DIGITAL STORYTELLING DESIGN LEARNING FROM NON-DIGITAL NARRATIVES: TWO CASE STUDIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Ilda Ladeira
Department of Computer Science, University of Cape Town
ladeira.ilda@gmail.com

Nicola J. Bidwell
Department of Informatics, University of Pretoria
nic.bidwell@gmail.com

Xolile Sigaji
The Federation of Rural Coastal Communities, Transkei
xsigaji@jaymat.co.za

ABSTRACT

Digital tools for User Generated Content (UGC) aim to enable people to interact with media in conversational and creative ways that are independent of technology producers or media organisations. In this article we describe two case studies in South Africa that show that UGC is not simply something tied to technology or the internet but emerges in non-digital storytelling. At the District Six Museum in Cape Town, District Six ex-residents are central collaborators in the narratives presented. Ex-residents tell stories in the museum and can write onto inscriptive exhibits, such as a floor map showing where they used to live, and visitors can write messages on 'memory clothes', which are later preserved through hand embroidery. Such explicit infrastructures to access and protect cultural records are less available to rural inhabitants of the former Transkei. To address this gap local traditional leaders and villagers collaborated with a National Archives Outreach Programme by co-generating a workshop that linked various local priorities, such as representation to government, land rights and ecotourism to natural and cultural heritage. Both studies start to reveal opportunities to design technologies that increase participation in recording and sharing personal and cultural stories. They also show the need to respect values embedded in place-based oral customs, such as the importance of enabling transparency and supporting alternative views on historical events.

Keywords: rural, Eastern Cape, User Generated Content (UGC), oral storytelling, ethnography, museum

INTRODUCTION

Over a billion people now routinely create and share photographs, narratives, videos and other information via web sites; for instance, this year Facebook reached 1.11 billion users and this month more than 1 billion unique users visited YouTube. Use of these technologies is important to self-expression and communication, particularly for people whose interests are not served by other media channels and is rapidly becoming part of cultural heritage (see Giaccardi 2012). Media that is created and shared using technologies, such as the internet, in ways that are independent of technology producers or media organisations is often termed User Generated Content (UGC), and the success of technologies for UGC, such as Web 2.0, derives from rapid technological advances and access to technologies suited to everyday communication practices. There are many initiatives that have harnessed UGC in the interests of people whose ways of doing, saying and knowing radically differ from those involved in the production and deployment of technologies. For example, grass-roots videography, such as the Sacred Land Film Project (Gregory et al. 2005) and Traditional Knowledge Revival Pathway (see Bidwell et al. 2008), has enabled indigenous people to record their knowledge, transfer skills and promote concern for issues that affect their survival. However, for billions of people, particularly in less technologized regions, the machineries enabling UGC are incompatible with their access to digital resources and their communication practices

There is intensified interest in the field of human-computer-interaction (HCI) in designing systems for UGC that are more widely accessible, particularly for communities in highly technologized regions. In July 2008, researchers in HCI and media studies participated in a workshop in Cape Town, sponsored by the Royal Society of Great Britain, which focused the challenges of designing successful UGC systems for the underserved majority. The workshop drew experts from the UK and South Africa interested in effective and appropriate technologies for community-based UGC. Some of the ensuing discussions were based in technology and engineering, but many were steered by the need to consider the practices by which people beyond the West share and engage with narrative content.

In this article we advance the agenda of the Royal Society workshop, in learning from the living traditions of storytelling and information exchange in South Africa to catalyse change and remembrance. We describe two case studies that organise narratives non-digitally. In the first case study, we describe how storytellers and different story media commemorate the former suburb of District Six at the District Six Museum. In the second case study, we describe how local traditional leaders and villagers collaborated with a National Archives outreach programme in a remote, but populous, village in Eastern Cape. From these case studies we draw design criteria that can contribute to the ideals expressed at the Royal Society Workshop about technology-based solutions for storytelling.

