and accuracy very seriously and where they have an editorial agenda it is usually pretty clear' (2012, para. 49). *KLTV*'s commitment to journalistic accuracy is represented by Brown's final response in the *What is 'Kirklees Local TV'?* segment of *Film 1*:

> We want people to trust us as an authentic voice, for *them*. And in the main, when I reflect, we've never been held accountable for telling a wrong story; we've never been given grief because we've told a story and 'egged the plate' on the story. And when you look at the diverse range of people that's worked in here; that we've interviewed outside of the building; it covers absolutely everybody. We raise the profile of everyone and everyone in a very just and appropriate way, and I think that's the real

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[10] Whilst I maintain the case made in the Introduction that *KLTV* should not be considered as a hyperlocal news organisation (in that it covers too large an area to be 'hyperlocal'), Radcliffe's discussion around hyperlocal media and regulation (2012b) applies to *KLTV* in the sense that they are similarly unregulated.

credibility of our organisation. We go from bottom to top; not top to bottom. (Milton Brown, *Film 1*, 03:13-04:01)

What kind of news does KLTV cover?

Figure 13: the introduction to 'Young, British, Pakistani and Muslim' (2013), Kirklees Local TV's most watched video to date.

In an interview I conducted on 23rd August 2019, Brown claimed that *KLTV*'s news has 'touched on every one' of the nine protected characteristics set out by the 2010 Equality Act[11] (*Film 1*, 04:05-04:27). The organisation's CEO continues, 'outside of KLTV as a social enterprise, we are always looking at socially redemptive programmes […] things that are gonna wake something up inside of

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[11] 'Age', 'Disability', 'Gender Reassignment', 'Marriage and Civil Partnership', 'Pregnancy and Maternity', 'Race', 'Religion or Belief', 'Sex', and 'Sexual Orientation' are the nine characteristics outlined in the 2010 Equality Act, with the aim of protecting everyone in Britain from any discrimination and harassment based on these attributes.

you; and things that are gonna make you think, 'my gosh, I never looked at it like that'' (*Film 1*, 04:27-04:47). This type of media coverage tends to be *KLTV*'s most viewed content, demonstrating a tangible demand for local programming that brings viewers' attention to issues of inequality faced by the regional community. The most-watched video to date on *KLTV*'s YouTube channel, 'Young, British, Pakistani and Muslim' (KLTV 2013c), has garnered over 87,000 views on the platform in the last seven years. This relatively high quantity of views does not necessarily suggest that the video is popular with all audiences; it has received almost half as many 'dislikes' (122) as 'likes' (269) as of 10th February 2021. However, the attention given to 'Young, British, Pakistani and Muslim' forms part of a broader trend of viewer interest in programmes that cover social inequality and/or celebrate diversity; the following videos all rank in the top ten *Kirklees Local TV* videos to-date based on the number of times viewed on YouTube:

- 'The Story of Rosa Parks' (KLTV 2011, 2nd most viewed: 56,000+ views), a 2-minute stop-motion film made by children at a local community centre to celebrate Black History Month;

- 'On Dewsbury Moor' (KLTV 2013b, 6th most viewed: 20,000+ views) is a 17-minute investigative documentary presented by a local Parish Reverend, exploring the social and cultural tensions within a district in the town of Dewsbury;

- ''The Legacy': Jamaican Quadrille Dancers' (KLTV 2014d, 9th most viewed: 15,000+ views) documents a traditional African Caribbean dance in commemoration of 50 years of Jamaican independence.

It should be stated that not all *KLTV* videos are 'news pieces'. Indeed, some of their more light-hearted programmes also perform well in terms of audience numbers:

- 'Mumford and Sons in Huddersfield' (KLTV 2012b, 3rd most viewed: 43,000+ views) features an exclusive interview with the popular folk-rock band ahead of their concert at Huddersfield's Greenhead Park;

- 'The History Programme | David Brown Ltd.' (KLTV 2019b, 4th most viewed: 24,000+ views) sees local reporter David Hodgson presents an archive 'infomercial' video from the 1960s, produced by a former tractor company based in Huddersfield;

- And in 'Celebrate Yorkshire Day with some Yorkshire Dialect!' (KLTV 2013a, 5th most viewed: 20,000+ views), two members of the Yorkshire Dialect Society read out a series of traditional poems in the regional accent.

Whilst *KLTV* have undoubtedly produced a series of insightful local programmes relating to the topics of 'Race' and 'Religion or Belief', much less attention has been given by the organisation to some of the other protected characteristics outlined in the 2010 Equality Act, including 'Gender Reassignment' and 'Sexual Orientation'. Of 1,433 videos published on the *KLTV* YouTube channel (as of 10th Feb 2021), only 5 of them (0.35% of programming) primarily focused on LGBTQ+ themes[12] (KLTV 2014c; 2015a; 2015b; 2016; 2019b). It could be argued that issues of race and religious identity are pertinent to a broader proportion of *KLTV*'s local community audience than gender reassignment and/or sexual orientation. For example, in the 2011 Census, 'Asian/Asian

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[12] A search of the *KLTV* YouTube channel's video library on 10th February 2021 returned five videos that prominently featured the term 'LGBT', the term's variations (e.g. 'LGBTQ+'), and/or the term's subgroups (e.g. 'Transgender') in their title, synopsis, or transcripts. This excludes videos that briefly mention LGBTQ+ - including 'Weekly Wind-Up 18 May 2015' (KLTV 2015a) – which make infrequent verbal reference to stories and issues around sexual orientation and/or gender reassignment, but as part of a broader news narrative.

British: Pakistani' was the largest minority ethnic group in Kirklees, with 9.9% (41,802) regional residents identifying themselves in this category – well above the 2.0% reported across England and Wales (Kirklees Council 2018, 24). Given these figures, it is hardly surprising that 'Young, British, Pakistani and Muslim' (KLTV 2013c) received such a high viewership on the *KLTV* YouTube channel. However, according to Office for National Statistics (ONS 2020) estimates for England and Wales between 2016 and 2018, 3% of the Kirklees population (14,000) are believed to identify as a category other than 'Heterosexual or straight' – far greater than the percentage of *KLTV* YouTube videos primarily dedicated to LGBTQ+ issues (0.35%).

Unfortunately, when the organisation *has* created videos primarily dedicated to discussions around LGBTQ+ identity, the viewership has been relatively poor: only one (KLTV 2015b) received more than 100 views on YouTube. This may well be a key driver behind *KLTV*'s decision to focus more of their attention on different protected characteristics in society, such as race and religion, which tend to garner larger audiences. Regardless of how noble a community-based media organisation's aims and objectives may be, all news outlets are ultimately driven by their ability to draw members of the public onto their websites and social media platforms; *Kirklees Local TV* is no exception.

How has KLTV changed through the years?

The target of creating 'a YouTube experience' for the people of the Kirklees region was achieved in the first six years of *KLTV*'s existence (i.e. between 2011-2017), according to Milton Brown (*Film 1*, 05:03-05:21). Beyond 2017, the organisation's key objective, as outlined by its CEO, has been 'moving towards, arguably, a *proper* – dare I say it – online news channel' (Milton Brown, *Film 1*, 05:53-06:23). The notion that there is a 'proper' type of news outlet – as well as Brown's tentativeness in regarding *KLTV* as one of them – is indicative of the broader issues of prestige and credibility that run through the local media industry. Whilst a 2018 YouGov survey found that 'local

press in print and digital is the most trusted source for local news and information' (Local Media Works 2018), the Edelman Trust 'Barometer' study conducted in the same year showed a sharp rise in the UK public's trust in traditional media, 'while trust in social media platforms and search engines has dropped' (News Media Association 2018) – although the 2021 Barometer revealed that 'the global infodemic has driven trust in all news sources to record lows' (Edelman Trust 2021, para. 6). In the 'post truth' era (see Walkerdine 2020), it has proven difficult for traditional media outlets – typically seen as the most credible source for news – to maintain the public's trust. The comparable task for *KLTV*, a non-traditional, online-only news platform that has only been running since 2011, is even harder. That said, *KLTV* has continued to exist in an hostile media climate, and Milton Brown attributes the continued success of *KLTV* to the fact that people 'from all parts of [local] society' now come to them to cover the news – rather than *KLTV* having to find the story themselves:

> KLTV has been running for nine years, and we've never had an aggressive marketing strategy. We wanted this to grow *for* the people, *by* the people. And, nine years' old, we are now beginning to reap those rewards; we never rammed it down anybody else's throats, so now people are ringing us up, they want us to go and film a story here; people are ringing us up, they want us to do a promotional video for them; we're getting calls from all parts of society now. (Milton Brown, *Film 1*, 05:21-05:53)

What is it like to work at KLTV?

At the beginning of this clip (i.e. *Film 1*, 06:28-09:07), Milton Brown refers to the African proverb, '*It takes the whole village to raise one child*', as a means of describing the philosophy of *KLTV*. In a field diary entry I wrote 6 months prior to this interview, I remarked on how Brown ('MB') had often used the same phrase in conversation:

> MB was giving an overview [to a local journalist] of KLTV and its work in the community […] this talk really gave me a feeling of pride and a sense of belonging here. I've heard MB give this talk to

visitors quite a few times, and it is still refreshing to see the work of KLTV being presented in this way - humbly, but honestly.

One comment in particular was something I've heard MB use several times before across a wide range of discussions: 'it takes the whole village to raise one child'. It is an African proverb, and one which I think really sums up the often complex and complicated work of this organisation in as concise a way as possible - implying not only that the work of KLTV is important, but that it is often arduous as well. (Field Diary Entry 49, 14th March 2019)

In the context of the interview for *Film 1*, Brown used this phrase as a means of illustrating *Kirklees Local TV* 'as a learning organisation: people come, and they learn under their own pace, and their own ambition, application and attitude' (*Film 1*, 07:02-07:19). He describes *KLTV* in the film as a place for 'students' to become 'independent learners', and exemplifies this by paraphrasing another proverb: 'We don't tell anybody how to fish; we give them a rod and say, 'see ya later'' (*Film 1*, 06:54-07:02; 07:36-07:40). I have described on more than one occasion my own experience of being 'left to my own devices' whilst volunteering at *KLTV* (Field Diary Entry 88, 22nd August 2019; Field Diary Entry 91, 6th Sept 2019), as well as feeling able to ask someone else within the organisation (other than Brown) to help me when necessary – in this case, with *neatening up* the edit for my four research films (Field Diary Entry 91, 6th Sept 2019). I can also personally attest to the 'come and learn a skill' aspect of volunteering at *KLTV* (Milton Brown, *Film 1*, 07:24-07:26). A great example of this was when I was asked to help the organisation to assist with a film job at a local user-led organisation called 'Kirklees Visual Impairment Network' – my first time interviewing people with visual impairments:

My ego was further boosted by the KVIN filming event, after which MB expressed a great deal of praise for how I approached the interviewing task. There were extra things to consider on this filming job - for example, asking an interviewee to 'look at' the interviewer and not the camera is normally

easy for someone with able vision, but I was worried that these visually impaired interviewees would struggle with this. I was pleasantly surprised by the way in which each interviewee was able to 'follow my voice', and even felt that they were able to retain focus on the interviewer throughout the interview much better than many visually able interviewees, who are often distracted by the visual presence of the camera, are actually able to; I suppose the presence of the camera may not be as intimidating for someone who cannot see it, despite their knowing that it is there.

MB subsequently called me a 'people person', and said very positive things about my 'stellar' interviewing approach. (Field Diary Entry 43, 15th February 2019)

Brown adds that the learning that takes place at *KLTV* is, 'as within any learning organisation […] a two-way street' (*Film 1*, 08:11-08:16). He describes his engagement with both young volunteers and community elders as enriching, making him 'a better person', 'more knowledgeable', and giving him 'a kind of cultural literacy' that enables him to 'go into any community in [Huddersfield] and feel comfortable' (*Film 1*, 08:16-08:50).

How is KLTV seen by local institutions?

Milton Brown's response to this question exposes a tension between *KLTV* and other local stakeholders – an 'inevitable' circumstance of their presence in 'mainstream or public sector business' (*Film 1*, 10:16-10:21). Whilst *KLTV* is not a *de facto* public sector business, a significant proportion of its activity – aside from the 'private sector' work that makes up the majority of their business (see *Film 1*, 09:12-09:51) – is in conjunction with public bodies such as the National Lottery Heritage Fund (NLHF), as well as regional Kirklees Council. In this regard, Brown believes that *KLTV* is seen 'as a threat to the status quo', listing three reasons why this might be the case:

1. We're not sensationalising anything,

2. We're speaking authentically;

3. The person in charge, the CEO, is not frightened of conflict (*Film 1*, 09:56-10:16)

My fieldwork experience provided some evidence to further suggest that such a rift exists. One month after this particular interview with Brown – and just one week after *KLTV*'s premiere public screening of the NLHF-funded 'Windrush: The Years After' film at the University of Huddersfield – the organisation was subject to a copyright infringement claim from one of its competitors:

> I arrived at the office to discover that KLTV had been presented with a letter of legal action with regards to copyright infringement. The case in question regarded an image KLTV used in one of their articles around 3 years ago; the photo itself, used seemingly in error (or, at least, ignorant of copyright regulations), was allegedly the property of a large international media conglomerate, which owns local and national media companies in the UK. KLTV had been ordered to pay a sizable sum for copyright licensing to cover their allegedly wrongful use of the photo, and were further instructed that even if they were to take the photo down from the site, they would still be liable to pay this fee. (Field Diary Entry 81, 18th July 2019)

The timing of the copyright infringement claim was something I also commented on in my notes:

> It seems a little too coincidental that this legal action had been taken now, not only over three years since the article in question was published online, but also less than a week after our big Windrush screening (which was reported in the local and regional press). I really hope that both this media company, and the law firm representing them, sees this matter in the context of our relative position and lack of wealth at KLTV, and lets us off with a warning on this occasion. Forcing us to pay this

money for something that we had gained little (if anything) from using[13] would seem, at least to me, to serve no purpose other than to financially cripple KLTV for something that was, at least in my humble opinion, an honest mistake. (Field Diary Entry 81, 18th July 2019)

One of *KLTV*'s key strengths as a community-based media organisation is its ability to 'speak authentically and empower those immediately around them' – an 'authentic' service that Brown believes most of the organisation's audience 'come here' for (*Film 1*, 10:42-10:52). This again raises the important issue of media credibility; despite earlier questions over whether *KLTV* is a 'proper' online news channel (see Milton Brown, *Film 1*, 05:53-06:23), its unique selling point is to 'get those who are involved *in* the story to *tell* their story', rather than simply 'writing stories *about* folks' – which makes *KLTV*'s news more 'authentic' in Brown's opinion (*Film 1*, 02:30-02:51). 'Social media' provides an avenue for *KLTV*'s brand of community-centric news which other institutions 'cannot control' (*Film 1*, 10:16-10:42); in other words, *KLTV* can publish whatever they want, so long as they do not contravene each platform's respective codes of conduct. However, as the July 2019 copyright infringement claim demonstrated, there are still rules on publication and ownership that *Kirklees Local TV* have to abide by.

Reflecting on this copyright infringement incident almost two years on, I still question to what extent the claim was a show of strength – from a media conglomerate with a far bigger balance sheet than

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[13] Unlike most media companies, *KLTV* gains nothing financially as a direct result of their print and broadcast journalism online, as they do not generate any regular advertising revenue from 'hits' on their website and social media platforms (with the exception of a handful of one-off sponsorship deals for particular articles and videos).

KLTV will ever likely have. Just as the nineteenth-century working-class 'radical press' were deemed 'a major threat by the ruling elites' – and subsequently threatened by 'libel laws and prosecutions', as well as the British government 'imposing various taxes designed to drive out radical media by raising their costs' (Herman and Chomsky 1988, 3) – it felt as though *KLTV* had become the victims of their own popularity. Whilst *KLTV* had insufficient grounds to appeal the copyright legal action, I am relieved that my fear it would financially cripple the organisation was not realised.

Why aren't there more organisations in the UK like KLTV?

Earlier in this section, I discussed how attempts to restabilise a declining UK Local TV industry in the 2010s had been described as 'a busted flush from the start' (Greenslade 2015, para. 4) and provided evidence to suggest that the Government's vision of 'commercially viable local TV' (DCMS 2011, 3) remains well out of reach in the current climate. In its CEO's opinion, *KLTV* as a social enterprise has been able to continue its community-based media function because the organisation is '*not* money-driven; we're *people*-driven' (Milton Brown, *Film 1*, 12:07-12:31). Brown recognises that other community-based media organisations 'find it difficult to get off the ground', and believes that 'visionary' leadership, 'resilience' and having 'an honest team' are key to *KLTV*'s continued existence (*Film 1*, 10:57-11:25). Besides Brown's role as Chief Executive Officer (i.e. the only salaried role in the organisation) and the occasional freelance work that *KLTV* can provide for, the 'team' that the CEO is referring to is an entirely voluntary one. The 'learning organisation' model that *KLTV* adopts is therefore central to its operations, providing college and university students experience and guidance in journalism in return for their services as content creators – generating the news media that keeps *KLTV*'s news channel running, which creates further volunteer opportunities in turn, and so on.

It is evident from *Film 1* that keeping *KLTV*'s services operational has not always been a smooth

process. Milton Brown speaks personally about 'the pain, the sacrifices, the negotiation, the navigation, the lack of funds [and] the lack of resources' that the organisation has had to endure 'to get to where we've got to' (*Film 1*, 11:38-11:52). Again, Brown emphasises the lack of support from local institutions: 'nobody gave us anything; everything that's here, we've earned' (*Film 1*, 11:52-12:03) Somewhat contradicting the notion that the organisation is '*people*-driven', Brown ends his answer to the question by saying, 'to run something like this, you have to be money-driven' (*Film 1*, 12:22-12:27) – but adds that 'the distribution of wealth must go back to the people' (12:27-12:31). Given *KLTV*'s dependence on a voluntary workforce, it is likely that the wealth distributed by the organisation (as referred to by Brown) is not an economic one but rather, a form of social capital: the upskilling of young people in the local area, coinciding with the continuous production of community-led news content.

What are your future plans for KLTV?

Back in September 2019, Milton Brown's vision for *KLTV* was for it to become 'a fully interactive newspaper, where the local community, or local people, can upload their own stories' – with dedicated pages for 'politics; health; even stuff around the Black Asian Minority Ethnic [BAME] communities; a sport section', and so on (*Film 1*, 12:36-13:10). There is a local demand for this sort of service according to Brown – 'the communities are crying out for a platform to tell their story' – but whilst he remarks on how 'all the tabloids' are 'just not getting beneath the surface on some of these stories', he is keen to assert that *KLTV* is not going to become an anti-establishment ('political, anarchist type') news outlet (*Film 1*, 13:48-14:18). Instead, the 'love [for] my town' and 'love [for] my region' is the lens through which the CEO frames his organisation's commitment to its local communities (*Film 1*, 13:53-13:57).

Under the new production model outlined by Brown, *KLTV* would perform a predominantly editorial

role (rather than creating their own content in-house) – 'verify[ing] the stories before we send it out' (*Film 1*, 13:10-13:16). Brown's ambition that *KLTV* could *become* 'like a people's newspaper […] for people to get their voices out and be heard' in the future suggests that at it was not 'a people's newspaper' at the time of the interview in September 2019 (*Film 1*, 13:30-13:48). However, at the end of the clip, Brown states:

> …we don't do stories to see if we can make a buck or two out of it; we do stories because stories – real life stories – are important to people. And that's where we are, like I said: we're the people's news outlet. (*Film 1*, 14:18-14:34)

The question of whether *KLTV* is considered as 'the people's news outlet' by its body of community-based volunteers is explored in more detail in *Research Film 2: 'The People's News Outlet'*. However, in the context of *Film 1*, this analysis has revealed that whilst community-based media production is at the heart of what *KLTV* do, some social groups within the local region (such as the LGBTQ+ community) receive far less media coverage than others. Brown's vision for *KLTV* (as outlined in *Film 1*) further reinforces this: he mentions the 'rural communities, urban communities, different religions [and] different faith groups' that will be able to use the platform in the future 'to tell their own stories', but makes no reference to the other protected characteristics (such as sexual orientation and gender reassignment) that *KLTV* are committed to representing (*Film 1*, 13:19-13:30).

Summary

Kirklees Local TV is a non-profit, 'grassroots community' news outlet and video production company based in Huddersfield, West Yorkshire. Its community-based media service, funded (to a large extent) by the organisation's video production work with the private sector – is independent of other media companies and conglomerates. Like 'hyperlocal' media organisations – of which there are hundreds across the UK (although, as I discussed in the thesis introduction, *KLTV* does not consider itself one

210

of them) – it also operates without the oversight of a regulatory body (Radcliffe 2012b). Instead, it operates under its own code of conduct and sets out its own values and principles – 'to provide a platform for underrepresented people to be heard from' and 'to cover issues relating to the nine protected characteristics of the 2010 Equality Act' being among them. Their coverage of identity issues and conflicts around race (e.g. 'Young, British, Pakistani and Muslim), cultural diversity (e.g. ''The Legacy': Jamaican Quadrille Dancers') and religion (e.g. 'On Dewsbury Moor') has seen *KLTV* receive many thousands of views on their YouTube channel (KLTV 2013c; 2013b; 2014d). In the process of creating this vast series of digital media content (over 1,400 videos and counting), learning opportunities are presented to local people – particularly young people (i.e. college and university students) – who learn new skills whilst helping the organisation to create news content on issues of local relevance and importance. It is the 'learning organisation' side of this multifaceted business that I will turn to in *Films 2-4*, bringing in the voices of the volunteers that *KLTV* were hosting during the summer of 2019.

Film 2: 'The People's News Outlet'

Film Introduction

The People's News Outlet (Appendix E2) – 8 minutes and 59 second in length – is the first film to feature only the voices of *KLTV*'s volunteers, without any contribution from the company's CEO. I specifically selected excerpts from my interviews with these members that linked directly to Milton Brown's identification of the organisation as 'The People's News Outlet' in *Film 1*; I found this phrase to be a particularly interesting one in relation to *KLTV*'s work, and thought it merited further exploration. Six of the project's seven volunteer participants feature here (Heather Norris Nicholson's contributions appear solely in *Film 4*, as the majority of her responses related directly to the *Windrush: The Years After* project). Of these six members, four are listed as 'Volunteers' (in order of appearance):

- Oliver Thompson
- Khatija Lunat
- Leah Conway
- Dave Hodgson

The other two participants in *Film 2*, Nabila Waseem and Niki Matthews, are listed as 'Business Director' and 'Consultant; Formerly Business Director' respectively. However, it is important to note that these two members were also working for *KLTV* on a voluntary basis at the time of their respective interviews; these titles represent their elevated roles within *KLTV*, rather than the financial basis on which they work for the organisation. All six interviewees in *Film 2* were therefore able to speak to the primary research question, *'why do people volunteer at an organisation like KLTV'*, from direct personal experience – i.e. as volunteers themselves.
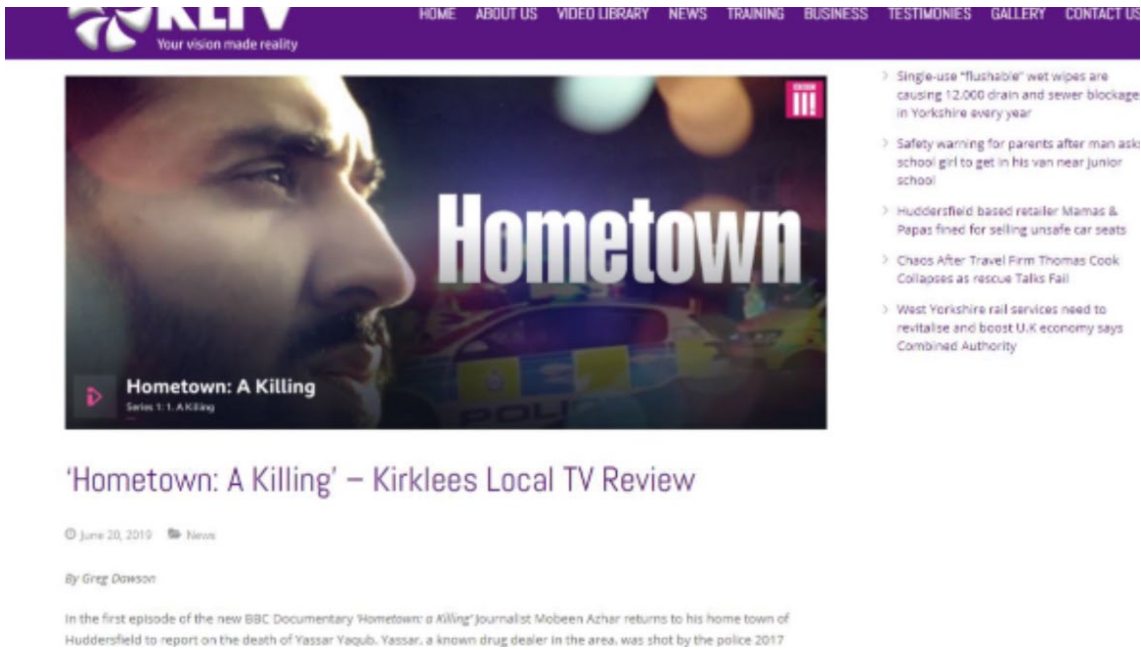
Figure 14: Nabila Waseem mentions the BBC docuseries 'Hometown: A Killing' (2019), contrasting its 'negative' portrayal of Huddersfield with the KLTV's more 'positive' representations of the town and its people (Film 2, 00:56)

Stylistically, 'The People's News Outlet' is the first film in which I adopted the use of the 'cutaway': switching from the visual images of the interviewee to another clip that further illustrates the content of their speech – often keeping that speech excerpt running continuously in the background. Whilst only used on one occasion here (i.e. *Film 2*, 00:57-01:06), I use them much more frequently in *Film 3* and *Film 4* to illustrate specific projects that the interviewees choose to focus on in their interview responses. Cutaways are a technique often adopted by *KLTV* in their own productions, including the *Public Eye* series that I often featured on as an interviewer and/or camera operator during my fieldwork placement (e.g. KLTV 2018b; 2018c). *KLTV* also encouraged me to make use of some of the pre-recorded 'images and footage of the events that some of the interviewees spoke about in their snippets', as a means of better illustrating the organisation's work to people from outside of the organisation (Field Diary Entry 90, 5th September 2019).

Film 2 is separated into four sections which synthesise the viewpoints of multiple volunteers in its exploration of how *KLTV* is perceived by different groups of people (i.e. its viewers, the local

213

community, and the volunteers themselves). Rather than serving as verification for Milton Brown's claim that *KLTV* is 'The People's News Outlet', this research film further develops on the themes of social empowerment, self-representation and cultural literacy that are evoked by the CEO's use of this term.

What does 'KLTV' offer to its viewers?

Figure 15: After the opening titles, Film 2 begins with Oliver Thompson, who says that KLTV offer 'another version' of the news to the people of Huddersfield (Film 2, 00:17)

There is a consensus among volunteers that *KLTV* offers something different to local people than what is offered by other media outlets – but for a variety of different reasons. 'There's no other internet online station for and in Huddersfield', states Oliver Thompson, with *KLTV* offering 'another version' of events 'than what's already here, y'know – the local [news]paper and things like that' (*Film 2*, 00:15-00:29). These alternative accounts are orientated around the 'normal' act of 'talking to people', but with the addition of recording these conversations on film, to 'get people's opinions on different things' (Oliver Thompson, *Film 2*, 03:02-03:12). Thompson claims that *KLTV* 'actually

engage with people', suggesting that other media outlets do not typically operate in this way – echoing Milton Brown's claim that tabloid newspapers are 'just not getting beneath the surface on some of these stories' in Kirklees (*Film 1*, 13:48-14:18).

During his time volunteering with *KLTV*, Oliver Thompson would regularly feature as interviewer and presenter on *Public Eye* and *Summat Yorkshire* (see KLTV 2018b; 2019c), two short news bulletins that would typically focus on topics of national importance (e.g. using Social Media) and regional significance (e.g. Huddersfield being voted as 'the worst place to live in the UK' in 2018) respectively. As someone who had also routinely worked on these programmes as 'my weekly job' during 2018 (Field Diary Entry 83, 1st August 2019), I can confidently outline the production process for *Summat Yorkshire* and *Public Eye* here. Interviews for these programmes were generated via the 'vox-pop' technique: stopping random members of the public on the street and politely asking them if they would like to appear in our programme, before obtaining their written consent and proceeding to ask them questions them on a particular topic. In this sense, *KLTV* would 'actually *engage* with people' like Thompson said (*Film 2:* 03:02-03:12), but by adopting the well-known journalistic convention of the 'vox-pop' which is 'commonplace in everyday news coverage' (Beckers 2019, 980). Vox-pops have a demonstrable and 'powerful' impact in 'shaping *current* public opinion perceptions' (Peter 2019, 1009; emphasis in original). However, whilst they are perceived 'to be representative of [the views of] the entire population', they 'can never really be an actual representative sample of the public'; the 'apparently random sample' of voices portrayed is always selected by the media outlet (and more specifically, their editorial team) to suit the organisation's own needs (Becker 2019, 983-985). Although *KLTV* are – according to Thompson – the only organisation to provide this sort of vox-pop service to the people of Kirklees, their methods of news production are very similar to those employed by mainstream media outlets.

Figure 16: 'You have to love where you live', says Business Director Nabila Waseem; KLTV 'focus on the positives' (Film 2, 00:34)

Nabila Waseem's interview focussed specifically on the differences between *KLTV*'s brand of news coverage and that provided by the other 'main source of media' in Huddersfield, the 'Huddersfield Examiner' (also known as 'Examiner Live'; or simply 'Examiner', as it is often referred to locally), which was offered as both a digital (online) product and a print newspaper (*Film 2*, 00:29-00:36). Interestingly, between these project interviews in mid-2019 and the time of writing (i.e. February 2021), the Examiner was integrated by owner 'Reach plc' into a new regional online title, 'Yorkshire Live'; rather than having its own dedicated website, Huddersfield-based news is just one part of a broader website that also covers South, West and North Yorkshire (Sherrard 2020). Having already been acquired by a national media conglomerate in Reach plc (formerly known as 'Trinity Mirror'), the merger of the Huddersfield Examiner into the new Yorkshire Live title represents the further 'potential for economies of scope and scale' necessary to stymie the 'permanent downward curve' of daily and weekly newspapers financially (Aldridge 2007, 38).

The creation of Yorkshire Live (and its absorption of the Huddersfield Examiner) is the latest in a long line of attempts to run local and regional news titles as profitably as possible in the UK. In 2018, Reach moved its Huddersfield Examiner printing operation out of Huddersfield and merged it with the printing of the Manchester Evening News title in Oldham, Greater Manchester – a move that prompted a senior member of the National Union of Journalists to warn of its impact on the quality Huddersfield news provision, 'given the existing team is so small after years of the company continually whittling away at newsroom staffing levels' (Austin 2018). In September 2019, Examiner Live were the first news title of the Reach plc portfolio to introduce a paywall to readers, charging users 25p to gain full access to certain news articles on the Examiner's website – up to a maximum charge of £1 per week (Ankers 2019; Sharman 2020). I commented on this development in my field diary, after hearing about it from a fellow volunteer:

> As for the pay-per-view thing, I'm actually quite disgusted by this. What about if the article is about someone in the community dying, or being murdered, and their friends and/or family are going to then be charged to read about it? It really does put an interesting spin on the nature of local news, and its relationship with the community to which that news outlet serves. (Field Diary Entry 93, 13th September 2019)

The rationale behind the paywall introduction, according to Examiner Live's editor at the time, was that 'journalism costs money to produce' – likening the 'small fee' for accessing an online article to purchasing a physical newspaper (Ankers 2019, paras. 1-8). However, after a five-month trial, Examiner Live took the paywall back down again – with a Reach plc spokesperson arguing that Huddersfield 'is no longer the right spot to continue the casual payment experiment' (Tobitt 2020, para. 8).

