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A Window to Insider Knowledge:

Movie Making as Praxis in Critical Pedagogy

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<u>Abstract</u>

This research project is a study of the viability of movie making as praxis in critical pedagogy. By using video as both the action element and analytical material of praxis, youth participants living at the margins of global society generated subjective knowledge and meanings, and developed a new critical awareness, engendered by themes arising from group discussion following the principles of critical pedagogy. The study is positioned within a critical theory paradigm and employs a dual design framework of inquiry. A case study and a dialogical narrative analysis are used to answer the research questions underlying each research objective, all of which are directed toward showing evidence of viability. Such a dual design framework allows the study to address both etic and emic issues. Through the progressive use of generative themes—learning topics that are generated in context through group discourse—participants achieved an emergence from their objective-problematic situations, which they were able to clearly articulate. This emergence is discussed in the context of conscientization, the desired outcome of critical pedagogy, which is operationalized through an analytical framework developed for this research project.

The study argues that movie making has a particular suitability as praxis in critical pedagogy because it creates the conditions for conscientization through the use of storytelling as the action-element of critical learning. It is a distinct form of praxis with its own parameters and limitations, yet it can be organized and expressed pedagogically in a way that remains faithful to principle and theory.

Many of the methods of video-based engagement are borrowed from the practice of participatory video, a method that influenced the praxis in this study. During eleven months of fieldwork at two sites in Nepal—Kapan, on the outskirts of Kathmandu, and Godamchaur, a village in nearby Lalitpur district—over twenty project participants produced sixteen movies. Led by two critical educators trained in the educational theories of Paulo Freire, the participants engaged in the production, screening, and analysis of their movies, which in turn propelled the praxis forward and resulted in their emergence. The study seeks to inform the practice of critical pedagogy both practically and theoretically, and also has much to offer the practice of participatory development communication and communication for social change. The thesis concludes with a discussion of the impacts conscientization had among all the participants involved, including the researcher.

Declaration by author

This thesis is composed of my original work, and contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text. I have clearly stated the contribution by others to jointly-authored works that I have included in my thesis.

I have clearly stated the contribution of others to my thesis as a whole, including statistical assistance, survey design, data analysis, significant technical procedures, professional editorial advice, and any other original research work used or reported in my thesis. The content of my thesis is the result of work I have carried out since the commencement of my research higher degree candidature and does not include a substantial part of work that has been submitted to qualify for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution. I have clearly stated which parts of my thesis, if any, have been submitted to qualify for another award.

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Publications during candidature

Book chapters

Walker, G. (2016). Insider windows in Nepal: A critical pedagogy for environmental communication. In T. Milstein, M. Pileggi, & E. Morgan (Eds.), *Pedagogy and practice of environmental communication*. New York: Routledge (forthcoming).

Peer-reviewed journal articles

Walker, G. & Arrighi, J. (2015). The CSC dilemma in development: a possible solution. *Global Media Development*. 2015(3). 4.1-4.5.

Arrighi, J., & **Walker, G.** (2014). Participatory Video and games for a new climate. *Leonardo*. 47(5). 508.

Walker, G., & Arrighi, J. (2013). Participatory Video as a catalyst for informal learning and expression: A review of a PV training in Uganda, 2012. *LEARNing Landscapes*. 7(1). 409-423.

Discussion papers

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Statement of parts of the thesis submitted to qualify for the award of another degree

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Keywords

conscientization, critical pedagogy, critical theory, generative themes, knowledge, narrative analysis, Nepal, participatory video, praxis

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A hierarchy of terms

In this *study* or *research project* the *praxis* takes the form of a movie production *course*, composed of twelve *classes* in two different *settings* or research *sites*. Each *course* is attended by a *group* of *participants*, who further divide into *teams* when shooting their *movies* or *films*. Each *course* is led by a *critical educator*, or *educator*.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This initial chapter will provide a foundation for the chapters that follow. The motivations behind the research project will be explored and some of the key concepts will be introduced. A basic apprehension of these concepts is necessary in order to understand the research objectives and their underlying questions, which will be delineated below. The significance, audience, and some delimitations of the study will also be discussed. Finally, the content of the overall document will be broadly outlined.

1.1 Systemic change and critical pedagogy

This research project is a study of critical pedagogy, and the potential that a movie-making paradigm offers as praxis, the action element of learning. Positioned at the intersection of education and communication for social change, the study explores the relationship between the generation of subjective knowledge through storytelling and analysis, and interventions into *historical reality*, the objective material condition. As one reads through this thesis the hope is that the dialectical nature of the research project becomes apparent. There are two separate narratives that will emerge from the document that are in a continuous process of reconciliation—the empirical study of an educational paradigm being conducted as academic research, and the praxis of critical pedagogy itself, which has its own self-directed destination. The object of inquiry in this study—the praxis—has a subjective life of its own, the scope of which continues beyond the inquiry of the study. It is important to acknowledge this point at the outset.

Behind the motivations for this research lies a meta-question: *Why are certain types of knowledge privileged, and other types of knowledge marginalized?* Indeed, answering this question is not the goal of this research project, yet contemplating it provides some direction towards the notions of systemic change to which critical pedagogy practice, and therefore this study, endeavor to make a contribution. Broadly speaking, why does society even need systemic change? Despite significant efforts toward development and modernization, global wealth inequality remains extreme; a recent UN report highlights that the bottom fifty percent of the world's population owns a mere one percent of the wealth (Davies et al., 2008). Social change will not address these inequalities. It is becoming clear that genuine social change cannot occur within the current system; a precursor to true and lasting social transformation is systemic change. The urgent need for social change, which can only be truly realized if it is an outcome of systemic change, is at the

bedrock of critical theory (Horkheimer, 1972), the theoretical paradigm scaffolding not only this study, but also critical pedagogy as an educational project (Giroux, 2009). To understand what is meant by systemic change, the following example may be illustrative.

Andrew Carnegie's 1889 essay entitled *Wealth* made the claim that the wealthy are best suited to manage the world's resources and should transfer their excess capital to the poor through philanthropy. Over one hundred years later, this approach still dominates, whether in the form of transfers of technology, international development, or even in more recent deceptive guises such as corporate social and environmental responsibility and social entrepreneurship. Responding to this essay two years later in 1891, Oscar Wilde wrote that the wealthy are actually wasting their lives with an "unhealthy and exaggerated altruism"; one that tries to solve with their left hand the problems they create with the right. He famously wrote, "Just as the worst slave-owners were those who were kind to their slaves, and so prevented the horror of the system being realized by those who suffered from it, and understood by those who contemplated it…the people who do most harm are the people who try to do most good" while defending the current system. According to Wilde, "They try to solve the problem of poverty, for instance, by keeping the poor alive…. The proper aim is to try and reconstruct society on a basis that poverty will be impossible" (p. 3).

This distinction between the perspectives of Carnegie and Wilde is important in establishing the overarching orientation of this study. Despite their views being antithetical, both believed they had the best intentions for society at the heart of their arguments. The difference lies in their position in relation to society and social change. One position, whether unconsciously or not, maintains the integrity of an oppressive structure, while the other calls into question any efforts towards progress expended within that structure. Wilde calls for a different system (socialism, specifically); however, more contemporary theorists emphasize that any new system cannot be introduced or imposed by any vestige or extension of the former one (Fanon, 1965; Freire, 1970a). It must be generated anew.

Speaking to the above point, Freire writes, "This, then, is the great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed: to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well…Only power that springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both" (1970a, p. 44). This liberation begins with what Freire called *education as the*

practice of freedom, or what is widely known as critical pedagogy. Critical pedagogy is a heuristic and dialogic approach to education that emphasizes the critical and dialectical analysis of everyday experience. The purpose of critical pedagogy and its articulated principles and practices is to contribute to a movement away from the dominant global order toward a more just world (Giroux, 2011, p. 158). As vague as that may sound, anything more specific edges toward becoming prescriptive, and the danger of reproducing hegemony surfaces. As human society is further polarized globally between those few enjoying the benefits of the current system and those masses existing merely as its objects, the need for the liberation Freire speaks about becomes all the more pressing.

The above paragraphs are meant to convey the spirit of the assumptions about the world upon which the goals of critical theory and critical pedagogy are predicated. This study of movie making as a paradigm of praxis within critical pedagogy, likewise, is predicated upon those same goals. In this way the dual thrust of this study is justified—the purpose was not just to gather data to inform my objectives and questions, which will be stated below, but to also support the participants in their own inquiry, the details of which will unfold over the course of this document. In order to transfer my findings back to the practice of critical pedagogy and the theories upon which it is based, the paradigm of praxis I have developed had to be universally applicable in terms of curriculum, a term I use loosely, yet expressed in a context-specific methodological design, which is congruous with the theories and principles to be expanded upon in the following chapters. The praxis also had to be universal in terms of its applicability to the shared experiences of the oppressed, which Freire regards as ubiquitous (1970a), and context-specific because every future expression of the paradigm will have to be negotiated at a location, with participants from a local community. As a result, this study was primarily theory-driven, not context-driven; the location played a secondary role. In order to operationalize the theories presented in this paper, however, the study had to be situated somewhere. The fieldwork took place at two settings in Nepal. The condition of Nepalese society lamentably mirrors the extremes of wealth and poverty, or power and weakness, alluded to above, which makes it an appropriate site to gather data for this study. Additionally, my background in Nepal and knowledge of local conditions made it an ideal location for the fieldwork.[1]

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[1] A relevant disclosure: I grew up in Nepal, lived there for over twenty years, and speak the national language.

1.2 Definition of key concepts

This section will provide some basic definitions of the key concepts of the study in order to provide an initial foundation; nevertheless, readers should expect much lengthier discussions on each of these concepts in the chapters that follow.

Critical pedagogy is largely based on the contributions of Paulo Freire and Henry Giroux, along with more recent scholars like Peter McLaren, bell hooks, and Ira Shor. Shor (1992) defines critical pedagogy as follows:

> Habits of thought, reading, writing, and speaking which go beneath surface meaning, first impressions, dominant myths, official pronouncements, traditional clichés, received wisdom, and mere opinions, to understand the deep meaning, root causes, social context, ideology, and personal consequences of any action, event, object, process, organization, experience, text, subject matter, policy, mass media, or discourse. (p. 129)

Simon, meanwhile, emphasizes the need to avoid defining critical pedagogy as a "prescriptive set of practices" but rather to look at it as an "ongoing project" (1992, p. xvi). This is indeed in harmony with Freire's overarching vision of critical pedagogy, which, he emphasizes, must be directive, but should always remain open to reinvention (Darder et al. 2009, 16; Freire and Shor 1987, 22-23).

A key concept in this study is *praxis*, and in the context of critical pedagogy, the meaning goes beyond the understanding of praxis as mere practice, distinct from theory. According to Freire (1970a), praxis is "the action and reflection of men and women upon their world in order to transform it" (p. 79). This praxis that transforms reality is, for Freire, the source of knowledge, and through it men and women "simultaneously create history and become historical-social beings" (p. 101). McLaren (2010) emphasizes that praxis is a tangible activity and not "contemplation of an abstract concept" (Leban & McLaren, p. 93). He writes, "It involves providing students with opportunities for learning some of the basic quantitative and qualitative tools…for undertaking analyses and projects in their neighborhoods and communities" (p. 93). Participants in this study undertook these projects with cameras in hand. Au (2007) writes that praxis is central to critical pedagogy. He highlights its position within the overarching critical pedagogical activity, explaining that it gives participants the opportunity to reflect critically and subjectively on their reality and take transformative action to change that reality for the better, while deepening consciousness in the process (p 182).

The name *Insider Windows* designates this particular project (and the study of it). This name in not intended to refer to a new method of pedagogy. The approach remains, simply, critical pedagogy. The terms *praxis*, *movie making praxis*, and *movie-making paradigm of praxis* are used interchangeably to indicate what is essentially a novel approach developed for this research project. Rather than brand this approach with a new name, these descriptive qualifiers are used when the distinction is necessary. It is not the aim of this study to introduce new terminology into the overcrowded lexica of education and/or international development.

