AMATEUR FILM AND THE RESEARCHER: ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVES OF AUSTRALIAN SOLDIERS IN VIETNAM

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Amateur films, home movies, home videos – whatever they might be called – have been described as providing authentic, alternative, and personalised views of life, on subjects ranging from simple family rituals to cataclysmic events such as natural disasters and war. The importance of these records as resources for historical and social research is increasingly being acknowledged by the academic community, as well as by commercial program makers who have long been aware of their potential. This paper focuses on one collection, the amateur films shot by Australian troops during their deployment in Vietnam. These films present a view of the Vietnam War distinctly different to the perspective offered by official records and other sources of information, and they offer an insight into the soldiers' own perspective which is not necessarily available elsewhere. As such, they represent a significant research resource in their own right, providing rich primary material for a wide range of researcher activities.

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INTRODUCTION

Amateur film, home movies, or home videos are increasingly being used in the production of high-rating documentaries, adding an often poignant and personal touch to an otherwise glossy production. These amateur recordings of trivial or shattering events provide another resource from which the documentary maker, and the historian more broadly, may draw in order

to help explain events and in particular, emotional reactions to them. Yet the place of moving image as a potentially valid research resource has been given limited attention in the academic world. Few academic papers refer to or make use of moving image sources and most university research libraries have limited holdings of material for purposes other than entertainment. Pymm reports on a survey conducted by the National Film and Sound Archive in Australia, in regard to which very few university libraries responded to a call to report significant audio-visual collections, and in his own research concluded that "universities appear to have played a very small part in building and maintaining collections of broadcast television material"[1].

However, researchers have been actively concerned with the media itself, tracking its history, development, and impact across a range of social and cultural issues. A resource such as the Australian Media History Database (http://www.amhd.org.au/) testifies to the range and diversity of activity within academia, providing information and links to resources and research dealing with the popular media in general and in particular with the moving image media of film and television. This flourishing interest in the nature and role of film and television is, however, not necessarily reflected in its use as a resource to provide insight into more traditional research areas.

As far back as 1955, Sir Arthur Elton, a documentary film maker, was calling for greater recognition of the value of film as a resource for the historian[2]. Smith went on to make the point that while historians are interested in history, and not in a specific media per se, to include film as something more than an incidental resource to inform historical research and teaching adds a valuable source of evidence to the materials traditionally used. He rather optimistically noted that there was a change in attitudes occurring and his book, a collection of essays, was intended to support and publicise this change by providing evidence of "film's relevance to serious historical study"[3]. Whether this view has been widely accepted by historians, and others, is debatable and unclear. With Australian academic libraries reporting none, or limited holdings of film and television resources available to researchers, those seeking to access relevant material would encounter difficulties and need to rely upon a small number of state and national institutions, as well as commercial resources and private collections.

This paper will consider the place of amateur film (or home movies, a term used interchangeably here) and video as another resource available to researchers, examining claims that it provides an additional perspective by using a case study of soldier films from Vietnam held in the Australian War Memorial's collections.

AMATEUR FILM AND VIDEO

Amateur productions, created for non-commercial purposes and usually with little or no editing, are seen as providing an often poignant or provocative insight into the past to which audiences can readily relate. Such movies are rarely edited or polished, unlike their commercial counterparts, but are seen and created as raw, natural recordings of people and events that can inform in a manner quite

different to any other media. Their appeal to audiences on a personal basis is the link they can make with one's own past, a purpose nicely described by Becker:

> Kids in those films are often playing with the same toys I had, or their moms and dads had similar haircuts, beards, cars and clothes. Preserving other people's home movies is a way of ensuring that the past I remember – but have no personal record of – survives into the future[4].

Archivists and researchers across a range of disciplines have come to appreciate amateur film as a genre worthy of study and its products as worthy of investigation. The celebration since 2002 of Home Movie Day, established by the Association of Moving Image Archivists (AMIA) and now run through a specialist organisation, the Center for Home Movies (http://www.centerforhomemovies.org/), testifies to the growing place they play in the consciousness of those responsible for the preservation of the moving image culture. It also suggests their resonance with the public at large. Possibly one of the most famous and well known pieces of film footage in the world, showing the motorcade and assassination of President Kennedy, was the 26 seconds of amateur footage shot by Abraham Zapruder. The footage still excites controversy and discussion over 40 years later (see for instance http://mcadams.posc.mu.edu/organ2.htm).