Against the trend of Huddersfield's 'main' news outlet being downsized, monetised and outsourced, *KLTV*'s free-to-view coverage of local issues takes on a greater significance in relation to the flow of public-interest information to the Kirklees community. The Examiner in its previous form, according to Waseem, 'always presents a negative image of Huddersfield' – whereas *KLTV* 'always focus on the positives' (*Film 2,* 00:36-00:55). Another negative representation of Huddersfield, the BBC documentary series 'Hometown: A Killing' (2019) – which I wrote about at length in the third Literary Context section – is also referenced:

> We were talking about 'Hometown' the other day, do you know what I mean? And yeah, we know bad things go on, bad things go on in every single town and city in the world! But why do we have to keep highlighting the bad points, y'know? We need to highlight the positives and the good things, because there's a lot of good things in Huddersfield, and Kirklees! (Nabila Waseem, *Film 2*, 00:55-01:15)

Given some of the sensitive subject matter covered by *Kirklees Local TV* on their YouTube channel – such as the rise in local knife crime (see KLTV 2018c; 2018d) – it would be wrong to assume from Waseem's response that *KLTV* only ever cover positive news. However, it is fair to say that these negative stories do not tend to dominate *KLTV*'s representations of Huddersfield (via their YouTube channel) as much as they do in the media created by other outlets (such as the *BBC*'s 'Hometown: A Killing' docuseries). Indeed, this is the opinion of Consultant and former Business Director, Niki Matthews, who says that not all *KLTV* news pieces are 'happy stories', but they are stories that members of the local community 'want to share' (*Film 2*, 02:36-02:47). Interestingly, the two aforementioned videos on knife crime in Huddersfield (i.e. KLTV 2018c; 2018d) have (as of February 19th 2021) only garnered 222 views and 19 views respectively, suggesting that *KLTV*'s local viewers are actually less interested in negative portrayals of the town. This sentiment is echoed by Waseem's closing remarks in this segment of *Film 2*:

…I think that's one good thing *Kirklees Local TV* do: they highlight that and say, 'Look! Let's look at the positives and be happy.' Yeah, we know bad things go on, but we don't always need to keep going back to that…(Nabila Waseem, *Film 2*, 01:15-01:32)

Figure 17: Khatija Lunat remarks on the responsibility KLTV has to 'celebrate' local communities - something that national media outlets often fail to achieve (Film 2, 01:35)

Touching on the notion that mainstream media outlets portray a less edifying image of Huddersfield (and the Kirklees region more broadly) as a place to live, Khatija Lunat says it is 'a shame that it's people like *KLTV* [who] *have* to represent [and] celebrate those communities', arguing that this work 'should be done on a national level' (*Film 2*, 01:59-02:21). Lunat's emphasis of the word '*have*' implies that self-representation is a duty – something that is necessary for the wellbeing of a community rather than a vanity project – echoing the belief that 'every culture has a right and a responsibility to present its own culture to its own people', as posited by Barry Barclay and the Māori filmmaking movement (see Barclay 2015, 7). It also echoes the first tenet of critical race theory, 'counter-storytelling'; *KLTV* provides people of colour (as well as other minority groups) 'a voice to tell their narratives involving marginalized experiences' (see Hiraldo 2010, 54).

I used Barclay's metaphor of 'the camera on the shore' (see Gordon Smith 2019) at the very beginning of this thesis, arguing that when a community is empowered to make its own videos and films, *they* are the primary beneficiaries of that media. As Barclay himself remarks in the biographical documentary 'Barry Barclay: The Camera on the Shore' (2009):

> You're having yourself on if you think the camera's neutral. And you need in a way, I believe, to look at who you are making the film for, and exactly what kind of truth you're telling. ('Barry Barclay: The Camera on the Shore' 2009, 00:18:32-00:18-43)

Conversely, when a community is represented on camera by outsiders, it tells the story that the outsiders want to tell. Even 'Hometown: A Killing' (2019), presented by a journalist (Mobeen Azhar) who calls Huddersfield his 'hometown' (hence the docuseries' name), had the perceived effect of causing 'more harm than good' for the area and its people ('Update: 1. Turf War' 2020, 05:06-05:18). Despite the central presence of a person of colour in the BBC docuseries, 'interest convergence' – another tenet of Critical Race Theory (see Hiraldo 2010, 56) – stipulates that even the most diverse and well-intentioned media productions can serve to reinforce the status quo when they are made by (and for) the mainstream audience. In contrast, placing the camera into the hands of the people 'on the shore', rather than filming them from the outside looking in, enables a community to tell their own stories in their own way – although without that 'national level' support for initiatives such as *KLTV*, the task of self-representation is undoubtedly a difficult one for a non-profit to take on.

Figure 18: Leah Conway believes there should be more local media outlets like KLTV (Film 2, 02:26)

On a personal level, Khatija Lunat claims that her time working with the organisation has taught her that the telling of stories where 'community people are at the forefront' is 'important for a cohesive society, to maintain that cohesion within communities' (*Film 2*, 01:32-01:59). The following interviewee in *Film 2*, Leah Conway, further describes how *KLTV* can be considered as community-led:

> …I haven't really seen anything like it before, and the fact that it's really community driven – everything's about the community and for the community – I feel like there should be more things like it. (Leah Conway, *Film 2*, 02:21-02:36)

In Conway's opinion, the community-driven aspect to *KLTV* makes the organisation 'quite unique' (*Film 2*, 02:21-02:24). The social enterprise model for creating and disseminating local media is not a well-known one, but Conway nonetheless argues for more organisations 'like' *KLTV* in the UK. Given the lack of profitability in local media as a whole – demonstrated by the Local TV Network, as well as Examiner Live's short-lived attempts to generate more revenue from its online readers –

221

running a community media outlet as a non-profit organisation makes sense from a financial point of view.

Figure 19: Niki Matthews believes that 'what sets KLTV apart from other media companies' is their desire to 'celebrate' the achievements of the local community (02:40)

Perhaps unsurprisingly given their respective roles, the opinion of the former Business Director of *Kirklees Local TV* is very similar to the point of view articulated by her successor. Niki Matthews says that *KLTV* are different from their media competitors in that 'they're looking to celebrate where they live'; to 'celebrate the community, and the diversity within that community' (*Film 2*, 02:48-03:00). Rather than seeking to tell stories about the Kirklees region, Matthews presents *KLTV* as giving 'people an opportunity to share their stories' (02:36-02:40). This phenomenon is something that I witnessed first-hand during my first few months of volunteering in Huddersfield:

> I'm researching a story about a proposal to build a giant plastics factory in a local business park. A group of local residents have approached KLTV with concerns about the proposal, and have asked us to cover the story. (Field Diary Entry 15, 11th June 2018)

On reflection, the duty that I felt to represent this section of the local community – instilled in me by *KLTV* – was clear to see from what I wrote in my field diary on that day:

> I feel a sense of overwhelming determination that I haven't felt for a very long time: this story needs to be done, and it needs to be done right. The people of Kirklees are counting on us to deliver. There are people, 'out there', are waiting in anticipation of what I produce, hoping that it makes some kind of difference. Otherwise, why would they have approached us in the first place? (Field Diary Entry 15, 11th June 2018)

In the end, my coverage of the plastics factory controversy – in the form of a written article rather than a video (I had yet to be trained in making videos for *KLTV* up until this point) – received very little in the way of media attention. However, the personal correspondence I received from the original complainants was positive:

> The plastics factory story hasn't caught fire anywhere near as much as I hoped it would, but the community objectors certainly seemed pleased with the 'balance' we adopted in our representation, and the community focus that we managed to retain throughout the piece. I'm a little disappointed, of course, but I still feel like I did a good job. (Field Diary Entry 16, 15th July 2018)

Referring to *KLTV* in third person (given that she was an external consultant to the organisation at the time of the interview), Niki Matthews' final word was an overwhelmingly positive one: '…they're looking to celebrate the community, and the diversity within that community, and I think that they do that exceptionally well' (*Film 2*, 02:56-03:02)

What does 'KLTV' offer to its volunteers?

Thompson, Waseem, Lunat, Conway and Matthews all provided enthusiastic answers to the question of what *KLTV* offers to its viewers in the local community – suggesting that the opportunity to

contribute to a community-based news platform is a significant part of why these people have decided to volunteer there. However, the personal experiences of five people – from an organisation that hosted dozens of college and university student placements during the twenty-month period that I spent there as a participatory researcher – were unlikely to speak to all the reasons why people have chosen to volunteer at *KLTV* in recent years.

Regarding the reason(s) why volunteers come to *KLTV* in the first place, Nabila Waseem says, 'they've come here for a different purpose, y'know, we're not all here for the same thing' (*Film 2*, 03:45-03:49). During my fieldwork placement, most volunteers came to *KLTV* on a short-term temporary basis; Oliver Thompson says, 'we do see a lot of students that come in for a week, two weeks' (*Film 2*, 04:10-04:13), and Leah Conway later says, 'Through my time here, I've seen so many students come in, even for, like, a week' (04:23-04:27). Mindful that I did not want to risk deterring people from volunteering there by observing and/or interviewing them for my PhD project, asking the regular members of the organisation what *KLTV* offers to its voluntary body was the best alternative available to me. Of course, as long-term representatives of the organisation themselves, the likelihood of any of my participants criticising *KLTV* was low – especially when they knew that the final product would be viewed by the person directly responsible for them being there in the first place (i.e. the company's CEO, Milton Brown). However, I still felt that their responses would provide insightful data – some of which I could directly correlate with my own experiences of volunteering alongside them (as evidenced by the personal reflections I recorded in my field diary).

According to Oliver Thompson, '*KLTV* does offer a lot of opportunities for students, and the younger generation'; this is 'good', as it gives 'college students, university students […] a springboard really, to go on to wherever they want to be at the end of it' (*Film 2*, 03:52-04:08). Work placements of this kind are not uncommon; Niki Matthews says, 'I'm aware that there are smaller organisations doing a

similar sort of thing in other boroughs' (*Film 2*, 04:39-04:44). There is, of course, the sense that *KLTV*'s stature is being promoted here by its members – considered a larger organisation than the 'smaller' work placement alternatives, and therefore more successful. It is hardly surprising that a member of *KLTV* would want to promote the organisation in this way on film. However, *KLTV* is distinguished from those other organisations in the 'unique' opportunity it is said to provide:

> [*KLTV*] has a real interest and a real thirst for knowledge: whether that is learning about new people and promoting their stories through media; whether that's providing opportunities to students at the University [of Huddersfield] and the colleges, and via [the] JobCentre, to come and work with *KLTV* as part of their work experience, to gain the skills that they *need* and they wouldn't necessarily get in an educational institute. (Niki Matthews, *Film 2*, 04:44-05:15)

Thompson also uses the word 'unique' to describe the 'opportunity' *KLTV* provides to people, making explicit reference to 'high school students' who have undertaken a work placement with the organisation (*Film 2*, 04:12-04:23). He adds that bringing in young people from educational institutions on work placement programmes is '*KLTV*'s position at the moment', implying that this may not have always been the case at *KLTV* – or, indeed, may not be the case in the future (04:15-04:18). This would align with Milton Brown's ambitions expressed in *Film 1* for *KLTV* to become 'an online newspaper' where 'local people, can upload their own stories, and then we verify the stories before we send it out' (12:36-13:15).

In my experience of volunteering at *KLTV* on Thursdays and Fridays over a twenty-month period, some days in the office were 'rather quiet' (Field Diary Entry 91, 6th September 2019), whilst others were 'incredibly busy […] with an influx of work placement students' (Field Diary Entry 73, 4th July 2019). Nabila Waseem speaks directly about how people 'come in and out of the organisation', saying 'they'll come for their little bit and then they leave' (*Film 2*, 03:17-03:30). On first glance, this

seems to suggest that volunteers are typically interested in getting something *out* of *KLTV*, rather than giving something back to the community-based organisation. However, Waseem continues:

> …and then like yesterday, we had so many different people in because they were doing their own little bits, but then they were off again, y'know, once they'd done that? And that's the good thing about this organisation: you meet so many different people, from different backgrounds…(Nabila Waseem, *Film 2*, 03:30-03:44)

KLTV appears to be less focused on volunteer retention, preferring to equip temporary members such as work placement students with the skills 'to get what they want out of professional life' (Niki Matthews, *Film 2*, 05:44-05:53) – echoing Brown's 'teach a person to fish' analogy (see Milton Brown, *Film 1*, 07:36-07:46). Matthews derives a sense of personal joy from witnessing the progression of young people at *KLTV* – who are arguably provided a much wider set of skills than a traditional journalism course could offer – as well as unemployed people looking to enhance their employability:

> And it's a real proud moment to see young people coming into an organisation – or maybe somebody who's been out of work for a while, and come into the organisation – and grow so much, whether that's through the confidence of being in that environment, or being able to express themselves…(Niki Matthews, *Film 2*, 05:26-05:44)

Voluntary organisations have been regarded as having a 'revolving door' given their high levels of volunteer turnover – something that 'can be detrimental to the organization by hindering the chance to provide quality services' (Allen and Mueller 2013, 140). That said, Matthews is keen to highlight that people who once volunteered at *KLTV* 'have gone on to do amazing things in this area' – something she refers to as being 'absolutely fantastic' (*Film 2*, 05:15-05:26). Conway also highlights volunteers' desire to '[give] something back' for the 'opportunity' they have been presented with (*Film 2*, 04:27-

04:39). This sentiment is further resonated by 'Work Experience Is An Experience In Its Self' (KLTV 2012a), a video on *KLTV*'s YouTube channel presented by Mo Carrier, one of the organisation's former work experience students. This short video serves a dual purpose: Carrier interviews fellow high school peers about their respective work experience placements, whilst simultaneously illustrating her own workplace experience with *KLTV* (with whom she has made the video itself). The 'giving back' in this case takes the form of the production of a video that forms part of *KLTV*'s 'Local TV' channel, further contributing to the organisation's media output, whilst also presenting a first-hand review from Carrier of what it was like to volunteer there:

> From this experience, I will take back a change in direction. I've met some amazing people, some people who I wouldn't have normally spoken to really. What I've got from this experience is…experience! Let's just say that work experience is an experience in itself. So, thanks everyone, and thank-you so much to *Kirklees Local TV* – I couldn't have done it without you! (KLTV 2012a, 05:02-05:33)

Although this video was published on *KLTV*'s YouTube channel in March 2012 – almost six years before my own placement with the organisation began – it exemplifies the kind of work that students are expected to produce whilst volunteering there, as well as what it offers to students in return.

Where is 'KLTV' heading?

Figure 20: Barrie Davenport (left) and Dave Hodgson (right) work together on a live KLTV recording session. Hodgson is running the autocue machine for a presenter, whilst Davenport acts as the video control operator (Film 3, 04:48)

Contrary to the last section's focus on high school, college and university students as volunteers for *KLTV*, 'Where is *KLTV* heading?' demonstrates that the organisation's voluntary body does not solely comprise young people. Dave Hodgson – a retired sound engineer who spent most of their working career in the BBC (see *Film 3*, 03:48-05:16) – represents a generation of *KLTV* volunteers at the other end of their respective professional careers. In *Film 3*, Hodgson explains more about how he came to *KLTV* in the first place, and why he continues to work voluntarily for the organisation. Here in *Film 2*, however, his attention turns to the future direction of *KLTV* – something that CEO Milton Brown spoke of at length in *Film 1*. In contrast to Brown's conceptualisation of 'a people's newspaper' (see *Film 1*, 12:36-14:34), Hodgson gives *KLTV* the moniker of 'Guerrilla TV':

> …the future is 'TV on-the-move'. It won't replace terrestrial broadcasts; it won't replace Netflix or Sky, or whatever. They'll still be there doing very great quality programmes; where we'll be, shall we

say, the 'Guerrilla TV': doing everything, any way you can think of, but getting the story *first*, as it were. (Dave Hodgson, *Film 2*, 06:50-07:15)

'Guerrilla TV' was coined by Shamberg in 1971 to describe the first mass movement of citizen-led videomaking, fuelled by 'the social and political upheaval of the 1960s' and made possible by the introduction of affordable portable video recorders such as the Sony Portapak CV camera – offering 'creative people around the world the chance to experiment with, and shape the future of, an entirely new medium of expression' (Chapman 2012, 42). Fourth (Indigenous) Cinema emerged in the same era; in the words of Garcia, 'Cinema could not remain estranged from the massive politicization, which was growing swiftly and wonderously' (1999, 89). However, unlike film, videotape 'was relatively cheap and reusable', making it accessible to a far larger body of media makers who no longer needed to seek funding from 'the majority culture' (and subsequently subject to 'the demands of other communication traditions') to produce their own audiovisual media (Barclay 2015, 48-54).

Rather than merely being the 'receivers' of television content produced by the few mass media corporations wealthy enough to absorb the costs of production, the advent of portable video technologies brought about 'a new kind of democratized television' – 'street tapes, home videos, oral histories, ethnographic tapes, process tapes, and nonfiction explorations of political, social, and cultural themes' (Chapman 2012, 42). According to Boyle, 'In those early days anyone with a Portapak was called a 'video artist'' (1985, 228). However, without access to the same terrestrial broadcasting methods available to mainstream media companies, disseminating said 'video-art' to audiences proved much more difficult than creating them in the first place. Even in the US, where the existing 'Cable TV' infrastructure allowed organisations to broadcast independently-made television programmes cost-effectively to wider audiences, such ventures were short-lived; 'TVTV', described as 'guerrilla television's most mediagenic and controversial group', was founded in 1972 but disbanded just six years later (Boyle 1985, 229; Boyle 1992, 72).

The turn-of-the-century digitalisation of the media industry, coupled with the global popularity of online video broadcasting platforms such as YouTube, means that videotapes old and new 'that could once only be seen in person are […] accessible in an even more populist way than the early video pioneers could have ever imagined' (Chapman 2012, 43). However, as Hodgson explains in *Film 2*, getting the word out about *KLTV*'s 'Guerrilla TV' productions (and disseminating the thoughts and opinions of the community therein) is something that the organisation often struggles to do:

> At the moment, the difficult thing is to get publicity and [to] get people to know what we're doing, because there's only the young people that are used to just, only watching TV either on their 'pads or their phone – which is our best outlet! But we tend to work for older people, and it's those people that haven't quite grasped this idea of 'TV on-the-move', y'know? And we've got to get that across to people…(Dave Hodgson, *Film 2*, 06:16-06:50)

Despite social media appearing to have a democratising force in contemporary society – a virtual space where anyone with an account can speak freely (so long as they adhere to that platform's code of conduct) – such networks often reinforce barriers to social participation rather than mitigating them. In a think piece for the Social Media + Society journal, Clark opines:

> Imagine if there were an algorithm that provided those persons least likely to participate in democratic decision making with information that was not only timely and accurate, but connected to their deepest concerns, and that then privileged their voices in discussions about how to address those concerns and guided them through the processes of participating in decisions that would affect their – and our – collective outcomes. (Clark 2015)

As the Brexit dark-ads case study (i.e. Literary Context 1) exemplified, organisations with access to the financial resources necessary to position their content at the very top of users' news feeds will

always get more exposure than the typical user's 'posts'. In contrast, *KLTV* has, to date, relied solely on organic growth on social media – in other words, they do not pay platforms such as Facebook to target particular demographics and/or further publicise their content on users' news feeds. Despite Oliver Thompson's optimistic outlook for *KLTV* – 'It's still quite small in the fact that it's in Huddersfield, but it's growing, it's getting bigger, and there's a lot of plans for the future' (*Film 2*, 05:58-06:06) – the organisation is unlikely to ever have the same distribution methods at their disposal as their mainstream competitors. Of the 'lot of community films' that Thompson said were due to be published online after my interview with him on the 5th July 2019 (*Film 2*, 06:06-06:16), only two of them – Summat Yorkshire's 'Recognise these Yorkshire Phrases' episode (KLTV 2019c) and a short film commemorating 'Jamaican Independence Day 2019' (KTLV 2019i) – have been viewed on YouTube more than 2,500 times to-date, amassing 13,770 views and 2,507 views respectively (as of February 25th 2021). Whilst I am unaware of how many of these video viewers are based in the area that *Kirklees Local TV* serves (i.e. Kirklees), it seems fair to say that in a region of 438,000 people (Kirklees Council 2019), *KLTV*'s media exposure does not permeate through all sections of local society. Nonetheless, *KLTV* has undoubtedly done well to reach its 10-year anniversary milestone in 2021– four more years than 'TVTV' mustered.

What does the local community think to 'KLTV'?

Based on those aforementioned viewing figures, it is fair to say that *KLTV*, 'the first YouTube of Kirklees' (i.e. Milton Brown, *Film 1*, 02:06-02:30), is not used by – or indeed, known to – all of the members of the region it explicitly serves. However, as Niki Matthews points out, *KLTV* have their own website as well as other social media accounts (i.e. Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and LinkedIn), and were able to boast 'approximately 180,000 'hits' a month' across all platforms in mid-2019 (*Film 2*, 07:20-07:27). As with the YouTube figures, it is difficult to know just how many of these 'hits'

(i.e. page visits) are coming from people in the local community, or indeed, how many unique visitors these 'hits' represent. Nonetheless, this is an 'amazing' feat for 'a community organisation' in Matthews' opinion: 'it proves that you're doing something that is absolutely hitting home with the general public' (*Film 2*, 07:27-07:40). In contrast, the former Business Director believes that 'more people need to be aware of the facilities that are available to them, *locally*' – including *KLTV*'s 'own studio' (*Film 2*, 07:40-07:52), based in Huddersfield's 'The Media Centre', which 'should be celebrated and utilised' (08:48-08:59). Having a local television studio based in Huddersfield is said to put the town on par with much bigger cities such as 'Leeds or Manchester' (Niki Matthews, *Film 2*, 07:52-08:05), where national broadcasting centres such as 'The Leeds Studios' and 'MediaCityUK' are based. It is implied by Matthews, however, that despite *KLTV*'s outreach, not enough people in Kirklees are aware of *KLTV*'s studio facilities, and their availability for use by the local community. In other words, a significant proportion of the local population are aware that *KLTV* exists, but fewer people know that they can use the *KLTV* television studio for their own purposes – i.e. to make their own media.

Given that this study is primarily concerned with the question of why local people volunteer at a place like *KLTV*, gathering and analysing data on public perceptions of this community media outlet (either via social media or in-person) did not fall within its remit – although this may well present an interesting area for future study. Instead, I decided to ask the participants how they feel the local community has reacted to the *Kirklees Local TV* channel in their own experience – which could then be checked against their claims of what the organisation 'offers' to that community in the first place (as expressed in 'What does 'KLTV' offer to its viewers?', *Film 2*, 00:15-03:12). Unfortunately, responses to this question from the seven volunteers were much less detailed; I only found Niki Matthews' and Oliver Thompson's utterances to be usable in the film. What was revealed in relation to this question again reflected positively on *KLTV*. Thompson points out that *KLTV* are 'here to

voice people's opinions', and details the sort of feedback he has received personally when conducting activities to that end:

> People have heard of us, which is good. I've had people come up and say, 'Oh, I've read your articles', or 'I've seen your content; I thought this, I thought that'. I do have a bit of a debate [with them], which is good! So, we always have a little talk. But yeah, good! I mean, people should understand that we're here to voice people's opinions, really. (Oliver Thompson, *Film 2*, 08:05-08:25)

This segment further articulated what Thompson meant in the first section of the film, when he said that *KLTV* 'actually *engage* with people' in the local community (see *Film 2*, 03:02-03:12). As a result, the vox-pop sessions I took part in often saw us building a rapport with the people we interviewed on the high street – people who would appear in 'Summat Yorkshire' or 'Public Eye' one week, see the episode on the *KLTV* YouTube channel, and come back to speak to us again when they saw our cameras set up in Huddersfield town centre. Clearly, these participants had not been offended or upset by the way we had represented them; if anything, they had been empowered enough to willingly come back to us to be interviewed again. However, this sort of familiarity also brought challenges of its own. On one occasion, I had to insist that an interviewee sign a release form for their second appearance, despite their having signed one for us before:

> …I managed to stop the vox-pop team from cutting corners: we interviewed a regular participant of our shows, and made sure that we got another signed release form from them, despite the interviewee saying they had signed one for us before. I explained that this did not matter as a release form was needed for each individual programme we do (with the date of said filming attached), and in the rare but entirely possible case that we received a complaint, KLTV would be held liable. (Field Diary Entry 17, 28th June 2018)

Participation in *KLTV* videos is another way in which local audiences are drawn to the media outlet's website and social media platforms, according to Matthews:

> People jump onto *KLTV* to watch a specific video – maybe that they've *been* in, because they were at a certain event – but they've liked it that much that they've gone on to look at other things, randomly maybe! And they've all come back and the feedback that we get in general is really, really positive, and saying, 'I didn't realise that was there', 'I didn't know so-and-so did that', 'I didn't know *this* was going on locally'…(Niki Matthews, *Film 2*, 08:25-08:48)

That people would want to see themselves in a video or film might seem like an obvious observation to make, but it must be stressed that in the modestly sized town of Huddersfield, West Yorkshire, opportunities to be 'seen' on camera are fairly limited. Other than occasions when something that happens locally that garners national interest – such as when the BBC came to make the two 'Hometown' docuseries following the shooting of a local man by a West Yorkshire Police Officer in 2017 (BBC 2019; 2020) – professional video cameras are a rare sight in Huddersfield, and would likely be absent altogether without the presence of *Kirklees Local TV*. The absence of any negative feedback from the local community should not be treated as evidence of absence – these responses are from *KLTV* members themselves after all; their individual reputations are intrinsically tied to the reputation of the organisation. Despite this, the notion that *KLTV* is having a positive impact on society by producing these videos certainly appears to be an emotional driver for most (if not all) of these regular volunteers being there in the first place.

Summary

Having reviewed both the interviewees' speeches in *Film 2* and the personal reflections of volunteering at *KLTV* that I recorded in my field diary, I feel confident in the assertion that *KLTV* provide a service to the people of Kirklees which is not offered by any other local or regional media

outlet. This service is offered in two forms, both of which go hand-in-hand: a local media outlet that primarily generates news content, run predominantly by volunteers interested in a future career in the broadcast media industry. Without the outlet, there would be no work experience opportunity for volunteers; without the volunteers, there would be minimal content for the outlet. As students in secondary, further or higher education, these volunteers typically come for their fixed-term work placement – rarely longer than a matter of weeks – and then continue with their studies or move on to other ventures. In the absence of any full-time employment prospects at *Kirklees Local TV*, the revolving door of the organisation continues to turn, with volunteers coming into the organisation at a similar rate to those leaving. There are, however, a few notable exceptions to this rule – including the six volunteers that feature in *Film 2*. In *Film 3*: '*Why Volunteers Come (and why some of them stay)*', these six volunteers reflect more personally on their experiences with *KLTV*, including why they joined in the first place, and the reasons why they stayed longer than they initially intended to.

Whilst *KLTV* are akin to 'Guerrilla Television' in the sense that they challenge the notion that only rich conglomerates have the power and the resources to 'tell the news', they operate very similarly to mainstream media outlets in the way they stylistically tell their narratives. The vox-pop method, a conventional practice in mainstream media, is *KLTV*'s primary method of platforming the views of local people. Offering by no means a representation of the community as a whole, *KLTV*'s vox-popping nonetheless enables a modest proportion of local society to make their opinions known in a way that they could not before. In this sense, *KLTV* could be legitimately considered as 'The People's News Outlet' for Huddersfield, although this perhaps overstates *KLTV*'s popularity amongst local people. Even after several years of operations in and around Huddersfield (and creating well over 1,400 videos for their YouTube channel during that time), I observed on numerous occasions – particularly when recording vox-pop programmes in Huddersfield town centre – that there are still people in Kirklees who do not know what *Kirklees Local TV* is. Those who do know of *KLTV*'s work,

however, are quite likely to have featured in one of *KLTV*'s videos – or at least have been offered the

opportunity to do so.

Film 3: Why Volunteers Come (and why some of them stay)

Film Introduction

One of the most remarkable things I observed during my twenty-month fieldwork placement at

Kirklees Local TV (between January 2018 and September 2019) was the fact that several members of

the organisation were not volunteering as part of a course of study but rather, in their free time. In the

absence of any full-time financial gain, the incentives and motivations for this prolonged involvement

with the organisation were less clear to me; evidently, *KLTV* provided a different form of capital to

encourage people to stay. *Why Volunteers Come (and why some of them stay)*, the third of my four

research films (Appendix E3), explores this matter in further detail. Rather than asking them about

KLTV as a whole, the same six volunteers who featured in *Film 2* (i.e. Thompson, Waseem, Lunat,

Conway, Matthews and Hodgson) speak more candidly here about their own experiences within this

non-profit. At 16 minutes and 14 seconds, it is the longest film in the set – reflecting the significance

of this particular facet to my broader understanding of volunteers' engagement with an organisation

like *KLTV*. For the purposes of illustration – and with the organisation's explicit permission – I

incorporated *KLTV* footage from the film and video projects mentioned by the interviewees in *Film 3*.

The principal focus of my analysis will be what the interviewees say, alongside the contents of my

own participatory researcher field diary. By utilising both the television studio (including the 'green

screen') and the aforementioned 'cutaways' technique (both of which are routinely implemented by

KLTV themselves), the research film is able to illuminate what these participants are describing by

simultaneously providing audio-visual segments of that work – one of the many benefits of using

filmmaking as a research tool.

Why did you come to 'KLTV'?

Media Experience

This question is answered by all six of the interviewees that feature in *Film 3*, all of whom have very different *KLTV* origin stories. Oliver Thompson's is arguably the most conventional – getting a Master's degree in film and television, and wanting 'to get involved in, kind of, producing films' (*Film 3*, 00:15-00:25). According to the Joint Information Systems Committee (JISC)'s 'prospects.ac.uk' website, 'experience is critical' for a job in the media industry, even if you have already hold a related degree – such is the competitiveness of the field (AGCAS Editors, 2019). However, career prospects were not Thompson's only motivation for getting involved in the organisation:

> …I wanted to get involved in, kind of, producing films – producing mini little contents about the hometown that I live [in], and I've been brought up in! So I decided, y'know, let's have a look around, and I found *KLTV*, and it's, it's just brilliant! And it's worked. So I applied, and I spoke with Milton and then we, well – the rest is history! Y'know, ten months later, here I am, still! Ha ha (Oliver Thompson, *Film 3*, 00:22-00:44)

Thompson's work on *Public Eye* (e.g. KLTV 2019d) and *Summat Yorkshire* (e.g. KLTV 2019c) – weekly 2-3 minute local news bulletins – reflects his desire to create such 'mini little contents' about Kirklees, the area he grew up and continued to live in at the time of the interview (i.e. July 2019). In this instance, the relationship between the volunteer and the organisation is two-way: *KLTV* gets the free services of a postgraduate media student, whilst Thompson gets the experience necessary to further his chances of a career in broadcast journalism. Sure enough, in December 2019 – 5 months after our interview – Thompson had moved on from *KLTV* to become a full-time Broadcast Journalist at Falkland Islands TV (FITV), as announced on the FITV YouTube channel (FITV 2019). With a

population of just 2,563 people (Falkland Islands Government 2012, para. 1), FITV's media service is significantly more localised than KLTV's.

Leah Conway was also brought to *KLTV* by her studies, but unlike Thompson, she came on a work placement during her degree (rather than after its completion):

> The first point was trying to find a work placement, and I knew I wanted to do something that wasn't…because I do history [at the University of Huddersfield]…I knew I wanted to do something not really related [to the history degree] – or, at least, not like teaching or something. So I typed in, like, 'film', companies and stuff, and [KLTV] was one of the top ones [in the search], and then I looked at the website. (Leah Conway, *Film 3*, 02:53-03:17)

Conway came across *KLTV* as a student at the local university. Speaking with a distinct 'Brummie' (Birmingham) accent, she does not have the same 'hometown' relationship with Kirklees as Thompson has. Nonetheless, she 'liked the fact' that *KLTV* 'was small, and community driven' (*Film 3*, 03:19-03:23). Like Thompson, Conway approached *KLTV* directly, concluding simply, 'it's been from there' (*Film 3*, 03:23-03:28). From these two interview segments, there is evidence to suggest that neither Conway nor Thompson expected to be with *Kirklees Local TV* for as long as they have been. Now listed online as the organisation's Digital Production Quality Manager and Video Editor (KLTV 2021), Conway has continued to work with *KLTV* for another 18 months between the interview (August 2019) and the time of writing (February 2021).

Experienced in Media

In contrast to trying to purposefully carve out a career in the media industry, Dave Hodgson came across *KLTV* during his retirement, on the back of spending most of his working career as a local radio technical operator for the BBC – 'which meant doing the sound desks, playing the disks,

239

whatever needed to be done at the blunt end of the microphone, right?' (*Film 3*, 03:48-04:08).