THE DISTRICT SIX MUSEUM

The District Six Museum in Cape Town commemorates the former multi-cultural, inner-city suburb of Cape Town, which was declared a 'whites-only' neighbourhood under the apartheid-era Group Areas Act in 1966. Over the subsequent 11 years, the government forced District Six residents to relinquish their properties and relocate to the government-built, racially segregated townships of the Cape Flats, where many still live today. With the exception of several churches and mosques and a handful of houses, the government also demolished most of the buildings. While forced removals occurred throughout South Africa during apartheid, District Six, along with Sophiatown in Gauteng, have become iconic because the process disrupted vibrant and cosmopolitan communities and because the abandoned land remains tangibly empty as most developers refused to build it.

The District Six Museum is housed in a former Methodist church, on the edge of District Six, which used to draw its parishioners from the former suburb. The museum plays a vital role in preserving the story and spirit of District Six and of forced removals throughout South Africa. It is a popular attraction primarily for tourists, but also for local school groups and former District Six residents. The museum is community-based and ex-residents played a central role from the first exhibition that sparked its birth to funding the building of a museum. Today, visitors can experience the narratives of District Six ex-residents through inscriptive exhibits, where they have written their names, thoughts and messages, and through ex-resident storytellers, who work in the museum. Furthermore, ex-residents donated the majority of the artefacts and photos displayed in the museum. According to one of the original curators, Peggy Delport, the museum was not modelled on existing heritage institutions or presentations, but on people's stories. Thus, the approach sought to provide a space where people could express their stories or donate objects of sentimental value and allow the museum to develop organically from these contributions.

We present observations from a three-month ethnographic study conducted at the District Six museum as part of the doctoral research of Ilda Ladeira (Ladeira et al. 2011; Ladeira 2012; Ladeira 2013). The study aimed to observe the practices of two ex-residents, Noor Ebrahim and Joe Schaffers, who work as the museum's resident storytellers. Noor's and Joe's tours do not focus on shepherding visitors around the museum space, but rather on conveying narratives about District Six's history and way of life. Thus, Noor and Joe contextualize visitors' museum experience by conveying their personal memories of District Six. We observed and recorded their tours, and audience reactions to them during three or four visits a week between May and July 2007. Our goal was to gain insight into the phenomenon of oral storytelling within the museum to inform the design of a digital storytelling system. The immediate goal was to preserve District Six narratives for when storytellers like Joe and Noor are no longer available to tell them in person. And, the broader goal was to gain insights into effective preservation of real-life personal storytelling. Over the course of the study, we observed

that, in addition to the voices of Joe and Noor, many other voices were expressed and are presented within the museum through the use of powerful, non-digital UGC.

EX-RESIDENT INVOLVEMENT

Ex-residents' stories and donations were fundamental to the origin and shaping of District Six Museum. As a result the museum is rich in the testimony of those who experienced life in, and forced removal from, District Six; in a layering of many voices; and, in the expression of contested spaces or histories. Visitors are given more than one perspective and space for their own personal interpretation.

The most direct way in which museum visitors experience the voices of District Six ex-residents is through Joe and Noor. Their narratives encompass both personal stories, stories of family and friends and historical facts. Ex-residents have also contributed their voices as sound recordings, which play in various locations in museum and feature stories about topics in everyday life, such as the District Six beauty parlours, childhood and school. There are also recordings of writers reading poems about District Six and of *langarm* music, which was typical of District Six. There are also a vast variety of tangible objects that contain ex-residents' stories, from family photographs to sports trophies, from school blazers and record players to barber shop chairs. Some stories are attached explicitly as text or sound recordings that play near where the objects are displayed, but other stories are more implicit because the objects trigger certain oral narratives from the guides.