A number of authors have articulated reasons for the relevance and significance of amateur footage in general terms and in particular when it comes to documenting soldiers' experiences of war. Forgacs[5] emphasised that "Even the best...feature film or newsreel cannot compete with the latent authority of the home movie", noting that this advantage arises because the amateur filmmaker films what is before him, without fear of or favour to a higher power such as an editor or producer. Horak suggests that amateur movies " ...articulate an alternative history – in contrast to the official government histories of the newsreels...focusing on marginalised societies, persons & events... they refrain from manipulating history and film, allowing people to speak for themselves." He reiterates and emphasises the point, noting that the amateur film, being unfettered by restraints of the mass media and a perceived audience, allows for considerable freedom of expression which "can open up suppressed and politically undesirable discourses"[6].

Views such as these confirm the value of amateur movies as a valuable resource, a value hinged to the perception that they offer an honest or authentic insight into the world from which they came, in a way that 'produced' and mediated documentaries, newsreels, or news broadcasts of the time can not. Pemberton reinforces this point, noting that newsreels were, for the most part, heavily censored by their production companies where the conservative views of senior executives "doubtless had their impact on the journalists and on the news...there was an underlying ethos that stories conforming to the government's views were more welcome than ones casting doubt upon them."[7]

Others see amateur film as offering opportunities to view 'history from below' with Zimmerman noting that the new social history movement has shifted historical inquiry from the top (government, and official documents) to below; that is, the

experiences of everyday people[8]. This 'history from below' raises questions about the nature of evidence and methodology as presented by mainstream media such as newsreels, documentary and cinema, making the amateur film particularly appealing for those historians interested in the experience of 'ordinary people'.

In a comment specifically regarding war time amateur movies, film historian Robert Rosen has observed that when the footage is shot by participants, it serves to personalise and authenticate the images[9] and points out that this 'personal record', often being an "accumulation of bland details which show the texture of daily life" serves to balance the authorised version of events as exemplified by official sources, such as army public affairs films[10]. The well known *Second World War in Colour* television series[11], researched by Adrian Wood, drew on extensive home movie footage to create a popular and best selling television documentary series. In an interview with the series' producer, Stuart Binns describes the personal quality of the amateur film – its freshness – and the range of film makers – from middle-class British woman Rosie Newman, a prolific film maker, to German soldier Hertz Reiger who somehow managed to film action in Russia to Australian Prime Minister Sir Robert Menzies. All had their unique take on the war, providing a rich primary resource illustrating the "raw emotional experiences of those who had to fight or endure it"[12].

Given this level of support from film makers and, gradually, from academics, for referencing amateur movies and the interest of the public more broadly in seeing things through the eyes of 'ordinary' people, collections of home movies and videos are increasingly being seen as valuable resources with a lot to offer. One such collection, and the focus of this paper, is that held by the Australian War Memorial.

AMATEUR FILM FROM THE VIETNAM WAR AT THE AUSTRALIAN WAR MEMORIAL

In pursuing its purpose to commemorate the sacrifice of men and women who have died in war, the Australian War Memorial (the Memorial) in Canberra has in its collections significant holdings of audiovisual materials relating to the Australian experience of war, including over 5000 film and video titles. These include newsreels, Defence Public Relations films, the work of official cinematographers (commissioned by the Australian government), and amateur films. Of these amateur films, about 100 were shot in Vietnam by Australian soldiers during their tours of duty. This sub-collection forms the focus of this paper, which aims to reinforce the proposition that these personal recollections of soldiers recorded on film, despite being for the most part unsanctioned, unscripted, 'rough-and-tumble' amateur footage, can be used to add value and a different perspective in describing and explaining events in Vietnam. In comparing amateur and professional films from the period, it may be possible to reveal new information and reward the researcher in ways that are surprising, confronting, and even comical.

The Memorial's Vietnam soldier films are amateur films; it might be a misnomer to refer to them as home movies, since the typical soldier cameraman was far from home. For this reason they are referred to as 'soldier films' throughout.