In any study aimed at researching activities that can contribute to systemic change, articulating the nature of the existing system may be helpful. Although a multiplicity of terms exist, *neoliberalism*, in particular, is useful in defining the current dominant global pattern of social and economic organization. By no means the only oppressive force at work today, it does have resonance in the context of this study. Couldry makes the distinction between *neoliberalism proper*, the chiefly economic (yet often social and political) principles, and *neoliberalism doctrine*, the broader strategies and methods used to implement neoliberalism proper as the economic model in many of today's democracies (2010, p. 5). Neoliberalism, according to Couldry, "presents the social world as made up of markets, and spaces of potential competition that need to be organized as markets, blocking other narratives from view" (p. 6). Indeed, for many critical pedagogues, it is in relation to this system that they position their pedagogy (Macrine et al., 2010; Giroux, 2011). Freire writes, "We need to say no to the neoliberal fatalism that we are witnessing at the end of this century, informed by the ethics of the market, an ethics in which a minority makes most profits against the lives of the majority. In other words, those who cannot compete, die" (Freire & Macedo, 1999).

Some scholars do lament the overuse (and misuse) of the term *neoliberalism* in the literature (Ferguson, 2010), especially in reference to its application as a throwaway simplification of governance and economics. The distinction Couldry makes when separating neoliberalism as *doctrine*, a hegemonic force propelling the world toward an uncritical one-dimensionality (see Marcuse, 1964), is therefore the most germane to this study.

Popularized by Freire, the Portuguese term *conscientização*, now widely known as *conscientization*, is defined in its simplest form as "the process by which students, as empowered subjects, achieve a deepening awareness of the social realities which shape their lives and discover their own capacities to recreate them" (Darder et al., 2009, p. 14). Freire writes, "Humankind *emerge* from their *submersion* and acquire the ability to intervene in reality as it is unveiled. *Intervention* in reality—historical awareness itself— thus represents a step forward from *emergence*, and results from the conscientização of the situation. Conscientização is the deepening of the attitude of awareness characteristic of all emergence" (1970a, p. 109). Freire's emphasis on intervention, not present in Darder's definition, highlights the significance of praxis. Conscientization, the *sine qua non* of critical pedagogy, is the major theme of this study and it will be discussed in more depth throughout this document.

The concept of *participatory video* (PV) broadly captures the range of activities involving novices creating a film together collaboratively as an act of political or social expression or investigation. While this term will not be attributed to the praxis developed for this study, many of the elements of PV practice were borrowed during the design of the course curriculum. PV has an established global track record spanning several decades, although the name has frequently been attributed to projects *ex post facto* (High et al., 2012; Low et al., 2012; Walker & Arrighi, 2013). As an activity, it has been used in myriad contexts, ranging from political activism and community organizing to international development and education, both formal and non-formal. Participatory video, as an existing practice, is problematic to define because doing so can anchor the method within a particular discrete framework. In reality it has been used in very distinct ways across disciplines, which makes defining the term a challenge. Indeed, there is no widespread consensus on the definition of participatory video. High, Singh, Petheram, and Nemes make the point that "the freedom to innovate and develop one's own ideas about participatory video is an important part of the tradition" (2012, p. 45). This is in line with Freire (1982) who argues that a program should always be dynamic. He asserts, "One cannot regard a program abstractly and metaphysically—it has to be created as a result of reality and has to be changed, dependent on the reality" (p. 36). In order to avoid the pitfalls of entering into the semantic debate over the definition of PV, the term will be used to refer to the established practices reviewed in the literature and cited from the field, but never in reference to the critical pedagogy praxis developed for this study.

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Participatory action-research (PAR) is a methodology that merges theory with action and participation while challenging institutionalized academic methods of collecting and curating knowledge. Like critical pedagogy, it relies on the accumulation of knowledge through praxis, and seeks to advance the interests of exploited and underrepresented groups and classes (Fals-Borda, 1987, p. 329). Although the term PAR appears at various instances throughout the thesis, it is not a design framework utilized by the overarching study. However, PAR captures the pattern of activities participants in the study engaged in within their own communities. Therefore, discussions in later sections related to the significance of this study and its implications for broader theory and practice, especially in the final analysis, will reflect upon the relationship constructed between this research project's objectives and the application of PAR.

1.3 Objectives of the study

Simply put, the purpose of this study is to *understand the viability of movie making as praxis in critical pedagogy*. Although this primary objective can be simply stated, it cannot be so simply achieved. Several other objectives and underlying questions invariably arise, the answers to which will be used to scaffold the overall aim and direction of the study and the formulation of the concluding argument. In order to understand viability, for example, there must be an analysis of the utility movie making has as a tool to operationalize conscientization, the theoretical emergence that is the goal of critical pedagogical praxis, which in turn must be reified through the development of an analytical framework and research design.

Using a case study design framework, the aim is to address the first two research objectives below and their underlying questions, with the intent of empirically analyzing the viability of movie making as praxis at a framework level. In other words, *did* the praxis lead to conscientization? For this reason, the research approach includes a focus on the issues that are of practical relevance to the implementation of praxis, such as, *inter alia*, the levels of participation, how participants articulated an emergence, the nature of any interventions, and the limitations of technology use.

After viability has been established, by employing a dialogical narrative analysis design framework, the study seeks to understand *how* the dialectical relationship between critical educators and students engaged in movie making lead to conscientization. Understanding *how* conscientization occurs requires a more contextual analysis of the issues that are

relevant to the participants themselves. In doing so, the study intends to make a contribution to both theory and practice.

In order to understand an emergence on the part of the participants, the scope of the study extends beyond just the movie-making praxis. A three-phase research design includes a final stage of continued engagement with participants following the conclusion of the praxis at the two research settings. Although the study was conducted at two distinct sites in Nepal, each with its own context, the principles behind the praxis of movie making are universally applicable, not unlike the principles governing critical pedagogy itself. The issues that are relevant to the participants themselves, meanwhile, are entirely contextual. This distinction will be engaged with throughout the discussion.

The research objectives with related questions are as follows:
1. Analyze the utility of movie making as a tool to operationalize conscientization.
   a. Is producing movies a viable critical pedagogical praxis in the given context?
   b. Does the praxis result in initiatives or actions taken to transform social reality?
2. Define the parameters of the movie-making process within a critical pedagogical praxis.
   a. How does this differ from other models of participatory video?
   b. What are the barriers and limitations in implementing this model?
3. Understand how the praxis developed for this study, by creating movies to investigate generative themes, leads to conscientization.
   a. What effects does the movie-making praxis have on the participants who produced the films, and how does this contribute to conscientization?
   b. What effects do the stories participants tell through movies have on those who watch and discuss them, and how do they contribute to conscientization?

Research objectives one and two, and their underlying questions, will be addressed in chapter four. The third research objective and its underlying questions will be addressed in chapter five. A synthesis of the three research objectives into a final discussion and concluding argument will take place across the final two chapters, six and seven. In this way the thesis is bookended with a straightforward objective at the outset and a cogent argument at the conclusion.

1.4 Significance of the study

An analysis of movie making as a praxis within critical pedagogy separates it from the morass of participatory video projects embedded in development work and supported by external organizations with outsider agendas. The study will show that video can be used as a tool to operationalize conscientization, not merely raise awareness—a distinction that will be addressed in this thesis. Furthermore, despite outward similarities to a PAR project, this study maintains an empirical critical distance and does not use video or the video camera as a research tool. The critical educators and the participants engaged in PAR in their own communities—after all, that was a component of their praxis. The point being that *their* inquiry is the subject of this inquiry, which is itself limited to observations, interviews, and content analysis. The hope is that this semi-detached approach is illustrative of the way academic research can initiate PAR without imposing an *a priori* outsider outcome on the participants. In fact, any outsider *a priori* designation for what the movie-making praxis could or should achieve is contrary to the principles of critical pedagogy. The participants and the critical educators should negotiate the outcomes of their praxes free from the influence of outsiders. This separation between the dominant uses of video making in development and research is important when analyzing movie making as a critical pedagogical praxis. The resulting analysis and conclusions of the thesis will contribute to the fields of critical pedagogy and more formal methods of education by defining the parameters of the process. On the theoretical side, a study conducted in a critical theory paradigm should be transferable back to theory in order to inform future research.

Additionally, fields such as communication for social change and international development (acknowledging that there is a wide intersection between the two) can learn from the methods and findings of this study. Indeed, it is hoped that a more significant contribution of the study would be the overall outcome as experienced subjectively by the participants themselves, which is an emergence from a submersion in their historical reality, and the initial indications of interventions directed at systemic change, even if these constitute just a few blocks in the reconstruction of society alluded to by Wilde (1891, p. 3).

1.5 The audience for the study

This is a study in critical education; therefore, the audience for this study, first and foremost, is educators (both formal and non-formal) who have an interest in participant-

generated learning and praxis. Critical educators, especially those working in non-formal settings, are situated to benefit most from the research conducted. It is hoped that participatory video facilitators, communication for social change practitioners, and participatory action-researchers, whether situated in academia or in the field, will also find the method of construction of the study and the results interesting and useful. A calculated detachment from international development is essential for the study to be free from the pressures imposed by the requisite fulfillment of expected outcomes and achievement of impacts that define that particular field; nevertheless, specialists working in development, particularly communication for development initiatives, may consider the findings relevant to the work they are conducting in their contexts. Anthropological and ethnographic researchers with an interest in Nepal and the specific settings of the study, which will be described in detail, will find much of the discussion in the case study relevant. Likewise, the narrative content of the films produced is significant as contextual cultural artifact, and the movies have intrinsic value as entertaining and engaging pieces of locally produced cinematic art.

1.6 Delimitations

The scope of the study was limited to two field sites within Nepal. In the context of Nepal these sites were very different, but the success of the praxis at these locations does not substantiate the claim of universal applicability. In terms of the findings, the theories behind critical pedagogy emphasize the shared experiences of the oppressed around the world, so at the framework level the movie-making praxis *should* be transferable to other contexts. This argument is never made, however, and indeed, it does not need to be made to prove viability. The context-specific elements of the praxis do signify that the workflow and pedagogical practices of the educators cannot necessarily be transferred. This is an area for further research.

A further consideration is the ease with which any pedagogical activity can be coopted into the service of institutions. As a result, the rigorous attention to principle that is a defining feature of critical pedagogy can also be a limitation because of the difficulty involved in reproducing that level of diligence, which often leads to a partial replication. However, a partial replication can result in a dilution of the process and, as Freire warned, a movement away from his proposals for social change (1997, p. 238). Additionally, Blackburn (2000) warns of the danger that educators in critical pedagogy are in a position to manipulate students and direct them toward activist agendas (p. 11).

1.7 Outline of the document

This document contains seven chapters: Introduction; Theoretical and practical concepts; Research methodology; The case: *Insider Windows*; A dialogical narrative analysis; A final discussion; and Conclusion. Beginning with the **second chapter**: chapter two will review the relevant literature on critical pedagogy in more depth and the initial influence of participatory video on the development of the praxis, before providing a theoretical framework developed for this study to operationalize conscientization, and presenting the paradigm of praxis that was developed to be the subject of research. The chapter has five main sections: critical pedagogy, conscientization, participatory video, the framework for the novel paradigm, and context. The **third chapter** presents the methodological framework and phases of research, justifies the two research design frameworks employed for this study (case study and dialogical narrative analysis) and discusses their respective methods of data collection, describes how the case is synthesized through a combination of theoretical and practical elements, and provides the research timeline, in addition to other considerations. The **fourth chapter** defines the paradigmatic case in comprehensive detail using a combination of data collected through observations and interviews, and presented in narrative form using vignettes and descriptive prose, with interview excerpts and research notes integrated throughout. In doing so, two of the three research objectives of this study are addressed. The chapter concludes with case study triangulations and some initial assertions. The **fifth chapter** is the dialogical narrative analysis, which addresses the final research objective. Whereas chapter four deals with the way the case unfolded to the empirical observer, chapter five is an analysis of the transformation the participants underwent by virtue of being members of a critical pedagogy course. Chapters four and five are companions to one another—they focus on the same events but with two different lenses of inquiry, an outcome of the methodological design of this study. Both chapters present the reader with data and some analysis, with the analysis obviously becoming the focal point of the discussion in chapter five. The **sixth chapter** offers further discussion, beginning with the impacts of the study and concluding with a section on *conscientization*, which is, as mentioned, a concept of significant importance in this research project. The **seventh chapter** is the conclusion, in which the study is summarized, the research objectives are synthesized, the implications that the findings have on theory are reviewed (or transferred back), and lastly, a final subjective researcher reflection is included.