The stories of ex-residents are invaluable given the narrative authority and authenticity of narrators who experienced the events first-hand or through close acquaintances. Joe's and Noor's face-to-face oral storytelling also includes interacting with museum visitors, in banter or in answering questions, and can also be subtly adjusted according to Joe's and Noor's perceptions of their audience and the reactions to their stories. Importantly, the presence of ex-residents' voices means the stories visitors hear or read are real and, as Joe explains, it is the memories and experiences of real people that define the museum:

> It's called a museum – I have a problem with that because to me normally a museum is a space where you stare at dead artefacts and they stare back at you. At this stage I'm not a dead artefact yet (some laughter in the audience), so I call, so I call it a space of memory (chuckles). Memory, my memory and memories of people who lived in District six. And this museum also represents what happened throughout the whole of South Africa (Joe Scheffer 12 May 2007).

INSCRIPTIVE MEDIA

Tactile craft is also central to the museum and ex-residents continue to contribute to several displays in which stories are embodied in the making of tangible objects. Ex-residents of District Six and museum staff have hand-embroidered banners depicting

various community organisations, such as churches and sport clubs, and the museum invites visitors to interact with several surfaces that can be written on. Two exhibits allow people to record the specific locations where District Six residents used to live. A placard representing Bloemhof Flats, a large apartment complex in which many people lived, including Joe, has ex-residents' names written in the locations for their flats (Figure 1(a). However, the most obvious surface is a map that covers the main floor of the museum (see Figure 1(b)).

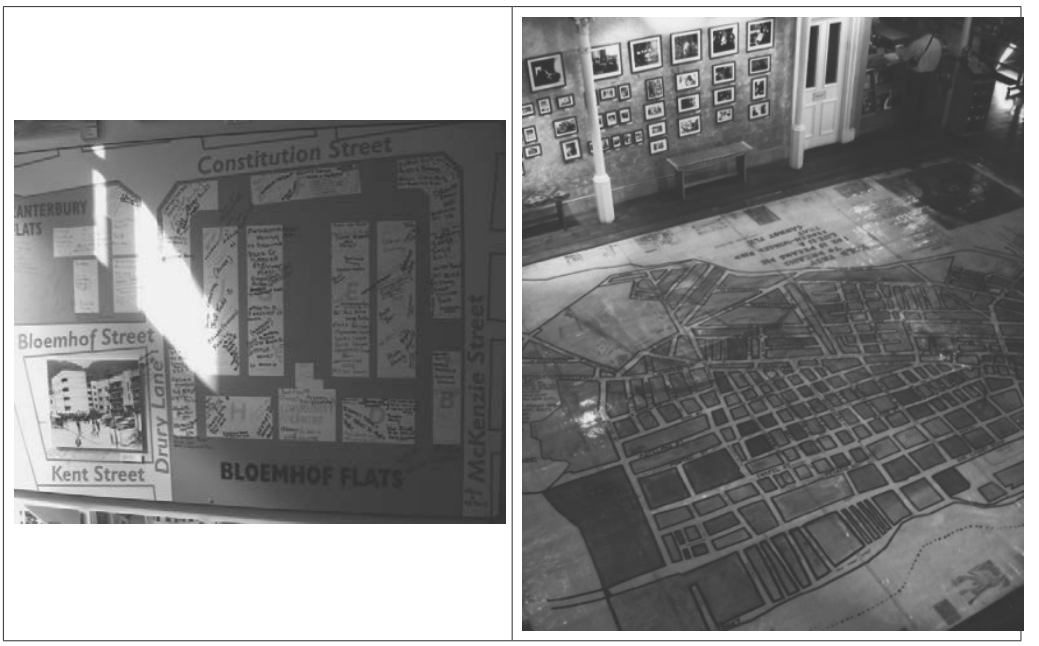


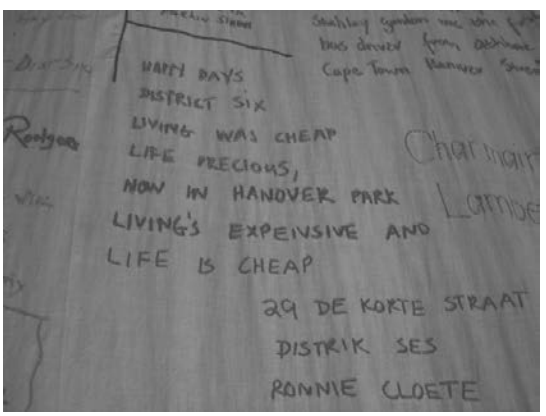
Figure 1: (a) The placard representing Bloemhof Flats and Canterbury Flats, both apartment complexes in District Six. Ex-residents have written their names in the locations where they used to live. (b) The floor map at the District Six Museum depicts an aerial view of the former streets of the suburb. Ex-residents have written on the map in koki to mark the locations where they used to live.