Hodgson's introduction to *KLTV* came about as a matter of coincidence – namely, a shared interest in

a local event:

> Just by chance, I happened to be around Huddersfield – 'cos I live in Almondbury, y'know – and there
>
> was KLTV, out with the sweatshirts, recording part of the Huddersfield festival! So I went and talked
>
> to them, y'know. Barrie[14] and I must have impressed Milton quite well, because within a week, he was
>
> on the phone asking us if we wanted to join him! He says, 'Well, I can't pay you just to interview'; I
>
> said, 'I don't mind, I don't mind, I've retired'. (Dave Hodgson, *Film 3*, 04:31-05:04)

Hodgson says it was 'great' working as a technical operator for BBC Local Radio: '…there were no

rules written down for it! *We* made it up as we went on!' (*Film 3*, 04:08-04:17). With its first station

(Radio Leicester) being launched in 1967, the introduction of the BBC Local Radio network – now

consisting of 40 stations across the UK – is said to have been strongly influenced by 'the U.S. local

station output', as witnessed by BBC Executive Frank Gillard during a tour of America in the 1950s

(David 2018, 307). Often describing local radio projects in the U.S. as 'experiments' (see David

2018, 302-303), Gillard – the 'founding father' of local radio in the UK – was keen on bringing this

form of media experimentalism to the UK; something that is evidenced in Hodgson's own

experiences of working for BBC Local Radio. Describing his local radio work as a ''merchant

venturer' sort of exploration', Hodgson claims he was 'bitten by that bug', and would 'always look

for something that was new and different, and hadn't been tried before' (*Film 3*, 04:17-04:30). Given

the relative infancy of local television in the UK, *Kirklees Local TV* is a similarly experimental space.

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[14] 'Barrie' does not feature as an interviewee for this project, although he does appear in a 'cutaway' clip in

Film 3, working alongside Dave Hodgson in the KLTV studio (04:49-05:00).

Having 'wired the studio up' for Milton and *KLTV*, Hodgson would take up a similar role to the one he undertook with the BBC – alternating between 'presenting' and 'do[ing] the sound' – adding, 'it has been the same, ever since' (*Film 3*, 05:04-05:16).

Other Interests

Surprisingly, an interest in media and the media industry was not the only motivation for volunteers coming (and staying) at *Kirklees Local TV*. Khatija Lunat, Nabila Waseem and Niki Matthews all came across the organisation on their respective career paths in primary education, business management and the public sector. Lunat, a teacher at a local primary school, met *KLTV* CEO Milton Brown when he delivered a diversity training course at her school:

> So, I've been at KLTV – or I've volunteered here at KLTV – for, I think, over five years now? I initially met Milton Brown whilst working in my daytime job – which is in Batley, at an infants' school – and he came to do some diversity training. So, I think we worked on that for about eight to nine months, and he trained me and a colleague up, and then we cascaded that training onto our colleagues. And it was an experience, working alongside Milton, and he was inspirational, and all his views, and when we came over to KLTV and looked at what he had – his organisation, how they worked, what they were involved in – it was mindblowing! It inspired me to want to do more on a community level; I already was in Batley, but this was more Kirklees-wide. I've been involved ever since! (Khatija Lunat, *Film 3*, 01:46-02:53)

Niki Matthews also joined at around the same time, whilst she was working for the local council. Unlike the majority of the volunteers who I interviewed for this project, she was approached by *KLTV* with an offer to work with them, rather than the other way around:

So, I joined *KLTV* about five years ago, and it was a great opportunity for me. I was currently working in the public sector, at Kirklees Council, and I came across *KLTV* and was approached to work with them in terms of business administration and projects. (Niki Matthews, *Film 3*, 03:28-03:48)

Finally, Nabila Waseem – who holds two degrees in midwifery and business – came to *KLTV* in 2019. Having had to leave her previous job as a midwife in 2016 due to family commitments, she spent two years as a full-time mum. It was after a chance encounter with Brown in 2018 that the opportunity to get back into a working environment arose – this time, using the latter of her two degrees to help *KLTV* as a volunteer:

I was working as a midwife back in, 2015? And, due to personal reasons, [I] had to give that up that in, yeah, it was 2016, when I came back from Pakistan. So, because of our family circumstances, I couldn't go back to doing shift work, and my husband's been abroad, and, one thing or another had to give, and it was my job, unfortunately. So I was a full time mum, for two years, and just by chance, I bumped into Milton, having a good chat, and he was like, 'Oh, y'know, there's volunteer opportunities at my place; why don't you come?' So I was like, 'Alright, okay', y'know – I've got a business degree, I've got my midwifery degree; I thought, yeah, I can use that to my advantage and maybe bring some new skills to this place, and maybe gain some new skills whilst I'm here! So, yeah, that's how it all started! [laughs] (Nabila Waseem, *Film 3*, 00:44-01:46)

When discussing how they initially came to work for *KLTV*, four of the six *Film 3* interviewees – Thompson, Waseem, Lunat and Hodgson – specifically reference their personal encounters with Milton Brown, illustrating how central the CEO is to the organisation's operations (and, by extension, volunteers' reasons for working with *KLTV*). Hodgson, Lunat and Waseem all came across Brown incidentally, and in very different settings – Hodgson at a local festival, Lunat on a school training course, and Waseem 'just by chance' (*Film 3*, 00:44-05:16) – which also demonstrates how embedded Brown is within the local community. Moreover, *KLTV*'s CEO is described by Lunat as

242

'inspirational', and the work of the organisation itself 'mindblowing' (*Film 3*, 01:46-02:53). Indeed, this praise was reciprocated by Brown in *Film 1*, describing himself as being 'so enriched' by 'every student, every volunteer, [and] every elder' that he has 'come into contact with within my work' (*Film 1*, 08:11-08:26).

What's it like to work at 'KLTV'?

Pride

'D'ya know, I feel proud to say I work here at *KLTV* because I do really enjoy coming here every day', says Nabila Waseem in *Film 3*'s first response to this question (05:23-05:28). The organisation's then-Business Director continues:

> And that is, honestly, the god's honest truth, because you meet so many different people here, and you have a laugh, and you have a giggle, but then you do get down to the serious work, because the serious work needs to be done! But, like I said, there's so many different people that come in, no one day's gonna be the same, because y'know, you're gonna be interacting with different people. (Nabila Waseem, *Film 3*, 05:28-05:48)

Here, the 'revolving door' of *KLTV* is presented in a positive light – an opportunity for members to 'interact with different people'. The notion that 'no one day's gonna be the same' speaks to the ad-hoc nature of the organisation's work, responding to calls from the community whenever necessary. I expressed a similar sentiment in my own field diary in February 2019:

> Arrived at KLTV in the morning, fully expecting to have a generally quiet day preparing Windrush project Facebook posts for next week. Within 5 minutes of arriving, I had been invited to help lead three Windrush teaching sessions at a secondary school in Huddersfield in early March, and was subsequently (and unexpectedly) whisked off to interview several people at the Kirklees Visual

Impairment Network (KVIN) office in Huddersfield town centre.

I never cease to be surprised by unexpected events like these at KLTV, despite being there for over twelve months now. Being asked to do different tasks makes me feel that my skills are well recognised by the organisation. (Field Diary Entry 43, 15ᵗʰ February 2019)

Consultant and former Business Director, Niki Matthews, also echoes the notion of *KLTV* as a dynamic, challenging, and empowering work environment:

I've been with *KLTV* now about five years. I don't plan on leaving *KLTV* for any reason! Because it's always changing, it's ever-evolving, and with that, *you* evolve, and you grow and you learn all the time. There are so many different facets to what *KLTV* is involved with, that you're learning new things about, y'know, processes, and systems, and people; the place that you live; it challenges you, in a really positive way. (Niki Matthews, *Film 3*, 05:48-06:23)

These three data excerpts touch upon the unpredictability of working as a long-term volunteer for a media organisation that performs a public-facing role in the local community. Day-by-day, the demands of the organisation present volunteers with a series of varied tasks – and often, a dramatic change in office personnel. However, the ever-changing nature of each volunteer's roles and responsibilities within *KLTV* is presented as a positive phenomenon, encouraging volunteers to get involved in tasks that may not necessarily align with their respective areas of expertise – an opportunity to learn on-the-job. 'There are certain times when you *do* feel uncomfortable in certain situations', adds Matthews, 'and being at *KLTV* has made that *more* comfortable' (*Film 3*, 06:23-06:32). For example, later in the film, Waseem discusses doing 'a *little* bit of camera training'– something that she says 'really opened my eyes' as to 'how *hard* it is' to create media (*Film 3*, 11:31-12:26). As Brown himself says in *Film 1*, 'No, we don't want slouches here; if you want to come and learn a skill, then I would say this is the place to be; if you want to come and build your confidence, I would say this is the place to be' (07:20-07:32). The fact that Matthews had spent five years working

with *KLTV* at the time of the interview in August 2019 – and still can envisage no reason why she would stop working with them – reinforces the idea that the 'challenging' environment created by *KLTV* encourages these volunteers to stay, rather than pushing them away.

Opportunity

The opportunity for volunteers to improve professional skills was the reason Thompson was 'still here' at *KLTV* in July 2019, ten months after first joining as a voluntary postgraduate intern:

> You go out, you film, you interview, you go back and edit: so you've got loads of different kind of skills there, whereas in maybe a bigger organisation, you're pigeon-holed into one kind of speciality. Whereas here, you can work with so many different people, and learn different things, y'know? I've learned so much about social media marketing, video editing, writing – which is something that I'm really trying to push at the moment, trying to really improve my writing skills. Yeah, it's brilliant, and that's why I'm still here! [laughs] (Oliver Thompson, *Film 3*, 07:28-08:02)

The sort of content volunteers create for *KLTV* can vary far beyond the production of videos: 'social media marketing' and 'writing' are other aspects of the organisation that Thompson has contributed to. 'Website' and 'educational resource' creation can also be added to this list, as seen in the following extract; however, according to Lunat, volunteers must also be able to see 'the worth' of what they are doing for *KLTV* for people other than themselves, if they are to 'stick with' a particular task:

> And as a volunteer, I think you only stick with a certain thing when you see that the worth of the piece that you're doing, whatever it may be. Maybe it's a website, or an educational resource, or it's a film – but when you see worth within the community, within Kirklees, within the whole national picture, you see that this piece of work is…massive. (Khatija Lunat, *Film 3*, 08:02-08:31)

Professional

Strong leadership and a clear organisational structure are necessary in order for volunteers to be able to get the most out of their professional experiences with *KLTV*, according to Hodgson – who remarks that *KLTV* 'operates like professional TV should' (*Film 3*, 06:48-06:51). Reinforcing this, Harrison et al.'s study (2013) have found that people at nonprofit and voluntary sector organisations who view their managers as competent leaders see them 'as having a high impact on the nonprofit and voluntary sector organizations they served' (709). Whilst volunteers are said to have the opportunity to work on projects that interest them, the way in which these products are created – and the decision on whether they are ultimately released into the public sphere via *KLTV*'s website and social media platforms – is the sole responsibility of the CEO, Milton Brown. The 'orders' to volunteers either come from him, or the person he grants responsibility to for the programme:

> …we have a CEO, we have an administrator, we have editors, we have production staff to actually do the programmes, and we have presenters. We try to be helpful to the others, but we don't start making rules for the presenters to do – that comes from the CEO. He'll talk to us about it, but the actual orders come from him. And the same with the production of the programme: in the end, what that person who's responsible for [the programme] says, goes. (Dave Hodgson, *Film 3*, 06:51-07:28)

Unfortunately, what *KLTV*'s leadership wanted did not always neatly align with the wants of the volunteers themselves. This was something I witnessed first-hand; if anything, the duality of my role as both external researcher and internal participant compounded this even further. For example, having set up the filming equipment for one of my first interviews with a *KLTV* participant for this PhD study, the CEO encouraged me to set the cameras up in a different way:

> Milton came in to try to help with setting up the 'shot' for the interview. Again, I was grateful for his efforts, but I did feel more pressured as a result; he wanted me to rearrange seating positions and the

camera angle, despite me being happy with how I had already set it up. We eventually compromised on the set-up, and Milton left us to conduct the interview. (Milton later rang me to praise me up for how I'd worked today, to apologise for 'getting in the way a bit', but to also encourage me to be more assertive and 'selfish' about getting the interviews that I need.) (Field Diary Entry 73, 4th July 2019)

The positive reflection I took from this experience was that Brown was evidently invested in my PhD, and in ensuring that the research films I produced were as of high a quality as possible. This would certainly be a valid point to make if I was working on a *KLTV* production that Brown himself was producing and/or directing. The organisation's CEO had established this filmmaking company in 2011, three years before I had even made my first film as an undergraduate; with his superior experience, he would have been far better equipped to set up the interview than I was. However, acting more in my duty as a researcher from the University of Sheffield rather than a *KLTV* volunteer for this task, I was much more focused on helping the participant to feel as comfortable as possible, rather than ensuring the end product (i.e. the film) was as professional-looking as it could be. This is further apparent in another extract from my field diary entry for that day:

> I tried to do two interviews but only managed one. I headed to the studio to set up the camera to interview the participant, and tried to make them feel more comfortable - although Milton felt I had gone too far by offering to make the participant a hot drink whilst they re-familiarised themselves with the interview questions, saying I should have asked someone else to do this, and that above all, I should focus on getting the camera set-up so I could do the interview as soon as possible. (Field Diary Entry 73, 4th July 2019)

Evidently, I was much more data-driven than film-driven in my interviewing approach. Indeed, the significance I placed on participant comfortability aligns with the opinions expressed by McGrath et al. in their *Twelve tips for conducting qualitative research interviews* (2019):

Tip 5

Build rapport with your respondents

Building rapport and establishing comfortable interactions in the qualitative interview situation is very important and is preferably done well in advance of the interview, but also during the interview itself […]

Rapport is also crucial during the interview enabling the respondent to provide a rich and detailed account of the experiences at the heart of the study. (McGrath et al. 2019, 1003)

That said, I also had to be mindful that the four research films I made would be jointly owned by The University of Sheffield and *Kirklees Local TV*. Therefore, Brown had every right to guide me on the production of these films; they do, after all, represent an organisation that he runs, as well as several of its members. Despite feeling 'anxious' at the time about how the remainder of my PhD interviews would be conducted (i.e. Field Diary Entry 73, 4th July 2019), I am happy to say that they took place without any major problems or conflicts – except for having to pause recording mid-way through an interview the following day as the memory card, which I had forgotten to remove the data from, had 'unexpectedly 'filled up'' (Field Diary Entry 74, 5th July 2019). Fortunately, the interviewee was 'incredibly patient, and other than this mishap on my part, the interview went very well' (Field Diary Entry 74, 5th July 2019).

(Un)comfortability

One final point that was raised in *Film 3*, in answer to the question, *What's it like to work at 'KLTV'?*, was one of comfortability. Niki Matthews – who had been working with *KLTV* in the capacity of Business Director (and subsequently, a consultant for the company) for the previous five years –

praised the organisation for making her feel '*more* comfortable' in 'certain situations' (*Film 3*, 06:23-06:33). Expanding on this, she adds:

> You know, there's still things that really are challenging – things that can be very close to your heart, and really do prick at the side of you – however, you have to be able to see it from other people's perspectives, and understand where those perspectives are coming from. (Niki Matthews, *Film 3*, 06:33-06:48)

Matthews' response resonates with my own experience working on the 'Windrush: The Years After' project. After the first public 'Windrush' screening in June 2019, I described feeling 'utterly inspired' and 'incredibly exhausted – mentally, emotionally, and physically' – adding, 'the event went better than I could have hoped for, and it felt like the documentary had brought about a real spirit, both in the audience and in the team' (Field Diary Entry 66, 7th June 2019). However, when I was initially invited to work on the project, I was anxious that as a white cis-male who grew up in a predominantly white area, I was neither qualified nor a worthy candidate to contribute to the telling of a story about people of African Caribbean descent. Having had several lengthy conversations with Brown about this cultural disparity during my fieldwork placement with *KLTV*, I was deeply relieved when he gave a speech following a community screening of the film in July 2019, commending me on my input to the project:

> …Milton gave a brief speech about the project, and what it had meant to him.

> What really took me back about Milton's speech was the fact that he turned to me, and spoke to the audience about 'how important I've been', and how I've 'changed his way of thinking and approaching things' over the past two years that he's known me for. Directly addressing the room, he then spoke of my community and heritage, 'growing up in a pit village and being working-class', and how some of the things that I've had to deal with whilst growing up and doing what I do now, bears

similarity with many of the experiences of the African Caribbean descent community (some of which are, of course, represented in the film). I gave a bit of a speech myself after that: referencing the famous Monty Python 'Four Yorkshiremen' sketch; saying 'pain is pain'; and addressing the fact that, whilst many of our experiences are different, they nevertheless bear a similarity, and that we should come together to share these stories, rather than being divided by them. (Field Diary Entry 76, 9th July 2019)

What Matthews says about being able to see an issue 'from different people's perspectives' resonated with me personally for this reason. Coming back once again to what Brown said in *Film 1* about feeling 'enriched' by every person he comes into contact with through his work with *KLTV* (i.e. *Film 1*, 08:11-08:26), I feel that my own sense of cultural literacy has developed rapidly through my engagement with the organisation – something that I can take with me 'wherever I walk', just as Brown has (see *Film 1*, 08:38-08:40).

Tell me about a project you've worked on here?

Figure 21: This section of the film presented the opportunity to use both the green screen and the cutaway method to visually illustrate the film projects discussed by the volunteers. Here, for example (Film 3, 09:38), Dave Hodgson talks about the filming of 'Christmas Brass' (KLTV 2016), whilst clips of that film are shown in the background.

Cutaways

For this section of *Film 3*, I wanted to give the participants as much freedom as possible in describing a particular aspect or project of *KLTV* that they felt was worth mentioning in the interview – aware that filmmaking is not the only aspect of work that *KLTV* volunteers are involved in. Of the five respondents, three of them (Lunat, Hodgson and Thompson) spoke about a particular *KLTV* film or video they had worked on; one (Waseem) described her own videography training with the organisation; and one (Matthews) discussed her work as an administrator. Despite the range of aforementioned activities that are conducted within *KLTV*, media production is evidently central to the company's pursuits, as reflected by the interviewees' responses. Waseem also mentioned the 'coaching' side of the organisation in her interview (i.e. Brown would often offer his coaching services to professionals via contracts with public and private stakeholders in the local area).

However, as this fell outside of the remit of what *KLTV* does as a 'Local TV' company, I chose to omit this response from *Film 3* – although it is worth noting that this is another example of how the organisation has sought alternative means of funding its media operations.

Asking the interviewees to tell me about a project they had worked on presented the opportunity to include more cutaways in this part of the research film, providing audiovisual cues that further illustrate some of the productions *KLTV* volunteers produce (as well as identifying projects that these members felt comfortable enough to talk about personally). As a trope that *KLTV* have often adopted in their own media productions, the use of cutaways also makes these research films more representative of community-made documentaries in terms of style. Indeed, the collective efforts of myself and the organisation to ensure that *KLTV* can use these four research films for non-commercial gain – with equal copyright privileges as my host university – reflects the community partner's desire to use the products of this research collaboration to further their own means.

The four programmes that feature in these cutaways – '21st Century British Muslims: The Challenges for Government, Academic Institutions and Researchers' (KLTV 2018a), 'Christmas Brass' (KLTV 2016), 'Public Eye' (KLTV 2013-) and 'Summat Yorkshire' (KLTV 2018-) – are a small yet diverse sample of the types of film and video content that this community media organisation produces. These volunteer testimonies, in turn, illustrate some (but by no means all) of the reasons why these locally-based people give up their spare time to create media for *Kirklees Local TV*.

Figure 22: The introductory image to '21st Century British Muslims' (KLTV 2018a), a short documentary Khatija Lunat worked on as a Production Manager (Film 3, 08:37)

'21st Century British Muslims: The Challenges for Government, Academic Institutions and Researchers' (KLTV 2018a) is a 21-minute documentary film, created in partnership with The University of Huddersfield and supported by the Arts & Humanities Research Council (AHRC). Described in the YouTube video synopsis as an exploration of how 'British Muslims navigate their heritage, religion and culture' (KLTV 2018a), it features a series of interviews with academics and community members in and around the town of Huddersfield, which are narratively tied together by an off-screen narration. As with many of *KLTV*'s longer films, it was both edited and directed by the organisation's CEO, Milton Brown. Kyle Warwick (which is misspelt 'Warrick' in the end-credits), who had already left the organisation before I conducted my interviews in mid-2019, is listed as the film's camera operator.

Khatija Lunat was the documentary's 'Production Manager' – a role which she says 'taught me a lot about…*people*, and religion, and their takes on it':

> '21st Century Muslim' is a project and a film that we did with Milton about British Muslims and how
> diverse they are as a community: there's 73 sects, and what levels of religiousness people are on, it's a
> personal journey. And, me being involved with that, taught me a lot about…*people*, and religion, and
> their takes on it. And inclusivity as well. So, it was eye-opening to say the least. (Khatija Lunat, *Film
> 3*, 08:36-09:09)

Whilst Lunat does not go into any further detail about her specific responsibilities as Production Manager, her experience on the '21st Century British Muslims' project is described as a positive and primarily educational one, once again presenting *KLTV* as an organisation where learning takes place. Identifying as a British Muslim – and playing a role in the representation of the broader British Muslim community through the making of this film – Lunat exemplifies what a *KLTV* participant can learn about their own identity and culture through making a community-based film. Indeed, the experience was described by Lunat as being 'eye-opening to say the least'.

Figure 23: In the foreground, Hodgson - interviewed and filmed by me in 2019 - appears in front of footage of him from the 'Christmas Brass' film (KLTV 2016). The use of a green screen in the background of the interview allowed me to show footage of both clips simultaneously (Film 3, 10:35)

Almost exactly the same length as '21ˢᵗ Century British Muslim', 'Christmas Brass' (KLTV 2016) is a 22-minute television-style programme presented by Dave Hodgson, featuring brass band renditions of popular Christmas songs performed by the 'Dodworth Colliery Band' (based in Barnsley, South Yorkshire). In *Film 3*, Hodgson discusses how the collaboration was made possible by both existing links with the brass band, and the bigger studio space that *KLTV* were renting out at the time – large enough to host seven instrumentalists in front of a green screen background:

> Through our contacts in Barnsley, we managed to get a septet of the best players from Dodworth
> Colliery – the old Dodworth Colliery Band – to come up here, and because we'd got a big area back in
> the old studio, we were able to put a Christmas scene right 'round them as if we were playing outside a
> village square, and make it look like we were doing it at Christmas! And it was incredible! Y'know,
> seven players, it all had to be mike'd up, 'cos unlike radio, you have to hide the mikes for TV!

Although that doesn't seem to be such a thing these days…but we still managed to get a great sound for it, and they also asked me to compere it. (Dave Hodgson, *Film 3*, 09:37-10:31)

The same green screen technique used in 'Christmas Brass' is used in this research film; footage of the Dodworth Colliery Band 'in the village square' is played in the background behind Hodgson during this snippet (i.e. *Film 3*, 09:37-10:31). Once Hodgson has been established as the interviewee for this particular part of the film, the image of him fades out (09:41) to leave a full screen moving image of 'Christmas Brass'; Hodgson's speech continues off-screen, complemented by the faint noise of the brass band playing 'Deck The Halls'. When Hodgson's interview footage reappears on camera (at 10:31), the background is replaced by an image of Hodgson from the same 'Christmas Brass' film, as he explains how he turned a slight 'wardrobe malfunction' into a running joke:

I was on green screen, and I was put in an armchair in a very, very posh old house, with a log fire going in the background, but all I could find to wear on that day was a bright yellow shirt and a black gilet. And, thinking quickly, I was able to make this, y'know...I like to make jokes – as you know – as we're going along, and I love what we call, 'off-stage jokes', and I was saying…(Dave Hodgson, *Film 3*, 10:31-11:06)

At this point, Hodgson's interview footage disappears again, and the aforementioned segment from 'Christmas Brass' is played out in full:

Now, I'd like to thank, by the way, the costume department here, for finding the very best of Christmas clothes for me to wear. What does Christmas mean in terms of colour? Yellow and black. I ask you…nice one, guys! (Dave Hodgson, *Film 3*, 11:06-11:22)

Film 3 transitions back to Hodgson's interview one last time, as he comments on how the 'off-stage joke' had 'really worked well' and was still making people laugh almost three years after the film was originally published (*Film 3*, 11:22-11:31). As arguably the most experienced media creator within

the organisation, Hodgson, a retired ex-Local Radio sound operator for the BBC, clearly derives a sense of personal enjoyment and pleasure from continuing to create media for *Kirklees Local TV*. This does not mean to say that Hodgson does not take his role within the company seriously; he is very knowledgeable about *KLTV*'s organisational structure, as evidenced earlier in *Film 3* (see 06:48-07:28). Nevertheless, his motivations for volunteering with the organisation appear to differ from many of the other volunteers – particularly those who are at the beginning of their respective careers.

'Public Eye' and 'Summat Yorkshire'

Figure 24: Thompson (in the purple hooded sweatshirt) is shown conducting a Public Eye interview on Huddersfield's New Street, alongside a camera operator. A third member of the filming crew is recording this as a cutaway, which is then edited into the programme to show KLTV's interviewer and camera operator 'on the job' (Film 3, 12:43)

In his response, Oliver Thompson chooses to describe his experiences of working on two of *KLTV*'s more regular programmes – 'Public Eye' (KLTV 2013-) and 'Summat Yorkshire (KLTV 2018-) – which feature 'different topics every week':

I did 'Public Eye' and 'Summat Yorkshire', which was different topics every week – you know, whether that'd be Jodie Whittaker being the new Doctor Who, so more local kind of news; or obviously the big national news, which is covered, y'know, for three years, with the Brexit – and so offered people different opinions. And y'know, people engage with it, people like it; people talk to us, which is definitely a good sign, isn't it! 'Cos people want to express their opinions on camera. (Oliver Thompson, *Film 3*, 12:26-12:51)

In the cutaway clips for this sequence (see *Film 3*, 12:32-12:46), Thompson's various responsibilities for these two programmes are illustrated, as he travels around Huddersfield's town centre in a purple '*KLTV*' hooded sweatshirt to record vox-pop interviews with members of the public around those weekly topics. Evidently, running the 'Public Eye' and 'Summat Yorkshire' programmes for *KLTV* requires a single person to perform multiple roles: presenting the show (via an introductory piece recorded to-camera), as well as conducting the interviews with members of the public; having worked on these vox-pop programmes as 'my weekly job' in 2018, I am aware that behind the scenes, the interviewer would often edit the film in the studio as well (Field Diary Entry 83, 1st August 2019). Clearly, becoming a regular member of *KLTV* requires a broad skillset on the volunteer's part. In return, the fruits of such labour from Thompson's point of view is the fact that local people 'engage with' and 'like' the final product. 'People want to express their opinions on camera', Thompson says (*Film 3*, 12:49-12:51); *KLTV*'s ability to create regular programmes from vox-pop interviews seems to reinforce this belief.

Supporting the media makers

Before joining the organisation, Nabila Waseem had 'always assumed it'd be so easy to either stand *behind* a camera, stand in *front* of a camera, and just get on' – but realised through her experiences at *KLTV* that 'the preparation that it takes beforehand, to do just even a five-minute clip, is so much!'

(*Film 3*, 11:51-12:05). Waseem admits that 'media wasn't really high' on the agenda when she first arrived, but describes how 'you can't be away from [media production], because [*KLTV*] *is* a production company' (*Film 3*, 11:31-11:51). This personal revelation is described by Waseem as 'the biggest highlight for me':

> …it's like, 'God!' There's so much that goes into it, and you don't realise it, you just think, 'oh well, somebody's just stood behind a camera, you just turn it on and that's it!' (Nabila Waseem, *Film 3*, 12:05-12:17)

Likewise, Niki Matthews says that there 'isn't much that I *haven't* worked on in the five years that I've been here' (*Film 3*, 09:09-09:14), but recognises that her background in 'business and administration' meant that she brought with her 'a different set of skills to what was currently in the team' when she joined *KLTV* in 2014 (*Film 3*, 09:09-09:22). Matthews' testimony reveals how much non-filmmaking work goes into ensuring that *KLTV* can continue to produce films effectively and economically:

> And being in business and administration, everything needs a process, everything has a system, and it was a case of, I was there to creatively put these systems and processes into place, to make things roll on as efficiently and as effectively as what they needed to [be]. (Niki Matthews, *Film 3*, 09:22-09:37)

What have you gained from working here?

The Role of the Media

'I've learnt lots whilst being a part of, or volunteering at, *KLTV*', says Lunat – including 'the fact that media has a big role in how they portray communities across the board' (*Film 3*, 14:02-14:16). Additionally, she learnt that 'it's the individual stories that are sometimes more important than the major or worldwide stories', adding that the media should focus on 'a variation' of both 'local' and

'national' stories (*Film 3*, 14:16-14:29). This response appears to vouch for the existence of local and community media outlets such as *KLTV* – although Lunat had earlier remarked that it was 'a shame' that the responsibility of 'representing' and 'celebrating' particular communities falls upon those communities themselves, rather than being done 'on a national level' (see *Film 2*, 01:32-02:21). Nonetheless, representation in the media is posited by Lunat as having significant consequences, good or bad, on how particular communities – socially, geographically or culturally defined – are perceived and treated by the dominant culture.

Professional Skills and Development

The two students in this film, Thompson (who had recently completed his Master's in Film and TV Production) and Conway (who was midway through her undergraduate History degree), focus on how they have professionally developed over the course of their voluntary placements with *KLTV*. As a Film and TV graduate, Thompson understandably focuses more of his attention on media production; he highlights how broad the term 'media' actually is, and what he has learned from working alongside people with such a broad range of media specialisms:

> There's a lot. There's so many different things, and aspects that I've learnt. Working with people, working with *different types* of people, is a big one. Y'know, people have different talents, different expertise that they like to bring to the table, and that's been a very big learning curve. Y'know, different specialities – because media's quite an umbrella term, there's loads of different [types]: whether that's social media, whether that's video, whether that's radio, writing, and loads of people have different kinds of specialities. And working with them, working with different types of people, has definitely been a big learning curve for me in these ten months that I've been here. (Oliver Thompson, *Film 3*, 12:56-13:32)

Conway's placement was 'really enlightening' to her in a different way, helping her to decide what she wanted to do for her History degree dissertation:

> It's been really enlightening to me, because, well, firstly, it's helped me figure out what I wanted to do for my [undergraduate] dissertation, so it's also me being able to do work and it be for *KLTV*, but also I'm gaining stuff from it as well. (Leah Conway, *Film 3*, 13:32-13:48)

According to their testimonies, the learning these students have gained by being a part of *KLTV* is distinctly multifaceted. Moreover, they learn things that they did not necessarily expect to learn – not just about the skills and qualities needed for media production, but about their own capabilities as well. As well as 'an insight into how […] a media company works as well', Conway says that the placement has 'given me skills that I had no clue that I could do before' (*Film 3*, 13:48-14:02).

Cultural Literacy

In *Film 3*'s final clip, Niki Matthews – 'a Huddersfield girl born and bred' who lives 'in the leafy suburbs' – explains how *KLTV* has helped her to better understand what goes on in the town beyond her own experiences:

> I'm a Huddersfield girl born and bred, I live in the leafy suburbs of the town, and what *KLTV* has brought to me is, it's probably opened my eyes a little bit more than what they were. Y'know, I've always like to think of myself as, someone that embraces what's going on around them. But whether that's due to the circles that you go on, whether it's the workplace that you settle at, the clubs that you join; whatever on earth that is, you generally do that in the area that you live, because it's *your* community that you want to support – and, you know, you might know other people there. But working with *KLTV*, I've gone into communities that I haven't necessarily had the opportunity to go in before, not for any reason that I didn't want to, or I *wouldn't* want to, but I didn't know anyone there, y'know, whether that was personally or professionally. (Niki Matthews, *Film 3*, 14:29-15:27)

Just as Lunat described what working with *KLTV* had taught her about her own British Muslim community, Matthews highlights how being part of the organisation for the past five years had broadened her own understanding of other local cultures and communities beyond her own membership. Echoing what Brown said in *Film 1* about being able to 'go into any community in this town and feel comfortable' (see *Film 1*, 06:28-09:07), Matthews reflects on the similar confidence and safety she now feels in less familiar environments:

> And, since working at *KLTV*, I can confidently walk into any of those communities, and feel…feel safe, feel that I belong there, I've a right to be there, and y'know, at the age that I'm at, [and] as a White British female from Huddersfield, that's a really nice thing to be able to say. You know, Huddersfield is one of the biggest towns in the country, and the diversity that we have here, is amazing! We have lots of it, and *I* want to know more about it, and working with *KLTV* has given me that opportunity to, and, yeah, it's enriched me as an individual. (Niki Matthews, *Film 3*, 15:27-16:14)

Whilst learning more about local communities by being part of a Local TV organisation may be an unsurprising revelation, Matthews' response posits cultural literacy as a central reason for her being here, rather than a positive by-product of her engagement. None of the people I interviewed for any of these four research films profess to have absolute knowledge of all the goings-on in the Kirklees region, but many – including Matthews, Lunat, Thompson and the CEO himself – express how their local knowledge has been enhanced by working with *KLTV*.