Almost 60,000 Australians served in Vietnam. Some were overseas for the first time, and, unsurprisingly, many just wanted to come home as soon as possible. The seemingly contrary, frictional desires experienced by Australians on tour – for sightseeing, and for returning home – are well represented in the soldier films. The majority of this sub-collection is silent film, shot on 8mm colour film stock. It was shot by a man in the army or airforce. There are few films by navy personnel and only four shot by women. This latter fact is probably reflective of the comparatively small number of women in Vietnam, most of whom were nurses. For navy personnel, the paucity of films is harder to explain, although they may have had less opportunity or interest in filming ship board experiences.

Typically, the soldier cameraman was not an officer; no more than a quarter of films in the collection were shot by officers, despite the fact that there were no regulations against filming in operational areas. It is also worth considering that for many of the 'other ranks', this deployment would have been their first trip overseas, inclining them to indulge in a style of 'holiday- like' behaviour as is typically induced and intensified by filmmaking. Their films were sent to Australia for developing and, in some cases, underwent some post-production work (for example, editing and titling) after their owners came home. The soldier cameraman may or may not have had an aptitude for filmmaking, so the Memorial's collection varies from the technically accomplished short film complete with intertitles, to a vertigo-inducing grab-bag of wild shots.

At the Memorial, it is usually the soldier cameraman who donates the film, and who is therefore in a good position to provide shot lists (the sequence of scenes) for the films. It is from these lists that curators create the catalogue summary. Additional access points, including thesaurus terms, location, and date, are also added to the catalogue entry. The company and battalion of the cameraman are noted in the title, as well as the descriptive summary. Emphasis is given to the identification of participants by name and rank, the locations in which the film was shot, the model and type of the equipment featured, and the military procedures being followed.

Gathering this information is naturally a priority for the Memorial; one of the reasons soldier films are collected is to demonstrate, from a military point of view, the actions of Australian defence personnel in Vietnam. The purely military historical aspect alone makes them valuable to military historians; they are, to the knowledgeable observer, a treasure trove of military hardware, weaponry, transports, dates, names, and places. Is that a M2A2 Howitzer or the L5? Knowing what is what can help place a location, or demonstrate the conditions under which a company worked, all of which data help tell the story of Australia's participation in the War.

The Memorial has the expertise necessary to identify specific details but it is usually only the cameraman who is capable of putting names to faces and in some instances to the location. In-house resources are limited for in-depth

research and the donor's participation is significantly relied upon. Where it is unavailable, there may be no summary for that film, and it will be harder for staff to obtain detailed descriptions of the footage as the veterans age and pass away. For this reason alone, their participation is important and preference may be given to acquisition of films where the donor has provided a shot list or narrative soundtrack.

THE SOLDIER FILMS

Amateur filmmakers commonly perceive the archival potential in their films only after some years have passed, so the Memorial continues to see a steady stream of donations; veterans or their families bring films in at a rate of about five to ten a year. The fact that films are catalogued some years after their creation means there is a distance between the donor and the events captured, and there arises the potential for error or confusion in describing the footage. De Klerk commented on this, making the point that "Once home movies become separated from their original settings, they undergo changes in coherence and meaning. Knowledge of locations, dates events and/or wider contexts has sometimes all but disappeared" [13].

And yet, for both veterans and non-veterans, identification with the Vietnam War occurs through official and personal recollection of dates, places and people via published histories and media, service and personal records. Our donor-veterans, unlike the average home movie donor, have the benefit of these official and personal documents, to say nothing of shared memories with fellow veterans, to assist in their recall of events.

Therefore, when donors are asked to provide shot listings for their films, their emphasis is on names, ranks, serial numbers, equipment, functions, and locations, at the expense, perhaps, of personal or emotive commentary. As a result, there are many instances where interesting scenarios captured by the filmmaker are overlooked. These 'narrative gaps' offer the researcher considerable possibilities to explore.

A brief extract from one such film's summary helps demonstrates this point:

> Tow tractor for aircraft driven by 222732 LAC Peter Beath. In the passenger seat is 44282 LAC Ian Cawse. Revetment for aircraft protection showing Iroquois A2-769. Chinook helicopters also operated from Vung Tau..damaged aircraft on tarmac adjacent to hangar...View of cockpit, very dark. The pilot was 212791 Rex Robert Budd.
>
> -*9 Squadron RAAF South Vietnam* (1968) (AWM Accession number F010881)

The full summary is actually a very comprehensive description of the film in question, and is an excellent example of the degree of information considered desirable for a film summary. Without the donor's description, a film's research potential is likely to be diminished. And it is actually Memorial practice to add

rank and serial number, where it is lacking. But what this summary doesn't tell you is that the tow tractor is being driven by the filmmaker himself; he and his larrikin friend are grinning like loons, testing the upper speed limits of their tractor by joy-riding it all over the airfield. The excursion culminates in a shot of their smiling faces, filling the frame.