Chapter 2: Theoretical and practical concepts

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the reader with the theoretical assumptions that are made by the overarching research paradigm; in other words, through what lens does this inquiry view the research project? The chapter will also review the practical foundations required to understand the technical aspects of the study, as well as the procedural pattern of activities that comprise the movie-making praxis. The description of the praxis is a practical concept, as opposed to a methodological consideration. The methodology (detailed in chapter three) involves the factors related to the *study* of this praxis. Additionally, the concept of conscientization will be operationalized through an analytical framework developed for this study, which will be applied to the dialectical understanding of knowledge that animates the thesis. Finally, the context of the study's research setting—Nepal—will be described.

2.1 Critical pedagogy

2.1.1 Origins of critical pedagogy

In 1971 Ivan Illich wrote that mainstream education was simply engineering consumers—individuals who were emerging as the economy's primary growth sector (p. 46). Critical pedagogy's contemporary position on mainstream education has not departed from this argument. Today's theorists see institutional schooling merely as a system operating only to prepare humans to be functional components within the machinery of neoliberalism. This is partially an outcome of critical pedagogy's philosophical origins in neo-Marxist Frankfurt School critical theory. Illich's view of education and society did not differ greatly from Marcuse, who wrote, "A vicious circle seems indeed the proper image of a society which is self-expanding and self-perpetuating in its own preestablished direction—driven by the growing needs which it generates and, at the same time, contains" (p. 34).

Giroux (2011) claims that all education makes certain commitments to the future, yet critical pedagogy is explicitly postured to direct society towards a future based on justice and equality (p. 158). Critical pedagogy holds the position that the current dominant system is oppressive, and true social change must be systemic in nature (Giroux, 2011; Macrine, McLaren, & Hill, 2010). The major contributions to the field began with philosopher and educator John Dewey, who believed in the centrality of thinking and reflection in education, and that free interaction with one's environment is an essential part

of knowledge construction (Darder, Baltodano, & Torres, 2009, p. 3). In addition to Dewey, W.E.B. Dubois and Illich made significant early contributions to the field. Through his work among the poor in New York City in the 1950s and 60s, Illich sought to "provide both rigorous criticism and an alternative to what he perceived as the crisis of a society that endorses growth economy, political centralization, and unlimited technology" (Darder et al., p. 5). Illich is partly credited for inspiring Paulo Freire who, along with Augusto Boal, accounted for the Brazilian influence on critical pedagogy (Darder et al., 2009, p. 5). Freire, who is considered one of the most preeminent theorists behind modern critical pedagogy, drew much from these early thinkers. The concept of the banking model of education, for example, was articulated first by Dewey, who called it "pouring in" education (Shor, 1992).[2] Freire understood that critical pedagogy would have to adapt to different contexts and the dynamic nature of oppressive systems.

Freire himself credits Fanon and Gramsci as especially influential during the writing of his seminal work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Horton & Freire, 1990, p. 36). Gramsci's notion of hegemony, which explains the way that formalized education, together with other institutions such as the Media, can exercise power and domination, is central to critical theory and critical pedagogy (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 309). Through hegemony the social relationship between different groups in society is legitimized, and the existence of this unequal power distribution is understood as being normal, or inevitable (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 309). According to Couldry, neoliberalism is a form of "hegemonic rationality" that has aggressively devalued certain voices (2010, p. 14). He writes that it "sustains, as acceptable, unequal distributions of resources and power by foregrounding some things end excluding others entirely from view" (p. 14). Critical pedagogy's historical origins are grounded in a resistance to hegemony. Therefore, modern critical pedagogy's target of neoliberalism is not merely political zeitgeist, but a modern extension of the foundational principles of Freire and others, who endeavored at the outset to counteract hegemony.

2.1.2 The influence of critical theory

According to Giroux (2009), critical theory is not just a "school of thought," but also a "process of critique" (p. 27). This process allows for the uncovering of alternatives to constructions of society that hide behind taken-for-granted norms. These hidden constructions can be called *blocked subjectivities*, and, indeed, it is the purpose of praxis

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[2] See also Morrow & Torres (2002) on how Freire was influenced by Dewey.

in critical pedagogy to unblock them. Giroux writes, "the concept of critical theory refers to the nature of *self-conscious critique* and to the need to develop a discourse of social transformation and emancipation that does not cling dogmatically to its own doctrinal assumptions" (2009, p. 27). The first point of criticism in critical theory is the theory itself. Kincheloe and McLaren (2005) point out that there are multiple critical theories, and that there must be ample room for disagreement among theorists. They write, "To lay out a set of fixed characteristics…is contrary to the desire of such theorists to avoid the production of blueprints of sociopolitical and epistemological beliefs" (p. 303).

Critical pedagogical thought draws heavily from critical theory, and is bound to the work of the Marxist-oriented Frankfurt School, associated most closely with Adorno, Horkheimer, and Marcuse (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 305).[3] The more recent contributions of Jurgen Habermas to critical theory have also had a noteworthy influence on critical pedagogy (Darder et al., 2009, p. 7). Although the current literature on critical pedagogy associated with McLaren and Giroux seldom engages with Habermas, many links can be drawn between his work and the classic texts of Freire (Morrow & Torres, 2002, p, 4). In addition to the shared concept that self-consciousness within education represents a pivotal progression in human development because it opens doors to reflexivity that were previously shut, Morrow and Torres (2002) claim, "The initial foundational premise of Freire and Habermas is that human autonomy and higher levels of cognitive and moral reasoning can be realized only through interactive learning processes" (p. 116).[4]

Marcuse (1972) wrote that education is the "indispensible prerequisite for the transition to large-scale political action" (p.134). Indeed, framed exclusively within the boundaries of critical theory, to act is to act politically. More recent scholars of critical pedagogy, however, although attached to the premise that all education is in one way or another political (Giroux, 2011; Macrine et al., 2010; Shor, 1992), are more incorporative of the criticisms levied from the post-colonial world. Arguments that critical pedagogy is both reductionist and ethnocentric due to its roots in Marxist interpretation and dialectical materialist philosophy have been the genesis of much debate in the field (Darder et al., 2009, p. 15). According to Darder et al. (2009), "Prominent discourses emerged in the field that included…indigenous and ecological reinterpretations of emancipatory schooling

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[3] Even among the members of the Frankfurt School there were rancorous arguments regarding the direction of critical theory, about which several books have been written (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2005, p. 304).
[4] A thorough review of the common theoretical and philosophical positions of Habermas and Freire is beyond the scope of this literature review, but the book *Reading Freire and Habermas* (2002) by Morrow and Torres is a comprehensive source of comparison.

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and society…Hence, critical scholars from a variety of cultural contexts challenged the Western predisposition toward orthodoxy in the field, reinforcing Freire's persistent assertion that critical pedagogical principles *exist and remain open to reinvention*" (p. 16, emphasis added). Recognizing this tendency towards orthodoxy in critical pedagogical practice, I based the praxis for this study not upon any prescriptive set of pedagogical parameters and procedures drawn from a modern teacher's manual, but instead on the foundational theories and principles found in the early literature, particularly *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, and complemented these theories by a recognition and understanding of context.

There is an *a priori* assumption about critical pedagogy that presupposes, for the oppressed, that any action is a political action. To Freire, however, even inaction is action if based on the critical pedagogical principles of dialogue, reflection, and critical analysis. He writes, "Those who through reflection perceive the infeasibility or inappropriateness of one or another form of action cannot be accused of inaction. Critical reflection is also action" (1970a, p. 128). Yet, even an apolitical action such as a conscious neglect to engage in partisan discourse might be seen as political to some. To those viewing the world through the spectacles of politics, everything is political. At the macro level, any educational program can be labeled political; this is especially true of critical pedagogy if the assumptions of critical theory are foregrounded. This is an erroneous *a priori* understanding of critical pedagogy that predicts an outcome resulting from the emergence, or conscientization, of the participants.

Freire (1970a) writes, "Functionally, oppression is domesticating. To no longer be prey to its force, one must emerge from it and turn upon it. This can be done only by means of the praxis: reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it" (p. 51). This transformation of the world and society, through praxis, is only possible after one recognizes one's place in it. This recalls the notion of systemic change described in the first chapter. Shaull, in the introduction to Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, writes:

> Education either functions as an instrument that is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, or it becomes 'the practice of freedom,' the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world. (1970a, p. 34)

2.1.3 Learning themes in critical pedagogy

Drawing from Ira Shor, I developed the movie-making praxis for this study to focus on the analysis of themes. The themes used by Shor are *generative*, *topical*, and *academic* (1992) and are the material of consultation and discussion in praxis. Each of these three themes, and the extent to which they factor into the movie-making praxis, will be discussed below.

Generative themes are based on the experiences and understanding of the students, and represent their reality in context. The educator, in collaboration and negotiation with participants, uncovers these themes through their shared understanding of the context. Generative themes are the focal point of praxis in critical pedagogy and their analysis precedes any emergence experienced by participants. Freire writes, "The concept of a generative theme is neither an arbitrary invention nor a working hypothesis to be proved" (1970a, p. 97). Instead, generative themes are grounded in the "thought-language with which men and women refer to reality, the levels at which they perceive that reality, and their view of the world" (p. 97). In other words, generative themes represent people's thinking in context, and the investigation of those themes can only occur among people seeking out reality together (Freire, 1970a, p. 108). Although they are often associated with the Freirean approach to critical pedagogy, the concept of generative themes can be found in Deweyan progressive education (Shor, 1992, p. 47). Dewey made the argument that "the educator cannot start with knowledge already organized and proceed to ladle it out in doses…When education is based in theory and practice upon experience, it goes without saying that the organized subject-matter of the adult and the specialist cannot provide the starting point" (1963, p. 82-83). Generative themes "make up the primary subject matter" of critical pedagogy and are "the student-centered foundations for problem-posing" (Shor, 1992, p. 55).

A *topical theme* is an issue worthy of critical examination but is not generated through the consultations of the group. It may or may not be something that directly affects the local community, and is selected by the educator with due consideration. Additionally, participants have the right to accept or reject any topical theme that has been introduced (Shor, 1992, p. 57). The purpose of introducing a topical theme in this study was to kick-start thematic discussions among participants in the praxis. The goal was to transition, as rapidly as possible, to discussion of themes generated by the participants themselves, and represent their subjective thinking in context.

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Academic themes, meanwhile, are grounded in the formal knowledge of experts, or outsiders, in the context of the oppressed. These themes are representations of knowledge that have been privileged by the hegemonic structures of society, and are not generated in the idiomatic language of students (Shor, 1992, p. 55). Education based on academic themes was the subject of Illich's venomous critique of institutionalized schooling (1971). The values of neoliberal doctrine are among today's academic themes. Theorists see neoliberal reductionism, such as the presentation of the world as a massive marketplace and nothing else, as an extension of this same hegemonic force (Couldry, 2010, 14).

For Freire, whose praxis was centered on literacy, generative themes were often structured with the use of simple polysyllabic words anchored in the experiences of the participants, which they brought to the class (Blackburn, 2000, p. 9; Illich, 1971, p. 18; Shor, 1992, p. 38). Critical pedagogy today, however, especially the resistance postmodernist pedagogy of McLaren and Giroux, has a broadened meaning of basic literacy from reading the "word" to reading the "world" (Giroux, 2011; Morrow & Torres, 2002, p. 144). Shor (1992) asserts that this broadening of critical pedagogy is what required the development of higher thematic levels, such as topical and academic, in order to benefit teachers and students at varying positions (p. 60). Academic themes do not factor into this study; however, topical themes were introduced at the discretion of the critical educators.