Summary

Whilst *KLTV* operates with a 'revolving door' policy (as practically every voluntary sector organisation does by nature), some of its volunteers choose to stay for a considerably long time – several years, in some cases. *Film 3: 'Why Volunteers Come (and why some of them stay)'* was my attempt to shed further light on this trend, inviting six of these regular participants to explore the

reasons why they have given up so much of their time voluntarily in service to this organisation. Their responses were illuminating, illustrating an extensive (but by no means exhaustive) list of the various reasons for which local residents both get involved with *KLTV* in the first place, and then stay involved for considerably longer than they first anticipated. Amongst these motivations, the opportunity for volunteers to learn about the media industry and to develop professional skills (particularly in the realms of media production) are understandably prevalent – *KLTV* is a media production organisation, after all. However, the desire to create videos and films that portray the Kirklees region and its diverse communities in a positive way is what appears to bring several generations of people – from young adults in higher education, to retired media professionals – together at *KLTV*. The fourth and final research film, *The 'Windrush: The Years After' Project*, illustrates this phenomenon in the context of what was the largest and most prestigious *KLTV* media project during my twenty-month fieldwork placement.

Film 4: The 'Windrush: The Years After' Project

Film Introduction

Film 4: The 'Windrush: The Years After' Project (Appendix E4) has a markedly different aesthetic to the other three research films I produced during my fieldwork placement with *KLTV*. Over the course of the 8-minute documentary short, six of the eight interview participants for this doctoral study discussed their roles for 'Windrush: The Years After: A Community Legacy on Film'; Oliver Thompson and Dave Hodgson did not work directly with the project, and are therefore not included in this film. The 'Windrush: The Years After' project started in mid-2018, culminating in the production of a feature length documentary film of the same name. *Kirklees Local TV* received £34,500 from the National Lottery Heritage Fund (NLHF) to create the film, as well as an unspecified amount of financial support from the University of Huddersfield (University of Huddersfield 2019, para. 7). The documentary was subsequently screened at three venues:

- a 'private' screening (open to interviewees and project participants only) at the University of Huddersfield's 'Haslett Building' on 7th June 2019;
- a 'community' screening at a local retirement home on 9th July 2019, for elderly members of the community (including several of the documentary's interviewees) who would have struggled to attend a screening at the University;
- a 'public' screening at the University of Huddersfield's 'Heritage Quay' archiving facility on 12th July 2019.

Film 4 represents my attempt to reproduce the style of the documentary film, 'Windrush: The Years After – A Community Legacy on Film', in my own work. For example, interviewee testimonies are

played over three audio 'backing' tracks[15], not dissimilar to the ones used in the feature-length documentary itself; 'cutaways' of relevant clips and images are also incorporated in a very similar way. With the 'Windrush: The Years After' film still not made available for public viewing as of March 2021 (*KLTV* continue to store it privately for use at future film screenings), *Film 4* serves a dual purpose: presenting the thoughts and opinions of several of the project's participants; in a similar style to how they represented members of the local African Caribbean community. Rather than being presented in their respective day-to-day roles for *KLTV* (i.e. 'CEO', 'Volunteer', 'Business Director' and 'Consultant'), the six 'Windrush: The Years After' interview participants are presented in the context of their relationship with this particular project (in order of appearance):

- **Milton Brown**: Windrush Project Lead

- **Niki Matthews:** Project Volunteer – Administration/Evaluation

- **Heather Norris Nicholson:** Project Coordinator – Educational/Historical Research

- **Khatija Lunat:** Project Volunteer – Interviewing and Research

- **Nabila Waseem:** Project Volunteer – Interviewing and Research

- **Leah Conway:** Project Volunteer – Videography and Editing

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[15] 'Double Down' by Silent Partner, 'Palms' by Text Me Records/Bobby Renz, and 'Control' by Rick Steel were sourced from YouTube Studio's Audio Library for use in *Film 4*. All three audio tracks are listed under the 'YouTube Audio Library License', allowing free incorporation of the files without attribution – so long as they are not made available, distributed or performed separately from the videos in which they are used. The same Audio Library is used frequently by *Kirklees Local TV* for their own YouTube Channel videos.

Film 4 subsequently portrays the lived realities of working on this *KLTV* project from the various perspectives of the people who worked behind the camera, based on what the project meant specifically to them. I categorised interviewees' responses into the following thematic codes, which feature sequentially in the film:

- What is 'Windrush: The Years After'?

- Project Diversity

- What have you gained from the project as an individual?

- What has the project done for the local African Caribbean community?

- How has 'Windrush: The Years After' been successful?

What is Windrush: The Years After?

This question is addressed by four members of the 'Windrush: The Years After' project team: Milton Brown, Niki Matthews, Heather Norris Nicholson and Khatija Lunat. Brown discusses the project's scope, whilst Matthews outlines its primary objective:

> 'Windrush: The Years After' tracked the lives of the early migrants who came here between 1948-1972, and then also the first generation born here in the 1960s and the second generation born in the early '80s. (Milton Brown, *Film 4*, 00:20-00:35)

> The whole concept of bringing the Windrush project to life was to give people from the black community the opportunity to share their stories – not just of their own, but of their families, and the struggles and celebrations that they've had along the way. (Niki Matthews, *Film 4*, 00:35-00:54)

When Brown refers to the 'early migrants' of the Windrush Generation 'who came here', 'here' could be equally referring to either the Kirklees region or the United Kingdom as a whole. Matthews' reference to 'the black community' is similarly ambiguous – indicative of 'Windrush: The Years After's focus on countering both local and national narratives around the African Caribbean descent

community in Britain. As Norris Nicholson's description of the documentary for a University of Huddersfield news article explains: 'The ['Windrush: The Years After'] film tells a story of national and international significance from a local perspective' (University of Huddersfield 2019, para. 13). This further resonates with an earlier quote from Khatija Lunat in *Film 3*, when she referred to the 'big role' the media has to play when telling both 'local' and 'national' stories that 'portray communities across the board' (*Film 3*, 14:02-14:29). This binary relationship between nationwide issues and a local narrative framing is prevalent across much of *Kirklees Local TV*'s media work. For example, the 'Boris Burka Comments' episode of Public Eye (KLTV 2018b) quizzed local people on the perceived impact of a senior politician's derogatory remarks against Muslims in a national newspaper – an Islamophobic slur which was said to have 'led to a surge in [reported] anti-Muslim attacks and incidents of abuse' by 375% nationwide (Parveen 2019). The Windrush Generation, which had become the object of national (and indeed international) attention following the media's exposure of the Windrush Scandal in early 2018, is presented in a similar way – i.e. in the local context of oral testimonies from people living in Kirklees.

Figure 25: (From left to right) Milton Brown, Heather Norris Nicholson and Khatija Lunat pose in front of a 'brainstorm' illustration for the 'Windrush: The Years After' project. This photo was taken by me following one of KLTV's 'Windrush' project meetings, which were regularly held on Friday afternoons between August 2018 and July 2019 (Film 4, 01:08)

Figure 26: Heather Norris Nicholson outlines the 'Windrush: The Years After' project's remit; in the background, a clip of her and Khatija Lunat presenting the film at the University of Huddersfield in June 2018 (Film 4, 00:59)

As Norris Nicholson's engagement with *Kirklees Local TV* between January 2018 and September 2019 was predominantly concerned with 'Windrush: The Years After' – reflected by the fact she does not appear in any of the first three research films – her responses, central to *Film 4*'s exploration, are emphasised in the film accordingly. In the first of her two responses to the question, 'What is Windrush: The Years After?', she explains how the project encompassed more than just the making of a documentary film:

> The project has very, very multi-faceted outputs: so, there's the documentary film itself; and yet, there have also been the educational materials, the archiving, the picture research, a whole lot of writing…(Heather Norris Nicholson, *Film 4*, 00:54-01:09)

The first clip of Norris Nicholson features her speaking in front of a green screen, which has been 'keyed out' and replaced with a clip of her and Lunat speaking to an audience at the first screening of the documentary, at the University of Huddersfield's Haslett Building on 7th June 2019. In the latter part of Norris Nicholson's response (i.e. *Film 4*, 01:01-01:09), a selection of still images from the project's production meetings are shown over her off-screen narration. The majority of these photos were taken by me; as I wrote in my field diary, 'I'm usually the one taking the photos of the project group, rather than being photographed myself' (Field Diary Entry 65, 7th June 2019) I reflected on this as something that 'perhaps […] sums much of my time at KLTV up' given my duality as a *KLTV* participant as well as a researcher: being a part of the organisation's activities, but usually at a distance (Field Diary Entry 65, 7th June 2019).

These images, in order, depict Lunat examining an educational book; Norris Nicholson taking notes whilst conducting picture research; and Brown, Norris Nicholson and Lunat posing in front of a whiteboard 'brainstorm' illustration (i.e. Figure 25). These tasks were often on the periphery of the 'Windrush: The Years After' project, as the completion of the 75-minute documentary film by June

2019 – less than twelve months after the project began – understandably took precedent. However, following end of my formal fieldwork placement in September 2019, *KLTV* have since published their 'Windrush: The Years After' Educational Resource and Workbook for local primary school classrooms (KLTV 2020d), as well as archiving 'the collection of print materials that accompanied the filmmaking project' at 'Heritage Quay', the University of Huddersfield's archive service (Heritage Quay 2021).

Managing the multifaceted activities of the 'Windrush: The Years After' project, whilst primarily depending on the freely-offered labour of volunteers, posed its difficulties – but a 'shared vision' helped to overcome these challenges, according to the Project Coordinator:

> Y'know, sometimes you'd have very tight turnarounds, very long meetings, very tiring days, a lot of things that seemed to need being completed by yesterday, but we've got through that, because we have a shared vision that this is a worthwhile thing to do. (Heather Norris Nicholson, *Film 4*, 01:24-01:42)

Serving as bookends to Norris Nicholson's testimony – which again features clips from the first 'Windrush: The Years After' film screening in June 2019 – Lunat describes her personal relationship with the project (hailing Brown's work in bringing this group of volunteers together), and appraises the final product (i.e. the film):

> It's been a pleasure and an honour to work on [the project] alongside with lots of amazing people, who I thought I'd never meet on a day-to-day basis, y'know? It's all down to Milton Brown that we came together as a group. (Khatija Lunat, *Film 4*, 01:09-01:24)

> The final thing has been amazing, and it came together so well. (Khatija Lunat, *Film 4*, 01:42-01:48)

Project Diversity

The group of people that *KLTV* (and more specifically, Milton Brown) brought together to work on the 'Windrush: The Years After' project came from a broad range of ethnic and cultural backgrounds, according to Nabila Waseem and Heather Norris Nicholson. Waseem speaks specifically about the multicultural community within Huddersfield (and Kirklees more broadly), suggesting that *KLTV*'s voluntary workforce is equally diverse:

> Y'know, there's a lot of different people that live here, and just within this organisation, there's so many different people. We've had students from China, students from Zimbabwe, come and work with us. Y'know, we learn from each other as well, so that's a really good thing. (Nabila Waseem, *Film 4*, 01:53-02:08)

Still images, such as Figures 27 and 28 (below), are shown whilst Waseem is providing this response (i.e. *Film 4*, 01:59-02:08).

Figure 27: Waseem (left) and Brown (top middle) supervise a KLTV student volunteer in producing a graphic design for the 'Windrush: The Years After' project (Film 4, 02:00)

271

Figure 28: Brown (left) supervises another KLTV student volunteer; this time, they are using a flatbed scanner to digitally archive cultural and historical documents pertaining to the 'Windrush' project (Film 4, 02:05)

The cultural and racial diversity of the members of the 'Windrush: The Years After' production team is something that *Kirklees Local TV* were keen to underline in their press releases for the project. Interestingly, in an article from British Afro-Carribean newspaper *The Voice* in July 2019, my own local 'background' – being from the town of Barnsley, South Yorkshire – was juxtaposed with the national identities of other project members:

> As well as individuals from across the Caribbean, a diverse team of volunteers from different faiths, cultures and backgrounds, including from South Asia, Zimbabwe, China, Ireland and Barnsley, have come together to learn how to interview, film and edit under the leadership of Milton Brown, CEO of Kirklees Local Television. (The Voice 2019, para. 4)

As illustrated by Brown's speech at the community screening of 'Windrush: The Years After' at the local retirement home, my positionality as a white male who grew up in a 'pit village', in his opinion, 'bears similarity with many of the experiences of the African Caribbean descent community' in Huddersfield and beyond (Field Diary Entry 76, 9th July 2019). Whilst the extent of these similarities

between personal experiences is questionable – I have never been on the receiving end of racist abuse, for example – Waseem's testimony and Brown's speech are indicative of how members of different communities can 'learn from each other' through the making and dissemination of a documentary film. The screening of 'Windrush: The Years After' to a variety of audiences created spaces for local voices from the 'Windrush Generation' to be heard, both by white people and people of colour. Having a culturally diverse team behind the camera, according to Norris Nicholson, was therefore 'entirely appropriate':

> The diversity just doesn't have to be in front of the camera…it's also entirely appropriate that there
> should be diversity in the team who are involved in recording that history and making that history.
> (Heather Norris Nicholson, 02:08-02:22)

What have you gained from the project as an individual?

In this section of the film, the interviewees reflect on the different kinds of learning that they took from working on the 'Windrush: The Years After' project. As earlier mentioned, there were many different aspects to 'Windrush: The Years After' beyond filmmaking; not all of the volunteers in the team worked on the documentary directly. Consequently, I have chosen to categorise these responses in such a way that presents what members learnt from the project from two perspectives: producing the film, and watching it.

Producing the film

Leah Conway, who first came to *KLTV* as a second year History undergraduate student on a work placement module, explains how her time working as a videographer and editor on the 'Windrush: The Years After' project has not only taught her how to produce films, but also encouraged her to consider a career in the media industry for the first time:

Well, before I was here, I didn't really know anything, or have any experience – [I could] take a few

pictures on a camera, that's about it. But then I come here, and I now know how to set up cameras,

film them; what kind of shots you want; and now I know editing. I didn't know anything about editing

before, and now, I'd quite like to maybe go in a career that way? (Leah Conway, *Film 4*, 02:27-02:54)

In contrast, Khatija Lunat, a local primary school teacher who conducted many of the 'Windrush: The

Years After' interviews, does not express a longer-term interest in making films. Instead, she

highlights what she learned from the personal narratives that the interviewees shared with her –

including experiences of the Windrush Scandal:

I really, really enjoyed – and that is one of my highlights of this project – going to interviews, and

having that honour of listening to individual stories, and having listened to heartfelt stories of what

their parents or themselves, the experiences they went through, and the turmoil of receiving a letter

from the Home Office saying, 'You don't belong here, you need to go home' – when they've been

living and working here for, twenty, thirty years. (Khatija Lunat, *Film 4*, 04:29-05:01)

Figure 29: Three still images of Khatija Lunat alongside various 'Windrush: The Years After' participants and volunteers – including this one (Film 4, 04:37) - are shown whilst Lunat is describing her experiences of working on the project (i.e. 04:28-04:45). Interviews for the 'Windrush' documentary film, such as this one, were often conducted by KLTV in interviewees' homes.

Similarly, Milton Brown – who has been producing videos and films on a regular basis for *KLTV* since 2011 – speaks of the 'privilege' of being able to 'talk to my elders' and 'fill in the gaps' of his own cultural knowledge:

> I think for me, the experience was huge, and also a privileged one. To talk to my elders, for them to fill in the gaps, it was a massive emotional journey of what they experienced when they came here, to then how it interconnected to my journey when I was born in 1961. It just seems seamless, this whole journey's been a perennial struggle of navigating race and identity. So for me, it was an emotional journey, but one that I relished, and one that I'm very grateful for. (Milton Brown, *Film 4*, 03:25-04:02)
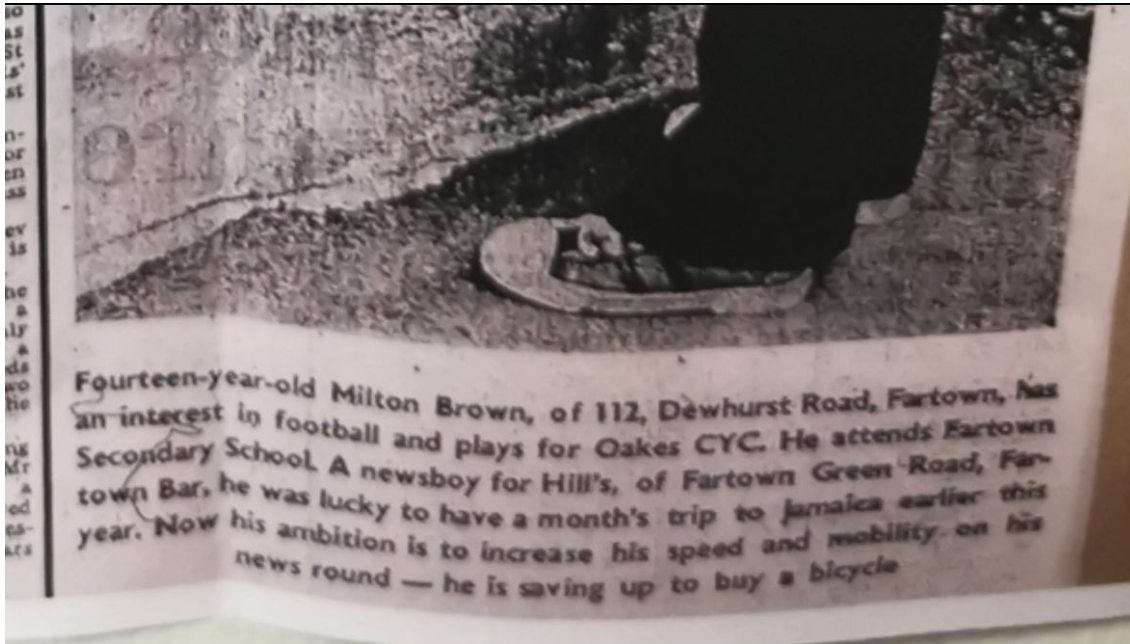
Figure 30a: A clipping on Milton Brown taken from a local newspaper from the mid-1970s, which was pinned up to the wall in KLTV's studio office. The image is shown during Brown's speech about how the narrative of the 'Windrush: The Years After' film 'interconnected' seamlessly with his own 'journey' (Film 4, 03:43)

Figure 30b: An image of a young Milton Brown on a newspaper 'round,' from the aforementioned clipping (Film 4, 03:53)

Watching the film

In a similar vein to Lunat's and Brown's responses to this question, Niki Matthews and Nabila Waseem – neither of whom are members of the African Caribbean descent community themselves – describe how hearing the narratives portrayed in the 'Windrush: The Years After' film broadened their own understandings of what other communities 'went through' in the past, and continue to endure in the present. The history of the Windrush generation, in Matthews' view, is 'something we all need to know about':

> The reason why I felt 'Windrush' was so important, and I was so glad to be involved: it's something we all need to know about. It's a point for the black community to be able to get their story out there, not just for themselves, but for their families, their friends, their loved ones. But it's also an opportunity for me, as a white Huddersfield-born lass, to learn about other communities – what they went through, y'know, when they were coming here, whether that was themselves or as a family, and the struggles that they had. (Niki Matthews, *Film 4*, 02:54-03:25)

For Waseem, learning more about 'African Caribbean culture' and 'traditions' is said to have helped her to better understand 'what goes on' in her local community as a whole:

> I've learnt so much. I mean, I didn't really know much about African Caribbean culture, and about their traditions – all I knew was that they have a carnival once a year, and that is it. I've learnt so much with being part of this, so yeah, I just think it opens your eyes, and it gives you a wider perspective of what goes on within the community that you live in! (Nabila Waseem, *Film 4*, 05:01-05:23)

Figure 31: A cutaway of footage from 'Huddersfield Carnival', a film made by KLTV in 2017, is shown during Nabila Waseem comments on local African Caribbean culture (Film 4, 05:07). As well as appearing in this research film, clips from the Carnival, an annual celebration held in Huddersfield during the summer, feature in the 'Windrush: The Years After' documentary film.

Community film projects have been described as 'a kind of social glue in educational communities', serving as 'artistic and creative endeavours' for participants 'to both interrogate and cultivate the self, to build understanding with others, and to experience belonging' (DeJaynes 2015, 183-187). For Matthews, who earlier self-identified as a 'white Huddersfield-born lass', watching the 'Windrush: The Years After' documentary offered her a similar sense of belonging – not as a member of the Windrush Generation, but as a fellow citizen of the Kirklees region:

> And I think a project like this is so important because you no longer feel outside that community; you feel that that community's brought you in, and they've welcomed you with open arms, and likewise, I feel that I have done with them, y'know. I've wanted to hear their stories, I've wanted to learn from their experiences, I've wanted to share in their heartbreak and celebrate with them, and projects like this enable you to do so. (Niki Matthews, *Film 4*, 04:02-04:29)

278

What has the project done for the local African Caribbean community?

Having highlighted what the making of a film about the African Caribbean descent community of Kirklees provided in terms of learning opportunities to the volunteers who helped create it, *Film 4* subsequently turns its attention to what the project has brought in terms of socio-cultural benefits to the represented community. Following on from his testimony on how working on the 'Windrush' project had helped him to better understand his own cultural identity, Milton Brown hopes that the more people see the documentary, the more members of the local community will 'begin to understand what it means to be an African Caribbean descendant living in Huddersfield':

> What we are hoping for is the more people who see this documentary, will begin to understand what it means to be an African Caribbean descendant living in Huddersfield, and [that] their stories have been told. And I'm hoping that it will be an inspiration to say, right, now we know what's happened, let's crack on, *move* on, and make the best of the situation. (Milton Brown, *Film 4*, 05:28-05:54)

In comparison, Heather Norris Nicholson believes the project has already 'raised the profile of the African Caribbean descent community's significant contribution and legacy within Huddersfield' (*Film 4*, 06:18). To put this quote into context, Norris Nicholson's interview was conducted in early July (2019) – a month after the first 'private' screening of the 'Windrush: The Years After' film, but prior to the subsequent 'public' and 'community' screenings, at the University of Huddersfield and the local retirement home, respectively. With the documentary having only been seen by approximately 100 people by this point (i.e. the attendance at the 'private' screening), it is likely that she was referring to the project as a whole (rather than the film), which had already been promoted by various local and regional news outlets by this point – including *Living North Magazine* (2018) and the *Huddersfield Examiner* (Lavigueur 2018). Indeed, in a later interview with the University of Huddersfield, Norris Nicholson reiterated how the 'Windrush: The Years After' project 'was only one

part of the project', alongside the additional processes 'of creating educational resources, gathering papers, posters and memorabilia, and then cataloguing the material and depositing it at Heritage Quay [i.e. the University of Huddersfield's archive library]' (University of Huddersfield 2019, para. 11).

Khatija Lunat agreed that it was 'great' for 'the African Caribbean descent community to tell their story', adding that the documentary is successfully 'giving them a voice – it's handing it back to them; it's providing a platform for them' (*Film 4*, 05:54-06:08). However, she also adds that the making of the 'Windrush: The Years After' film by *KLTV* may be inspiring to other local minority communities, encouraging them to represent themselves in a similar way:

> …and for other communities, I think it's saying, 'Why don't you get your voice out there as well? You lay your mark on this land as well' – because it's not just one community that makes Kirklees great, or England great; it's all of these communities, and they've all got a story to tell, no matter where they're from. (Khatija Lunat, *Film 4*, 06:18-06:38)

'Windrush: The Years After' was, at the time it was premiered at the University of Huddersfield in 2019, the latest in a long line of *KLTV* films and videos that represent ethical, cultural and religious minorities across the Kirklees region. Stylistically, it bears similarity with two other documentaries, 'Young, British, Pakistani and Muslim' (KLTV 2013c) and 'On Dewsbury Moor' (KLTV 2013b), which also centred the oral testimonies of local residents – tied together into a cohesive narrative by each film's respective narrator. Additionally, '21st Century British Muslims' (KLTV 2018a), the first documentary film project Lunat worked on with *Kirklees Local TV*, explores British Muslims' navigation of 'heritage, religion and culture' – similar to the way in which 'Windrush: The Years After' represents the lived experience of Britain's African Caribbean descent community. However, Lunat's testimony in *Film 4* suggests that there is still representation work to be done. Whether for

lack of opportunity or motive, not every community 'that makes Kirklees great' has represented themselves on camera thus far.

How has Windrush: The Years After been successful?

So far in *Film 4*, 'Windrush: The Years After' has been described by the people who worked on the project as successfully 'giving [the African Caribbean descent community] a voice' (Khatija Lunat, 05:54-06:08); an 'opportunity' for 'people in the black community […] to share their stories' (Milton Brown, 00:20-00:35), which are 'something we all need to know about' (Niki Matthews, 02:54-03:25). The final section of the film explores how these perceived successes of the project could be measured. Rather than focusing on quantitative statistics as a means of gauging success – to my knowledge, the 'Windrush: The Years After' documentary had only been shown three times (and to no more than a couple of hundred people) by the time my fieldwork placement ended in September 2019 – Niki Matthews and Heather Norris Nicholson addressed the qualities of both the project and its underlying processes. As Project Administrator/Evaluator and Project Coordinator respectively, Matthews and Norris Nicholson were arguably best placed to speak of the outcomes of 'Windrush: The Years After' as a whole.

In her testimony, Norris Nicholson is keen to highlight the voluntary contributions that 'made the project happen' in the first place:

> I think the real strength of the project, and the real resource base for the project, has been the people, who have been brought together here at *KLTV*. It is *that* group that have made the project happen. (Heather Norris Nicholson, *Film 4*, 06:43-06:58)

Matthews is similarly keen to emphasise the work of the project team. Whilst the end product that audiences see (i.e. the documentary film) is 'fantastic', she acknowledges the 'over two and a half

thousand volunteer hours' clocked – by people with a range of other professional and personal commitments:

> For everybody who watches the documentary, for everybody who goes there to Heritage Quays at the University of Huddersfield to view the archival material that's been gathered [by the project] – they see the end product, which is fantastic. However, the work that went into that project, y'know, we clocked up over two and a half thousand volunteer hours. This is from people who, we've got: working mums; people in full-time employment with other companies; everybody had their own family life, work life, but they still wanted to be involved. And for me, that is the biggest thing about the project. It shows the importance of it, and the greatness of it, and the richness of it, because despite everything that was going on in their lives, they wanted to be involved. (Niki Matthews, *Film 4*, 06:58-07:51)

Figure 32: Heather Norris Nicholson has Film 4's final word on the 'Windrush: The Years After' project. Once again, the green screen used as the background to Norris Nicholson's interview allows for another background to be shown behind her; this time, a video shot of audience members mingling prior to the first 'private' screening of the documentary film at the University of Huddersfield (Film 4, 07:53)

The primary outcome of 'Windrush: The Years After', in Norris Nicholson's view, is that it 'helps people understand their own stories, and their own experiences and the experiences of others':

> There is nothing that is tokenistic about any aspect of this project; it is about real issues, real needs, and if we can get material out there that helps people better understand their own stories, and their own experiences and the experiences of others, that they live alongside but never stop to talk to, then I think we have brought about something quite significant. (Heather Norris Nicholson, *Film 4*, 07:51-08:15)

After the first ever 'private' screening of the film (i.e. to people who participated in it, both in front of and behind the camera), I wrote in my own words how the film had been received, and what the immediate successes of the project appeared to be:

> To see the culmination of almost 12 months' work on the Windrush project was an unforgettable experience. Like many in the team, I was worried about how the audience - the majority of whom being from the local African Caribbean descent community that this film was trying to represent - would receive the film, so to see the audience smiling, and to hear them laughing, and even some of them crying, set my mind at ease. There was also the sense that I had been part of something quite important, something more important than I, or any other individual sat in the room. And with that comes a sense of belonging. It feels good to be a part of something like this; to feel a shared sense of purpose; to feel part of something communal, if not a 'community' in its own right. (Field Diary Entry 65, 7th June 2019)

Summary

'Windrush: The Years After: A Community Legacy on Film' was the primary product of a year-long National Lottery Heritage Fund and University of Huddersfield supported project. *Kirklees Local TV*'s making of the film was made possible by 'over two and a half thousand volunteers hours' clocked up by members of the local community, including 'working mums', 'people in full-time employment', and full-time students – all of whom despite having other commitments, 'still wanted to be involved' (see Niki Matthews, *Film 4*, 06:58-07:51). When the documentary was first shown at the Haslett Building (University of Huddersfield) on 7th June 2018, I watched it alongside dozens of other people who had either been interviewed for the film, or helped to produce it. I recorded my thoughts and feelings on the event in my field diary:

> I might have been one of the project's volunteers, but like the majority of the audience, I was watching the Windrush film for the first time. I had seen some of the individual interviews before, and recognised most of the faces in the documentary, but had never watched the whole thing through;

indeed, the film's editors were still putting the finishing touches on the film as recently as this afternoon.

It was a powerful watch. From a technical point of view, there were a few mistakes - including some spelling errors on the interviewee titles (more on this later) - and a few points where I felt I would have edited the film very differently. Nevertheless, it brought about in me an emotional response, and I could tell it was doing that for many in the audience as well. (Field Diary Entry 65, 7th June 2019)

The community media that *Kirklees Local TV* produces may not be of the same high degree of technical or stylistic quality as the organisation's mainstream counterparts; on a relatively shoestring budget, *KLTV* are never likely to be able to compete in this regard. However, what also separates *KLTV*'s output from that produced by mass media broadcasters is that it is stimulated by the needs of the local community being represented on film, rather than the media consumption interests of the regional and/or national public. This does not mean to say that films like 'Windrush: The Years After' are of no interest to anyone beyond the region of Kirklees; the media attention the project received from Britain's most popular black newspaper (The Voice 2019), as well as other regional media outlets such as *The Yorkshire Post* (Burn 2018) and *Living North Magazine* (2018), is evidence of a more widespread appeal. Unfortunately, in a media industry where creating films and videos for the majority culture rather than producing images for a select few is seen as a means of making more revenue, film projects like 'Windrush: The Years After' are at a premium. The Māori (indigenous New Zealand) filmmaker, Barry Barclay, addresses this dichotomy in *Our Own Image*:

On the one hand, there is – in the words of the Te Manu Aute[16] constitution – a right and a

responsibility for any culture to present itself to its own people in its own way – to 'talk in'. On the

other hand, there is an awesome communications structure already established by the majority culture,

which either shrieks ratings and returns, or seductively pleads to find out more about Māori culture.

Whether the tones are honeyed or shrill makes little difference – it's 'talk out' brother, or the scrap-

heap for you. (Barclay 2015, 75)

However, Barclay believed that the 'right' and 'responsibility' for a culture to represent itself, to

itself, does not necessarily represent the making of 'minority programmes directed at a minority', but

rather, 'a minority being confident enough to talk with its own voice about whatever it chooses and as

it does so, having a feeling that the talk will be of interest to others who wish to drop in' (Barclay

2015, 78). This appears to be true of 'Windrush: The Years After', and harks back to something

Khatija Lunat said in *Film 4*: 'for the African Caribbean descent community to tell their story, is great

because it's giving them a voice – it's handing it back to them' (05:54-06:08). 'To put it another

way', continues Barclay, 'I am not interested in seeing a film made by Welsh people who want to

explain their situation to the British authorities in London', who would instead 'be very interested in

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[16] 'Te Manu Aute', as Barclay explains in his foreword to *Our Own Image*, is 'a national organisation of Māori

communicators' (2015, 7). According to the *Te Ara – Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, 'Manu Aute' refers to

a type of kite that was 'flown for recreation' by Māori, which was also 'used for divination – to gauge

whether an attack on an enemy stronghold would be successful, or to locate wrongdoers' – as well as 'a

means of communication' (Maysmor 2006, paras. 1-2). Te Manu Aute was established in the 1980s by

'Māori working in film and television […] to organise and support Māori story-telling and story-tellers'

(Ngā Aho Whakaari 2016a, para. 6).

watching a film made by Welsh communicators trying to make a metaphor for their own people' (Barclay 2015, 78). In spite of the aforementioned 'ratings' and 'returns', his view – as is my own – 'is that if a film has cultural integrity, it will have much more appeal to other cultures than if it were tailored for them' (Barclay 2015, 78).