The floor map is a hand-drawn, aerial view of the former streets of District Six on which ex-residents have written their names on locations where they lived. This phenomenon emerged spontaneously when ex-residents started visiting the museum in its early days, as Joe explains:

> [W]hen ex-District Sixers came to view the museum, they saw the map on the floor. Then they asked for pens, then they started writing their names down, as if psychologically wanting to reclaim that space where they used to live before (Joe Scheffer 12 May 2007).

Joe's interpretation tells more than just the story of the map's emergence because it highlights the importance of memory beyond being a map. In lieu of being able to visit the real streets of District Six, the map is a tangible remnant of the former suburb itself. The map is covered in plastic and ex-residents may still contribute their names by writing on the plastic, which are transferred onto the map when the cover is changed. The map also forms part of tours when Noor, and other guides from outside the museum who once lived in District Six, can point to the site of their homes:

Noor:	Ok, now my house
Child:	Over there? *(points to the map)*
Noor:	No. I'm going to show you now, wait [goes down on his Haunches and points on the map]. My house was on the corner of Caledon Street and Rosberg Lane, you see Rosberg Lane?
Child:	Yes.
Another Child:	[reads] Rosberg Lane.
Noor:	Ok you see in red there? [points to his name written on the map]
Child:	Hmm
Noor:	That's my name there. Ok, and this is what people do when they come in, they will write their names where they used to live. That's all the writing on the map (Noor Ebrahim and child, 17 July 2007).



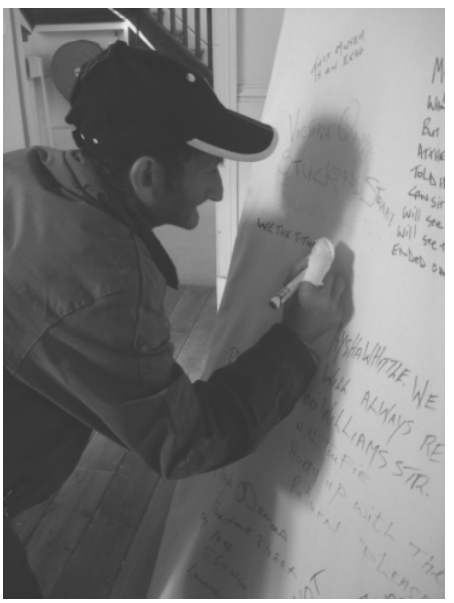


Figure 2: (a) An embroidered quote from the memory cloth on display at the District Six Museum. This 'Happy Days' quote is often pointed out by guides. (b) An ex-resident writing a message on a memory cloth in progress

Visitors, as well as ex-residents, can inscribe one of the museum's inscriptive surfaces, memory cloths (Figure 2). People can write messages, names, thoughts and poems onto white sheets using koki and, later, these are hand embroidered to preserve them. The museum permanently displays the first memory cloth, and guides often point out others (e.g. Figure 2(a)) and there are cloths in progress, one for visitors and one cloth for ex-residents (Figure 2(b)). During our study an ex-resident, Menisha Collins, constantly embroidered cloths in the museum in sight of visitors who could sit and chat with her and hear her stories.

LWANDILE WORKSHOP

Rural people in the Wild Coast of the Eastern Cape (former Transkei) have far less access to and ways to protect recorded documents, than the infrastructure created by the District Six community. However, the combined energies of local traditional leaders and activists in one village and Outreach professionals from the National Archives and Records Office initiated new opportunities for heritage recording. Here we discuss the context and impact of collaboration between Khonjwayo people and the National Archives Outreach Programme in co-generating a workshop in the Wild Coast on 'the importance of preserving our land resources and heritage'. In describing this achievement, we first indicate aspects related to the area's remoteness and then outline how the workshop emerged and unfolded.