2.2 Conscientization

Conscientization is the goal of the movie-making praxis. In this section a framework will be presented to operationalize the concept of conscientization to a level that enables general understanding prior to an empirical analysis. This framework is oriented toward knowledge, and the process by which hidden or blocked knowledge can become subjective knowledge. An empirical analysis is oriented toward answering the question, *did conscientization occur?* Not, *how did it occur?* The latter question is addressed through a dialogical narrative analysis. The distinction between the methods used to answer these differing questions will be articulated in chapter three.

2.2.1 Conscientization as a social process

The concept of self-reflexivity is an essential condition for conscientization. Couldry, in particular, is helpful in highlighting the interrelated nature of reflexivity, voice, and agency. He writes, "Voice…is always more than discourse, and it [has] intrinsic links with the wider field of our actions" (2010, p. 8). Voice is agency, and agency can be engendered through an elevation of critical consciousness. Couldry further asserts:

> A key part of that agency is *reflexivity*. Since taking responsibilities for one's voice involves telling an additional story—of oneself as the person who *did* say this or do that—voice necessarily involves us in an ongoing process of reflection, exchanging narratives back and forth between our past and present selves, and between us and others. This process is not accidental but necessary: humans have a *desire* to narrate…a desire to make sense of their lives. (2010, p. 8)

Capturing the spirit of critical pedagogy, Couldry paints a picture of voice through a praxis that is ideally situated to take advantage of the dialogic, self-reflexive, and reflective properties that storytelling offers. Remember, as mentioned in chapter one, movies are simply a *means* of storytelling. Storytelling is a social activity, as is the production of a movie.

It is important to keep in mind that conscientization does not happen to an individual in isolation, suggestive of some form of Cartesian logic. When asked by Ira Shor (1987) about whether or not personal self-empowerment was possible, Freire's answer was emphatic:

> No, no, no. Even when you individually feel yourself most free, if this feeling is not a social feeling, if you are not able to use your recent freedom to help others to be free by transforming the totality of society, then you are exercising only an individualist attitude towards empowerment or freedom…I don't believe in self-liberation. Liberation is a social act. Liberating education is a social process of illumination. (Freire & Shor, p. 22-23)

Morrow and Torres (2002) also capture the social element well, defining conscientization as the "social psychological processes through which the dominated become aware of blocked subjectivities related to shared experience. But this insertion into a reality that is progressively unveiled cannot be merely intellectual or individualistic because it is essentially 'social'" (p. 103).

2.2.2 Operationalizing conscientization: a framework

Conscientization occurs through the interplay of two types of knowledge. The first, for the purposes of this study, will be called *outsider knowledge*, and the second, *insider knowledge*. Morrow and Torres (2002) write, "Freire's understanding of conscientization as enlightenment is based on the tension between two modes of distantiation: that produced by the 'knowledge' contributed by 'outsiders' (experts, intellectuals) and that latent in the experience of 'insiders' (participants)" (p. 46). I adapted the Johari Window, an analytical device developed by two psychologists (Joseph Luft and Harrington Ingham) in the 1950s, to provide a framework for visualizing the different types of knowledge and how they are related to the critical pedagogical learning themes (see Table 1).

Table 1: Johari Window: Outsider and insider knowledge

	Insider knows	Insider does not know
Outsider knows	**Window 1: Open Knowledge** Empirical knowledge shared by insiders and outsiders *Topical themes*	**Window 2: Outsider Knowledge** Expert/intellectual knowledge owned by outsiders *Topical and Academic Themes*
Outsider does not know	**Window 3: Insider Knowledge** Local and indigenous knowledge *Generative themes*	**Window 4: Unknown/Blocked subjectivity** Revealed through conscientization

Outsider knowledge, when introduced to the educational program, equates to expert knowledge and academic theory. Examples of this might include how society produces poverty or how society creates the conditions of hunger (Morrow & Torres, 2002, p. 46). Another common example with relevance today could be the science behind anthropogenic climate change. This type of knowledge corresponds to the topical and academic themes described by Ira Shor (1992). This knowledge is situated behind Window 2 of the Johari Window figure above.

By contrast, insider knowledge refers to indigenous or local knowledge, and this is positioned behind Window 3. Continuing with the example of climate change from above, this could be seasonal knowledge about the climate that local farmers possess—frequency

of rains, when to plant, etc. Behind Window 1 is the shared open knowledge: the climate is changing in the region. Both insiders and outsiders in the context above know this, but construct their knowledge and understanding of this fact differently. When this analytical device is applied to the voices of the oppressed, Window 3 has been neglected and can be considered metaphorically opaque; it has shrunk and the knowledge behind it has been devalued. The insiders then devalue their *own* voices. A self-rejection of voice results in what Freire, drawing much from Eric Fromm, calls *the culture of silence*: the outcome of economic, political, and paternalistic social domination, all buttressed by the structures of mainstream education (1970a, 30).

The division in knowledge between outsiders and insiders shackled by the culture of silence is not an epistemological one in the sense that outsiders are "in the know," and insiders have *only* superstitious or false understandings of reality. According to Morrow and Torres (2002), members of a culture of silence can use dialogical learning to transform their accumulated experience into critical knowledge and understanding (102). Therefore, the directive elements of critical pedagogy have a final goal: *for participants to emerge from the culture of silence by way of conscientization.* This emergence is realized through the enlargement of Window 3 and the shrinking of Window 4—the constitution of new knowledge, which, in Freire's perspective, should be "based on the experience of learners in revising their own self-understanding" (Morrow & Torres 2002, 46). This approach precludes, to an extent, drawing knowledge into Window 3 from Windows 1 and 2; that is the direction of the hegemonic knowledge transfer. Through self-reflexive dialogical praxis, and investigation of the themes generated by problem posing (a pedagogical technique that will be discussed in later sections), participants use their accumulated experience to reveal new knowledge from behind Window 4. Eventually, Window 1 will be enlarged by means of drawing from Window 3, which is a counter-narrative to the dominant flow of knowledge from Window 2 to Window 1.

This enlargement of Window 1 via Window 3 represents a de-privileging of outsider and expert knowledge, and a more balanced reimagining of what constitutes open knowledge. The enlargement of Window 3 occurs as a result of conscientization, the means by which the oppressed masses liberate themselves (Freire, 1970a). The enlargement of Window 1 via Window 3 is a counterhegemonic transfer of knowledge and therefore represents the means by which those same oppressed masses realize the "great humanistic and historical task" of liberating their oppressors as well (Freire, 1970a, p. 44).

2.3 Participatory video and its outgrowth

Having discussed the concepts of critical pedagogy and conscientization, in this section I will summarize the literature on the theories and practice of participatory video (PV), beginning with its history and foundational principles. PV will be divided into three models, which I identify as: outsider-to-insider, insider-to-outsider, and insider-to-insider. The latter model represents a *best practice* conception, upon which the movie-making paradigm of praxis I developed for this project is based; however, the first two models are commonly found in practice and will be described in order to highlight the distinctions. The intention is to provide a contextual understanding of field practice, from which the concept of the insider-to-insider model emerges. It should be noted that in this section (and in this thesis, unless otherwise specified) the term *development* refers to the mainstream practice of international social and economic development.

2.3.1 The history and foundational principles of PV

As previously stated, the term *participatory video* broadly captures the range of activities involving novices creating a film together collaboratively as an act of political or social expression or investigation. The history of participatory video is generally traced back to the Fogo Island Communication Experiment. In the late 1960s, the National Film Board of Canada initiated a program in a remote part of Newfoundland with the aim of using film-based communication to assist a poor and marginalized community targeted for a government-led relocation. Today that program is known as the *Fogo Process*. Donald Snowden pioneered the use of film as a medium for communication between residents of the island and government officials in the context of the proposed resettlement of the island's population. The *Fogo Process* created an open visual platform for discourse on social and political issues. The process was adopted by development agencies, and various iterations of it appeared around the world. Today, it is widely considered as the project that set the precedent for many initiatives in subject-driven participatory communication. The *Fogo Process* was also one of the first instances of process-driven filmmaking, as opposed to product-driven (see Crocker, 2003). Crocker (2003) acknowledges that the cooperation between members of the community during filmmaking was both empowering and emancipating (p. 128). This idea of empowerment via a process-driven, community engagement exercise is a foundational principle of PV today.

Also identified by Crocker, and noteworthy in relation to this study, is an element more complex than the relatively straightforward concept of empowerment through communication. Self-reflexivity, through the empowering experience of seeing one's reality on screen, promotes "feelings of confidence, self-worth, [and] better self-image, all as a result of seeing yourself as others see you" (p. 130). Crocker argues, "This self-reflexivity, which may be the core of the *Fogo Process*, remains undertheorized and not clearly understood" (2003, p. 130). This study posits that repositioning the elements of PV that engender self-reflexivity into the theorized landscape of critical pedagogy can bridge the theoretical gap identified by Crocker. Later sections in this document will highlight the importance of self-reflexivity and its relation to praxis within critical pedagogy.

The links between critical pedagogy and PV can be found throughout the PV literature. Credited as one of the chief inspirations behind the philosophy and practice of PV,[5] Freire's name is commonplace in the world of participatory video (especially in the discourse of practitioners, as I can attest). In their broad review of the PV literature, Low et al. (2012) affirm that Freire and his emphasis on pedagogy are routinely cited (p. 51). The notion of PV as an empowering process also finds its roots in Freire and his theories of social change. Interestingly, Low et al. also acknowledge that the literature reveals an emphasis on "development as a pedagogical process" (p. 51). This position seems to represent development, the mainstream practice of which is obsessed with outcomes, as a means rather than an end. Indeed, participatory video has found a home in the field of development, and the practice of PV brings pedagogical elements to development programs. It is true that education and development are not mutually exclusive, but the de facto positioning of participatory video as an activity within development is what has contributed to its branded identity.

2.3.2 Insiders and outsiders

As mentioned, participatory video projects and productions can all, to a degree, be categorized within two models of communication: outsiders-to-insiders, and insiders-to-outsiders. Some projects can be identified that possess elements of both models. The third model, which is conceptual, and upon which elements of the praxis developed for this study are based, is insider-to-insider. Below is a simple graphic representation of these

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[5] Nick and Chris Lunch mention Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* as a "book that inspires us" in their handbook, *Insights into participatory video: A handbook for the field* (2006, p. 122), which is one of the most common field manuals about the practice of participatory video.