Discussion

Having now analysed my four research films in relation to this doctoral project's primary research question – ***Why do people volunteer at an organisation like KLTV?*** – I will now move on to discuss some of the key talking points that arose from analysis. As a reminder, those four 'facets' – 'mini investigations that involve clusters of methods focussed on strategically and artfully selected sets of related questions, puzzles and problematics' (Mason 2011, 79) – were the following:

> **Facet 1:** *Founding KLTV* – why was *Kirklees Local TV* created?

> **Facet 2:** *'The People's News Outlet'* – who does *KLTV* serve, and how?

> **Facet 3:** *Why Volunteers Come (and why some of them stay)* – exploring what volunteers get out of the experience of being at *KLTV*, in their own words

> **Facet 4:** *The 'Windrush: The Years After' Project* – speaking to the people behind one of *KLTV*'s biggest film projects to-date.

In another research context, it might have been possible to have involved my interviewees in a more methodical way. For example, in Ritchie and Barker's collaborative study with polyamorous women (2005), participants had both the time and the motivation to have greater 'ownership of the research process in terms of generating discussion questions, facilitating the focus group discussion, and analysing the transcript' (49). Rather than selecting points for discussion that I personally believe to be pertinent to the research question, these decisions could have been made collaboratively, informed by the volunteers themselves. However, these participants were already giving up a lot of their free time to volunteer for *KLTV* in the first place; people who, according to Niki Matthews, are 'working mums' and/or 'people in full-time employment' (*Film 4*, 06:58-07:51) – as well as students such as Leah Conway and Oliver Thompson. Having already worked together on creating the set of doctoral

research films that are now co-owned by the University of Sheffield and *Kirklees Local TV* – and with the stipulation that this resulting PhD thesis can only be authored by the doctoral candidate (i.e. myself) and solely owned by the University – asking *KLTV* to dedicate more of their volunteers' time to my project would have provided far more benefit to me as a researcher than to them as an organisation. Moreover, without being able to offer participants any form of financial renumeration for their time, or experience relevant to their own respective professions, there would have been little incentive for them to agree to co-participate in the analysis in the first place. All in all, asking for *KLTV* volunteers to collaborate in this regard would have undermined the very principles of co-productive research that this project has sought to uphold.

As an alternative to collaborative analysis and discussion, I have tried my best in the section below to infer the following discussion points from what interviewees said in those four research films – as well as my own field notes on the personal experience of being a participatory researcher/acting volunteer at *Kirklees Local TV* between January 2018 and September 2019. Subsequently, this discussion chapter presents the opportunity to re-examine this study's four 'facets' in relation to the three 'literary contexts' explored earlier; namely:

1. **Brexit, Social Media and The Cultural Politics of Emotion:** How Communicative Technologies Shape Public Perception in a Digital World;

2. **Kirklees Local TV 'as a Learning Organisation':** Cultural Literacy, Critical Race Theory and Communities of Practice

3. **'A Community Legacy on Film':** Using Collaborative Documentary Filmmaking to go beyond representations of the Windrush Generation as 'victims'

In the discussion process, I hope to illustrate that the facets I have crafted for this study are capable of providing 'flashes of insight in relation to the overall [research] problematic' (Mason 2011, 79-81)

and, by extension, an original contribution to academic knowledge around the doctoral project's broader themes: social empowerment, self-representation and cultural literacy.

Discussion Point 1: 'Guerrilla TV' and Counter-Storytelling

Counter-storytelling provides people 'a voice to tell their narratives involving marginalized experiences' (Hiraldo 2010, 54). As one of the five tenets of Critical Race Theory, it is employed by CRT scholars 'to contradict racist characterizations of social life' (Merriweather Hunn et al. 2006, 244). Solórzano and Yosso (2002) define the counter-story 'as a method of telling the stories of those people whose experiences are not often told (i.e., those on the margins of society)' (32). In their article's endnotes, Solórzano and Yosso explain that in CRT's view, 'a story becomes a counter-story when it begins to incorporate the five elements of critical race theory' (2002, 39). Though not a self-professed critical race theorist in his time, CRT's tenet of counter-storytelling bears similarity to Barclay's notion of Fourth (Indigenous) Cinema, in which 'something else is being asserted which is not easy to access' (Barclay 2003, 7). Counter stories subsequently challenge what Critical Race theorists refer to as 'majoritarian stories': 'the description of events as told by members of dominant/majority groups, accompanied by the values and beliefs that justify the actions taken by dominants to insure their dominant position' (Love 2004, 228-229).

The reinforcement of majoritarian stories in mainstream media is one way in which the 'dominant culture' – '*a particular ethnic group [which] exercises dominance within a nation and/or state*' – is able to retain power (Kaufmann 2004, 6; emphasis in original). Love (2004) refers to 'the commonly accepted 'history' of the United States' as 'one such [majoritarian] story'; an 'invisible' narrative that is not viewed as a narrative at all, but rather, 'as history, policies, procedures, rules, regulations, and statements of fact' (229). For example, between the drawing up of the original US Constitution in 1778 and the 14th Amendment in 1868, African Americans were 'counted as three-fifths of a person

for the purposes of electoral representation', based on the then-majoritarian narrative (or rather 'mythology') that people of African descent were intellectually inferior to white Americans (Love 2004, 236). Even Section 2 of the 14th Amendment, which repealed the three-fifths clause, refused to grant voting rights to indigenous Americans – or, as they were then referred to, 'Indians not taxed' (National Constitution Center 2021). In the present day, 'invisible' majoritarian stories serve to justify the self-serving actions (and inaction) of predominantly-white nation states – such as the UK's recent 'hostile immigration' policy, which led to the detention and deportation of the same members of the African Caribbean descent community (i.e. the Windrush Generation) that had once been granted indefinite right to remain.

By these definitions, *KLTV*'s work on 'Windrush: The Years After', a project which enabled 'the African Caribbean descent community to tell their story' (Khatija Lunat, *Film 4*, 05:54-06:08), may reasonably be classified as a counter-story. Counter-storytelling aims to reveal 'how white privilege operates within an ideological framework to reinforce and support unequal societal relations between [white people] and people of color' (Merriweather Hunn et al. 2006, 244). That one of the interviewees for the 'Windrush: The Years After' documentary described to *KLTV* volunteer Khatija Lunat 'the turmoil of receiving a letter from the Home Office saying, 'You don't belong here, you need to go home'' – despite 'living and working here for, twenty, thirty years' (Khatija Lunat, *Film 4*, 04:29-05:01) – is an acute example of how those unequal societal relations can manifest. More commonly, the dominance of a particular culture in society excludes alternative narratives that do not neatly align with the majoritarian story.

When stories *are* told of non-dominant cultures in the UK, they are most often told through a process of 'talking out' (see Barclay 2015, 74-76); the BBC's aforementioned *Hometown* docuseries (2019-2020), despite being narrated and presented by a journalist who grew up in Huddersfield, was made

for a national audience rather than a local one. Indeed, when people from Huddersfield disputed the docuseries' representation of the town, presenter Mobeen Azhar said he 'was sad that so many people in Huddersfield felt so strongly that I shouldn't have told a bad news story about *our* town', and felt 'like they were trying to hide from the facts' ('Update: 1. Turf War' 2020, 05:18-05:36). Here, the majoritarian stories of Huddersfield as the site of 'a drugs turf war' – a place plagued by 'brutal, drug-related violence' (Azhar 2020) – are depicted as 'statements of fact'; to challenge their legitimacy is to deny the truth (Love 2004, 229).

The prevalence and permanence of majoritarian stories restricts spaces for non-dominant cultures to articulate alternative narratives. In this landscape, *Kirklees Local TV* serves as a platform from which local people can 'talk in' to their community. Indeed, in the volunteers' testimonies presented by my four research films, counter-storytelling appeared to be one of the primary motivations for local people to get involved with *KLTV* activity. 'There are so many different facets to what *KLTV* is involved with', said Niki Matthews, who explained that working with the organisation had helped her to learn 'new things' about 'the place that you live' – something that 'challenges you, in a really positive way' (*Film 3*, 05:48-06:48). Similarly, Khatija Lunat remarked, '…as a volunteer, I think you only stick with a certain thing when you see […] the worth of the piece that you're doing'; 'when you see worth within the community, within Kirklees, within the whole national picture, you see that this piece of work is…massive' (*Film 3*, 08:02-08:31).

In contrast to '*Hometown'*, and other representations that are said to 'always [portray] a negative image of Huddersfield', Nabila Waseem regarded *KLTV* as an organisation that 'highlight[s] the positives and the good things in Huddersfield, and Kirklees' – adding, 'we know bad things go on, but we don't always need to keep going back to that' (*Film 2*, 00:29-01:32). Rather than 'trying to hide from the facts', counter-storytelling presents the possibility of other lived realities. In Heather

Norris Nicholson's opinion, if the work of the 'Windrush: The Years After' project can '[help] people better understand their own stories, and their own experiences and the experiences of others, that they live alongside but never stop to talk to, then I think we have brought about something quite significant' (*Film 4*, 07:51-08:15). There is an acknowledgement, both by Norris Nicholson and by others, that these non-dominant narratives are not at the forefront of the broader community's social consciousness. *KLTV* CEO Milton Brown's hopes for 'Windrush: The Years After' were that 'the more people who see this documentary, will begin to understand what it means to be an African Caribbean descendant living in Huddersfield' (*Film 4*, 05:28-05:54). Waseem admits that she 'didn't really know much about African Caribbean culture' before working on the project, but now she has 'a wider perspective of what goes on within the community that [I] live in' (*Film 4*, 05:01-05:23).

That *KLTV*'s representations of local people in the form of community films and video can be described as the opposite of 'tokenistic' (see Heather Norris Nicholson, *Film 4*, 07:51-08:15) harks back to Dave Hodgson's conceptualisation of the organisation as 'Guerrilla TV': 'doing everything, any way you can think of, but getting the story *first*, as it were' (*Film 2*, 06:16-07:15). From two-minute news bulletins like *Summat Yorkshire* (KLTV 2018-) and *Public Eye* (KLTV 2013-), to the longer socio-cultural commentaries of documentaries such as *Young, British, Pakistani and Muslim* (KLTV 2013c) and *21st Century British Muslims: The Challenges for Government, Academic Institutions and Researchers* (KLTV 2018a), *Kirklees Local TV* broadcasts audiovisual narratives of local interest that receive little (if any) coverage from mainstream broadcasters and media outlets. Whilst Lunat said it was 'a shame that it's people like *KLTV* [who] *have* to represent [and] celebrate those communities', doing more of this 'on a national level' – as she says 'it should be done' – would likely result in more 'talking out' rather than 'talking in'. In *Our Own Image*, Barclay says that the

'talk out' approach, used in mainstream filmmaking and public broadcasting, 'has failed' non-majority cultures like the Māori:

> By and large, the approach has failed. The majority culture seems to have ears like a sponge: you can talk your tongue off, year after year; the ears flap, but in the end you feel you have spent your life speaking to a great sponge which does not seem to learn, but which is ever eager to absorb more. (Barclay 2015, 76)

Moreover, there seems to be very little appetite in the UK for locally-produced content – not only from the national audiences of mainstream broadcasting platforms such as the BBC, but in some cases, amongst local audiences as well. *Estuary TV* in Grimsby (Lincolnshire), which was launched as the UK Local TV Network's first channel in 2013, was subsequently closed down just five years later – having recorded 'maximum viewing figures' of 'fewer than 200 people' per programme, 'with some programmes having no viewers at all' (Lynch 2018). Nationally, in addition to the UK Government donating £25m of TV license fee payers' money towards the costs of building the terrestrial infrastructure for the Local TV Network in 2013, they also committed to providing 'a £15m fund through which the BBC would acquire content from Local TV services between 2014/15 and 2016/17' (News Media Association 2015, 55). However, according to an independent report from the News Media Association, 'requiring the BBC to set aside funds for content acquisition is not the same as awarding those funds' – something that 'many involved in delivering Local TV franchises have observed' (2015, 54). Disputes between the BBC and local media providers on 'differing expectations around the timing and allocation of monies' – the former wanting to 'spend the money on editorial merit'; the latter seeking to 'improve their output while commercial revenues remain weak' – resulted in a 'standoff' between the two (News Media Association 2015, 54-55). In 2017, whilst still operating to the Government's £15m limit 'for the overall cost of the [Local TV] content-acquisition scheme', the BBC extended the initiative to July 2020, which was said to be 'enough to allow the inclusion of

every qualifying licensee' (BBC 2017, 2). Evidently, the amount of locally-produced media content actually acquired by the BBC between 2014/15 and 2016/17 was far lower than initially expected.

There is substantial evidence of a gap in media reportage of local events – one which the ringfencing of £40m to establish the Local TV Network tried (and failed) to fill. The job of telling 'community stories' in Huddersfield, seen as being 'important for a cohesive society, [and] to maintain that cohesion within communities', subsequently fell upon the independent, so-called 'Guerrilla TV' organisation of *KLTV* (Khatija Lunat, *Film 2*, 01:32-02:21). That, at least, is the way that the nature of *KLTV*'s existence was portrayed by the participants I interviewed. The organisation's CEO and founder, Milton Brown, referred to *KLTV* as 'a grassroots community news outlet'; one that '[goes] out to find those stories that, I would argue, our local [news]paper doesn't cover; the national [news]paper might not cover; but [which are] equally as interesting' (*Film 1*, 00:15-00:43). In this sense, *KLTV* is not dissimilar to the dozens of local and community news publications across the UK, registered as part of the Independent Community News Network (formerly the Centre for Community Journalism) 'Hyperlocal Map'[17] (ICNN 2019). Counter storytelling, it seems, is of concern to many more local communities than Huddersfield alone. Considering the 'busted flush' that the Local TV Network became, despite substantial financial support from the BBC (i.e. Greenslade 2015), it is unfortunate that organisations like *KLTV* – and the voluntary citizen journalists that create media for them – have been relatively overlooked in terms of public funding. After all, it is these organisations that hold the potential to promote voices that majoritarian stories continue to ignore and/or misrepresent.

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[17] As mentioned earlier in this thesis, *KLTV* does not regard itself as a hyperlocal media outlet; this is reflected in the organisation's absence from ICNN's 'Hyperlocal Map' (2019).

There have been recent signs that the funding landscape for independent local news outlets is improving. A £2m 'Future News Pilot Fund', launched in response to the 2019 Cairncross Review and administered by Nesta, provided funding to 20 media 'innovators' who could demonstrate 'innovation in the creation and distribution of high-quality public interest news' (Sellick et al. 2020, 7). Among these beneficiaries, the 'community-led media co-operative', *The Bristol Cable*, sought funding to create 'a member database which journalists could search through to find potential sources' for their stories, in the hopes of increasing engagement with the local community (Sellick et al. 2020, 26-27). A similar organisation, *The Manchester Meteor*, used their Future News Pilot Fund grant to 'build a community-based grassroots democratic media in Manchester' (Sellick et al. 2020, 64-65). As 'an alternative to the ownership and business model prevalent in traditional media', *The Meteor* trialled a membership subscription fee system whereby people from the local community effectively funded their journalism (Sellick et al. 2020, 64-65). Such funding has yet to trickle down to *KLTV* who, based in the relatively small town of Huddersfield, are less likely to be the focus of national schemes such as the Future News Pilot Fund – but there is at least a precedent now for the distribution of public funds to independent regional news outlets.

Discussion Point 2: KLTV and the Cultural Politics of Emotion

A considerable part of *Literary Context 1* was dedicated to the notion that 'narratives of pain and injury' are inseparable 'from relations of power', as posited in *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Ahmed 2004b, 33). I chose to adopt this framework and apply it to a close reading of several pro-Leave 'dark ads', delivered to target audiences via *Facebook* on behalf of the 'Vote Leave' and 'BeLeave' campaign groups, in the run-up to the 2016 EU Referendum. I worked with the hypothesis that these multimodal communications disseminated inaccurate information to create a 'contagion' of emotion – fear of immigration, hatred for the EU, and love for the NHS – that built up a compelling

case against the UK's continued membership of the European Union (Walkerdine 2020, 143). This narrative trumped the opposing argument made by campaign groups in favour of Remain, which not only relied 'on calculated rational arguments and a relentless tide of economic forecasts', but underestimated the internet (and more specifically social media) as 'something that has no connection with the real political world' (Polonski 2016, paras. 5-6). Ahmed's premise, that emotions 'align individuals with communities – or bodily space with social space – through the very intensity of their attachments' (2004a, 119), correlates well with Polonski's theory that 'Leavers' were able to build larger communities through their superior web presence (i.e. twice as many Brexit supporters on *Instagram* and seven times more on *Twitter*) – and those users' expression of 'high arousal emotions such as anger and irritation' (Polonski 2016, paras. 3-6).

The truism 'if it bleeds, it leads', paraphrased by Milton Brown in *Film 1* (see 02:30-03:13), epitomises the prevalence of negative reportage in contemporary media. The unfortunate truth, according to Vettehen and Kleemans, is that media sensationalism is a tried and tested method for increasing a publisher's viewership – and, by extension, their profits (2018, 113-114). *KLTV*'s media production model, described as 'bottom to top; not top to bottom' (see Milton Brown, *Film 1*, 03:13-04:01) directly opposes this. Instead of 'writing stories *about* folks […] we get those people to tell their *own* stories, and it's authentic' – with a focus on 'looking at the positives' and, when a negative story does present itself, finding 'a way to tell [it], *positively* (Milton Brown, *Film 1*, 02:30-03:13). As a result, company CEO Milton Brown claims that in the eight years between the formation of *KLTV* and his interview, 'we've never been held accountable for telling a wrong story', or 'given grief because we've told a story and 'egged the plate'' – an analogy for over-exaggeration (*Film 1*, 03:13-04:01). Given the relative absence of regular advertising campaigns (i.e. Figure 34a) compared to their media competitors (see Figure 34b), *KLTV* have less of an incentive to maximise the viewership of their online media; an increased number of views ('hits') does not directly result in an increase in

revenue. Consequently, the so-called ''journalistic standards meltdown'' – the 'degradation of journalistic quality' resulting from 'news sensationalization' (see Wang 2012, 716) – does not apply to *KLTV* in the same way as it does to the tabloid media industry. Even if *KLTV* did start introducing regular 'banner ads' and 'pop-up adverts' on their platform, their non-profit status would restrict the organisation from using said advertising revenue on anything other than investing it back into the company.
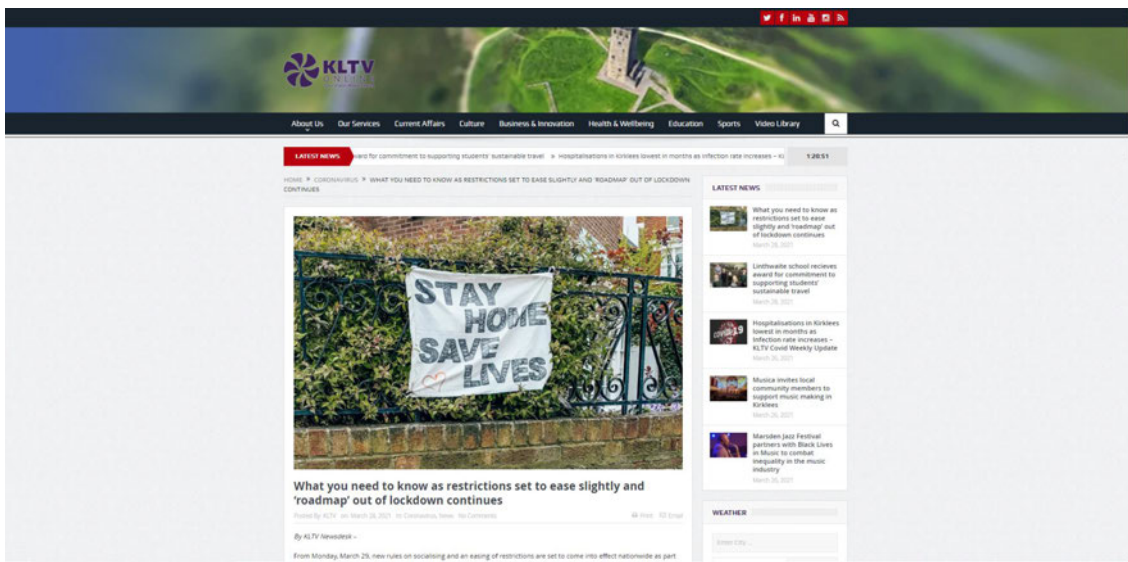
Figure 34a: A screenshot from a 'KLTV Online' news story from the 28th March 2021 illustrates the absence of paid advertising campaigns on their website.

Contributing to the telling of positive stories – about the town of Huddersfield and/or the broader region of Kirklees – is posited by a significant proportion of the interviewees in *Film 2* and *Film 3* as a primary reason for their involvement with *KLTV*. The media outlet provides 'another version' than 'what's already here' (Oliver Thompson, *Film 2*, 00:15-00:29); 'an alternative view of what the [Huddersfield] Examiner gives' (Nabila Waseem, *Film 2*, 00:29-01:32). This does not mean to say that all *KLTV* videos and programmes tell 'happy stories', but they are the narratives that local people 'want to share' (Niki Matthews, *Film 2*, 02:36-03:02), rather than ones that the media outlet believes will make them more money. *KLTV* is set up to provide local communities with something they are said to be 'crying out for': 'a platform to tell their story' (Milton Brown, *Film 1*, 14:06-14:18) – although, as Dave Hodgson says in *Film 3*, the 'actual orders' for 'the production of [a] programme' come 'from the CEO' (06:48-07:28). In other words, whilst the voices present in a *KLTV* production are the interviewees' own, they populate a film or programme that the organisation has decided to make of their own accord, in line with their own editorial process (i.e. deciding which of those voices do/do not make the final cut). In this sense, Milton Brown's assertion that *KLTV* 'go[es] from bottom

to top' in their news and media production is a contentious one. Nonetheless, as a result of engaging with these stories, Matthews felt she could 'see' an issue 'from other people's perspectives, and understand where those perspectives are coming from' (*Film 3*, 05:48-06:48). Focusing 'on the positives' is something that is said to help local people 'love wherever you live' (Nabila Waseem, *Film 2*, 00:29-01:31), as well as being 'important for a cohesive society, [and] to maintain that cohesion within communities' (Khatija Lunat, *Film 2*, 01:32-02:21).

For many of the volunteers, their placement at *Kirklees Local TV* is their first ever role in the media industry. This does not necessarily mean that their journalistic standards are lower than those of professional journalists who are regularly paid to create news for media conglomerates – even though the former are rarely recognised as 'journalists' by the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) from a legal perspective (Radcliffe 2012b, para. 11). *KLTV* members' desire to tell more positive stories about the local community should not be seen as diminishing their professional standards, either – despite 'the objectivity paradigm' still being prevalent in contemporary debates around journalistic professionalism (Muñoz-Torres 2012, 567). Given that 'quality of audience engagement is often more important than sheer audience size' when it comes to hyperlocal and/or community-based media production – 'more so perhaps than in any other media sector' – outlets like *KLTV* typically specialise 'in a particular type of activity or news' (Radcliffe 2012a, 9-12). In *KLTV*'s case, they are driven by the desire to tell 'real life stories' that 'are important to people', rather than 'do[ing] stories to see if we can make a buck or two out of it' (Milton Brown, *Film 1*, 14:18-14:34). This is reflected in their lack of corporate advertising, choosing instead to fund their online news channel via alternative means – such as providing professional video production services to private sector businesses (see Milton Brown, *Film 1*, 09:12-09:51).

The UK's citizen-led community media outlets currently operate in an unregulated sphere; their media outputs do not fall under the remit of any regulatory body. However, according to Radcliffe, 'there can be misconceptions amongst consumers and traditional media alike' about the 'accuracy of hyperlocal content' (2012b, para. 17). Regulation does not necessarily equate to propriety. After all, organisations that are regulated (including those in the media) may still lack credibility – a point made by Radcliffe (2012b) and reinforced more recently by the Brexit 'Dark Ads' case study (i.e. *Literary Context 1*). The 'Vote Leave' and 'Be Leave' campaigns were found to have broken electoral law by effectively spending more than they were entitled to (The Electoral Commission 2019). However, they were not penalised by any regulatory body for disseminating misinformation, such as the erroneous claim that the UK paid the EU £350m per week for their European Union membership (see Full Fact 2019) – despite the fact that these messages were credited, by none other than the Vote Leave campaign director, with delivering the Brexit vote in 2016 (Cummings 2017, para. 29). For media organisations which do fall within the remit of the Independent Press Standards Organisation (IPSO), the regulatory body's lack of effective independence from the media industry and the government (see Media Standards Trust 2019) raises significant questions about their legitimacy to oversee the ethical production of news.

Nonetheless, the public's perception of citizen-led media as being less accurate than their mainstream competitors should be of concern to any of those outlets; in *KLTV*'s case, it potentially undermines their bid to encourage Kirklees residents to 'love where they live' (see Nabila Waseem, *Film 2*, 00:29-01:31). Furthermore, the organisation's mantra to report the news 'positively' may ironically have a negative effect on how *KLTV* (as a news service) is viewed by the public. Studies on contemporary media consumption have shown that audiences are predominantly drawn towards 'negative network news content' over the positive, in terms of 'arousal and attentiveness' – even when they explicitly express 'that they would like more positive news' (Soroka 2015, paras. 4-7). So

deep is the interest divide between the consumption of negative and positive reportage, that Soroka likened study participants' interest in 'a positive news story' with 'the gray screen we show [them] between news stories' (2015, para. 7). If audiences are generally uninterested by positive news stories, then it seems reasonable to hypothesise that they are less interested in the media outlets that disseminate them.

There is hope for *KLTV*'s 'positive news' mantra: Trussler and Soroka (2014) believe that producing 'more positive, substantive news content may well lead to a shift in consumer behaviour' in the long term, based on the notion that consumer demand and media supply influence one another reciprocally (374). Moreover, there are signs that *KLTV*'s positive media coverage is being noticed by other influential stakeholders – albeit those outside of the media industry. Having already received grant funding from the National Lottery Heritage Fund, *Kirklees Local TV* won the 'Best Diversity Initiative Award' for 'Windrush: The Years After' at the Kirklees Inclusion and Diversity Awards 2020, as well as the 'Diverse Business Award' – 'for celebrating local and regional successes, influencing new talent and helping to build more cohesive communities' (Kirklees Council 2021). Additionally, the Community Archives and Heritage Group (CAHG) named the 'Windrush: The Years After' project winner of the 'Gathering & Preserving Heritage' award in 2020, praising *KLTV* for being 'very topical in terms of the narratives that it explored' (ARA 2020).

KLTV has been roundly praised by both its voluntary members and external stakeholders for its production and dissemination of local news, perceived as having a tangible impact on the wellbeing of the communities it represents. In many ways, responding to the community's reported need for positive self-representation (see Milton Brown, *Film 1*, 02:30-03:13) might be seen as a post-hoc antidote to the 'doom-filled' news which dominated the 2016 EU Referendum campaign (Leigh 2017, 50). However, in continuing to pursue ways in which the town of Huddersfield and the hinterland of

Kirklees might be portrayed in a more positive light, *KLTV* is at risk of being, as most broadcast regional news is seen, somewhat 'anodyne' (Aldridge 2007, 98). Attempting to represent the 'competing voices' present within the local community on a particular issue runs the risk of the end product 'being judged both too long and too boring' – even when that community is as culturally and ethnically diverse as *KLTV* is (Aldridge 2007, 105). Whilst flagship projects such as 'Windrush: The Years After' are capable of drawing widespread attention and appeal – at the national level in the case of media coverage from Britain's 'Favourite Black Newspaper', *The Voice* (2019) – the positively-spun media content that *KLTV* produce on a regular basis has little hope of competing with mainstream media's mobilization of fear and hate (see Ahmed 2004a, 118-122). Relying on the 'intensity' of those emotions and their attachments has enabled mainstream media conglomerates to continue to operate local and regional titles for profit, regardless of the impact those 'affective economies' have on the people who are differentiated and/or displaced by them (Ahmed 2004a, 119). Unless our news consumption habits change – which may well take a long time, as well as a sustained effort from media outlets across the board (see Trussler and Soroka 2014, 374) – the negative representations of non-dominant cultures and communities will likely continue to dominate public consciousness for the foreseeable.

Discussion Point 3: Communities of (Representational) Practice

The 'Windrush: The Years After' film, the biggest media project *Kirklees Local TV* embarked on during my 20-month fieldwork placement between January 2018 and September 2019, was praised in *Film 4* for having 'diversity in the team who are involved in recording that history and making that history' (Heather Norris Nicholson, *Film 4*, 02:08-02:22). Given that documentary filmmakers of colour have been found to be less likely to generate revenue from their projects, and more likely to make short-form films compared to their white, feature-length making counterparts (Borum Chattoo

2018), it is refreshing to see a multicultural filmmaking team – led by a black British director in Milton Brown – receive a grant from a major national funder (i.e. the National Lottery Heritage Fund) to make a documentary. Amid what has been described as documentary filmmaking's 'race problem' – 'all too often, white documentary filmmakers are the ones telling stories of people of colour' (Williams 2017, para. 1) – what may seem on the surface to be a positive representation of people of colour may have an adverse, marginalising effect on those communities being portrayed on screen (Lai 2020). Lai's call to action – for 'BIPOC [Black, Indigenous, and People of Colour] storytellers' to be given the opportunity to counter the socio-cultural 'blind spots' in white documentarian narratives of non-majority communities (2020, paras. 1-3) – resonates with Barclay's emphasis on the distinction between 'recording' and 'programme-making':

> **Recording is not programme-making**. Programme-making has to do with creating a metaphor from recordings taken in the field. The majority culture in New Zealand is quite happy to see an abundance of low-cost recording take place in the Māori community, but it is giving precious little help to those who have a desire to turn recordings into metaphors. It makes me angry to see so many of the talented newcomers trapped into accepting the recordist role graciously handed down to them by the system. (Barclay 2015, 29; emphasis my own)

In light of this, applying the Community of Practice (CoP) model to *KLTV* – 'an attempt to place the negotiation of meaning at the core of human learning, as opposed to merely the acquisition of information and skills' (Farnsworth et al. 2016, 145) – posits the organisation as one that creates films and programmes as metaphors, rather than media products. In other words, *KLTV*'s work can be viewed as 'material that the community itself has thought important to record' (Barclay 2015, 28), rather than a quantity of video clips that it creates. This is a different way of seeing *KLTV*, as per Facet Methodology's emphasis on the 'combination' between 'what we are looking at […] and how we are looking' (Mason 2011, 77). My rationale for exploring *KLTV* in a different way derives from

the testimonies of the *KLTV* volunteers that I interviewed, which were almost unanimous in referencing the organisation as being something 'different' to the other media outlets that serve the region of Kirklees. This differentiation takes several forms: 'there's no other internet station for and in Huddersfield' (Oliver Thompson, *Film 2*, 00:15-00:29); '*Kirklees Local TV* gives an alternative view of what the [Huddersfield] Examiner gives' (Nabila Waseem, *Film 2*, 00:29-01:32); 'we go from bottom to top; not top to bottom' (Milton Brown, *Film 1*, 03:13-04:01); and so on.

I am by no means denying *KLTV*'s existence as a media organisation – although examining the organisation from a different perspective does provide additional insight. For instance, without having to meet strict production and/or broadcasting demands – such as the aforementioned 'first-run local programming[18]' quota imposed on Local TV Network channels by Ofcom (see 2019b), *KLTV* can produce media 'as and when' – which also distinguishes their media production model from local and regional print media titles, which need to be able to create enough content to fill a newspaper on a regular basis. As a consequence of this 'as and when' model of media production, the community of practice within *KLTV* contrasts with more traditional methods of making video and film. When *KLTV*-recorded footage is passed on from videographer to video editor, it is being placed in the hands of another citizen of the local community – rather than outsourcing it, as per Barclay's example of the majority culture having control over the editorial process of Māori-generated recordings (2015, 29).

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[18] 'First-run local programming' is a term used by Ofcom to refer to content which has not previously been shown on a Local TV Network; this includes both content 'originating' from the channel itself, and otherwise 'acquired' from another company (see Ofcom 2012, 62-63).