The overall impression of the film and its summary is that these men are there with a job to do, but this short segment, which is not described in the catalogue, suggests that actually, there is time in the day to make the best of things – time to seize a moment and run with it – and that life, even in the RAAF, in Vietnam, during a ferocious war, could be fun.

The amateur film collection is full of such incidents where scenes not described in the catalogue suddenly appear like surreal insertions, most particularly when the soldier cameraman is on his R&R. There are several possible reasons for this. The donor may feel that the Memorial is only interested in technical details. Another is that the donor, older and wiser, has little interest in or may even lack recall of these seemingly trivial moments, sometimes shot impulsively, carelessly, even drunkenly. For them, the scenes of mates skylarking by the HQ barbecue are reminiscent of a family photo album, of little interest to any outsider. It may not have occurred to see them as fascinating, yet sometimes these quirky vignettes that can throw a quite different perspective on a particular situation or event. It is, therefore, the responsibility of the Memorial to encourage these amateur filmmakers to include their personal stories and quirky memories as they relate to the films to enrich and add value to the visual record.

In a sense, the innate worth of these films can be almost hidden, even from their creators, and there is a need for an empathic and questioning approach when acquiring such material. In addition, the films should be examined in relation to their owners but also at a step removed, both to allow the hidden moments to come forward, and to allow the films to 'breathe' independently of the official versions of the Vietnam War.

VIEWING THE SOLDIER FILMS

The late cinematographer Neil Davis, famous for his uncompromising and fearless reportage of the Vietnam War, saw his work "drastically" cut down by Australian editors. His work could be constrained in the field too, by conditions such as having to be responsible for the safety of his sound man. In any case, Davis' focus was the frontline, whereas most soldier films offer a 'behind the scenes' view of soldier life.

The Memorial holds two films which illustrate well the truth of this observation. Both films capture the same event – a patrol, which results in the capture of several Viet Cong soldiers – but one is filmed by a Mike Coleridge, a member of the Army's Public Relations section (*F03848 6 RAR in Vietnam action DPR/TV/571*), while the other was shot by Lt. Jurgen Raasch, amateur filmmaker, who, as a member of the 6th Battalion C Company, helps accomplish the very ambush that Coleridge has set out to depict (*F00296 1 Field Regiment RAA South*

Vietnam 1966-1967). Watching the two films side by side illustrates the differences and similarities of the productions. In a nice twist, the PR man appears in Raasch's film and vice versa.

The Soldier and the PR man have a similar aim in mind. Both set up a narrative sequence of events, with scenes of the Company's departure from base, their airborne trip to, and arrival at, the patrol area. The viewer is first struck by the luminous colour of the amateur film, which seems to place the PR film at a disadvantage; black and white has a 'dating' effect while the colour film is engaging and life-like. The second thing one notes is that Raasch's film shows that two convoys of helicopters land and take off, removing troops to the patrol area; Coleridge's film shows the take off of only one. This is characteristic of the tighter narrative style required by the Public Relations agenda, for Coleridge's piece has been carefully edited with much use of close ups. This deliberately focuses the viewer's attention and builds interest, a clear demonstration that the film is intended for public broadcast, while Raasch, actually a member of the company in action, maintains a position which is, in general, a step back from the action. The soldiers' footage is a more generously encompassing view, taking in scenes which would have detracted from Coleridge's media driven agenda. For example, Raasch has filmed his comrades casually taking a meal prior to the ambush. Also, while the operation is in process, Raasch incidentally films another of his company who demonstrates a seemingly characteristically Australian attitude, that "there's always time for a smoke". Although the fellow in question is not upwind of the ambush, its still surprising to see a member of a 'Search and Destroy' mission indulging in apparently relaxed behaviour.