three models. Each model will be discussed individually in more depth in the following paragraphs.
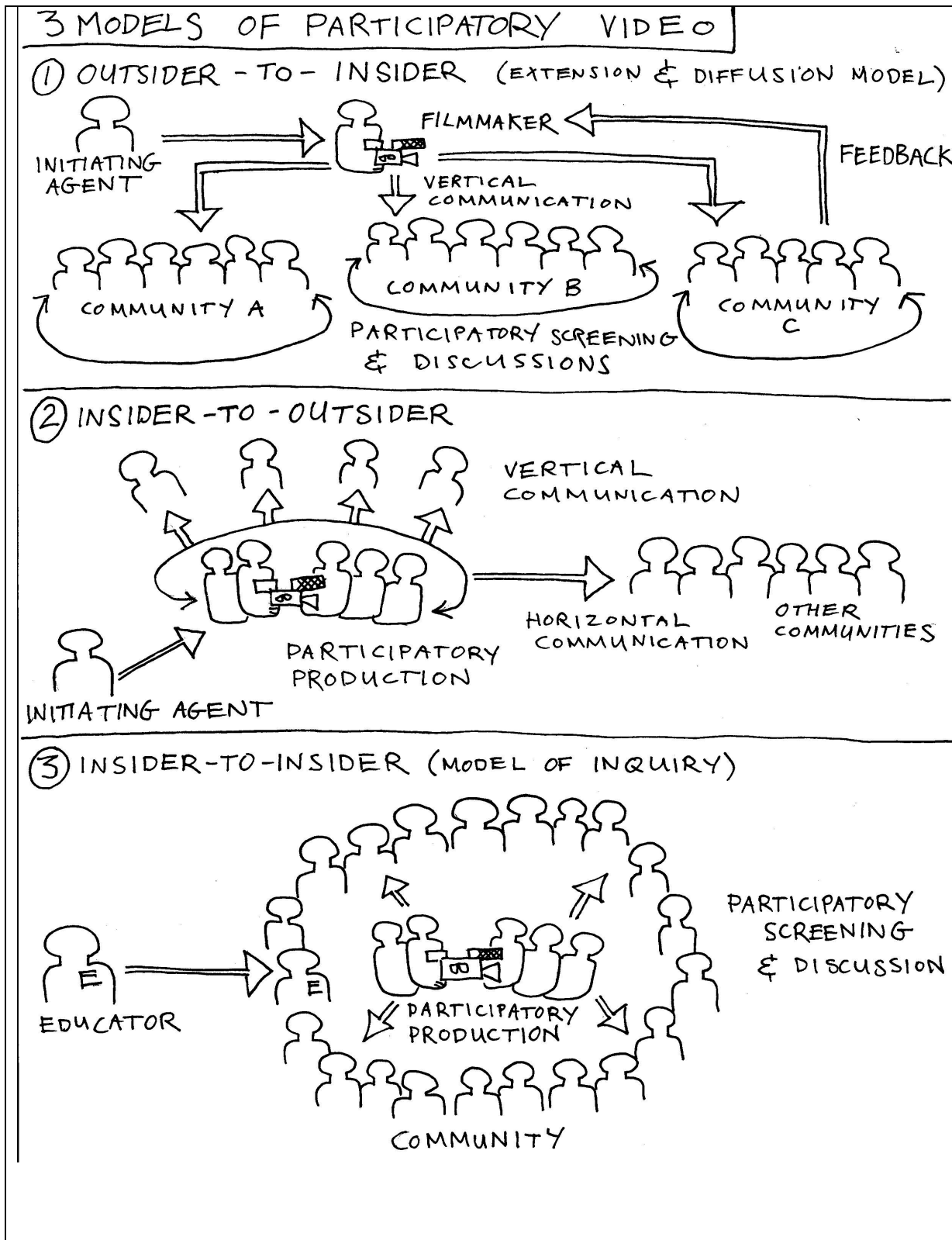
Figure 1: Three models of participatory video

The outsider-to-insider model

In an outsider-to-insider film,[6] *outsiders* refer to the external initiating agents whose goal it is to disseminate information or change behavior with the help of video. *Insiders* refer to a community, or certain members of a community, on whom the initiating agents are trying to have an impact, using video as a medium to reach the challenging "last mile" of a development initiative (Suarez et al., 2011). These films are often less participatory in their production and more participatory in their screening. Community members are frequently recruited as actors in the films, which are scripted by the initiating agents rather than by the community members themselves. This represents a level of participation entirely different from PV projects where community members fill the roles of both actors and producers. In the outsider-to-insider model, insiders can mediate the screenings of the films, as is the case with Digital Green, an Indian NGO focusing on agriculture. Gandhi, Veeraraghavan, Toyama, and Ramprasad (2007) describe the Digital Green model in detail. Digital Green uses existing networks of farmers and locally produced videos to disseminate their extension messages. The salient feature of the model is the farmer-led mediated discussion of the message video. The authors assert that videos should be screened to exhaustion within communities in order to maximize their penetration. Examples of this method of participatory video can be widely seen in agricultural extension.

Van Mele is another pioneer in the use of video for the dissemination of agricultural extension messages. Professionals shoot the videos he uses, but he does allow for feedback from the farmers he works with because he engages with them intensively during the filming (2010). Van Mele explicitly states, "People often think we hand over the camera to farmers. Well we don't. We recognize that multiple skills and expertise are needed at various levels to obtain attractive and effective videos…we know that farmers have no spare time and are unlikely to continue making new videos once a project is over" (p. 25). A fair comment, and a common one raised in development, an industry dictated by project cycles and funding. Once the project is over, what would farmers do with video cameras? Obviously I ask the question rhetorically to make a point. We do not know what farmers would do because not all farmers are the same.

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[6] For examples of projects using this model see Chowdury & Hauser, 2010; Chowdhury et al., 2010; David & Asamoah, 2011; Gandhi et al., 2007; Van Mele, 2010.

This tension, however, is less pronounced in education, where learning for the sake of learning is a recognized objective. Jenkins (2009) aptly notes, "Historically we have valued creative writing or art classes not only because they help to identify and train future writers and artists, but also because the creative process is valuable on its own…even if most will never write, perform, or draw professionally" (p. 6). Needless to say, in none of the PV models are the participants expected to become professional filmmakers.

Van Mele, meanwhile, is unabashed in his endorsement of an outsider-to-insider model. He writes:

> Barriers to cross-cultural video-mediated learning are more of an institutional than cultural nature. Nigerian farmers, for instance, never complained that Bangladeshi rice farmers show their practices from their villages, or that the music on some of the videos that were filmed in Mali was Malian. When they watch a Bollywood movie, they equally expect to hear Indian music. (p. 25)

The question can be asked, however—although the farmers didn't complain, to what extent did they truly and subjectively relate? Clearly, if the desired outcome is the transfer of knowledge from outsider to insider, then this is irrelevant.

The insider-to-outsider model

In the insider-to-outsider model (see Chowdury & Hauser, 2010; Lunch & Lunch, 2006; Walker & Arrighi, 2013), insiders refer to the participatory filmmakers themselves and can include the community that they come from and represent in their films. Lunch and Lunch cogently capture the principle of insider-to-outsider communication in their PV handbook. They explain, "The films can be used to communicate the situation and ideas of local people to development workers and formal researchers, and to decision-makers and policymakers" (2006, p. 13). They also assert that PV can help build the local capacity for knowledge sharing across distances, in order to galvanize development efforts in other countries (2006, p. 13). The prominence of the term *development* is glaring in the majority of publications. It could be argued (and is certainly argued by some) that this is not because PV is best suited for development per se, but because practitioners need a field in which to ply their trade.

Furthermore, the issue of narrative ownership in general can be problematic in the insider-to-outsider PV activity. While many of these insider-to-outsider PV projects attempt to veil their messages in the language of participation and local knowledge creation, the reality is

that the narratives from which these videos emerge have already been established and are provided to the participants by the initiating agents. While PV can reflect collective voice, can the voice be authentic if the narrative from which it emerges does not belong to the people to begin with? For example, a project involving villagers making a film about climate change adaptation begs the question: Is adapting to climate change a narrative generated locally, or one introduced by the institutions of development (see Baumhardt et al., 2009; Castro, 2011; Walker & Arrighi, 2013)? To consider an analogous example in critical pedagogy, imagine a praxis in which the discourse never departs from the level of topical (or even academic) themes.

Although many references are made to the process of participatory filming or participatory screening, and their latent empowering benefits, neither the outsider-to-insider model, nor the insider-to-outsider model would be successful without the final product, the artifact itself: the finished video. It is the video that bridges the gap between insiders and outsiders. This fact alone signals that the participatory video exercise in development is product-driven. Admittedly, participants may create new knowledge based on topical themes, but it is captured, packaged, and frozen in perpetuity by the video artifact. Furthermore, it becomes clear that this new knowledge is not resulting from conscientization and the uncovering of blocked subjectivities.

The purpose of distinguishing between these models of participatory video is not necessarily to critique any particular approach, but to differentiate between them in order to illustrate the unique elements of the movie-making paradigm or praxis developed for this study. Practitioners have previously called for an approach synthesizing the key features of both aforementioned paradigms into a new "lengthier and more reflective process of insider-to-insider communication" (Walker & Arrighi, 2013, p. 420). This insider-to-insider model, to be discussed in greater depth in the coming sections, was the genesis for the praxis that is subject of this research. This research project postulates that many of the movie-making elements found in PV are ideally suited for praxis within a critical pedagogy program, and an objective of the study was to test their viability.

While both outsider-to-insider and insider-to-outsider models of PV place emphasis on participation, dialogue, and reflection, and routinely pay tribute to the contributions of critical pedagogy theorists like Freire, it is important to note that neither model would be considered successful without a defined destination for the video artifact, such as a group

of farmers, a stakeholder in government, a neighboring community, or the web site of a sponsoring organization. The concept of a PV exercise in which the video produced is seen only by those directly, or indirectly, involved with the production, and is viewed almost entirely as a means of furthering inquiry, and not an end, thereby making it part of a greater process, may seem unconventional. Why produce a film if no one is going to see it other than the filmmakers and perhaps their peers? In a movie-making praxis, however, the artifact must be refashioned as an instrument that propels *thinking in context* further. In many of the celebratory accounts of PV, conscientization, astonishingly, is often claimed to be an outcome of the process of production (see Low et al. 2012). While this is an example of sloganeering, there is something that can be said for the process. If the process itself were to be placed within a more expansive activity that actually provides the necessary theoretical scaffolding that PV currently lacks, then there is something worthy of examination. Conscientization, after all, is not an outcome that fits conveniently at the conclusion of a packaged activity, but rather an ongoing process of emergence from submersion, initiated by a cycle of consultation, praxis, and reflection, and always with the final aim of intervention in historical reality (Feire, 1970a, p. 109).

The insider-to-insider model

The paradigm of insider-to-insider participatory video is not common in PV practice and research, but research has been done using insider-to-insider PV as a method of video ethnography. Worthy of examination is a project in the Dominican Republic initiated by researchers Donna DeGennaro and Rick Duque using an insider-to-insider model. They positioned it within critical pedagogical research in order to "explore the ways in which learning can become more connected to the lives of youth" (2013, p. 193). Their study, entitled *Video of the Oppressed*, is relevant to this research project in that it was also a theory-driven initiative to place movie making within critical pedagogy. However, there were certain limitations, which the authors acknowledge. Not a proficient Spanish speaker, DeGennaro was limited in her level of engagement with the participants: "My lack of language skills made supporting the analysis and connections impossible. Dialogue, the most crucial characteristic in critical pedagogy for making visible what and how youth know, was inhibited" (p. 203). As a researcher using a design framework combining PAR and video ethnography, DeGennaro was an active participant in the pedagogy. She was the critical educator described by Freire (1970a) and Shor (1993), but she was also, admittedly, an outsider in the context. This research project will seek the same position for

video making within critical pedagogy that DeGennaro did; however, through the use of an entirely different research design, the limitations she identified in her study were offset.

An integration of video-based research and critical pedagogy (p. 199), *Video of the Oppressed* identifies insider-to-insider video making as a generative process within a critical pedagogical paradigm. DeGennaro writes, "Through obtaining an insider perspective and readings, participants collectively identify the focus of problem-based educational activities that are grounded in authentic preoccupations, doubts, hopes, and fears of the local people. Video thus becomes a way of making visible the local knowledge, practices, and perspectives" (p. 196). The videos in DeGennaro's project were shot by local youth who then analyzed them collectively. This process put them in the unaccustomed position of expert and "reflective practitioner" (p. 196). According to DeGennaro, perhaps the most empowering aspect for youth was that they began to see the knowledge and skills they possessed. Further, they saw this knowledge as recognized and valued (p. 196). This recognition of knowledge and skill is one of the ultimate goals of critical pedagogy because it contributes to the elevation of critical consciousness.

What can be gleaned from DeGennaro's study is her positioning of the insider-to-insider paradigm. Interestingly, despite referencing PV literature (see p. 208) and drawing from it in the design of her project, she never mentions "participatory video" once in her entire paper. Perhaps this is a conscious decision and is indicative of the same tension expressed earlier in this paper surrounding the de facto positioning of participatory video, by virtue of its branded nature, within development and outcome-driven agendas.

2.3.3 Positioning the insider-to-insider paradigm

This study will show that movie making as praxis is a method of participant-led research that opens pathways to interventions in historical reality. It is an enjoyable group activity through which to conduct thematic investigations, and as a reusable medium, it is ideal as an object of the critical educator's problem posing. As a group of participants consult together on the subject and narrative of a movie, they are able to come to conclusions and understandings greater than the sum of their individual insights. Insider-to-insider communication, in general, is essential to conscientization (Freire, 1970a), and therefore insider-to-insider PV (see Figure 1) can be positioned neatly within critical pedagogical praxis.