In many instances, the person who edits *KLTV* footage is often the same person who recorded it; 'you go out, you film, you interview, you go back and edit', 'whereas in maybe a bigger organisation, you're pigeon-holed into one kind of speciality' (Oliver Thompson, *Film 3*, 07:28-08:02). Film- and video-makers are often advised to hire somebody else to edit their recordings into a final cut – someone who isn't 'too close to the film' (Kroll 2014, para. 2); who does not 'know how much work and effort went into every shot produced', and can therefore make a decision based on the product rather than the process (Malson 2013, para. 4). However, as Malson observes, 'sometimes there just isn't room in the budget to bring on a separate editor' (2013, para. 3) – which results in the image taker doubling-up as the programme maker in smaller media organisations, such as *KLTV*. What distinguishes *KLTV* in this regard is that having to take up multiple roles is regarded as a positive, rather than a negative: '…here, you can work with so many different people, and learn different things, y'know?' (Oliver Thompson, *Film 3*, 07:28-08:02).

An individual involved in all aspects of the film/video production process raises further questions when those images represent other communities and/or cultures. Rather than entitling this thesis *Our Own Image*, as was the title Barclay gave to the first version of his book in 1990 (and which was again used in the posthumous reprint in 2015), I gave it the name *In Their Own Image* – alluding to the fact that I, as the white male writer of this work, do not form part of the non-majority cultures that I helped *KLTV* to represent during my time there. Indeed, the same can be said for many the films and programmes Milton Brown has directed – for example, on local Muslim communities (e.g. KLTV 2018a) and Holocaust survivors (e.g. KLTV 2020a) – which have involved the representation of others' stories. One of the secondary questions I wanted to explore through this work, by extension of addressing the primary research question of ***Why do people volunteer at an organisation like KLTV***, was whether it was possible for filmmakers to represent other communities on screen in a way they would want to be represented – and if so, whether *KLTV* themselves were achieving this.

This does not mean to imply that if white filmmakers were more mindful of how they represented communities other than their own – and ascertained what those communities' representational needs were before they did so – the 'race problem' in documentary filmmaking would be resolved. As Barclay indicates, the problems inherent in the representational practices of the film and media industries are more systemic than simply questioning who is behind the camera. The process of pitching film ideas to mainstream media production companies such as New Zealand Television, which Barclay brands '**white** New Zealand television', has often seen 'judges from the majority culture assessing what was appropriate' (Barclay 2015, 64; emphasis my own). This presents a significant problem when subsequently approaching non-majority communities to make a film endorsed by the majority culture; the principles of the two do not often correlate well with one another. In Barclay's view, this has resulted in filmmakers producing narratives about 'one's own community', with the resulting film's 'relevance' to that community being 'almost nil' (2015, 49). Barclay mused that the scenario would be different if funding panels for major video and film grants were run by Māori 'from time to time' – 'surely all New Zealanders, whatever their ethnic background, would gain much from having to present their ideas to a different mentality' (2015, 24). In reality, however, 'Māori funds' in his experience were 'under-funded', 'the first to be cut in bad times', and had the adverse effect 'of closing off the major [film] fund to Māori, who no matter what the scale or nature of their project, are steered to the Māori fund' (Barclay 2015, 24).

In the likely case that the white-dominated film industry continues to 'fail to cede space' to filmmakers of colour (Lai 2020, para. 3) – and the attainment gap amongst documentarians in particular continues to disincentivise people of colour from making such films in the first place (Williams 2017) – the onus should fall upon all filmmakers to represent any community they choose

to feature in their work in a just and dignified way, regardless of whether they are a member of that community themselves. Certainly, from the point of view of being a participatory researcher within the organisation, I felt that *KLTV* had been successful to a significant extent in achieving its central aims of 'empowering people' and 'giving people a voice', even when those voices were not akin to their own (see Milton Brown, *Film 1*, 00:47-02:01). This was arguably most apparent in the fieldnotes I wrote following the first private screening of the 'Windrush: The Years After' documentary to the film's interviewees, at the University of Huddersfield on 7th June 2019:

> To see the culmination of almost 12 months' work on the Windrush project was an unforgettable experience. Like many in the team, I was worried about how the audience - the majority of whom being from the local African Caribbean descent community that this film was trying to represent - would receive the film, so to see the audience smiling, and to hear them laughing, and even some of them crying, set my mind at ease. There was also the sense that I had been part of something quite important, something more important than I, or any other individual sat in the room. And with that comes a sense of belonging. It feels good to be a part of something like this; to feel a shared sense of purpose; to feel part of something communal, if not a 'community' in its own right. (Field Diary Entry 65, 7th June 2019)

At the initial screening of 'Windrush: The Years After', audience members were asked to give their opinions on the film, and how they felt about the way in which *KLTV* had represented them – both as individuals, and as part of the broader African Caribbean descent community living in Kirklees. These testimonies were recorded by *KLTV* and compiled into a 4-minute video 'Review' of the documentary, which was published on the organisation's YouTube channel in August 2019 (KLTV 2019h). As with any *KLTV* production, this short video goes through an editorial process to select which snippets are deemed usable; suffice it to say that *KLTV* would be very unlikely to include any negative or critical opinions in what is ultimately a promotional piece for both 'Windrush: The Years

After' and the wider organisation. Nonetheless, this video provides insight into how this flagship *KLTV* project was viewed by some of the people whom it represented, as well as its social, cultural, and historical significance in the longer term. As an illustration, a selection of these 'reviews', along with the names of the interviewees (as given in the film itself), are featured below:

- Roy Noel (Community Activist): 'There are a lot of the young people now who is twenty and over, will come here and sit here [and see], this is what happened to us. And it's still happening to our children, in different ways.' (KLTV 2019h, 02:05-02:15)

- Claude Hendrickson (Community Activist (Leeds)): 'It's all important to show our children and grandchildren what their grandparents did, and what I saw today was the foundation – the laying of the foundation. Our parents, and that generation – them young people who came across – they laid the foundation for us, and we're now celebrating their foundation, which is [their] legacy.' (KLTV 2019h, 02:17-02:40)

- Karl Oxford (Community Activist (Bradford)): 'Big up to KLTV, big up to KLTV! And big up to the cohesion, the natural cohesion that 'Windrush' provides us, and you guys [at KLTV] are doing that, so thank-you and well done.' (KLTV 2019h, 02:41-02:57)

- Natalie Pinnock Hamilton MBE (Community Activist): 'I just like looking back, y'know, bringing back the memories. And in a way, to see where we've gone from there, [from] which we still have a long way to go. And I think that should spur us on to doing more.' (KLTV 2019h, 02:59-03:15)

Discussion Point 4: Edgewalkers in Filmmaking and Research

In *Our Own Image*, Barclay admits he is 'at a loss to explain why film- and video-making has not yet filtered into other parts of the Māori community' (2015, 30). He continues:

Perhaps it is simply a matter of growing up. Fifteen years ago[19] the Pākehā[20] community did not have much time for film- or video-makers either, but since the Pākehā image industry has blossomed haphazardly by way of promotional and educational films, television commercials, documentaries and dramas, and more recently, feature films. Little of this progress was initiated by the government, the arts fraternity or the captains of industry. It is possible that we have to go through the process as well. (Barclay 2015, 30)

In Literary Context 2, I related Milton Brown's 'cultural literacy' testimony in *Film 1* – 'personally, I can go into any community in this town and feel comfortable' (08:11-09:07) – to a similar extract attributed to Brown in a recent academic article (Brown et al. 2020, 106). In the latter excerpt, 'Milton describes' how 'the places where we work can be endemic with racism' (Brown et al. 2020, 106). He compares the resistance he experiences when working with local stakeholders – 'I can't get a meeting with my local councillor' – to the way he has been accepted by other communities:

[…] I am an honorary citizen of Kampala, Uganda. When I found out who I was, it was 6000 miles away. (Brown et al. 2020, 106)

This frustration is similarly present in *Film 1*, when Brown addresses the question of how *KLTV* is seen by local institutions (i.e. 09:56-10:52). *KLTV* is, according to Brown, 'seen as a threat to the

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[19] Whilst the latest edition of *Our Own Image* was published in 2015 (i.e. 7 years after Barclay's death), the original version of the book was published in 1990. Therefore, when Barclay uses the term 'fifteen years ago', he would have been referring to the mid-1970s, as opposed to the turn of the 21st century.

[20] The word 'Pākehā' it is a term used to refer to the white New Zealanders (i.e. of European descent) which form the nation's 'majority culture' (e.g. Barclay 2015, 76).

status quo' because they are 'speaking authentically' and 'not sensationalising anything' – implying that other local institutions operate in a dissimilar way (*Film 1*, 09:56-10:16). In contrast, the media work of *KLTV* has opened doors to non-majority cultures, rather than closing them. Niki Matthews, for example, credited *KLTV* with helping her, a 'White British female from [the leafy suburbs of] Huddersfield', to feel she 'can confidently walk into any of those communities, and feel…feel safe, feel that I belong there' (*Film 3*, 14:29-16:14). Similarly, Khatija Lunat described working on the 'Windrush: The Years After' project, and 'listening to individual stories' from people of African Caribbean descent, as an 'honour' (*Film 4*, 04:29-05:01).

Just as the progress the majority community is said to have made with 'little' help from 'the government, the arts fraternity or the captains of industry' (Barclay 2015, 30), *KLTV*'s representational work, providing learning opportunities for volunteers to become more culturally literate, has been done off the organisation's own initiative. Operating with a 'lack of funds' and 'lack of resources' has required 'resilience' on *KLTV*'s part; Brown looks to the camera in *Film 1* and says, 'you just wouldn't believe the pain, the sacrifices, the negotiation, [and] the navigation' in order 'to get to where we've got to' (10:57-12:31). Indeed, to be able to 'edgewalk' between different communities and 'not change' as a person (see Brown et al. 2020, 106) may result in the edgewalkers experiencing 'intense pain as they attempt to remain true to themselves rather than taking the easy way out and becoming part of the whole' (Beals et al. 2020, 597). When using a mainstream mode of media communication (e.g. video and film production) to create metaphors of socio-cultural significance for a non-majority culture, edgewalkers who are 'marginalized by race, ethnicity, spiritual choice, or sexual orientation' can struggle to 'engage that mainstream effectively' whilst simultaneously embracing 'their complex identity' (Krebs 2000, 25). The appeal of 'taking the easy way out' as an edgewalker is something Barclay was all too familiar with:

The fact that Māori communicators are not yet in the Māori arts mainstream is having real

repercussions for our young film and video community. It hurts me to see our writers selling off their

film and video rights to Pākehā producers. It hurts me when a Māori officer within a government

department recommends that a training film aimed at Māori youth be contracted out to a Pākehā

production house. It hurts me when a senior Māori artist is happy to be profiled by a Pākehā crew,

saying he is only interested in being filmed by 'the best'. (Barclay 2015, 31)

In addition to being 'intimidated by the climate which has been put in place by the majority culture'

(Barclay 2015, 23), edgewalkers may well be drawn in by the majority culture before being expelled

by it. Barclay's analogy of the 'noble savage' is arguably the most poignant metaphor expressed in

Our Own Image; a trope 'describing the over-simplified stereotype of Indigenous people on film'

(Zevallos 2012, para. 1) which resonates with the representation of the indigenous peoples of New

Zealand (Ngā Taonga 2020, Waititi 2008) as well as other indigenous communities around the world

(see Marubbio and Buffalohead 2013; Taunton 2013; Gerster 2013). Barclay extends this metaphor to

summarise the typical treatment of Māori who work *behind* the camera, rather than those who have

traditionally appeared in front of it:

The new noble savage who may be shown off in the drawing rooms of the white world is encouraged

to rattle, not the spear, but the camera, and the majority culture is pleased to fund one or two of them

from time to time. But when you turn into a difficult native, the drawing room is likely to clear fast.

For example, the Education Department generates materials specifically directed at Māori children. So

does the Justice Department, the Health Department and the Housing Corporation. **Why, we have**

asked, should these materials not be produced by our own communicators – by Māori writers,

video-makers and graphics people? The drawing room empties. (Barclay 2015, 27; emphasis my

own)

This quote resonated with my experiences at *KLTV* to the extent that I cited it in my fieldnotes (i.e. Field Diary Entry 40, 8th February 2019). Indeed, the 'noble savage' metaphor provided a useful way of relating to *KLTV*'s own relationships of resistance with other institutions. In this case, a local university were said to have professed to be doing a lot of community engagement work, but had not 'invited [KLTV] to the table' – leaving *KLTV* feeling that they were not 'valued' or 'recognised' as a result (Field Diary Entry 40, 8th February 2019):

> There is a similar thing going on here at Huddersfield: the university is more than happy to help out organisations like KLTV (in terms of financial and human resources) to do things in their [non-academic] world, but when it comes down to decision making within the academic sphere, they are not willing to listen. (Field Diary Entry 40, 8th February 2019)

As an edgewalker myself – being a part of *KLTV*'s internal operations whilst simultaneously representing my university (and more broadly, the academy) – I was concerned that the organisation might see me as part of the co-productive problem; one which is expressed by both university-based and community-based authors in Brown et al. (2020):

> We agreed that co-creating equitable structures needs to be done and relies on the university having structural processes and procedures that allow continuity, or otherwise co-production relies on individual academics. The structure of the university operates to silence the voices of the community, and our job is to enable the structures that fuse the two both together. This involves making sure that the voice of our communities is heard over and over again; it is about similar forces happening around the world. (Brown et al. 2020, 106)

As an individual academic trying to conduct as co-productive a doctoral project as possible, I was relieved that *KLTV* allowed me 'to participate in such a discussion' around community recognition in

co-production – something which was 'not only eye-opening, but a privilege as well' (Field Diary Entry 40, 8th February 2019). However, there were times in which I felt my own level of emotional entanglement with *KLTV* risked becoming a barrier to my research. After one particularly difficult fieldwork day, I wrote, 'I think I [have] got myself too emotionally invested in the politics of the organisation on this occasion' – having been involved in a verbal dispute between members of the organisation which had resulted in one of the volunteers being asked to leave *KLTV*; a decision which was later overturned (Field Diary Entry 45, 22nd February 2019).

Conversely, there were other occasions where I felt valued by the organisation, to the extent that Milton Brown would often refer to me 'as his 'lieutenant' (Field Diary Entry 44, 21st February 2019). Indeed, in one diary entry, I wrote: 'I feel valued [by Brown] in a way that no other boss has valued me before', adding that he was 'far more understanding about things like mental health and personal wellbeing than the average manager or employer appears to be' (Field Diary Entry 48, 8th March 2019). All in all, negotiating the in-between space as a participatory researcher (between *KLTV* and the University), and sustaining this over the course of twenty months, was a difficult experience. Whilst it has undoubtedly added to my personal understanding of the primary research question, ***Why do people volunteer at an organisation like KLTV?***, being a participatory researcher also meant that I found myself 'in vulnerable research spaces quite often'; on the occasion of the aforementioned verbal dispute, it took me 'more than a month' to return to the notes I had written and convert them into a comprehensible field diary entry (Field Diary Entry 45, 22nd February 2019). Just like Brown did in *Film 1* (i.e. 10:57-12:31), I can reflect on 'the pain, the sacrifices, the negotiation, [and] the navigation' required to write this thesis – although my experiences undoubtedly differ from his own.

Discussion Point 5: The Image Gift

In Literary Context 3, I outlined *KLTV*'s staggered release of the documentary, 'Windrush: The Years After': hosting a 'private' screening in June 2019 for the film's interview participants; collecting feedback from those audience members; and implementing it ahead of the first 'public' screening at the University of Huddersfield one month later. By engaging the film's participants in the post-production process, this collaborative approach to completing the 'Windrush: The Years After' project enabled a sense of ownership that documentary projects dealing with trauma rarely achieve. I now return to the matter of (co-)ownership in a little more detail, addressing how the footage *KLTV* gathered for this particular project was subsequently disseminated with those who 'gifted' these images to them and, by extension, the degree to which these images are effectively 'owned' by the community.

The social impact that *KLTV* hoped the 'Windrush: The Years After' documentary project would have was summarised by the organisation's CEO, Milton Brown, in *Film 4*:

> What we are hoping for is the more people who see this documentary, will begin to understand what it means to be an African Caribbean descendant living in Huddersfield, and [that] their stories have been told. And I'm hoping that it will be an inspiration to say, right, now we know what's happened, let's crack on, *move* on, and make the best of the situation. (Milton Brown, *Film 4*, 05:28-05:54)

Here, the amount of people who see the 'Windrush: The Years After' film is proportionately linked to the documentary's potential for social good; the more people who see it, the more people 'will begin to understand what it means to be an African Caribbean descendant living in Huddersfield'. Indeed, beyond my fieldwork placement's end date in September 2019, the feature-length documentary continued to be shown at public film screenings – including two events at the University of Huddersfield as part of their Black History Month schedule in October 2019, and a screening that I

personally organised at the University of Sheffield in February 2020 (which was followed by a Q&A session with Milton Brown, Khatija Lunat, Heather Norris Nicholson and myself).

Figure 35: (from left to right) Milton Brown, Khatija Lunat, Heather Norris Nicholson and Ryan Bramley host a Q&A session at the University of Sheffield, following a screening of the 'Windrush: The Years After' film in February 2020 (Photo Credit: Naomi Jumbo Celleste).

Despite the Covid-19 pandemic's emergence in the UK – and the series of 'lockdown' measures introduced by the UK Government from late March 2020 onwards that made physical screening events all-but-impossible to host – the 'Windrush: The Years After' documentary has not yet been made publicly available at the time of writing (i.e. April 2021). A second 'Windrush: The Years After' film, the twenty-minute 'Untold Stories' documentary comprising 'previously unseen and unheard material' from the original project (Kirklees Council 2020), was published on *KLTV*'s YouTube channel in October 2020 (KLTV 2020c). However, of the 1,400+ videos hosted on the

KLTV YouTube Channel, the original 75-minute long 'Windrush: The Years After – A Community Legacy on Film' documentary is not among them. As a result, only people who have been able to attend the relatively few public film screenings from June 2019 to the present day have been able to see 'Windrush: The Years After' in its entirety. If the project's primary aim was for 'more people' to 'begin to understand what it means to be an African Caribbean descendant living in Huddersfield' (i.e. Milton Brown, *Film 4*, 05:28-05:54), it is likely the film could have achieved this objective on a far bigger scale had the documentary been shared online with the public, via *KLTV*'s various digital and social media platforms.

Additionally, the fact that the majority of the 'Windrush: The Years After' documentary screenings were held on university campuses (e.g. the University of Huddersfield, The University of Sheffield) raises questions of how accessible these screenings were to the local public. Academic spaces, according to Lao et al., 'are not neutral or equally accessible' (2017, 74); Harwood et al. describe white-dominated university spaces as making people of colour 'feel unwelcome and threatened' through 'specific spatial racialized practices that result in a more racially homogenous space' (2018, 1251). Even universities that explicitly 'send a message that they are inclusive' – as evidenced in The University of Sheffield's 'Race Equality Strategy and Action Plan' (2019) – can leave people of colour 'feeling unwelcome' through 'clusters of interrelated racial microaggressions that reproduce racial categories and hierarchies across groups' (Harwood et al. 2018, 1251). After the first public screening of 'Windrush: The Years After' at Heritage Quay (University of Huddersfield) on 12th July 2019, I wrote in my field diary of the 'overwhelming sense of pride to have been part of such a wonderful project, and to have been able to bring all of these people from the local community together' (Field Diary Entry 79, 12th July 2019). This description, written from the perspective of a white male postgraduate student who had spent almost seven years studying at university by this point (and was very much familiar with navigating campus spaces), makes the assumption that the audience

– many of whom were people of colour – felt as comfortable and welcome in a university environment as I did. Evidence from Lao et al. (2017) and Harwood et al. (2018) would suggest that these spaces do not feel as welcoming to people of colour as they do for me.

Interestingly, Heritage Quay, the location of the first public screening of 'Windrush: The Years After', is the same place that the project's archives are now held. Donated and/or loaned to Heritage Quay 'by Milton Brown, Heather Norris Nicholson and other people taking part in the Windrush project', this catalogue comprises of 'a collection of original documents, leaflets, reports, news-cuttings, posters, photographs and other print memorabilia (c. 1970-2018)' (Heritage Quay 2021). Additionally, copies of the '80+ interviews' filmed for the project, along with a full-length copy of the 'Windrush: The Years After' documentary film, are also stored there for public viewing (CAHG 2020). According to the project team, storing these materials as a Heritage Quay archive 'help[s] to make the local heritage and cultural legacy and impact of 'the Windrush generation' in Huddersfield/Kirklees better understood, explained, recorded and safeguarded for later generations' (University of Huddersfield, Heritage Quay).

Archiving film material is another topic of conversation in *Our Own Image*:

> The conventional wisdom of the majority culture tells us that in order to rid ourselves of our worries about our inadequacy as custodians of other people's image-gift, we have only to pass the material over to a film archive. Trained people will preserve the material and make it available under whatever conditions we lay down. That should work, shouldn't it? A safe home-away-from-home, and a perpetual one at that. **Or does such an archivist's vault merely serve to remove the image still further from the descendants of those who gave it?** (Barclay 2015, 85; emphasis my own)

Barclay's use of the term 'image-gift' flips the traditional dichotomy of the interviewer and the interviewee; the interviewee 'gives' their image to the interviewer, rather than it being 'removed'

from them – as it so often is in practice. Indeed, I sought to ensure that this did not happen with the images that I collected for this PhD project. One of the conditions stipulated in the updated Interviewee Consent Form for this project (Appendix D2) was that the research films I produced, based on the interviews I conducted with *KLTV* participants, would be co-owned by both the University of Sheffield and *Kirklees Local TV*; neither party is the sole custodian of that material.

Whilst *KLTV* used their film equipment and expertise to record testimonies from people of colour for the 'Windrush: The Years After' film, that footage also depicts the people who voluntarily gave their time to appear in front of the camera, and to whom these images effectively belong. However, just like the 'Windrush: The Years After' film screenings held at the University of Huddersfield, the effective and practical accessibility of this resource to the local community comes into question. Despite being digitised (see CAHG 2020), the 'Windrush: The Years After' archive has not been made publicly accessible online at the time of writing. As a result, members of the public can only make use of this collection by physically visiting Heritage Quay and making an appointment to do so. Unfortunately, due to the 2020-21 Covid-19 pandemic, access to this resource – and indeed, almost all physical libraries across the UK – has been severely limited over the course of the past year, further limiting the social impact of this resource in a way that might have mitigated had these videos and documents been made available online.

Covid-19 restrictions aside, physical archives have been known to marginalise the same people of colour that the 'Windrush: The Years After' project made a concerted effort to represent. According to Hughes-Watkins, 'traditional archives are damaging due to long-standing traditions that foster an imbalance of power' (2018, 3). In particular, Hughes-Watkins believes that 'academic repositories' are in particular need of 'repair', as these spaces 'have customarily excluded the historically disenfranchised' (2018, 4). Similarly, Whitfield highlights how archives have historically represented

black people from white perspectives; archives on slavery, for example, 'rarely [allow] slaves to speak for themselves unless mediated through the pen of a white person' (2020, 326). Robinson-Sweet argues that archives have 'an essential role' to play 'in establishing claims for reparations' for atrocities such as slavery, subsequently calling upon archivists to become 'social activists' by transforming archives into 'tools of accountability and transparency' (2018, 24-26); one such 'reparative mechanism' is the creation of 'digital archives' that make archival material 'widely available and known' (34). These quotes take on additional significance in relation to the Windrush Generation, given that reparations for the recent Windrush Scandal are also yet to be made. One such attempt to redress the Windrush Scandal, the UK Home Office's 'Windrush Compensation Scheme', has been described as 'racist' by a senior official who resigned from the project, and has since prompted an internal investigation – the results of which are yet to be published (Gentleman 2020).

KLTV's 'Windrush: The Years After – A Community Legacy On Film' project made a concerted effort to promote the experiences of local people of African Caribbean descent – described by project volunteer Khatija Lunat as both 'giving them a voice' and 'handing it back to them' (*Film 4*, 05:54-06:08). There is little question about *KLTV*'s ability to achieve the former, having interviewed over 80 people of African Caribbean descent to produce a feature-length documentary film. However, in the 'handing back' of the narrative, the project's attempts to safeguard and preserve this collection film material has the potentially adverse effect of removing the image from those who gave it. Project Coordinator, Heather Norris Nicholson, stated at the end of *Film 4*: '…if we can get material out there that helps people better understand their own stories […] and the experience of others, that they live alongside and never stop to talk to, then I think we have brought about something quite significant' (07:51-08:15). For a project that 'clocked up over two and a half thousand volunteer hours' (see Niki Matthews, *Film 4*, 06:58-07:51), the socio-cultural fruits of that labour are yet to be fully realised.

Concluding Remarks

> How can we take that maverick yet fond friend of ours – the camera – into the Māori community and
>
> be confident it will act with dignity? (Barclay 2015, 9)

Using Barry Barclay's *Our Own Image: A Story of a Māori Filmmaker* (2015) as a guide, this thesis

has examined the phenomenon of voluntary community filmmaking in Huddersfield, West Yorkshire

(UK) – where *Kirklees Local TV* have spent the best part of the past ten years creating videos and

films that platform voices from outside of the majority culture. The communities that appear 'on

screen' in *KLTV*'s media work are not 'indigenous' in the same sense as the Māori are, but the two

nonetheless share the experience of being 'othered' by the respective majority cultures of Great

Britain and New Zealand. To take the camera into those communities – the same tool that has been

used to strip people of their 'image gift' for decades – poses a variety of concerns for those on the

other side of the lens. By extension, the audio-visual products that video- and film-makers create

reflect not only the people on camera, but the communities to which they belong. In the case of

Huddersfield, this has led to the town – and the surrounding borough of Kirklees – often being

portrayed in a negative light. That, at least, is the opinion expressed by some of the local people who

have felt compelled to join *KLTV*'s mission: to 'get those people to tell their *own* stories', rather than

'writing stories *about* folks' (Milton Brown, *Film 1*, 02:30-03:13).

As I reflect on the contents of this thesis and the doctoral project it describes, I return once more to

the question I posed at the outset: has this collaborative ethnography project achieved all its aims and

objectives? Its primary aim – to explore the question of ***Why people volunteer at an organisation like***

KLTV – was addressed via a qualitatively-driven mixed methods research design: incorporating

interview data and autoethnographic fieldnotes to combine the testimonies of the organisation's

recent volunteers with my own experiences as a participatory researcher. Utilising the inventive

research orientation of Facet Methodology, I generated a series of four mini-studies through the production of four corresponding 'research films', whose lines of enquiry were induced from what I saw and heard during my time in the field. These films were illuminating in their own right.

Film 1: Founding KLTV amalgamated three interviews with Milton Brown, providing a brief history of the organisation and its reasons for existing from the point of view of its founder and CEO. *Film 2: 'The People's News Outlet',* a title drawn from a quote by Brown in the previous film, explored the notion of *KLTV* as a media organisation for/by the people solely from the volunteers' perspectives. *Film 3*: *Why Volunteers Come (and why some of them stay)*, arguably the most central facet to this study's exploration, questioned why volunteers got involved with *KLTV* in the first place and why they had stayed longer than they initially expected – as well as presenting them the opportunity to describe a project they had worked on in their own words. Finally, the biggest project (in terms of the quantity of volunteers and interviewees) that *KLTV* embarked on during my January 2018-September 2019 fieldwork period, *The 'Windrush: The Years After' Project*, was the focus of *Film 4*.

In addition to their individual investigative qualities, the four research films raised further points of discussion when analysed in tandem. As a so-called 'Guerrilla TV' organisation, *KLTV*'s potential for counter-storytelling – a central tenet of Critical Race Theory – was further evaluated, drawing on both the 'Windrush: The Years After' project and the types of local news that *KLTV* are said to produce on a more regular basis. By a similar token, in *KLTV and the Cultural Politics of Emotion*, the organisation's emphasis on promoting the positive aspects of the local area, in contrast to the perceived sensationalism and negativity with which other regional and national media outlets present the town of Huddersfield, was examined in more depth. The variety of roles taken up by the organisation's volunteers also distinguishes *KLTV*'s activities from the traditional for-profit business

model underpinning most mainstream media organisations, as highlighted in *Communities of (Representational) Practice*.

The final two discussion points, *Edgewalkers in Filmmaking and Research* and *The Image Gift*, looked at some of the more problematic issues raised by *KLTV*'s attempts to persuade 'people to trust us as an authentic voice, for *them*' (Milton Brown, *Film 1*, 03:13-04:01). Trying to be the 'edgewalkers' between the mainstream media practices of film- and video-making, and the non-majority cultures and communities that have often been othered by them (see McLaughlin and Whatman 2011, 367), is a sight of potential pain and vulnerability for those involved. Additionally, trying to represent people in *Their Own Image*, regardless of how well-meaning the media-makers are, can reproduce the same marginalising effects that organisations like *KLTV* (and the volunteers who give up their time for them) are overtly trying to counteract. Placing the images gathered by 'Windrush: The Years After' in an archive – locally-situated but culturally-distant from the communities they originated from – is a prime example of how the image gift, despite the very best of intentions, can be effectively removed from those who gifted it.

These are the lines of enquiry that I decided to pursue. This thesis is by no means a full representation of what *KLTV* is, has been, and could one day hope to be. Approached by another researcher – bound by another set of methodological and theoretical conventions and guided by their own lived reality of navigating *KLTV* – this project would have undoubtedly taken a different path altogether, resulting in a different set of observations and findings. Nonetheless, I hope that in exploring ***Why people volunteer at an organisation like KLTV***, I have been able to produce research that may be of some benefit to *KLTV*, as well as making a broader case for the representation of non-majority cultures and communities in a way that is both accountable and amenable to their wants and needs; in other words, representing others *In Their Own Image*.

Areas for Further Study

Part of my collaborative doctorate's legacy is the crucial role this thesis has played in the introduction of a new PGR programme, the 'PhD-by-Practice', within the Faculty of Social Sciences (University of Sheffield). A PhD-by-Practice (or 'Practice-Based PhD' as they are also known) allows the doctoral candidate 'to submit a practice component along with a shorter thesis, in place of the traditional 80,000 word PhD thesis' (University of Leicester, No Date). Prior to my fieldwork placement with *KLTV*, the practice-based PhD was not a recognised method of fulfilling the requirements of the PhD programme within the School of Education (or indeed the Faculty as a whole) – despite it being an option in Education departments at other institutions, such as the University of Leicester. This was not an institutional oversight, but a departmental one. Indeed, departments within The University of Sheffield's Arts & Humanities Faculty, such as the School of English (where I first began my higher education studies as an English Language & Literature undergraduate), offer practice-based PhD programmes. The 'Creative Writing PhD', for example, is 'a full-scale creative project, novel, collection of short stories or poetry collection, accompanied by a 40,000-word critical project'; the creative project makes up 40% of the PhD, whilst the critical commentary accounts for the remaining 60% (University of Sheffield 2020). Additionally, the School of English 'welcome interdisciplinary, mixed media and multimedia projects, and are able to host complex projects with co-supervision from specialists in music, architecture, theatre and film' (University of Sheffield 2020).

Perhaps the greatest disappointment of my own doctoral experience was not being able to conduct my own PhD-by-practice, putting forward the four 'research films' as the creative component. A 40,000-word limit would have undoubtedly limited the scope of my written research; I certainly could not have included the 30,000 literature review that features in this thesis. Nevertheless, I feel that the research quality of the four films I produced would have been better illustrated by that alternative

324

practice-based model. In the traditional written thesis format, the research films were restricted to a transcribed form of that data. As an Arts Based Research (ABR) practitioner, I see ABR as academically liberating: 'moving beyond the prohibitive jargon and limiting structures that characterize much traditional research practice' (Leavy 2015, ix). My desire to produce research films as part of the doctoral project was driven by the belief that 'some knowings cannot be conveyed through language' (Ellsworth 2005, 156). I can of course provide readers with physical copies of those four films – as indeed I have done for my examiners – but I am nonetheless of the opinion that certain qualities of these films (and the multimodal data contained within them) may well have been lost in translation.