The Khonjwayo of Lwandile

The workshop aimed to serve the people of Lwandile, a village in the centre of three administrative areas Mankosi, Hlueka and Ndungunyeni, encompassing about 100km^2 in the coastal zone of Ngqeleni. The area was settled at least eight generations ago by the Khonjwayo, one of six chiefdoms descending from the monarchy of a distinct Xhosa tribal cluster. The Kingdom of Western Pondoland has 51 clans of royal descent but chiefdoms are territorial, so while the Khonjwayo in Ndungunyeni share many kin, their ancestry also includes indigenous Khoi-Khoi and San, shipwrecked Europeans and exiles of the Apartheid era. The population of the three administrative areas exceeds 50 000 isiXhosa-speaking people who, like 36% of South Africa's population, are governed by a Tribal Authority. Lwandile is the home of Hlathinkhulu Sithelo, the senior headman in the area, who inherited his role patrilineally. Headmen are paid a small government stipend for their administration duties but tribal authorities are separate from other political bodies.

Due to earlier resistance to colonists, famine, invasion, neglect by successive regimes, and remoteness, practices in the Wild Coast preserve traditions in habitation and communal land use. People live in patrilineal kinship groups in homesteads distributed across hilly terrain and interconnected by paths to communal pasture, forest, taps and dams where they collect water, fire-wood and grasses, graze animals, tend plots

and make mud bricks. Homesteads comprise clusters of thatched, mud-brick rondavels, an occasional tin-roofed 2-room dwelling, a garden for subsistence crops, and fenced kraals for livestock, although few people now own cattle, but most own goat, sheep, pigs, donkeys or chickens.

Up to six adults and eight children can live in each homestead and they are acutely economically poor; with household income often around less than R1 000 (about US$100), which is about a tenth of the national, median monthly income for a working white man. About 50% of households rely on remittances from family members who have migrated, usually temporally, to a city or a mine for work purposes; indeed, 40% of the Sithelo clan reside in cities. Except at Christmas and Easter, when migrants return home, half of Lwandile's population is under 15 years and women, pensioners and sometimes teenagers head households. Circular labour migration mostly for mining has occurred in Lwandile for a century but these days the population distribution is also severely affected by mortality associated with HIV. Inhabitants are fairly isolated from modern amenities. Very few people own a car and there are few taxis and only one bus a day, which can take four hours on barely graded roads to reach the large town of Mthatha, 40km away. People do not have domestic water supplies or grid electricity; so, solar power serves the clinic and, until the battery was stolen, it served the school as well. The built infrastructure reflects the headman's influence. Ten years ago he built a large church just behind his homesteads and after some canvassing, the municipality cleared a very rocky, ungraded road, to his home along which the clinic was built.

Developing the Workshop

The workshop emerged in our research collaboration with Thulani, Hlathinkhulu Sithelo's eldest son, when we (Nic Bidwell) resided in Lwandile for four months in 2008. Our research aimed to develop, with local inhabitants, opportunities for them to interact with ICT in ways that are compatible with, and might improve, their life-style. We drew on ethnography, to discover cultural realities in data generated about events that arose in interacting with the setting, and phenomenology by living and situating technology interactions within local constraints. All of that by only using local transport and a small solar-generated electricity supply to charge computers. Residing in the headman's homestead was pragmatic as much as epistemologically valid. H. Sithelo's is affectionately respected locally and this afforded social access and security that might, otherwise, have been unachievable to Nic, an Australian 'outsider' and the only white person locally. Unlike classic ethnography, which accesses multiple situated perspectives, qualitatively, without targeted intervention, we were committed to 'doing something' to achieve collaborators' priorities. Our approach was similar to participatory action research but shorter term and situated the 'something' done in customary power relations and consensus-based practice.