This study maintains that the act of movie making is remarkably appropriate for praxis. As mentioned, the primary objective of the study is to empirically analyze the viability of movie making as praxis within critical pedagogy, not to conduct a participatory action-research (PAR) project *with* the participants. In order to empirically conduct this analysis, conscientization was operationalized, following the framework presented in section 2.2.2. The insider-to-insider PV model was positioned into existing critical pedagogy activities adopted from the literature in order to function as the foundation of a novel praxis. The wheel did not need to be reinvented, so to speak, because the activities of critical pedagogy into which movie making was embedded were drawn from both theory and practice and expressed in a context-specific educational program, which served as the case study for this research project.

While literacy was central to praxis during the days of Paulo Freire and of other early critical pedagogues, movie making was not a viable option. The recent surge in the availability and affordability of video-making equipment means that technological innovations have opened up new avenues for education and research that were previously unattainable or unrealistic. Giroux (2011) points out that literacy, for Freire, was more than just learning to read and write. Literacy was not just the acquisition of a skill set, but also "a way of learning about and reading the word as a basis for intervening in the world" (p. 155). Indeed, Freire used images in his praxis, and images were frequently coded and decoded by participants, in many ways setting an early precedent for the use of motion pictures today (1970a, p. 118).

While video production requires a modicum of skills and training, the technology has become intuitive and easy to master at a very basic level (Jenkins, 2009; Walker & Arrighi, 2013). Movie making cannot be done in isolation; it requires engagement and interaction. Filmmakers must physically be in the presence of their subjects and negotiate with them. Like literacy, movie making as praxis is more than just learning a new skill; it is also learning how to engage with a research tool that participants can use to investigate the themes they generate (Leban & McLaren, 2010, p. 93). It is a tool for activism and communication, and movies can be screened and shared within a group setting in a participatory way that other media cannot. A drama, for example, cannot be watched multiple times by the performers themselves and exist independently as an object of their own analysis. This experience of watching one's self opens the doors to the self-reflexivity

discussed by Crocker (2003), and engenders the critical reflection essential to recognizing one's place in the world, a vital constituent of conscientization (Freire, 1970a).

The importance of dialogue in critical pedagogy is paramount (Freire, 1970a; Freire & Shor, 1987) and movie production, in particular, provides ample opportunity for dialogic exchange between participants. When planning and scripting the movies, participants must engage in dialogue. When shooting the movies, participants work collaboratively in teams, a process that requires much discussion and negotiation. When screening the movies, participants can see themselves and/or their realties depicted on screen, thereby giving them a foundation upon which to build their next thematic discussions. The movies become the launching point for deeper discussions in the insider-to-insider model; they are the means and not the end. Research suggests that media literacy among youth supports social change, and helps participants move from "reaction to intervention" (Chavez & Soep, 2005, p. 430). This intervention is essential to praxis.

Returning momentarily to the groundbreaking *Fogo Process*, although not participatory at the level of production, it is an exceptional example of a project possessing elements of all three aforementioned models. Professionals shot the Fogo films, which were made on a format that required significantly more skill and training than video does today. The recorded interviews were screened with government officials, an expression of insider-to-outsider communication, and the responses of the government officials were filmed and shared with the islanders, exemplifying outsider-to-insider communication. Initially, the films were also shared and screened within the community itself in the self-reflexive process of insider-to-insider communication. On the island, individuals once isolated from one another, were able to come together communally. Crocker (2003) writes, "The creation of a sense of community depends upon the ability to project a collective image where none previously existed" (p. 131). In reference to the insider-to-insider dimension of the process, he concludes, "In sum, the *Fogo Process* allowed people to form an ideal common image of themselves as a collectivity, something that their material conditions of life had made difficult to achieve" (p. 133).

2.3.4 A final note on the term *participatory video*

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the term participatory video is not being used to describe the movie-making praxis. This decision was made because of the reductive nature of the term, and its de facto branded identity as an activity in international

development. Ostensibly based on the principles of critical pedagogy, PV continues to fuel a debate among scholars in regard to its theoretical positioning and practical application. A broad review of the literature on PV conducted by Low, Rose, Salvio and Palacios (2012) highlights many of the same salient issues, concluding that "the majority of…publications describe the benefits of the method and therefore tend to be celebratory and uncritical, failing to address the difficulties that arise in theorizing the need for participatory video projects and research" (p. 50). In practice, PV is increasingly being used by organizations to achieve outsider goals, many of which critical theorists would claim are in the service of neoliberalism (such as the expansion of market values under the guise of entrepreneurship training). Whether or not this usage indicates a cooptation depends on the stated goals of the organization, but nevertheless, it marks a significant departure from the principles with which many PV practitioners most closely identify.

Low et al. acknowledge that the PV literature is "often citing the work of Paulo Freire…and his emphasis on pedagogy as developing the ability to name the world and to change it" (p. 51). They identify that throughout the literature, the focus of PV projects, in "both practice and product," is to "bring forth the self-confidence of participants and an emphasis on narratives of self-transformation in the process of conscientization" (p. 51). Yet seldom does PV faithfully follow Freire's model of praxis, without which conscientization is reduced to not much more than a slogan. A paradox often occurs when the production of a video is prioritized. Praxis is not meant to result in a product. Freire stresses that we are in an active, dialectical, and critical engagement with society and the material world (Au, 2007, p. 180), and this must be the central aim of praxis. In the critical pedagogical model, it is imperative that men and women, both individually and in their communities, act as subjects in their own praxis and not as objects of an outsider-facilitated activity, which occurs when the outcome of praxis is reduced to an artifact or "product." As mentioned, Freire warned against this type of partial application of his ideological aspirations, suggesting that this would result in a movement away from his theoretical proposals for social change (1997, p. 238).

2.4 Framework for a movie-making paradigm

This section describes the praxis as it was originally conceived before context specific elements were added and critical educator feedback was taken into account. The changes that were made in the praxis, of which there were not many, will be detailed in the next chapter. The purpose of this approach is to illustrate the way an *a priori*

understanding of a praxis developed at a university must always be refined once it is established in context. As I have shown, this is in agreement with established theory and practice.

Critical pedagogy seeks to advance passage from *magical consciousness* to *critical consciousness* (Freire, 1973, p. 44). In other words, perceiving one's historical reality not as the outcome of events and forces beyond one's subjective control, but as an *objective-problematic situation* that can be altered (Freire, 1970a, p. 109). Indeed, this will not happen simply by means of semi-structured dialogue and group reflection. Putting aside the theories and principles momentarily, what exactly does this process of critical pedagogy look like in practical terms, and where is movie making positioned within it? Surely the program is not so amorphous that it precludes any form of prescriptive practice whatsoever. Freire (1987) made clear that his antiauthoritarian position did not imply a laissez-faire approach to education. He writes, "When I criticize manipulation, I do not want to fall into a false and nonexistent nondirectivity of education. For me, education is always directive, always. The question is to know towards what and with whom it is directive" (Freire & Shor, p. 22-23). This directivity signals the importance of the role of the critical educator in critical pedagogy, and the methods that the educator will have at his or her disposal. The asymmetry of power relations in education constructs a formidable barrier to communication in the teaching and learning environment that the educator must navigate (Morrow & Torres, 2002, p. 130); therefore it is imperative that educators have a thorough understanding of their role.

In order to describe the process behind the paradigm of praxis that is the focal point of this study, the concepts of problem posing and generative themes must be sufficiently understood. In accord with the notion that critical pedagogy must be context specific, and dialogic education must be creative and not standardized, the methods of group formation, problem posing, generative themes, investigation, and coding/decoding applied in the praxis are based on examples of best practices from the literature. Shor writes, "Developed in process, dialogue assumes the unique profile of the teachers, students, subject matter, and setting it belongs to. It requires…creative adaptation to local conditions" (1992, p. 237).

While generative themes and their companion themes were described in section 2.1, I have only briefly discussed the technique of problem posing. Problem posing, central to

critical pedagogy, also originated with Dewey (Shor, 1992, p. 31). Freire (1970a) asserts that in problem-posing education, "people develop their power to perceive critically *the way they exist* in the world *with which* and *in which* they find themselves: they come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation" (p. 83). Using this technique, the educator poses questions that investigate or problematize the themes generated by the class. To this point, Morrow & Torres write, "The general pedagogical principle involved here is *active participation* and *not* that teachers should never have expertise to communicate or that classroom interaction should always and everywhere take the immediate form of a dialogue" (2002, p. 121). Through the process of problem posing, and guided by the educator, participants critically investigate and interrogate the themes of discussion based within their own contexts and in the language of their daily vernacular. This process is intended to further reveal some of what has been hidden behind Window 4, and initiate a critical inquiry into the nature of the mainstream knowledge repository situated behind Windows 1 and 2 (see Table 1). In this study, the educator poses more challenging questions in order to analyze a theme in greater detail.

After the participants are given their initial training in video, based on some of the training methods found in PV practice, the first set of themes is reflected upon. Importantly, it is the aforementioned insider-to-insider model of PV that will be utilized (see Figure 1), which participants use as a research tool and as an object for their decoding. According to Morrow and Torres (2002), codification involves an attainable "graphic symbolization" of the "existential situation identified with generative words" (p. 124). Group members divide into smaller teams of three to four individuals and choose a theme for coding.[7] Codes are crafted pictorially through storyboarding, also an important step in the PV process (Lunch & Lunch, 2006; Walker & Arrighi; 2013). These coded themes are investigated creatively and recorded on video as short-form movies to then be analyzed and decoded by all the participants in a screening and reflection process. The coding and decoding of generative themes is an iterative process repeated throughout the program. In the words of Freire (1970b), "Codification…transforms what was a way of life in the real context into 'objectum' in the theoretical context. The learners, rather than receive information about this or that fact, analyze aspects of their own existential experience represented in the codification" (p. 488).

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[7] For more information on the coding process see Freire, 1970a; Freire, 1970b; Morrow and Torres 2002; Shor, 1992.

An example may be of help, acknowledging that this is an *a priori* illustration of the process in context. A theme generated by a group might be *transportation*, and outcome of problematized discussions about the amount of time it takes to reach a main road from the center of a village. Villagers may have to walk long distances because a bridge across a ravine is damaged or in disrepair. Through participatory storyboarding, a fiction or non-fiction narrative about the bridge is drawn pictorially. The participants then record, or shoot, the storyboard and make a short film that might be in the form of a metaphor, a narrative drama, or a documentary of some sort. This film is then screened and decoded by the group in a dialogue led by the educator, consisting of four steps (based on the ALP process, as cited by Shor, 1992, p. 208):

1) *Describing* what is in the video
2) *Identifying* with what is depicted
3) *Relating* what is depicted to their own lives
4) *Probing* why the situation exists as it does

Out of this self-reflexive process, new themes may then emerge for discussion. Continuing with the example above, the theme *responsibilities of the state* could reasonably emerge from discussions and reflections about the dysfunctional bridge. The process begins again and the next themes to be problematized and storyboarded are more sophisticated, but still generated dialogically by participants (see Figure 2). The value of the films is in their instrumentality in propelling the praxis forward. In line with the insider-to-insider model, there is no final outsider destination for the films unless participants negotiate one as part of a planned intervention that has emerged from the praxis. Intervention, however, cannot be designated as an "expected" outcome.