It was my own frustrations with this process that motivated me to encourage the Faculty of Social Science at The University of Sheffield to adopt a new PhD-by-Practice programme, enabling future doctoral students to benefit from a thesis model that was not available to me here. Working in liaison with my department's PhD Programme Director, I made the case for the PhD-by-Practice model, based on my research of how this has been implemented at other departments and institutions. The outcome of these endeavours is summarised in the personal correspondence from the then-PhD Programme Director below:

> I'm sure you'll be pleased to hear that all the work you did will feed into a new offering that will allow for a completely new PhD within the Social Sciences. I am still very grateful for your input here, and the leading role you took in researching how a PhD by Practice is framed and presented in other departments in our university, as well as in other institutions. The document you prepared was extremely useful, meticulously put together, and full of useful ideas for how we might make it work. One of the core contributions was the bridging work you did, thinking through how an offering which is traditionally available in the arts and humanities might be transferred to the very different disciplinary context of the social sciences. This was invaluable research, helping me to make a case at

faculty level for new regulations and for an expanded definition of what PhD might include. It also helped frame the department level draft descriptors of a PhD by Practice, taking into account disciplinary needs, and explain how to faculty how this would work at a local level. [Personal Correspondence, 16ᵗʰ November 2020]

As well as looking forward to hearing about the innovative research that will undoubtedly come out from the new PhD-by-Practice programme, there are further opportunities for research to be extended beyond the scope of this doctoral project. For example, Facet Methodology has proved to be a valuable research orientation as far as this project is concerned, and I would strongly recommend a more widespread application of this approach based on this experience; that it has not been widely applied in social research up until this point is by no means a comprehensive appraisal of its worth methodologically. In a similar, I would be a firm advocate for the reapplication of the theoretical framework I used in this thesis in other similar community-based media environments. Although these literary contexts (i.e. Cultural Politics of Emotion, Critical Race Theory, Communities of Practice, Cultural Literacy, Fourth Cinema and Participatory Video) are already well cited, I have rarely seen them applied to an alternative media context beyond this project. Regarding the ongoing debate as to whether social media platforms and/or alternative media outlets should be independently regulated, this theoretical framework may yet prove to be a useful addition to this discussion.

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List of Appendices

Appendix A: KLTV's Fieldnote Template

KIRKLEES LOCAL TV
REFLECTIVE LEARING LOG

WHAT DID YOU DO?

HOW DO YOU FEEL OR THINK ABOUT IT?

Positive, frustrated, encouraged, inspired, bored etc.

WHAT DID YOU LEARN?

Facts, figures, skills, experiences, concepts, paradigms and learning about your own capabilities

WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN IMPROVED ON THE PLACEMENT?

What would have make the experience more powerful or benefited you more?

WHAT WILL YOU DO DIFFERENTLY IN THE FUTURE?

Learning makes a difference when it changes what we actually do and/or how we do it.

WHAT SUPPORT OR FURTHER LEARNING DO YOU NEED TO CONSOLIDATE THIS WORK PLACEMENT?

What else do you need to learn? Who could help you put this into practice?

ACTION PLAN AND NEXT STEPS...

Include dates and specific actions (do you need an action to review these actions?)

Appendix B1: Initial Draft of Interview Questions

General (to ask all volunteers):

- When (and why) you came to KLTV

- Your role at KLTV

- What makes KLTV's media different (if anything)

- Your expectations of the media you (help to) produce

- How people respond to KLTV's media (i.e. in person, on social media, etc.)

- Your media-making aspirations for the future

Founding KLTV (to ask Milton only):

- The reasons for founding KLTV in the first place

- How KLTV has changed through the years and adapted to change (e.g. technological innovations, funding opportunities, etc.)

- What KLTV brings to local communities in the eyes of its founder and CEO

- The future aspirations for KLTV

Windrush (to ask volunteers who worked on this specific project):

- What is the Windrush project?

- Your role in the Windrush project

- What brought you to the project in the first place

- What makes the Windrush project different, if anything?

- What you feel you, as an individual, have gained from the Windrush project

- What you feel the community have gained/can gain from the Windrush project

- Would you participate in a project like this one again - and why?

Appendix B2: Co-Produced Draft of Interview Questions

General (to ask all volunteers):

- What brought you to KLTV?

- What is your role in KLTV?

     - Tell me about a piece of work you've been working on at KLTV?

     - And how have you found the experience?

- What have you learnt about media whilst being here?

     - How do you feel about your experiences/what you have contributed?

     - What did you think about media before you came here?

     - What do you feel about media now?

     - Your media-making aspirations for the future

- What do you think to KLTV as a concept i.e. a community media organisation?

- How do you feel KLTV is led and administered?

- How people respond to KLTV's media (i.e. in person, on social media, etc.)/What do people say to you when you say you work for KLTV?

Founding KLTV (to ask Milton only):

- The reasons for founding KLTV in the first place

- How KLTV has changed through the years and adapted to change (e.g. technological innovations, funding opportunities, etc.)

- What KLTV brings to local communities in the eyes of its founder and CEO

- The future aspirations for KLTV

Windrush (to ask volunteers who worked on this specific project):

- What brought you here?

- What has been your experience on this project?

- What you feel you, as an individual, have gained from the Windrush project

- What you feel the benefits of this project will be/have been for the community?

- What external support has this project received?

- How do you feel this project has been led and administered?

- Would you participate in a project like this one again?

Appendix C: Information Sheet and Consent Form – Fieldnotes

N.B. This part of the project was ethically approved prior to the introduction of General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) in May 2018. Consequently, the consent form attached below does not follow the same University-approved template as Appendix D1 and Appendix D2.

Ryan Bramley @ KLTV: About My Research Project

1. About Me

I'm Ryan Bramley, a PhD student from The University of Sheffield's School of Education, supervised by Dr Andrey Rosowsky. My PhD is a collaborative project with Kirklees Local Television (KLTV), and is expected to last 3-4 years.

As part of the project, I will be based at KLTV on a part-time basis between February 2018 and September 2019 to do my research fieldwork. I'm really looking forward to working alongside you and getting to know you all!

2. Research Project Title:

'Filmmaking as a Community-Building Practice' - this is a working title for my project (although the final title might be altered to better reflect my findings).

3. Invitation to Participate

You are invited to take part in my PhD project, looking at how KLTV, a local media organisation specialising in filmmaking, is actively contributing to Huddersfield and the surrounding Kirklees area. Specifically, I would like to find out whether KLTV's production of local news and storytelling is bringing local communities closer together.

Given some of the social issues that Huddersfield faces, as represented in several of KLTV's film productions (e.g. **'The Seven Deadly Sins of Women in Leadership'** (2011), **'Young, British, Pakistani and Muslim'** (2013), **'Sara Hussain - Escaped from Syria'** (2016) and **'Black Lives Matter in Kirklees'** (2016)), the work of KLTV - and the influence of that work - is of particular interest to me as an academic researcher. I feel very privileged to have been granted a space to work at KLTV, not only to conduct my research project, but to also actively contribute to KLTV's hyperlocalisation project.

As well as the researcher (Ryan Bramley), any concerns or queries about this project can be raised with our Chair of Ethics, Dr David Hyatt, who can be contacted via email at d.hyatt@sheffield.ac.uk, or via phone at 0114 222 8126.

4.   **What will happen to me if I take part? What do I have to do?**

During this early phase of my project, I will be looking to write short, reflective 'field notes' about my experiences of working at KLTV.
These field notes will serve two primary functions:
   a) to provide information about how KLTV operates; and
   b) to help to inform what my PhD fieldwork will focus on, and what further research method(s) I should use for the rest of this project.

Whilst this phase of the project does not require any direct participation from you (e.g. interviews, questionnaires, etc.), it is entirely possible that part of my field notes may focus on experiences that you, as a participant, are involved in.

5.   **Do I have to take part?**

Participation is voluntary. As a potential participant, you have three options:
   a) You can choose to participate in this project **anonymously** (by requesting a pseudonym on the consent form) - meaning you would feature in my field notes, but **not** under your real name.
   b) You can choose to participate in this project as a **named participant -** meaning you would feature in my field notes, and **referred to by your real name.** (Not requesting a pseudonym on the consent form confirms that you are happy to be referred to by your real name.)
   c) You can choose to **not** participate in this project, which means that **neither you nor your activities at KLTV** will feature in my field notes.

If you do agree to participate, you will be given this information sheet and a copy of the signed consent form for personal reference. To reiterate, participation is a **choice: whether you choose to participate or not will have no negative effect on your position within KLTV whatsoever.**

6.   **What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?**

There is no perceived risk of physical or psychological harm or distress.

7. **What if something goes wrong?**

If you feel uncomfortable or unhappy with your experience in my research project, you should contact my project supervisor, Dr Andrey Rosowsky (details below), in the first instance. If you feel a complaint has not been handled to your satisfaction, you can contact the University's Registrar and Secretary at: https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/university-secretary.

8. **Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?**

In many university-based research projects, protecting the identities of participants is both desirable and achievable. However, given the small size and public-facing nature of KLTV as a local media organisation, **it is impossible for me to completely guarantee participant anonymity.**

You may nevertheless request a pseudonym for yourself (on the consent form), which will be used in place of your real name in any field notes I write, and any further research publications. If you choose this option, I will ensure that my best efforts are made to omit any information about you that could be linked to your real identity. **However, I must reiterate that it may still be possible for readers to identify you based on the information presented in my field notes.**

9. **What will happen to the results of the research project?**

My field notes based on my time at KLTV may be used as part of my written PhD thesis, and will therefore also be made available for future research projects and/or publications to make use of. However, you will not be recorded with audio or audio-visual equipment (e.g. dictaphone; camcorder; etc.) during this current phase of the project.

10. **Funding, Ethics and Further Information**

My PhD is funded by the White Rose Doctoral Training Partnership (WRDTP).

This project has been ethically approved via the School of Education's ethics review procedure at the University of Sheffield.

For further information, you are invited to contact the researcher:
Ryan Bramley – Tel: ███████████ **– E: rbramley1@sheffield.ac.uk**

Alternatively, you can contact the researcher's supervisor:
Dr Andrey Rosowsky – Tel: 0114 222 8136 – E: a.rosowsky@sheffield.ac.uk

Thank-you for taking the time to read this information sheet. Please take time to read it before deciding whether you are happy for participate in the project. Remember: **participation is completely optional,** and will not have any effect on your position within KLTV.

Ryan Bramley
University of Sheffield

Ryan Bramley @ KLTV - Fieldnotes Consent Form

(Working) Title of Project: Filmmaking as a Community-Building Practice
Name of Researcher: Ryan Bramley

Please initial box:

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. I can do so by contacting the researcher, Ryan Bramley, at: ▮▮▮▮▮▮ or rbramley1@sheffield.ac.uk.

3. I agree to take part in the above research project.

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____
Pseudonym (if requested by Participant)   Participant Reference Number

_____   _____   _____
Researcher   Date   Signature
To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

Once signed, the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form and the information sheet. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be placed in the project's main record, which must be kept in a secure location. These forms will be destroyed once the PhD thesis has been submitted, and no later than September 2021.

Info Sheet: Interviewing you for Ryan Bramley's PhD Project

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1.   About Me

I'm Ryan Bramley, a PhD student from The University of Sheffield's School of Education, supervised by Dr Andrey Rosowsky. My PhD is a collaborative project with Kirklees Local Television (KLTV), and is expected to last 3-4 years. As part of the project, I will be based at KLTV on a part-time basis between February 2018 and September 2019 to do my research fieldwork.

2.   Research Project Title:

'Filmmaking as a Community-Building Practice' - this is a working title for my project (although the final title might be altered to better reflect my findings).

3.   Invitation to Participate

You are invited to take part in my PhD project, looking at how KLTV, a local media organisation specialising in filmmaking, is actively contributing to Huddersfield and the surrounding Kirklees area. I was originally primarily interested in whether KLTV's production of local news and storytelling is bringing local communities closer together. However, after spending the last year working for KLTV, my main research interest now is to better understand the reasons why people, such as yourself, volunteer to work for KLTV, and what is gained from that experience.

Given some of the social issues that Huddersfield faces, as represented in several of KLTV's film productions (e.g. **'The Seven Deadly Sins of Women in Leadership'** (2011), **'Young, British, Pakistani and Muslim'** (2013) and **'Black Lives Matter in Kirklees'** (2016)), as well as the current Heritage Lottery Funded 'Windrush: The Years After' project, a better understanding of the work of KLTV - and the influence of that work - is of interest to me as a researcher, as well as being in the public interest.

As well as the researcher (Ryan Bramley), any concerns or queries about this project can be raised with our Chair of Ethics, David Hyatt (d.hyatt@sheffield.ac.uk, or 0114 222 8126).

4.   **What will happen to me if I take part? What do I have to do?**

I would like to interview you about your experiences of working for KLTV. This interview is likely to take no longer than 60 minutes. Whilst the interview itself will be 'semi-structured' – in other words, there will not be a strict set of questions that I will be asking you – I would be interested in finding out more from you about the following:

a) - When (and why) you came to KLTV
b) - Your role at KLTV
c) - What makes KLTV's media different (if anything)
d) - Your expectations of the media you (help to) produce
e) - How people respond to KLTV's media (i.e. in person, on social media, etc.)
f) - Your media-making aspirations for the future

As a result of these interviews, I hope to gain a better understanding of what it is like to be a KLTV participant/volunteer, the various reasons for wanting to be a participant/volunteer at an organization like KLTV, and what each participant/volunteer has gained from the experience as a result. The data that I collect from these interviews will be made available for analysis in my PhD thesis, as well as being shown (in either word or video form) to a focus group of academic peers, in order to explore how KLTV is seen by people outside of the organization as well as within it.

I would also like to video record our interview today. This will allow me to make a film of your responses, as well as the responses of other participants, which can be shown to the focus group. The footage will also be made available for KLTV's purposes and may be made public by myself and/or KLTV at a later date.

5.   **Do I have to take part?**

Participation is voluntary. As a potential participant, you have three options:
a) You can choose to participate in the interview, and for the interview to be video recorded;
b) You can participate in the interview, but choose to not appear on camera; the interview will still be audio recorded, but purely for transcription purposes (and the recording will be destroyed as soon as the interview has been transcribed);
c) You can choose option b), but with the addition of being made

anonymous – in other words, what you say may be used in my research, but your name will not be attributed to it.

If you do agree to participate, you will be given this information sheet and a copy of the signed consent form for personal reference. **Participation is a choice**: **whether you choose to participate or not will have no negative effect on your position within KLTV whatsoever.**

You will also be able to withdraw your participation in this project, without any reason given, between now and 1ˢᵗ October 2019. This can be done by emailing me, or my supervisor – our contact details are on the next sheet.

6. **What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?**

There is no perceived additional risk of physical or psychological harm or distress beyond your normal activities at KLTV.

However, if there is any reason for concern regarding your health and wellbeing that arises from the interview discussion, I may need to make Milton Brown, as CEO of the KLTV company, aware of this. This is for the purposes of safeguarding and fulfils my responsibilities both as an ethical researcher and as a current member of KLTV. I will always let you know in person prior to informing Milton.

7. **What if something goes wrong?**

If you feel uncomfortable or unhappy with your experience in my research project, you should contact my project supervisor, Dr Andrey Rosowsky (details below), in the first instance. If you feel a complaint has not been handled to your satisfaction, you can contact the University's Registrar and Secretary at: https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/university-secretary.

8. **Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?**

In many university-based research projects, protecting the identities of participants is both desirable and achievable. However, given the small size and public-facing nature of KLTV as a local media organisation, **it is impossible for me to completely guarantee participant anonymity.**

You may nevertheless request a pseudonym for yourself (on the consent

form), which will be used in place of your real name in any field notes I write, and any further research publications. If you choose this option, I will ensure that my best efforts are made to omit any information about you that could be linked to your real identity. **However, I must reiterate that it may still be possible for readers to identify you based on the information presented in my fieldnotes.**

9. **What will happen to the results of the research project?** Any data (e.g. recordings or transcriptions) obtained from this interview will be used as part of my written PhD thesis, and will therefore also be made available for future research projects and/or publications to make use of (either by myself or by another researcher).

As well as being used to inform the academic peer focus group (as earlier mentioned), I will also be analyzing the content of these interviews in my written PhD thesis. This means that I may comment on the things that are said in this interview today – both by you and by me – in order to explore the role of participants/volunteers at KLTV. Giving your consent to participate in this interview also provides me with consent to use your interview data for these purposes.

The personal data that you provide via the consent form corresponding to this information sheet will be destroyed within a year of the PhD project being completed (with a current due date of September 2020).

10. **What is the legal basis for processing my data?**

According to data protection legislation, we are required to inform you that the legal basis we are applying in order to process your personal data is that 'processing is necessary for the performance of a task carried out in the public interest' (Article 6(1)(e)). Further information can be found in the University's Privacy Notice https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/govern/data-protection/privacy/general.

As we will be collecting some data that is defined in the legislation as more sensitive (information about ethnicity; political opinions; religious or philosophical beliefs; physical or mental health), we also need to let you know that we are applying the following condition in law: that the use of your data is 'necessary for scientific or historical research purposes'.

11.   Who is the Data Controller?

The University of Sheffield will act as the Data Controller for this study. This means that the University is responsible for looking after your information and using it properly. The University will continue to consult with Kirklees Local TV with regards to the purposes and means of processing all data collected by this project.

12.   Funding, Ethics and Further Information

My PhD is funded by the White Rose Doctoral Training Partnership (WRDTP).

This project has been ethically approved via the School of Education's ethics review procedure at the University of Sheffield.

For further information, you are invited to contact the researcher:
Ryan Bramley – Tel: xxxxx-xxxxxx – E: rbramley1@sheffield.ac.uk

Alternatively, you can contact the researcher's supervisor:
Dr Andrey Rosowsky – Tel: 0114 222 8136 – E: a.rosowsky@sheffield.ac.uk

Thank-you for taking the time to read this information sheet. Please take time to read it before deciding whether you are happy for participate in the project. Remember: **participation is completely optional** and will have no effect on your position within KLTV**.**

Ryan Bramley
University of
Sheffield

Consent Form for Interviews

Please tick the appropriate boxes	Yes	No
Taking Part in the Project		
I have read and understood the project information sheet titled **'Info Sheet: Interviewing you for Ryan Bramley's PhD Project'** or the project has been fully explained to me. (If you will answer No to this question please do not proceed with this consent form until you are fully aware of what your participation in the project will mean.)	☐	☐
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project.	☐	☐
I agree to take part in the project. I understand that taking part in the project will include the researcher (Ryan Bramley) interviewing me, recording the interview with audio and/or video equipment, and using the material produced as outlined by my selection in the 'Options for Participation' section below.	☐	☐
I understand that my taking part is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time before 1st October 2019; I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part and there will be no adverse consequences if I choose to withdraw.	☐	☐
Options for Participation (please select <u>one</u> of the three options below):		
Option 1: I consent to my interview being **video recorded <u>and</u> audio recorded**, and for the footage to be used as described under section 4. of 'Info Sheet: Interviewing you for Ryan Bramley's PhD Project'.	☐	☐
Option 2: I consent for my interview to be **audio recorded** only. A written transcription of the interview will be produced for the purposes of this research project. I understand that my name <u>will</u> be identified in the research project.	☐	☐
Option 3: I consent for my interview to be **audio recorded** only. A written transcription of the interview will be produced for the purposes of this research project. I understand that my name <u>will not</u> be identified in the research project.	☐	☐
How my information will be used during and after the project		
I understand my personal details such as name, phone number, address and email address etc. will not be revealed to people outside the project.	☐	☐
I understand and agree that the recording of me and/or my words may be used/quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs. I understand that I will not be named in these outputs unless I specifically request this (as per 'Options for Participation' above).	☐	☐
I understand and agree that other authorised researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.	☐	☐
I understand and agree that other authorised researchers may use my data in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.	☐	☐
I give permission for the interview footage and/or the written transcript to be deposited in the University of Sheffield Special Collections Archive so it can be used for future research and learning.	☐	☐
So that the information you provide can be used legally by the researchers		
All intellectual property and know how generated in the course of this Project ("Arising IP") shall belong to Sheffield. Sheffield hereby grants to the Collaborative Partner (Kirklees Local TV) a licence to use its Arising IP for the Project, internal use and non-commercial purposes.	☐	☐

393

| Name of participant [printed] | Signature | Date |

| Name of Researcher [printed] | Signature | Date |

Project contact details for further information:

Lead Researcher: Ryan Bramley   rbramley1@sheffield.ac.uk   ███████████

Supervisor: Dr Andrey Rosowsky   a.rosowsky@sheffield.ac.uk   0114 222 8136

Head of Department: Prof. Elizabeth Wood   e.a.wood@sheffield.ac.uk
(for complaints)

Appendix D2: Updated Consent Form – Interviews (new clauses highlighted)

The University Of Sheffield.

Filmmaking as a Community-Building Practice

Consent Form for Interviews

Please tick the appropriate boxes	Yes	No
Taking Part in the Project		
I have read and understood the project information sheet titled 'Info Sheet: Interviewing you for Ryan Bramley's PhD Project' or the project has been fully explained to me. (If you will answer No to this question please do not proceed with this consent form until you are fully aware of what your participation in the project will mean.)	☐	☐
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project.	☐	☐
I agree to take part in the project. I understand that taking part in the project will include the researcher (Ryan Bramley) interviewing me, recording the interview with audio and/or video equipment, and using the material produced as outlined by my selection in the 'Options for Participation' section below.	☐	☐
I understand that my taking part is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time before 31st November 2019; I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part and there will be no adverse consequences if I choose to withdraw.	☐	☐
Options for Participation (please select one of the three options below):		
Option 1: I consent to my interview being video recorded and audio recorded, and for the footage to be used as described under section 4. of 'Info Sheet: Interviewing you for Ryan Bramley's PhD Project'.	☐	☐
Option 2: I consent for my interview to be audio recorded only. A written transcription of the interview will be produced for the purposes of this research project. I understand that my name will be identified in the research project.	☐	☐
Option 3: I consent for my interview to be audio recorded only. A written transcription of the interview will be produced for the purposes of this research project. I understand that my name will not be identified in the research project.	☐	☐
How my information will be used during and after the project		
I understand my personal details such as name, phone number, address and email address etc. will not be revealed to people outside the project.	☐	☐
I understand and agree that the recording of me and/or my words may be used/quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs. I understand that I will not be named in these outputs unless I specifically request this (as per 'Options for Participation' above).	☐	☐
I understand and agree that other authorised researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.	☐	☐
I understand and agree that other authorised researchers may use my data in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.	☐	☐
I give permission for the interview footage and/or the written transcript to be deposited in the University of Sheffield Special Collections Archive so it can be used for future research and learning.	☐	☐
So that the information you provide can be used legally by the researchers		
I understand that the edited research films resulting from these interviews will be jointly owned by KLTV and the University of Sheffield, with both parties having the rights to use this material for academic and non-commercial purposes. In the event of these edited research films being used by either party for commercial purposes, this would require the explicit written consent of both KLTV and the University of Sheffield.	☐	☐
All other intellectual property and know how generated in the course of this Project ("Arising IP", i.e. the researcher's PhD thesis) shall belong to Sheffield.	☐	☐

Filmmaking as a Community-Building Practice

Name of participant [printed]	Signature	Date
Name of Researcher [printed]	Signature	Date

Project contact details for further information:

Lead Researcher: Ryan Bramley   rbramley1@sheffield.ac.uk

Supervisor: Dr Andrey Rosowsky   a.rosowsky@sheffield.ac.uk   0114 222 8136

Head of Department: Prof. Rebecca Lawthom   r.lawthom@sheffield.ac.uk
(for complaints)

Appendix E1: Film 1: Founding KLTV

File Name: Film 1 – 'Founding KLTV'

Length of Film: 00:14:34

All interviewees were provided with the list of discussion points prior to their interview and

had sufficient time to look over them before filming began.

The researcher/filmmaker would like to place on record his thanks to KLTV for providing the

location and recording equipment for this interview.

Time	Speaker	Text
00:00-00:15	[titles]	In three interviews from June-September 2019… Milton Brown spoke to me about 'Kirklees Local TV'. How would you describe 'Kirklees Local TV'?
00:15-00:43	Milton Brown [speaking on 12th September 2019]	I would describe Kirklees Local TV…as a grassroots community news outlet. And, underpinning all that, we have multiple social media platforms, and we go out to find those stories that, I would argue, our local [news]paper doesn't cover; the national [news]paper might not cover; but equally as interesting.
00:43-00:47	[titles]	Why was 'KLTV' founded in 2011?
00:47-02:01	Milton Brown [speaking on 14th June 2019]	From 1989 to approximately 2008, I'd done projects which were local, national, international; civically engaging local authorities, civically engaging universities, and empowering my local community. And, austerity came in, and I was devastated because the minute austerity came in, the council cut everybody's budget. And the first people's budget to go, was those social entrepreneurs; the voluntary sector organisations, that didn't have core allegiance with the council. And that hurt. Because for all the work I'd ever done, was always outward-facing, empowering people, and I always defended the council, and I always wanted the best for the council and my community. So, I licked my wounds, thought about it: what can I do that is still in line with empowering people; still in line with giving people a voice; still in line with civically engaging people…and I had the idea of 'Kirklees Local TV'.
02:01-02:06	[titles]	What is 'Kirklees Local TV'?

02:06- 02:30	Milton Brown [speaking on 14th June 2019]	I wanted to create the first YouTube of Kirklees. That means it was a whole mixture of everything and everything – raising the profile of people; raising the profile of the council; informing people what the council do; informing people what some private sector [companies] do with regards to the council; and raising the profile of community, social [and] political activists – all in the right way.
02:30- 03:13	Milton Brown [speaking on 12th September 2019]	Lots of people are always writing stories *about* folks. Well, what we do here at KLTV, we get those people to tell their *own* stories, and it's authentic. Very little of narration we do. We go to the heart of the community, we go to the heart of the story, and we get those who are involved *in* the story to *tell* their story. And that's where I think we differ from most high street news tabloids. I think they have a mantra: if it doesn't bleed, it doesn't lead. Well, we're very much about looking at the positives; we're not gonna sugar-coat something that's really negative, but there's a way to tell a negative story, *positively*.
03:13- 04:01	Milton Brown [speaking on 14th June 2019]	We want people to trust us as an authentic voice, for *them*. And in the main, when I reflect, we've never been held accountable for telling a wrong story; we've never been given grief because we've told a story and 'egged the plate' on the story. And when you look at the diverse range of people that's worked in here; that we've interviewed outside of the building; it covers absolutely everybody. We raise the profile of everyone and everyone in a very just and appropriate way, and I think that's the real credibility of our organisation. We go from bottom to top; not top to bottom.
04:01- 04:05	[titles]	What kind of news does 'KLTV' cover?
04:05- 04:58	Milton Brown [speaking on 23rd August 2019]	If you take the nine protected characteristics within the 2010 Equality Act, and you go through KLTV, we've touched on every one: women in leadership; African Caribbean identity; navigating identity and race – we've done all of those things. I just think that, outside of KLTV as a social enterprise, we are always looking at socially redemptive programmes: things that are gonna make you think; things that are gonna wake something up inside of you; and things that are gonna make you think, 'my gosh, I never looked at it like that'. So, it's not the surface stuff we deal with – it's the stuff just below it, and if you wanna go deeper still, y'know, we leave people asking more questions than answers.

04:58-05:03	[titles]	How has KLTV changed through the years?
05:03-05:21	Milton Brown [speaking on 14th June 2019]	We started out in the beginning to create a YouTube experience for all those outside of the organisation within Kirklees. I think we've done that – we achieved that, maybe six years into Kirklees Local TV's existence.
05:21-05:53	Milton Brown [speaking on 12th September 2019]	KLTV has been running for nine years, and we've never had an aggressive marketing strategy. We wanted this to grow *for* the people, *by* the people. And, nine years' old, we are now beginning to reap those rewards; we never rammed it down anybody else's throats, so now people are ringing us up, they want us to go and film a story here; people are ringing us up, they want us to do a promotional video for them; we're getting calls from all parts of society now.
05:53-06:23	Milton Brown [speaking on 14th June 2019]	Today, if you stagnate, you become stale, and people [say], 'oh, I know it's that, oh I know it's this, and I know it's this', and people move on. So, we have to keep recreating: making the brand strong, but freshening it up, freshening the brand. And today, we are moving towards, arguably, a *proper* – dare I say it – online news channel.
06:23-06:28	[titles]	What is it like to work at 'KLTV'?
06:28-09:07	Milton Brown [speaking on 12th September 2019]	At KLTV, we have this philosophy, and it's an African proverb: *It takes the whole village to raise one child.* What that actually means is, although I'm the CEO, all the skills don't start and stop with me. If you was to speak to our business administrator, she's got skills that can help so many other people in new areas. If you look at some of the students who come here, they quickly get up to speed about where everything is, and they become independent learners. So that's what I mean about *Kirklees [Local TV]* as a learning organisation: people come, and they learn under their own pace, and their own ambition, application and attitude. No, we don't want slouches here; if you want to come and learn a skill, then I would say this is the place to be; if you want to come and build your confidence, I would say this is the place to be. But don't expect anybody to *do* anything for you. We don't tell anybody how to fish; we give them a rod and say, 'see ya later'. They'll come back and say they didn't catch this, and I didn't catch that; we'll show you how to 'hook your bait', and go out there. If you wanna be a journalist, we can help you; if you wanna be a videographer, we can help you; if you wanna be someone who presents and interviews, we can help you – but you *have* to do that work, because we aren't doing it for you.

		But this is a great place where you will be supported to do that – not dragged, but supported, to learn a new skill.
		[transition]
		And, as within any learning organisation, it's a two-way street. Every student, every volunteer, every elder – anyone I come into contact with within my work, I feel so enriched by them. And that makes me a better person, it makes me more knowledgeable, it gives me a kind of cultural literacy that I never had before I met this person, and therefore, wherever I walk, I walk with those new skills of learning that I've embraced, y'know. So, personally, I can go into any community in this town and feel comfortable. I've been working in communities now for the best part of thirty years, and I'm very comfortable in just about every community; that could not have come if I didn't open myself up for learning as well. So it's a two-way street; it's *KLTV*.
09:07-09:12	[titles]	How is 'KLTV' currently funded?
09:12-09:51	Milton Brown [speaking on 14th June 2019]	It's really interesting when you ask about funds: 'how does *Kirklees Local TV* fund our operations? Well, I can honestly tell you, every red cent that we've made from 2011 to present day, I would say we put it back into equipment. Today, we have a five camera studio; we've got maybe eight or nine cameras that we can go out and film [with] on any location whatsoever; we've got access to drones and everything. And the funding has come from, more often than not, [the] private sector.
09:51-09:56	[titles]	How is 'KLTV' seen by local institutions?
09:56-10:52	Milton Brown [speaking on 14th June 2019]	I think *Kirklees Local TV* is seen as a threat to the status quo: 1) we're not sensationalising anything; 2) we're speaking authentically; 3) the person in charge, the CEO, is not frightened of conflict, conflict is inevitable when you're in mainstream or public sector business, yeah? It's inevitable, and how you handle that conflict speaks volumes of your organisation and the team. And it's the one place that I feel [institutions] cannot control, which is social media. And that's where I'd like to be. I don't wanna be controlled, and I don't want the people I represent to be controlled. So [those people] come here for authentic service, so they can speak

10:52- 10:57	[titles]	authentically and empower those immediately around them, and those from different areas.
		Why aren't there more organisations in the UK like 'KLTV'?
10:57- 12:31	Milton Brown [speaking on 14th June 2019]	Why other organisations across the country like us, I would say, don't exist – and find it difficult to get off the ground and set something up like this: 1) I think you've got to be a visionary; 2) You've got to have resilience; and 3) You ain't anybody without an honest team around you. And those three things are very difficult, they don't come naturally. I sit here in front of you now and I'm talking as if to say, 'wow, he's done really really well that guy'; you just wouldn't believe the pain, the sacrifices, the negotiation, the navigation, the lack of funds, the lack of resources, to get to where we've got to. That's why I can sit here and speak with passion, clarity and honesty. 'Cos nobody gave us anything; everything that's here, we've *earned* – and we've done it the hard way. [transition] And that's why I think - particularly for the voluntary sector, small SMEs, or social enterprises – we are *not* money-driven; we're *people*-driven. And there's the problem: to run something like this, you have to be money-driven; but the distribution of wealth must go back to the people.
12:31- 12:36	[titles]	What are your future plans for 'KLTV'?
12:36- 14:34	Milton Brown [speaking on 12th September 2019]	We've reached a point now where we're gonna structure [KLTV] now and have an online newspaper - so that's where we're going with it now – and structure it in a way where we're gonna have politics; health; even stuff around the Black Asian Minority Ethnic communities; a sport section; we're gonna have it like that so people can upload their own stories to any of these sections. So it's gonna be a fully interactive newspaper, where the local community, or local people, can upload their own stories, and then we verify the stories before we send it out. [transition] *Kirklees Local TV* will be a platform that rural communities, urban communities, different religions, different faith

| | | groups, they all can use our platform to tell their own stories. It's gonna be like a people's newspaper – not necessarily driven for advertisement to make money (although that has to be a strand within there), but it's for people to get their voices out and be heard. And it's not [going to be] a political, anarchist type 'paper, because I love my town, and I love my region, and I love living in West Yorkshire. But, y'know, when I look at all the tabloids, they're just not getting beneath the surface on some of these stories, and the communities are crying out for a platform to tell their story, and get out there, [so] that people can support them with whatever campaigns they're doing, etcetera, etcetera.