In exploring possibilities for technology to support inhabitants, Thulani, the headman's eldest son, explained two issues that were important to the subsequent

emergence of the workshop. Firstly, to advance social development projects, Thulani sought to mobilise activists associated with a Community Trust associated with the three nearest administrative areas. Secondly, Thulani felt that a reason for apathy in the established Community Trust was that the Headmen and villagers in these areas felt disempowered and were 'crying for dignity' in relation to the chieftainship. Thulani said that five generations ago ancestors of the incumbent chief gained the chieftainship when the British deposed his great-great-great-grandfather and that he sought to recover to lodge the Sithelo's claim for Khonjwayo Chieftainship with the monarchy.

In response to Thulani's aspiration to reclaim his family's right to the chieftainship, we started to explore resources for evidence to support his claim and discussed how the internet might help him research ancestry. We emailed a contact at the National Archives and Records Office, Matome Mohlalowa, whom we had met at a conference in Cape Town in February 2008. Matome replied with advice on finding records and tracing family history; accessing assistance to trace records electronically, using the National Archives Information Retrieval System; and details about provincial archives at Queenstown and Mthatha (Matome Mohlalowa 28 February 2008). He also explained his department's new outreach programme to promote awareness and assist people, especially in rural areas, who do not have easy access to the archives, 'taking Archives to the People'. We followed Matome's advice on tracing records by visiting the Mthatha municipal archives and combined this with research at the archives in the Palace at Limbode.

Along with our enquiries regarding family history records, Thulani also mobilised four local activists, associated with the Community Trust. They decided to plan and form an independent non-profit organisation, the Federation of Rural Coastal Communities (FRCC), to co-ordinate sustainable social upliftment projects. The FRCC aimed to represent the coastal communities and comprised Thulani, as chair, Xolile from Mankosi, as secretary, Bongile from Hluka, as treasurer, and Mfundiso, the elder son of Mamolweni's headman. Bongile and Mfundiso are high school teachers and Xolile was the Chairperson of another grass-roots development organisation and had considerable experience in community activism (e.g. in HIV awareness campaigns). The group met several times in Lwandile's Great Place to establish a shared agenda for change and some initial foci for activities, before we raised the possibility of collaborating with the National Archives and Records Office's Outreach Programme.

The newly formed FRCC was very enthusiastic to host an Outreach Team from the National Archives and Records Office. They said an event in Lwandile would be a rare opportunity to link cultural and natural heritage, development, oral traditions and also provide local access to important information. For the FRCC, such collaboration offered benefits to both young and old inhabitants, supported local cohesion and was a unique way to launch their non-profit initiatives. Thus, they formally requested the programme from the Outreach Team and started to plan ways to embed their programme in a workshop on preserving cultural and natural heritage through archives, conservation

and development. This involved meetings, communicating with municipal authorities and fundraising. Matome and Xolile worked closely via email while the rest of the FRCC arranged a venue and raised funds to pay for fuel for the generator and transport for the people distributed across the hills. While invited to influence the programme Nic withheld comments, other than in support, so that it articulated the FRCC's aspirations.

The Workshop

The Lwandile workshop was called 'Land Restitution, Our History, Our Heritage' and took place over four days in early July 2008. It linked natural and cultural heritage to a range of local contemporary priorities, including representation to government, land rights, and eco-tourism, and was structured around seven presentations. The National Archives and Records Services explained the role of archiving records and the role and process of preservation; The provincial departments of Land Affairs and Environment, respectively, explained cultural heritage and land legislation; the Provincial House of Traditional Leaders explained the role of traditional leaders in cultural history preservation and an emissary of Chief Gwadiso spoke on the local history of the Khonjwayo; and the ward councillor reinforced the importance of workshop initiatives in building community.