Despite these differences in shots and agenda, the two films are surprisingly similar. Raasch maintains a steady hand and misses none of the action. Perhaps the most defining difference between them is what we don't see or precisely know: the intended audience. Coleridge's film is intended for prime time viewing, to be accompanied by a bouncy, positive narrative which tells the folks at home that everything is going pretty well up in Vietnam, because our boys are capturing VC and have it all in hand. For the PR man, the VC capture is the story. For the soldier, the capture of the VC is significant in its own right, as demonstrated by the hand-made intertitle which precedes the ambush sequence. Yet it is just a part of the larger story of his deployment and his life at that time. The sequence is part of a compilation which Raasch has gone to the trouble of editing after his return home. It commences with an introductory intertitle and shots of signs and maps showing the location of his deployment. Each change of scene is prefaced with a descriptive intertitle, and the narrative sequence concludes with scenes of his homecoming.

In comparing the two films, we see that footage in the amateur film category is not *always* amateurish. We also see that participants in an event, as opposed to those paid to document the event, literally take a different view of events, a view that is not necessarily sanctioned by the authorities attempting to control those events. In this case, warfare is clearly not represented as a ceaseless round of vigilance and pursuit. There is time for a meal, a cigarette, a film camera. The story of the war has become the story of an individual.

This focus on people *as people* is common in many of the films. Pemberton quotes the complaint of a correspondent for the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) regarding the apparently unappealing prospect of being forced by the government, via his boss, to do a story on the Army's hearts and minds program: "to balance the war story", he was told[14]. It is perhaps ironic that this balance can be seen to be maintained elsewhere. Uncommissioned and unscripted, Australian amateur films are so much 'behind the scenes' of the official news, capturing on film not only the activities of Australians but also many Vietnamese, in the course of their everyday lives.

Shots taken while a member of MAATT II in South Vietnam during 1970-1971, a film taken by Geoff Hazel around Baria and Hoa Long, shows members of his company chatting with a laughing, shirtless local, giving a lift to local Vietnamese to the next village, shots of a Vietnamese-Christian shrine and brief, portrait style shots of his sergeant's Vietnamese wife. These informal scenes are short and sometimes careless, nevertheless a sense of the cameraman as a person is evident. You, the viewer, are drawn into the soldier's own story, a visual diary of his time in Vietnam, and he speaks of events and people which are not all to do with shells and mortars or official initiatives. Another, more intimate example of this personal aspect of the war is a shot of the interior of a soldier's room at barracks. In a semi-steady pan we see the dimly lit room: posters on the walls, a pair of tape decks, strings of Christmas cards, and a young Asian woman folding clothes. She pays no attention to the cameraman or to the man sleeping behind her on the bed; he wears only his underpants, and his face is turned to the wall. No one appears to notice the presence of the camera. Is the woman a girlfriend perhaps, or a housecleaner? The viewer can only speculate, as the catalogue entry doesn't say. In other words, these films are like a back stage pass, allowing access to scenes no official would have authorised for public viewing.

For Australians, the Vietnam experience was characterised by long periods of boredom, punctuated at random intervals by potentially fatal 'contact' with the enemy. Musical, dance, and comedy performances were regularly staged for troops and the Memorial's collection contains a plenty of amateur (and official) footage of such shows which often featured big-name performers of the time including Little Patty and Normie Rowe. However, in-country personnel also organised their own entertainment in the form of exotic dance or strip shows. One such film was shot, as the donor stated, "with the camera in one hand and a bottle of Bacardi in the other". Despite the apparently rugged filming conditions, such films are usually possessed of a surprising visual clarity, probably indicative of an intention to preserve the film for post-deployment enjoyment! Again, an insight into the non-official world not available from Visnews or ABC reporting.

Other aspects of life in Vietnam are also richly represented. De Klerk[15] notes that home movies are the only genre close enough to daily life to register ordinary events and interactions, and this very much the case with many of these Vietnam films. The soldier cameraman, in the spirit of the typical home movie maker, focused on subject matter that underscored the continuity of daily life.

For example, a former SAS member's film functions as an almost domestic documentary, recording the minutiae of his every day life in Vietnam. We see a rehearsal of 'harness extraction' by helicopter, and a shot of a mate demonstrating the average load of ammunition carried on patrol and looking very heavy indeed. A portrait of the cameraman himself is shown, standing before a shaving mirror and applying camouflage cream prior to going on patrol as carefully as a woman might apply her make-up. And, off the record (excluded from the catalogue), there are scenes which of themselves appear unremarkable: a flat tyre being changed, a panning shot of the wall of naked pin ups, and about a five minute take of the *Wren's Restaurant*, the camp canteen. Shot after rapid shot of laughing faces mugging for the camera appear to make the best of their trays of army food. This contrasts somewhat with a lingering shot of fresh fruit and vegetables by the kitchen door, suggesting an ongoing and unsurprising preoccupation with food.