[transition]

And the other thing is, we don't do stories to see if we can make a buck or two out of it; we do stories because stories – real life stories – are important to people. And that's where we are, like I said: we're the people's news outlet. |

Appendix E2: Film 2: 'The People's News Outlet'

File Name: Film 2 – 'The People's News Outlet'

Length of Film: 00:08:59

All interviewees were provided with the list of discussion points prior to their interview and

had sufficient time to look over them before filming began.

The researcher/filmmaker would like to place on record his thanks to KLTV for providing the

location and recording equipment for this interview.

Time	Speaker	Text
00:00-00:15	[titles]	I spoke to some of the members and volunteers at 'KLTV'… To ask what they thought of the organisation. What does 'KLTV' offer to its viewers?
00:15-00:29	Oliver Thompson [Volunteer]	There's no other internet online station for and in Huddersfield, and it offers another kind of way – another version – than what's already here, y'know, the local 'paper and things like that.
00:29-01:32	Nabila Waseem [Business Director]	Within Huddersfield, I think we've only got one main source of media outlet, which is the Huddersfield Examiner, and I think that always portrays a negative image of Huddersfield. So I think *Kirklees Local TV* gives an alternative view of what the Examiner gives. So I think with *KLTV* they always focus on the positives, rather than the negatives, because I think you have to love wherever you live. We were talking about 'Hometown' the other day, do you know what I mean? And yeah, we know bad things go on, bad things go on in every single town and city in the world! But why do we have to keep highlighting the bad points, y'know? We need to highlight the positives and the good things, because there's a lot of good things in Huddersfield, and Kirklees! And I think that's one good thing *Kirklees Local TV* do: they highlight that and say, 'Look! Let's look at the positives and be happy.' Yeah, we know bad things go on, but we don't always need to keep going back to that, so, yeah.
01:32-02:21	Khatija Lunat [Volunteer]	And I think *KLTV*, whilst being here, has taught me that community stories and community people are at the forefront, and *should* be at the forefront, of stories, that represent the basis – I'd say the backbone – of society. So it's important to get those stories across, be it from any

		community; they're all as important for a cohesive society, to maintain that cohesion within communities. And that's not always portrayed in national media. Sometimes, I think, we always see the negative side of communities, and it has to be celebrated, and it's a shame that it's people like *KLTV* [who] *have* to represent those communities, to celebrate those communities; it should be done on a national level.
02:21-02:36	Leah Conway [Volunteer]	I think it's quite unique, 'cos I haven't really seen anything like it before, and the fact that it's really community driven – everything's about the community and for the community – I feel like there should be more things like it.
02:36-03:02	Niki Matthews [Consultant; formerly Business Director]	They give people an opportunity to share their stories. Some of those stories aren't, they're not all happy stories, but they want to share them with *KLTV*, and that for me is what sets *KLTV* apart from other media companies: they're looking to celebrate where they live, they're looking to celebrate the community, and the diversity within that community, and I think that they do that exceptionally well.
03:02-03:12	Oliver Thompson [Volunteer]	We talk to people; obviously talking to people is a normal thing, but as in, we actually *engage* with people, and record it on film and get people's opinions on different things.
03:12-03:17	[titles]	What does 'KLTV' offer to its volunteers?
03:17-03:52	Nabila Waseem [Business Director]	A lot of different people participate in different projects, so that's why there's so many different people that come in and out of the organisation, because they'll come for their little bit and then they'll leave, and then like yesterday, we had so many different people in because they were doing their own little bits, but then they were off again, y'know, once they'd done that? And that's the good thing about this organisation: you meet so many different people, from different backgrounds, and they've come here for a different purpose, y'know, we're not all here for the same thing. So yeah, it's good, I do enjoy it, yeah!
03:52-04:23	Oliver Thompson [volunteer]	I think *KLTV* does offer a lot of opportunities for students, and the younger generation, so that's good; well, younger people *as well*, y'know, college students, university students – it gives them a springboard really, to go on to wherever they want to be at the end of it. You know, 'cos we do see a lot of students that come in for a week, two weeks; we see high school students come in and love it and, y'know, that's *KLTV*'s position at the moment, and I think that's quite good, it's quite unique really, 'cos it offers that opportunity for people.

04:23-04:39	Leah Conway [Volunteer]	Through my time here, I've seen so many students come in, even for, like, a week. So it just gives everybody that opportunity; it doesn't matter [about] age, there's such a range of letting people get skills, whilst giving something back.
04:39-05:53	Niki Matthews [Consultant; formerly Business Director]	I'm aware that there are smaller organisations doing a similar sort of thing in other boroughs, but the thing that makes *KLTV* unique again is the opportunity that it provides. It has a real interest and a real thirst for knowledge: whether that is learning about new people and promoting their stories through media; whether that's providing opportunities to students at the University [of Huddersfield] and the colleges, and via [the] JobCentre, to come and work with *KLTV* as part of their work experience, to gain the skills that they *need* and they wouldn't necessarily get in an educational institute. It's absolutely phenomenal, and the successes of those people who've worked with *KLTV* and have gone on to do amazing things in this area, is absolutely fantastic. And it's a real proud moment to see young people coming into an organisation – or maybe somebody who's been out of work for a while, and come into the organisation – and grow so much, whether that's through the confidence of being in that environment, of being able to express themselves; or whether it's just in gaining those skills and *utilising* those skills to the best of their ability, to get what they want out of professional life.
05:53-05:58	[titles]	Where is 'KLTV' heading?
05:58-06:16	Oliver Thompson [Volunteer]	It's still quite small in the fact that it's in Huddersfield, but it's growing, it's getting bigger, and there's a lot of plans for the future, and there's a lot of community films that are gonna be published, like 'Windrush: The Years After', y'know, and that kind of stuff, so there's a lot of things going on.
06:16-07:15	Dave Hodgson [Volunteer]	At the moment, the difficult thing is to get publicity and [to] get people to know what we're doing, because there's only the young people that are used to just, only watching TV either on their 'pads or their phone – which is our best outlet! But we tend to work for older people, and it's those people that haven't quite grasped this idea of 'TV on-the-move', y'know? And we've got to get that across to people: the future is 'TV on-the-move'. It won't replace terrestrial broadcasts; it won't replace Netflix or Sky, or whatever. They'll still be there doing very great quality programmes; where we'll be, shall we say, the 'Guerrilla TV': doing

		everything, any way you can think of, but getting the story *first*, as it were.
07:15-07:20	[titles]	What does the local community think to 'KLTV'?
07:20-08:05	Niki Matthews [Consultant; formerly Business Director]	Through social media and their web presence, [*KLTV*] have approximately 180,000 'hits' a month. Now, to be able to say that, as a community organisation – or *any* organisation – is amazing, and it proves that you're doing something that is absolutely hitting home with the general public. And I think that more people need to be aware of the facilities that are available to them, *locally*. You know, *KLTV* has their own studio! Y'know, we all watch programmes on the TV in newsroom studios and everything else, where you'd have to go to Leeds or Manchester, wherever; this is *local*, it's *here*, it's in *Huddersfield*.
08:05-08:25	Oliver Thompson [Volunteer]	People have heard about us, which is good. I've had people come up and say, 'Oh, I've read your articles', or 'I've seen your content; I thought this, I thought that'. I do have a bit of a debate [with them], which is good! So, we always have a little talk. But yeah, good! I mean, people should understand that we're here to voice people's opinions, really.
08:25-08:59	Niki Matthews [Consultant; formerly Business Director]	People jump onto *KLTV* to watch a specific video – maybe that they've *been* in, because they were at a certain event – but they've liked it that much that they've gone on to look at other things, randomly maybe! And they've all come back and the feedback that we get in general is really, really positive, and saying, 'I didn't realise that was there', 'I didn't know so-and-so did that', 'I didn't know *this* was going on locally', 'I didn't know we had our own studio [in Huddersfield]' – and this is a fantastic thing, and for this to be in our community is something that should be celebrated and utilised.

Appendix E3: Film 3: Why Volunteers Come (and why some of them stay)

File Name: Film 3 – 'Why Volunteers Come (and why some of them stay)'

Length of Film: 00:16:14

All interviewees were provided with the list of discussion points prior to their interview and had sufficient time to look over them before filming began.

The researcher/filmmaker would like to place on record his thanks to KLTV for providing the location and recording equipment for this interview.

Time	Speaker	Text
00:00-00:15	[titles]	I also asked the people who work at KLTV… What first brought them here, and why they've stayed. Why did you come to 'KLTV'?
00:15-00:44	Oliver Thompson [Volunteer]	Well, I graduated from university, getting a Master's – an MA – in producing film and television, and I wanted to get involved in, kind of, producing films – producing mini little contents about the hometown that I live [in], and I've been brought up in! So I decided, y'know, let's have a look around, and I found *KLTV*, and it's, it's just brilliant! And it's worked. So I applied, and I spoke with Milton and then we, well – the rest is history! Y'know, ten months later, here I am, still! Ha ha
00:44-01:46	Nabila Waseem [Business Director]	I was working as a midwife back in, 2015? And, due to personal reasons, [I] had to give that up that in, yeah, it was 2016, when I came back from Pakistan. So, because of our family circumstances, I couldn't go back to doing shift work, and my husband's been abroad, and, one thing or another had to give, and it was my job, unfortunately. So I was a full time mum, for two years, and just by chance, I bumped into Milton, having a good chat, and he was like, 'Oh, y'know, there's volunteer opportunities at my place; why don't you come?' So I was like, 'Alright, okay', y'know – I've got a business degree, I've got my midwifery degree; I thought, yeah, I can use that to my advantage and maybe bring some new skills to this place, and maybe gain some new skills whilst I'm here! So, yeah, that's how it all started! [laughs]
01:46-02:53	Khatija Lunat [Volunteer]	So, I've been at *KLTV* – or I've *volunteered* here at *KLTV* – for, I think, over five years now? I initially met Milton Brown whilst working in my daytime job – which is in

		Batley, at an infants' school – and he came to do some diversity training. So, I think we worked on that for about eight to nine months, and he trained me and a colleague up, and then we cascaded that training onto our colleagues. And it was an experience, working alongside Milton, and he was inspirational, and all his views, and when we came over to KLTV and looked at what he had – his organisation, how they worked, what they were involved in – it was mindblowing! It inspired me to want to do more on a community level; I already was in Batley, but this was more Kirklees-wide. I've been involved ever since!
02:53—03:28	Leah Conway [Volunteer]	The first point was trying to find a work placement, and I knew I wanted to do something that wasn't…because I do history [at the University of Huddersfield]…I knew I wanted to do something not really related [to the history degree] – or, at least, not like teaching or something. So I typed in, like, 'film', companies and stuff, and [KLTV] was one of the top ones [in the search], and then I looked at the website. And I liked the fact that it was small, and community-driven. So, I contacted it, and it's been from there…yeah!
03:28-03:48	Niki Matthews [Consultant; formerly Business Director]	So, I joined KLTV about five years ago, and it was a great opportunity for me. I was currently working in the public sector, at Kirklees Council, and I came across KLTV and was approached to work with them in terms of business administration and projects.
03:48-05:16	Dave Hodgson [Volunteer]	I spent most of my working career in the BBC, but I was doing sound. I got taken on as a technical operator, which meant doing the sound desks, playing the disks, whatever needed to be done at the blunt end of the microphone, right? [transition] It was great at the BBC at first because I worked in local radio, and there were no rules written down for it! _We_ made it up as we went on! And it was great! Y'know, I got this real sort of 'merchant venturer' sort of exploration, and I was bitten by that bug – which is why I always look for something that was new and different, and hadn't been tried before. [transition] Just by chance, I happened to be around Huddersfield – 'cos I live in Almondbury, y'know – and there was KLTV, out with the sweatshirts, recording part of the Huddersfield

		festival! So I went and talked to them, y'know. Barrie and I must have impressed Milton quite well, because within a week, he was on the phone asking us if we wanted to join him! He says, 'Well, I can't pay you just to interview'; I said, 'I don't mind, I don't mind, I've retired'. So, I started presentation there; Barrie then came across and we wired the studio up. So, if I wasn't presenting, I would do the sound – and it has been the same, ever since.
05:16-05:23	[titles]	What's it like to work at 'KLTV'?
05:23-05:48	Nabila Waseem [Business Director]	D'ya know, I feel proud to say I work here at *KLTV* because I do really enjoy coming here every day. And that is, honestly, the god's honest truth, because you meet so many different people here, and you have a laugh, and you have a giggle, but then you do get down to the serious work, because the serious work needs to be done! But, like I said, there's so many different people that come in, no one day's gonna be the same, because y'know, you're gonna be interacting with different people.
05:48-06:48	Niki Matthews [Consultant; formerly Business Director]	I've been with *KLTV* now about five years. I don't plan on leaving *KLTV* for any reason! Because it's always changing, it's ever-evolving, and with that, *you* evolve, and you grow and you learn all the time. There are so many different facets to what *KLTV* is involved with, that you're learning new things about, y'know, processes, and systems, and people; the place that you live; it challenges you, in a really positive way. There are certain times when you *do* feel uncomfortable in certain situations, and being at *KLTV* has made that *more* comfortable. You know, there's still things that really are challenging – things that can be very close to your heart, and really do prick at the side of you – however, you have to be able to see it from other people's perspectives, and understand where those perspectives are coming from.
06:48-07:28	Dave Hodgson [Volunteer]	It operates like professional TV should: we have a CEO, we have an administrator, we have editors, we have production staff to actually do the programmes, and we have presenters. We try to be helpful to the others, but we don't start making rules for the presenters to do – that comes from the CEO. He'll talk to us about it, but the actual orders come from him. And the same with the production of the programme: in the end, what that person who's responsible for [the programme] says, goes.
07:28-08:02	Oliver Thompson [Volunteer]	You go out, you film, you interview, you go back and edit: so you've got loads of different kind of skills there, whereas in maybe a bigger organisation, you're pigeon-holed into

		one kind of speciality. Whereas here, you can work with so many different people, and learn different things, y'know? I've learned so much about social media marketing, video editing, writing – which is something that I'm really trying to push at the moment, trying to really improve my writing skills. Yeah, it's brilliant, and that's why I'm still here! [laughs]
08:02-08:31	Khatija Lunat [Volunteer]	And as a volunteer, I think you only stick with a certain thing when you see that the worth of the piece that you're doing, whatever it may be. Maybe it's a website, or an educational resource, or it's a film – but when you see worth within the community, within Kirklees, within the whole national picture, you see that this piece of work is…massive.
08:31-08:36	[titles]	Tell me about a project you've worked on here?
08:36-09:09	Khatjia Lunat [Volunteer]	'21st Century Muslim' is a project and a film that we did with Milton about British Muslims and how diverse they are as a community: there's 73 sects, and what levels of religiousness people are on, it's a personal journey. And, me being involved with that, taught me a lot about…*people*, and religion, and their takes on it. And inclusivity as well. So, it was eye-opening to say the least.
09:09-09:37	Niki Matthews [Consultant; formerly Business Director]	There isn't much at *KLTV* that I *haven't* worked on in the five years that I've been there. I like to get involved with everything, and I brought with me a different set of skills to what was currently in the team. And being in business and administration, everything needs a process, everything has a system, and it was a case of, I was there to creatively put these systems and processes into place, to make things roll on as efficiently and as effectively as what they needed to [be].
09:37-11:31	Dave Hodgson [Volunteer]	Through our contacts in Barnsley, we managed to get a septet of the best players from Dodworth Colliery – the old Dodworth Colliery Band – to come up here, and because we'd got a *big* area back in the old studio, we were able to put a Christmas scene right 'round them as if we were playing outside a village square, and make it look like we were doing it at Christmas! And it was incredible! Y'know, seven players, it all had to be mike'd up, 'cos unlike radio, you have to hide the mikes for TV! Although that doesn't seem to be such a thing these days…but we still managed to get a great sound for it, and they also asked me to compere it.

[transition] |

410

		I was on green screen, and I was put in an armchair in a very, *very* posh old house, with a log fire going in the background, but all I could find to wear on that day was a bright yellow shirt and a black gilet. And, thinking quickly, I was able to make this, y'know...I like to make jokes – as you know – as we're going along, and I love what we call, 'off-stage jokes', and I was saying: [cuts to clip] Now, I'd like to thank, by the way, the costume department here, for finding the very best of Christmas clothes for me to wear. What does Christmas mean in terms of colour? Yellow and black. I ask you...nice one, guys! [transition back to Dave's interview] [laughs] And, you know, it really worked well, and people liked that joke and they say, 'we always still laugh at that', yeah!
11:31-12:26	Nabila Waseem [Business Director]	When I first came here, media wasn't really high on my agenda to be honest, 'cos it's not really something that I've been interested in. But, obviously being here, you can't be away from it, because it *is* a production company. The biggest thing for me is, I found out how *hard* it is? I'd always assumed it'd be so easy to either stand *behind* a camera, stand in *front* of a camera, and just get on – but the preparation that it takes beforehand, to do just even a five-minute clip, is so much! D'ya know what I mean? And I think that's what's the biggest highlight for me, it's like, 'God!' There's so much that goes into it, and you don't realise it, you just think, 'oh well, somebody's just stood behind a camera, you just turn it on and that's it!' It's looking at your angles – because I've done a *little* bit of camera training – and, yeah, it's really opened my eyes, yeah!
12:26-12:51	Oliver Thompson [Volunteer]	I did 'Public Eye' and 'Summat Yorkshire', which was different topics every week – you know, whether that'd be Jodie Whittaker being the new Doctor Who, so more local kind of news; or obviously the big national news, which is covered, y'know, for three years, with the Brexit – and so offered people different opinions. And y'know, people engage with it, people like it; people talk to us, which is definitely a good sign, isn't it! 'Cos people want to express their opinions on camera.

12:51-12:56	[titles]	What have you gained from working here?
12:56-13:32	Oliver Thompson [Volunteer]	There's a lot. There's so many different things, and aspects that I've learnt. Working with people, working with *different types* of people, is a big one. Y'know, people have different talents, different expertise that they like to bring to the table, and that's been a very big learning curve. Y'know, different specialities – because media's quite an umbrella term, there's loads of different [types]: whether that's social media, whether that's video, whether that's radio, writing, and loads of people have different kinds of specialities. And working with them, working with different types of people, has definitely been a big learning curve for me in these ten months that I've been here.
13:32-14:02	Leah Conway [Volunteer]	It's been really enlightening to me, because, well, firstly, it's helped me figure out what I wanted to do for my [undergraduate] dissertation, so it's also me being able to do work and it be for *KLTV*, but also I'm gaining stuff from it as well. [transition] It's given me skills that I had no clue that I could do before. And it's also given me an insight into how, like, a media company works as well?
14:02-14:29	Khatija Lunat [Volunteer]	I've learnt lots whilst being a part of, or volunteering at, *KLTV*: not just the fact that media has a big role in how they portray communities across the board; it's the individual stories that are sometimes more important than the major or worldwide stories. So local, national – it's got to be a variation of all of those.
14:29-16:14	Niki Matthews [Consultant; formerly Business Director]	I'm a Huddersfield girl born and bred, I live in the leafy suburbs of the town, and what *KLTV* has brought to me is, it's probably opened my eyes a little bit more than what they were. Y'know, I've always like to think of myself as, someone that embraces what's going on around them. But whether that's due to the circles that you go on, whether it's the workplace that you settle at, the clubs that you join; whatever on earth that is, you generally do that in the area that you live, because it's *your* community that you want to support – and, you know, you might know other people there. But working with *KLTV,* I've gone into communities that I haven't necessarily had the opportunity to go in before, not for any reason that I didn't want to, or I *wouldn't* want to, but I didn't know anyone there, y'know, whether that was personally or professionally. And, since

| | | working at *KLTV*, I can confidently walk into any of those communities, and feel…feel safe, feel that I belong there, I've a right to be there, and y'know, at the age that I'm at, [and] as a White British female from Huddersfield, that's a really nice thing to be able to say. You know, Huddersfield is one of the biggest towns in the country, and the diversity that we have here, is amazing! We have lots of it, and *I* want to know more about it, and working with *KLTV* has given me that opportunity to, and, yeah, it's enriched me as an individual. |

Appendix E4: Film 4: The 'Windrush: The Years After' Project

File Name: Film 4 – 'The 'Windrush: The Years After' Project'

Length of Film: 00:08:15

All interviewees were provided with the list of discussion points prior to their interview and had sufficient time to look over them before filming began.

The researcher/filmmaker would like to place on record his thanks to KLTV for providing the location and recording equipment for this interview.

Time	Speaker	Text
00:00-00:20	[titles]	[Windrush: The Years After logo] I spoke to the team behind 'Windrush: The Years After'… To ask what the project means to them. What is Windrush: The Years After?
00:20-00:35	Milton Brown [Windrush Project Lead]	'Windrush: The Years After' tracked the lives of the early migrants who came here between 1948-1972, and then also the first generation born here in the 1960s and the second generation born in the early '80s.
00:35-00:54	Niki Matthews [Project Volunteer – Administration/Evaluation]	The whole concept of bringing the Windrush project to life was to give people from the black community the opportunity to share their stories – not just of their own, but of their families, and the struggles and the celebrations that they've had along the way.
00:54-01:09	Heather Norris Nicholson [Project Coordinator – Educational/Historical Research]	The project has very, very multi-faceted outputs: so, there's the documentary film itself; and yet, there have also been the educational materials, the archiving, the picture research, a whole lot of writing…
01:09-01:24	Khatija Lunat [Project Volunteer – Interviewing and Research]	It's been a pleasure and an honour to work on [the project] alongside with lots of amazing people, who I thought I'd never meet on a day-to-day basis, y'know? It's all down to Milton Brown that we came together as a group.
01:24-01:42	Heather Norris Nicholson [Project Co-Ordinator – Educational/Historical Research]	Y'know, sometimes you'd have very tight turnarounds, very long meetings, very tiring days, a lot of things that seemed to need being completed by yesterday, but we've got through

		that, because we have a shared vision that this is a worthwhile thing to do.
01:42-01:48	Khatija Lunat [Project Volunteer – Interviewing and Research]	The final thing has been amazing, and it came together so well.
01:48-01:53	[titles]	Project Diversity
01:53-02:08	Nabila Waseem [Project Volunteer – Interviewing and Research]	Y'know, there's a lot of different people that live here, and just within this organisation, there's so many different people. We've had students from China, students from Zimbabwe, come and work with us. Y'know, we learn from each other as well, so that's a really good thing.
02:08-02:22	Heather Norris Nicholson [Project Co-Ordinator – Educational/Historical Research]	The diversity just doesn't have to be in front of the camera…it's also entirely appropriate that there should be diversity in the team who are involved in recording that history and making that history.
02:22-02:27	[titles]	What have you gained from the project as an individual?
02:27-02:54	Leah Conway [Project Volunteer – Videography and Editing]	Well, before I was here, I didn't really know anything, or have any experience – [I could] take a few pictures on a camera, that's about it. But then I come here, and I now know how to set up cameras, film them; what kind of shots you want; and now I know editing. I didn't know anything about editing before, and now, I'd quite like to maybe go in a career that way?
02:54-03:25	Niki Matthews [Project Volunteer – Administration/Evaluation]	The reason why I felt 'Windrush' was so important, and I was so glad to be involved: it's something we all need to know about. It's a point for the black community to be able to get their story out there, not just for themselves, but for their families, their friends, their loved ones. But it's also an opportunity for me, as a white Huddersfield-born lass, to learn about other communities – what they went through, y'know, when they were coming here, whether that was themselves or as a family, and the struggles that they had.
03:25-04:02	Milton Brown [Windrush Project Lead]	I think for me, the experience was huge, and also a privileged one. To talk to my elders, for them to fill in the gaps, it was a massive emotional journey of what they experienced when they came here, to then how it interconnected to my journey when I was born in 1961. It just seems

		seamless, this whole journey's been a perennial struggle of navigating race and identity. So for me, it was an emotional journey, but one that I relished, and one that I'm very grateful for.
04:02-04:29	Niki Matthews [Project Volunteer – Administration/Evaluation]	And I think a project like this is so important because you no longer feel outside that community; you feel that that community's brought you in, and they've welcomed you with open arms, and likewise, I feel that I have done with them, y'know. I've wanted to hear their stories, I've wanted to learn from their experiences, I've wanted to share in their heartbreak and celebrate with them, and projects like this enable you to do so.
04:29-05:01	Khatija Lunat [Project Volunteer – Interviewing and Research]	I really, really enjoyed – and that is one of my highlights of this project – going to interviews, and having that honour of listening to individual stories, and having listened to heartfelt stories of what their parents or themselves, the experiences they went through, and the turmoil of receiving a letter from the Home Office saying, 'You don't belong here, you need to go home' – when they've been living and working here for, twenty, thirty years.
05:01-05:23	Nabila Waseem [Project Volunteer – Interviewing and Research]	I've learnt so much. I mean, I didn't really know much about African Caribbean culture, and about their traditions – all I knew was that they have a carnival once a year, and that is it. I've learnt so much with being part of this, so yeah, I just think it opens your eyes, and it gives you a wider perspective of what goes on within the community that you live in!
05:23-05:28	[titles]	What has the project done for the local African Caribbean community?
05:28-05:54	Milton Brown [Windrush Project Lead]	What we are hoping for is the more people who see this documentary, will begin to understand what it means to be an African Caribbean descendant living in Huddersfield, and [that] their stories have been told. And I'm hoping that it will be an inspiration to say, right, now we know what's happened, let's crack on, *move* on, and make the best of the situation.
05:54-06:08	Khatija Lunat [Project Volunteer – Interviewing and Research]	So I think for the African Caribbean descent community to tell their story, is great because it's giving them a voice – it's handing it back to them; it's providing a platform for them…

06:08-06:18	Heather Norris Nicholson [Project Co-Ordinator – Educational/Historical Research]	I think it has raised the profile of the African Caribbean descent community's significant contribution and legacy within Huddersfield…
06:18-06:38	Khatija Lunat [Project Volunteer – Interviewing and Research]	…and for other communities, I think it's saying, 'Why don't you get your voice out there as well? You lay your mark on this land as well' – because it's not just one community that makes Kirklees great, or England great; it's all of these communities, and they've all got a story to tell, no matter where they're from.
06:38-06:43	[titles]	How has Windrush: The Years After been successful?
06:43-06:58	Heather Norris Nicholson [Project Co-Ordinator – Educational/Historical Research]	I think the real strength of the project, and the real resource base for the project, has been the people, who have been brought together here at *KLTV*. It is *that* group that have made the project happen.
06:58-07:51	Niki Matthews [Project Volunteer – Administration/Evaluation]	For everybody who watches the documentary, for everybody who goes there to Heritage Quays at the University of Huddersfield to view the archival material that's been gathered [by the project] – they see the end product, which is fantastic. However, the work that went into that project, y'know, we clocked up over two and a half thousand volunteer hours. This is from people who, we've got: working mums; people in full-time employment with other companies; everybody had their own family life, work life, but they still wanted to be involved. And for me, that is the biggest thing about the project. It shows the importance of it, and the greatness of it, and the richness of it, because despite everything that was going on in their lives, they wanted to be involved.
07:51-08:15	Heather Norris Nicholson [Project Co-Ordinator – Educational/Historical Research]	There is nothing that is tokenistic about any aspect of this project; it is about real issues, real needs, and if we can get material out there that helps people better understand their own stories, and their own experiences and the experiences of others, that they live alongside but never stop to talk to, then I think we have brought about something quite significant.

> ## *Memorandum of Understanding - January 2018*

Between Kirklees Local Television (KLTV) and Ryan Bramley (representing the University of Sheffield)

This MoU sets out the intents and purposes of a working collaboration between Ryan Bramley, a PhD student researcher from the University of Sheffield, and Kirklees Local Television, an internet-based TV station and local film production company based at Huddersfield.

This collaboration will form the basis of Ryan's forthcoming PhD thesis, which has an expected completion date of September 2020. The fieldwork component of the PhD will see Ryan posted at KLTV on a weekly basis where, in liaison with KLTV, a collaborative project will be co-devised, which works in the interests of KLTV's ongoing work, as well as Ryan's research. To allow twelve months for the final writing up stage of the PhD, the formal fieldwork component is expected to end by September 2019. Ryan nevertheless intends to maintain contact with KLTV in order to preserve and further develop the partnership beyond the fieldwork phase, whilst working to ensure an enduring, mutually beneficial project legacy.

This Memorandum of Understanding intends to clarify the terms of engagement between Ryan and KLTV, therefore upholding the necessary conditions for an ethical and co-productive working partnership to flourish. **Above all, the project's success is dependent on all involved parties coming out of it better off than they were when the project began.**

1. **The underlying principles of the collaboration**
   a. **University-led ethics**
   The ['Sheffield Principles for Best Practice'](#), recently devised by the University of Sheffield, provides an eight-point framework that aims 'to ensure that this kind of activity is ethical, truly collaborative, and in keeping with the notion of Sheffield being an institution 'for the people' of Sheffield' (2018) - although the researcher would extend the University's civic responsibility beyond the scope of Sheffield alone to incorporate, at the very least, communities in North Derbyshire, the rest of South Yorkshire, and West Yorkshire (inc. Huddersfield).

   The Sheffield Principles for Best Practice are as follows:

   I. **Reciprocity.** Ideally, community partners and the University should benefit from the engagement.

II. **Co-production.** Community partners and University should work toco-develop initiatives wherever possible.

III. **Exploring ways to facilitate partner-led approaches**, in which initiatives canrespond to community needs and/or aspirations.

IV. **Sustainability**. The importance of maintaining relationships with community partners, and avoiding instrumentalising them.

V. **Good and timely communication** with partners is important, and shouldideally include feedback about outcomes and the sharing of outputs.

VI. **Appreciation of impact on organisations**. Activities involving external organisations should be planned to avoid repetitious or numerous requests.

VII. **Reputation**. Not leaving 'debris' behind us, and considering the implicationsof new projects on existing/established relationships between the city and the institution.

VIII. **Recognition/Thanks.** Exploring forms of recognition for partners.

b. **Community-led ethics**

i. **KLTV's vision** is to celebrate local and regional successes in business, to influence new talent and help build more cohesive communities. Through our video productions and projects, we seek to inspire individuals and groups and to increase the social and economic outreach of businesses and communities.

ii. **KLTV's mission** and primary goal is to improve communication and transparency between the citizens of our region, their civic representatives and the local business community.

2. <u>**What does Ryan hope to gain from this project?**</u>

a. Ryan is looking to complete a PhD thesis as a result of this collaboration, which hehopes will lead to a successful further career in academia.

b. By working with a thriving social enterprise specialising in community filmmaking,Ryan hopes to benefit from access to a diverse range of high-quality resources (both human and material), which should stimulate an interesting and potentially provocative research project.

c. Expanding on previous undergraduate and postgraduate research, Ryan hopes to develop his expertise with KLTV in the fields of community representation, filmmaking-as-research, and digital storytelling, with a particular interest in communities in the post-industrial north.

d. Furthermore, he hopes that this collaboration with KLTV can encourage further effective collaborations between the University and the wider community, whereby the institution delivers more comprehensively on its civic responsibilities to the world beyond the comfort of its own campus.

e. And finally, Ryan hopes that he can be of some use to a non-profit, community-first organisation that is fighting for a cause he firmly believes in.

3.   What does KLTV hope to gain from this project?

a. KLTV hope to gain a comprehensive strategy to 'hyper localise' communities and to improve communication, engagement and action with community groups, public sector and local businesses.

b. KLTV hope to gain a comprehensive business enterprise strategy with key business stakeholders to work in local communities.

c. KLTV wish to establish a comprehensive strategy of working with local businesses.

d. To raise explicitly the voices of the unseen and unheard. KLTV must bring the issues which disable communities to light by finding solutions using social media.

e. To establish and deliver a Level 3 Community Journalist course.

Signed:

_____ - Representing the University of Sheffield

(Date:)

_____ - Representing Kirklees Local Television (Date:)