Most presentations were delivered in isiXhosa but some were in English with simultaneous Xhosa translation. Presentations were interspersed with prolonged debate on archiving, local history, natural resource management, sustainable development and legislation on collectively owned land. Sessions also included exercises in groups and critique when the community also suggested future events, and a film, *Sarafina*. All presenters were very rousing and enthused and engaged the audience. For example, Francis, part of the outreach team from the National Archives and Records Office, reminded the audience that 'the beautiful history that we have' needs to be carefully preserved, as 'no-one is going to take your culture away, except yourself. No-one will know your history if you are not protecting, if you are not keeping recording.' He illustrated how keeping and preserving records can protect territory and legacy, 'This is your land … here is your title and here is your land and heritage' and the importance of records as land legislation changes. However, as the speaker from Environmental Affairs said: 'you are very rich, the problem is you don't know where are those documents that proves and says you are rich'.

Initially we set up the workshop in a large tent (marquee) in the high school grounds but relocated to school classrooms when the weather worsened. Most of the seventy participants were females (41%) or males (17%) who were under thirty years (Table 1). There were almost even numbers of men and women over thirty years but many of the older women prepared dinner rather than attended sessions. People participated in different ways, for example, men and boys tended to ask more questions and make short speeches while the women and girls tended to take notes in their exercise books.

Table 1: Audience Attendance Summary at Lwandile Workshop

Day	Session	Older men	Young men & boys	Older women	Young women & girls	Total
Tuesday	Archives (Matome)					0
	Department of the Environment	10	12	3	29	4
Wednesday	Department of Land Affairs	6	3	0	26	5
	House of Traditional Leaders					0
	Workshop Commissions					7
Thursday	National Archives (Francis)	9	6	9	26	4
	Conclusion by Councillor & Feedback session					0

Our observations suggest presenters and attendees unanimously enjoyed the workshop and in the concluding session there were many positive remarks suggesting a range of ways it empowered the community. For example one speaker said: 'I am very happy to be able to have work with people who want to know more, people who are very, very eager to learn more, very eager to do it with whatever they have.' The impact of the Workshop went far further than simple information dissemination, it inspired pride, as captured in one remark: 'It's nice to see talking about what it means to be African – that what we have, it's our identity.' Importantly, it helped this remote community feel it had some power to address its challenges, to access important information and use this information effectively, as one speaker said: 'Knock at our door.' Comments made by the National Archives outreach team, such as 'Let me tell you, if you have no history, you are not proud of your culture you are nothing,' resonated deeply with both young and old attendees. For example, in the many votes of thanks at the end of the workshop a community member said: 'We thank you about the Workshop we are learning a lot. We see the good will. We say thank you to the speechmakers .... So we have to pull up our socks now.'

WHAT DOES THIS TELL UGC DESIGNERS?

Digital tools for UGC aim to enable ordinary people to interact with media in conversational and creative ways. However, our case studies show that UGC is not

simply something tied to technology or the internet but emerges in non-digital storytelling. Thus, designers interested in UGC systems for the underserved majority and that challenge the hegemony of univocal stories (Starr 1999) can draw on insights gained in such studies to situate technology design in non-digital experience.

The use of accessible 'technologies'

As we explained, the District Six museum involves ex-residents and facilitates this by providing easy and accessible ways for people to shape content. People can donate objects and photographs and simply tell their stories out loud, either for recording or to audiences in the museum itself. They can also contribute by writing on inscriptive surfaces, such as the floor map and memory cloths. These features highlight the usefulness of modes that convey material in everyday ways of talking and writing, rather than via unfamiliar digital solutions. The memory cloths also provide a metaphor for preserving content: ex-residents and visitors can write messages on the cloth in koki without limits on the amount they write or by undertaking the more time consuming process of permanently preserving them in embroidery. Technology design can learn from this – ensure contributing content is as simple and 'natural' as possible and perform any complex preservation processes post hoc. Applying this in response to issues of preservation, raised in the Lwandile Workshop, people need to interact with archived content in the same way as they would with ordinary documents, be they newspaper clippings or photographs, while safely preserving the original document.