This style of personal storytelling –'my mates, my journey, my story' – lends the film an authenticity not necessarily available from other media. However, it is worth bearing in mind that just as, in general, "home movies are usually overwhelmingly positive"[16], the soldier film is unlikely to expressly depict scenes of trauma, which must be imagined or recorded outside the film. Horrific or tragic events which characterised the War for many veterans become apparent to non-participants via communication, for example in discussion with the film's donor long after the event, rather in the film itself.

However, a poignant reminder that there was indeed a very real war going on, despite the good natured footage being recorded, occurs in a film taken during deployment in 1971 (*F004921 9 Squadron RAAF South Vietnam 1971*). This contains a sequence, shot in the morning, of a simulated 'dust off', or medical evacuation. An army medic, John, filmed his friend, the owner of the camera. Later that day, the same crew were called upon to conduct a genuine dust off, during which John was killed. Such films bring home the very real uncertainty of life faced by soldiers in Vietnam, making the generally positive and entertaining nature of the majority of soldier films that much more remarkable.

IN CONCLUSION

Each soldier film is different. Fitting into the broad genre of amateur movies, they do not conform to any set of rules, commercial guidelines, or official dictates. The one thing they all have in common is their ability to tell us something of the soldier himself. They record not only where he went and what he did, but, in following the train of his thought with the eye of the lens, reveal what he thought was important, interesting, or entertaining, even if he did not see fit to describe such incidents for the official summary in the museum catalogue. This demonstrates the way in which these films go beyond the intentions of their creators. They reveal not only logistical information but also insights into personal and community preferences, motivations and pastimes, recording and expressing aspects of personal and shared experience considered significant by the 'author'.

Even events which are apparent as absences from the films, such as traumatic events, present opportunities for analysis when considered alongside what is visible in the film or described in its summary. Taken altogether, soldier films offer both military and social historians an additional perspective of the Vietnam War, one seen through soldiers' eyes, rather than via officially authorised depictions of events. As such, they have a place as primary research resources, and deserve to be taken seriously by those interested in better understanding Australia's Vietnam experience.

NOTES

1. Bob Pymm 'Television and Archives: Friends, Neighbours or Getaway?' *Archives and Manuscripts*, vol 37 no 1 pp58-75.
2. Arthur Elton quoted in Paul Smith *The Historian and Film* New York Cambridge University Press 1976 p1
3. Smith p4
4. Snowden Becker *Personal Histories: Doctoral Student Helps People put Home Movies Back on Screen* at: http://www.utexas.edu/research/features/story.php?item=2839
5. Peter Forgacs 'Wittgenstein Tractatus' in Karen L Ishizuka and Patricia R Zimmerman (eds) *Mining the Home Movie* University of California Press Berkeley 2008 p51.
6. Jan-Christopher Horak 'Out of the Attic: Archiving Amateur Film' *Journal of Film Preservation* no 56 1998 pp50-53.
7. Gregory Pemberton, Gregory *Vietnam Remembered* Sydney Weldon Press 1990 p120.
8. Patricia Zimmerman 'Introduction. The Home Movie Movement: Excavations, Artifacts, Minings' in Karen L Ishizuka and Patricia R Zimmerman (eds) *Mining the Home Movie* University of California Press Berkeley 2008 p3.
9. Rosen, Robert 'Something Strong Within' in Karen L Ishizuka and Patricia R Zimmerman (eds) *Mining the Home Movie* University of California Press Berkeley 2008 p108.
10. Rosen p115.
11. Polly Bide (dir) *Second World War in Colour* ITV 1999
12. Gerard Gilbert *Oh! What a Colourful War* at http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/oh-what-a-colourful-war-1117339.html
13. Nico De Klerk 'Home Away from Home' in Karen L Ishizuka and Patricia R Zimmerman (eds) *Mining the Home Movie* University of California Press Berkeley 2008 p148.
14. Pemberton, p121.
15. De Klerk p151.
16. Rosen p119.