For Morrow and Torres (2002), "this open-ended, processual model is oriented toward learning how to *produce* knowledge" (p. 125). The production of knowledge through this dialogic and investigative process is conscientization, the enlargement of Window 3 by drawing from what is hidden behind Window 4 (see Table 1), and is, in fact, the goal of the entire exercise. This new critical consciousness, argues Shor, "allows people to make broad connections between individual experience and social issues, between single problems and the larger social system" (p. 127). Freire, meanwhile, echoing his parallel of conscientization to emergence, writes, "Individuals who were submerged in reality, merely feeling their needs, emerge from reality and perceive the causes of their needs" (1970a, p.117). The subsequent expansion of the open knowledge of Window 1, drawing from the

insider knowledge of Window 3, represents a reimagining of knowledge based on a more balanced contribution of insiders and outsiders.
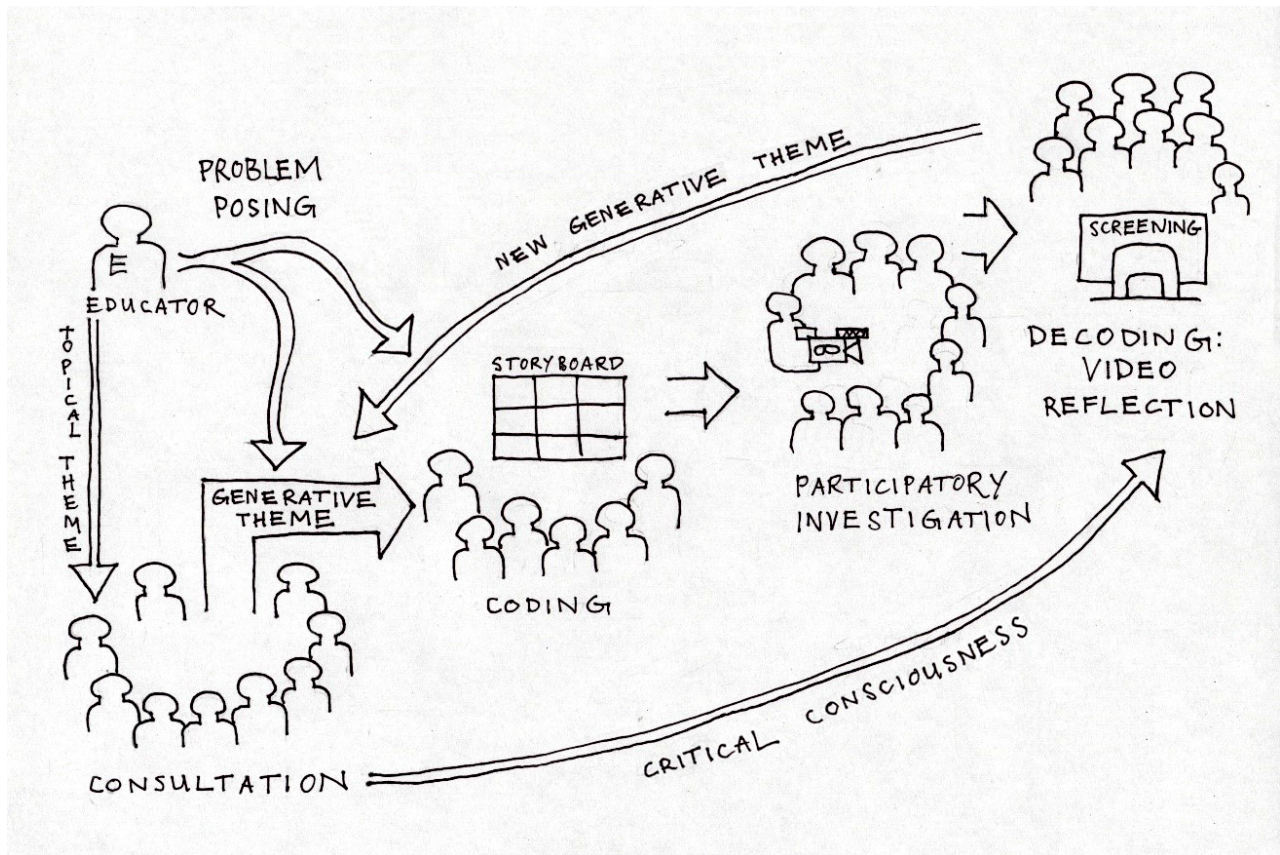
Figure 2: The critical pedagogy paradigm using movie making as praxis

The implications of the open-endedness of this model, however, are that this research project did not place any undue expectations on particular outcomes. This is noteworthy because it justified the use of an empirical analysis research design as opposed to participatory action-research in analyzing the viability of the model. When participants themselves are the agents who must initiate their own investigations into their own context, while using their thinking in context, there is no certainty that outcomes will match any pre-determined expectations.

Ecopedagogy and topical meta-themes

A wide variety of critical pedagogy practices can found both theorized within the literature and established around the world. The purpose of this chapter is not to summarize and review every radical form of critical pedagogy, but to illustrate the way a simple innovation can be added to what I consider a praxis that has maintained, the greatest possible extent,

a theoretical purity based on the writings of Freire. It is relevant, however, to feature at least one specific form of critical pedagogy that is growing in popularity, even if it is to only illustrate what the paradigm of praxis developed for this study *is not*.

The *raison d'être* of all critical pedagogy is to endeavor toward justice within the human condition; but, based on its positioning within the wider landscape of critical theory, there is an understanding that social justice and environmental justice are inseparable insofar as both are reliant on systemic change. Ecopedagogical frames emerge from this understanding. Marcuse argues that the domination of humans and nature are linked; both are based on the same rationality, and the logic of humans dominating humans can be overcome by challenging its roots in the social and scientific exploitation of nature (1972, 61). He is clear when placing blame: "It is obvious to what extent the violation of nature is inseparable from the economy of capitalism" (61). The establishment, Marcuse asserts, deprives humans, who are being forced to waste their lives in "unending competitive performances," the opportunity of finding themselves in nature, which possesses life-enhancing forces. It prevents their "recognizing nature as *subject* in its own right—a subject with which to live in a common universe" (60).

It is not a surprise, then, that ecopedagogy scholars argue in favor of Marcusian notions of pedagogy when tasked with developing a theory of radical education directed toward the ecological struggle (Kahn, 2005). Insofar as social and ecological justice are inextricably linked, ecopedagogy attempts to develop a "moral character to aid in the survival of human societies and…Earth as a whole" (Milstein, 2012, p. 4). While Freirean critical pedagogy has been perceived as falling short on addressing environmental issues, ecopedagogy carries certain *a priori* assumptions that direct pedagogy toward a more just world both socially and ecologically (Walker, 2016). This is, to an extent, in harmony with Freire's overarching vision of critical pedagogy, which, he emphasizes, must be directive, and should always remain open to reinvention (Darder et al. 2009, 16; Freire and Shor 1987, 22-23). By prefixing pedagogy with an *eco*, however, the praxis already carries *a priori* assumptions about its goal and destination. I call this a *topical meta-theme*. There is an overall theme and directionality of the praxis that is topical; it was not generated by group discourse, but instead taken for granted as the foundational investigational matter of the pedagogy. What if participants generate a theme that departs from the topical meta-theme? This is unlikely to happen when the praxis has been prefaced with a meta-theme, and the educators are fixed on it. Whereas inquiry may be genuine, and the outcomes

could certainly achieve the goal of endeavoring toward justice, the free and open nature of a praxis based on generative themes would have to be sacrificed to an extent.

A topical meta-theme differs from an individual topical theme. In this praxis a topical theme is only investigated once, and the outcome is the selection by participants of a higher-level generative theme. This will be illustrated in the next chapter. Despite the fact that generative themes are the primary analytical material for praxis, the educator may introduce topical themes at times to spark an initial discussion. As mentioned by Shor (1992), the educator should only put forward a topical theme to the group with great consideration (p. 55). The topical theme chosen by an educator has to fit into the participant-centered thinking in context; therefore, it must have some contextual resonance.

2.5 Context: Nepal

The purpose of this section is to identify the location where the study took place and briefly describe the relevant social and economic conditions. In order to demonstrate that Nepal is well suited for research based upon the underlying theories of critical pedagogy and conscientization, the nature of marginalization and oppression in that country will be discussed.

First, it is necessary to reiterate that this study is driven by theory, not by context. Notwithstanding this fact, the research had to be carried out somewhere, and it was important that the conditions and precedents existed for this type of project. Additional factors contributed to the selection of Nepal as the research site, such as my background and language skills. Although these factors are of relevance, they shall be put aside temporarily.

Many contemporary critical pedagogues, such as Henry Giroux, bell hooks, and Peter McLaren, have taken the concept of the pedagogy of the oppressed and applied it to the elite classroom environments of ivory tower institutions. It can be argued that conscientization is of importance for everyone, not just for those who have been completely marginalized by the patterns of modern social organization. This study of critical education, however, was carried out in a context far removed from the university lecture hall, in locations more closely approximating the contexts for which pedagogies of the oppressed were developed.

Nepal is the poorest country in South Asia (Deraniyagala, 2005). A mountainous land-locked nation, it has a population today of just under thirty million. The Himalayan ranges have attracted wave upon wave of tourists, but at the same time have considerably hindered the development of infrastructure in the country. Unequal patterns of social and economic development have favored certain interests and locations, and neglected others. For example, in many of Nepal's 75 districts, roads and sporadic electricity only service the district capitals, with much of the rural population living in remote valleys and on mountainsides accessible only by foot. Likewise, social and commercial services privilege urban and peri-urban areas, yet the majority of the country's population is rural-based. As Wagle (2010) points out, "In a country where illiteracy is high and most of the population practices subsistence agriculture, the traditional notions of social hierarchy still dominate one's locus and fate in society" (p. 94).

Political turmoil has been a constant feature of Nepal since the 1990 People's Movement, which saw the end to more than 200 years of autocratic rule. The failure of the mainstream political parties that inherited the nation, exacerbated by unfettered corruption, resulted in a political split that compelled a wing of the Communist Party of Nepal to go underground to initiate a violent Maoist people's revolution. After ten years of bitter conflict that resulted in the loss of over 15,000 lives, a tenuous peace was established that led to the integration of the Maoist party elites into the political mainstream. This resulted in further factionalizing by radical elements of the party, which remain in semi-insurgent opposition today.

According to the World Bank's figures for 2013, fifty-seven percent of the population of Nepal lives below the poverty line. The gap between the elite and the indigent is striking, amplified by a dramatic increase in the share of total income in the hands of the wealthiest ten percent over the past twenty years (SAAPE, 2004).[8] Poverty in Nepal is also characterized as horizontal, with the notable differences existing between social groups, as opposed to vertical, where the differences in wealth exist between individuals (as understood by quantitative measurements such as the Gini coefficient; see Deraniyagala, 2005; Wagle, 2010).

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[8] According to the World Bank, the poorest quintile earned eight percent of the nation's wealth in 2010, compared with forty-two percent in the hands of the richest quintile.

According to Pherali (2011), Nepal's state education system has historically marginalized certain groups, primarily along lines of ethnicity and caste (p. 143). Furthermore, gender disparity favoring males can be seen at all levels of education, including among the ranks of teachers (p. 144). Secondary schooling is often prohibitively far from many remote villages, further privileging the urban over the rural (p. 144). Carney and Rappleye (2011) assert that neoliberal donor agencies have often attempted to direct Nepal's education agenda away from a "Nepalese solutions to Nepalese problems" approach, towards "a generic global policy discourse that celebrates the loose signifiers of 'quality' and 'excellence'" (p. 3). Liberalization after 1990 also resulted in a massive expansion of the private schooling sector, which led to an exodus from state schooling by privileged groups (Carney & Rappleye, 2011, p. 3).[9]

A lack of economic opportunity domestically, compounded by a decade of civil conflict, triggered a flight of able-bodied men and women from the country in search of overseas employment. Over two million Nepalese are now working abroad, primarily in the unskilled labor sector (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2012; Sapkota, 2013). Remittances from these laborers, the majority of whom work in the Gulf countries, have for some years now constituted a massive share of Nepal's economy. Nepal is one of the highest recipients of remittances worldwide, based on share of GDP, with around 56 percent of households receiving remittances in 2010/11 (Sapkota, 2013, p. 13).

Indeed, oppression in Nepal is partially a symptom of the current neoliberal system. Not unrelated to the economic disparity, however, are the dynamics of the Hindu caste system, which although legally abolished still impresses an indelible mark on society and the structures of social organization, adding another complex layer to the nature of oppression in Nepal. The framing of oppression through the lens of the economy is helpful at the systemic level, but because of the simplicity of the proposition a more robust analysis of the Nepalese context must engage with caste, because oppression has existed, and exists, outside the influence of neoliberalism. The data from Wagle's (2010) study on income inequality in Nepal show that it has a strong correlation with caste and ethnicity (p. 100). Furthermore, he writes that his findings "reaffirm the perpetuation of the deeply rooted discriminatory practices based on traditional social divisions, invoking stronger roles of education to remove social prejudices" (p. 103).