Supporting alternative views on historical events or contested spaces

The inscriptive surfaces at the District Six Museum, according to Delport, are aimed to provide a framework for interpretation: we can read various interpretations of District Six's history and record our own interpretation. This layering of different, sometimes conflicting, voices permits the expression of disagreement and contradictory perspectives. Analogously, a technology-based UGC should avoid hegemonic standpoints by recordings of many voices and permitting users to access many standpoints and choose the content they consume. This is more likely to yield authentic representations of contested histories and places so consumers can establish their own interpretations. However, we must bear in mind that some filtering and selection of material take place in the District Six Museum. Curators and experts select the items and narratives to display at the museum or to store; and, in doing so, they must account for a balanced representation, current and potential storage space, and careful management of material so that all contributions will be sustained.

In Lwandile we learnt that Headmen decide about collectively owned resources after prolonged, debate across multiple perspectives, which unifies inhabitants and supports consensus-based, and not overtly coercive, decision-making. Leaders pursue

unanimity but not democracy, which some blame for social dysfunction. Traditionally leaders deferred to the general opinion of a court of councillors and today this dictum means mobilising the experience and expertise of others. Such a communication protocol was a striking feature of the Lwandile workshop. All speakers had different perspectives and some of the views expressed conflicted with those held by the FRCC; but the FRCC aimed to achieve complete transparency and many villagers afterwards mentioned the importance of this. For instance, the stories of the Chieftainship, told by the emissary of Chief Gwadiso and Thulani, differed significantly, but the FRCC ensured that the Chief's emissary had over two hours without interruption to recount the alternative version. The villagers listened carefully and politely asked questions. Similarly, different political views were respected, given space and treated with equal hospitality.

The workshop was more holistically integrated than might be expected in events structured by the dominant onto-epistemology in the West. It served various interests: Thulani's, Xolile's, teachers', creating a sense of community and linking culture and 'natural' heritage in a way that was relevant to the location. Western categorisations tend to focus on only certain aspects, such as 'environmental protection', and thus reproduce certain interpretations and subdue alternatives. In other words such taxonomies and 'information management' are forms of control. Thus, we learn that traditional communication forms and prolonged discussions around themes that might seem diverse to an outsider can empower people.

In engaging with members of Lwandile's and District Six' communities we realised that it is important neither to romanticise 'community' nor forget historical and current interactions with Western systems. South African communities have been shaped by a myriad perspectives, such as the African Renaissance, the house of traditional leaders, cultural revisionism, adjustment to post-apartheid and a need to tell stories previously silenced. In our work in Lwandile we learnt about some of the ways the community leverages the voices of its traditional leaders, and the opportunities for traditional and democratic systems to work together to challenge the hegemony of univocal opinions and stories.

ONGOING VALUE OF LOCAL COMMUNICATION PRACTICES TO DIGITAL DESIGN

Academics who undertake ethnography to gain insight into potential users of technologies and their settings are often, rightly, accused that their research brings little benefit to those who participate in it. We hope that in the five years since our observations at District Six Museum and Lwandile our research has bought some local benefits. Here we designed, developed and deployed an interactive display that enables visitors to listen to Noor's and Joe's most popular stories and ask questions of avatars representing them (see Ladeira 2013). With this we intend to preserve Noor's and Joe's voices and stories for posterity. Our insights in Lwandile (Bidwell 2009) informed the

design of a mobile digital storytelling application, that we evaluated in Eastern Cape and Kenya (Bidwell et al. 2010; Reitmaier et al. 2011) and we understand has since been used in participatory story initiatives in Kenya and Somalia. The relative, albeit small-scale, success of the mobile digital storytelling application in turn informed a design study in Ngqeleni between 2010 and 2012 that resulted in software to support what inhabitants used to record community meetings (Bidwell and Siya 2013). Meanwhile, one young Lwandile resident who volunteered to translate between Xhosa and English at the workshop when she was just 19, is now completing her master's degree at Rhodes University in the intersection of linguistics, stories and new media after which she will begin an internship in her home area that supports social enterprise through technology.

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