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[9] See also Bhatta, 2011 for a thorough review of aid agency influence on Nepal's national educational policy.

The nature of caste-based discrimination in Nepal is exceedingly complex; therefore, Bourdieu's sociological theories of "field" and "habitus" are useful (Maton, 2008, p. 50). In addition to the pre-assigned division of labor, the Hindu caste system has created a structured society based on thousands of years of religious hierarchical tradition. Many of the elements of caste-based interaction can be attributed to habitus, which Maton (2008) describes as belonging to "a genetic mode of thought, as opposed to existentialist modes of thought" (p. 56). It other words, a type of thinking in context not dissimilar to Freire's magical consciousness, in which one cannot perceive one's historical reality. Habitus is also another way of looking at oppression and conscientization through an alternative lens. It represents the arbitrary behaviors that social agents engage in within their context (or field), yet consider essential, such as social stature and etiquette based on caste. According to Maton, "Revealing the hidden workings of habitus is thus, for Bourdieu, a kind of 'socio-analysis', a political form of therapy enabling social agents to understand more fully their place in the social world" (p. 59). The revelation of the hidden workings of habitus is another way of understanding conscientization, and can also be operationalized using the Johari Window framework presented earlier.

Engagement with caste is ever present in Nepal, whether from government or non-government initiatives. Indeed, an elimination of the Hindu social structure was one of the fundamental building blocks of support for the Maoists among many rural and marginalized people. The Maoists, together with the other major political parties, were successful in abolishing the world's only Hindu monarchy through a people's movement in 2006, in what was seen as a significant blow to the entrenched system of patriarchal caste-based hegemony in Nepal. The fact that a large majority of the Maoist leadership is comprised of high-caste Hindus, however, is emblematic of the level of entrenchment that exists. Nevertheless, the Maoist revolution was successful in removing much of the taboo surrounding an open discourse on caste and caste-based discrimination. It can be argued that in some regard international organizations today are playing catch-up; they endeavor to open channels for dialogue about caste only to find that the social discourse was initiated years ago during the civil conflict.

In the preceding paragraphs the nature of oppression in Nepal was highlighted by an illustration of issues related to infrastructure, politics, poverty, education, economics, and caste. It can be asked in relation to this study, to what extent were issues like poverty and caste engaged with through praxis? These questions are of significant interest, and they

will be answered in due course. While the data will show to what extent these issues were engaged with through praxis, it is important to remember that the *material* of participants' investigation is not what this study seeks to understand. It was thoroughly conceivable that none of these issues would ever surface in the themes generated by participants in the praxis, and that would have been a perfectly acceptable outcome from the standpoint of research.

Couldry (2010) reminds us that voice is not individual, and can only emerge into an existing narrative (p. 9). Nepal is a quagmire of development agencies, NGOs, and other stakeholder organizations that are all engaged in providing agenda-based narratives to their "beneficiaries." It is important to remember the distinction between these types of projects and this praxis, which does not seek to provide any narrative, but to see what narratives emerge. Although as a researcher I may have an intuitive notion of what topics in the context of Nepal are "of interest" to international readership, this intuitive notion is based on my privileged outsider knowledge.

Chapter 3: Research methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the research methodology and design frameworks used in the study. Epistemological foundations and the lens of inquiry will be briefly summarized, and the selected design frameworks will be discussed in detail. This chapter also outlines the three phases of fieldwork and the methods of data collection used in each phase. The second phase of fieldwork, which is the praxis itself, is described from a methodological perspective. In other words, the discussion is centered on how the case was established, and what methods of data collection were used. The details of the case itself are the subject of the next chapter. In this chapter, the praxis developed for this study is described, not in terms of *what happened*, but *how it was studied*. In addition, participant information and a table of the thematic progression are provided, followed by a section on ethical considerations.

3.1 Methodological framework

This qualitative study utilized two design frameworks and multiple methods of data collection. The foundation of this research was constructed using primarily the methodological contributions of two researchers: Robert Stake and Arthur Frank. These two researchers are established in the literature as leaders in research with respect to their design frameworks (with reference to Stake, see Cresswell, 1998). Whereas both frameworks allow for a certain measure of *bricolage* on the part of the researcher, the use of a single framework as the source for the building materials of the study controls the possibility of contradictions, in terms of epistemological and methodological approaches.

At the macro level, a case study design framework was used to achieve research objective #1—*analyze the utility of movie making as a tool to operationalize conscientization*—and objective #2—d*efine the parameters of the movie-making process within a critical pedagogical praxis*. A dialogical narrative analysis design framework was used in order to achieve objective #3—*understand how the praxis developed for this study, by creating movies to investigate generative themes, leads to conscientization.*

The epistemological position of this study is that knowledge is constructed within a context. This constructionist perspective forms the bedrock for dialectical views of knowledge, which are central to critical pedagogy. Human knowledge is both a product of context, and equally a force capable of changing the reality of that context (Darder et al., 2009, p. 11).

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This does not mean the study adopts a relativist view of knowledge, which suggests that all understanding is derived from culture, society, or solitary analysis. Bernstein (2011) has pointed out that this view is "inconsistent and paradoxical" (p. 9). Relativists themselves, by virtue of their position on knowledge, are making an absolute claim about truth. Bernstein also acknowledges that objective knowledge can exist (p. 46); what is being constructed, then, are often value-based understandings of that knowledge that can only occur in context. My crude parallel of this is a world with a sun at a fixed point in the sky. Depending where one was to stand on the surface of this world, they would describe the sun very differently. For some it would be perpetual sunset, red and yellow, for others, they would only know it by the light of the moon. In truth, no one on the surface of this world has comprehensive knowledge of the sun, and only together, by appreciating one another's knowledge, can they achieve deeper understanding.

Darder et al. (2009) note that critical theory provides the building blocks at the foundation of critical pedagogy (p. 9). This study has employed a critical theory paradigm, or lens of inquiry, in line with critical pedagogy research, and consistent with the theories discussed in the previous chapter.[10] In other words, the starting point for any inquiry takes for granted the assumptions about knowledge and the world that are made by critical theory as a research paradigm. These assumptions were discussed in the previous chapter.

Phronesis, broadly, is the practical wisdom one possesses about context and the social constructions found within that context (Schram, 2012, p. 16). Although this study is theory-driven, and the movie-making praxis was based on critical pedagogical theory, the elements of PV were drawn from *field-based practice*, which I had personal experience with as a PV facilitator. Praxis, therefore, is not just a theoretical activity dropped top-down onto context, but takes into account context—not only in its construction but also in its stated purpose: the uncovering of blocked subjectivities and conscientization. This chapter, and the chapters that follow, will show that the context heavily influenced the direction of the praxis, and there was a constant state of negotiation and feedback exchange between the educators and the participants. Therefore, this study, epistemologically and methodologically, follows the *phronetic* approach described by Flyvbjerg, Landman, and Schram, which "requires a knowledge of context that is simply not accessible through theory alone" (2012, p. 286). The methodological research design will show that central to this study was a bottom-up action-oriented theory of knowledge.

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[10] See also Giroux (2009) for an in-depth analysis of critical theory and education.

Phronetic social science, after all, is aimed at society's improvement through public dialogue and praxis (p. 286).

3.2 Research design frameworks

The primary design framework for the research is a paradigmatic instrumental case study (Flyvberg, 2006; Stake 1995). Embedded within this meta-framework will be a secondary design framework of dialogical narrative analysis (Chase, 2011; Frank, 2005; Frank, 2010; Landman, 2012), which, as mentioned, is essential for achieving the third research objective. More than simply a method of data collection and analysis used to complement the objectives of case study, dialogical narrative analysis possesses its own unique design elements and principles. The justification for utilizing case study research and dialogical narrative analysis will be made in the upcoming sections. This section will provide general background on each of these design frameworks, but readers can expect a more detailed and nuanced description of each of the design frameworks in their dedicated chapters.

3.2.1 Case study research

The praxis that is the subject of this study is, in essence, a program in non-formal adult education, which I have named *Insider Windows*. As noted by Stake (1995), case study research has a long and established track record in educational program evaluation (see also Simons, 2009). The renowned psychologist Eysenck, who initially thought the case study method was only good for generating anecdotes, wrote, "Sometimes we simply have to keep our eyes open and look carefully at individual cases—not in the hope of proving anything, but rather in the hope of learning something" (1976, p. 9). Whereas this study is led by theories, the creation of the case for research places these theories in context, which is essential for advancing knowledge and understanding. Concrete, context-dependent knowledge is more useful, as Flyvbjerg explains, than "the vain search for predictive theories and universals" (2006, p.7).

The value of case study research in achieving the first and second objectives of this study is linked to its detachment from any singular type of evidence, and the adaptability of the design framework to incorporate diverse forms of data from many different sources (see Yin, 1981). This is essential when analyzing the viability of the model and establishing parameters, both of which rely on more than just the contribution and perspectives of participants, but must take external factors into consideration, ranging from the logistical and financial, to the environmental and unpredictable.

The fact that the critical pedagogy course is also a bounded case is in accord with the definitions of a case put forth by Ragin and Becker (1992) and Stake (1995). Addressing this point, Ragin and Becker write, "Boundaries around places and time periods define cases" (p. 5). Accordingly, this research study was bound by the allotted timeframe for the program and the geographical location in which it was initiated. The boundaries of the case are also delineated by the research phase, with the case study occurring during Phase Two.

As mentioned, the *Insider Windows* case is a paradigmatic, instrumental case. In case study research Flyvbjerg (2006) identifies three types of cases: *extreme*, *critical*, and *paradigmatic*. An *extreme case* is often rich in information and involves more actors and mechanisms in the situation being studied (p. 13), yet it is not necessarily representative or typical of the situation. A *critical case* can be defined as "having strategic importance in relation to the general problem" (p. 14). The purpose of a critical case is to verify or falsify a hypothesis or proposition. The third type of case identified by Flybjerg is the *paradigmatic case*, which is a case that transcends any rule-based criteria because it is setting a standard, and is central to human learning (2006, pp. 15-16). Because the case in this study is to be created for the purpose of research, rather than already existing within a context, it fits within the parameters of a paradigmatic case. Flyvbjerg writes, "No standard exists for the paradigmatic case because it sets the standard" (p. 16). In other words, if not for the study of this case, it would not have existed.

Stake (1995) differentiates between *intrinsic* and *instrumental* cases (see also Simons, 2009). An intrinsic case is of interest in its own right, rather than something that represents a general problem or condition. The case is selected because of its intrinsic value or novelty. For example, in medical research an individual who is immune to a deadly virus might be studied as an intrinsic case. An instrumental case, on the other hand, is used to understand something else. It is driven by a particular research question or objective (Stake, 1995, p. 3). To provide an example, the case of a failing hospital can be used to answer questions about a national healthcare system. The study of the *Insider Windows* praxis is driven entirely by the research objectives, thus making it an instrumental case. Flybjerg (2006) emphasizes, "The value of a case study will depend on the validity claims which researchers can place on their study, and the status these claims obtain in dialogue with other validity claims in the discourse to which the study is a

contribution" (p. 17). In this regard, the instrumentality of a case is linked with its validity, and validity does not necessarily mean generalizability. In fact, this research does not seek generalizability but, at most, transferability. For research conducted in a critical theory paradigm, transferability is achieved by re-informing the original theories upon which the study is based. Therefore, conducting critical theory research does not mean becoming attached to the fundamental theoretical assumptions, but involves a self-critique process. By transferring the findings of research back to the initial theoretical assumptions, their validity is thus tested, and the assumptions can be revised (Giroux, 2009, p. 27). An instrumental case is better situated to make a contribution to the field of critical pedagogy because of its potential for transferability of the findings. Regarding generalizability, criticism has been directed toward case study research because of the myth that one cannot generalize from a single case.[11] Flyvbjerg (2011) reminds us: "That knowledge cannot be formally generalized does not mean that it cannot enter into the collective process of knowledge accumulation in a given field or in a society" (p. 305).

Take the concept of conscientization, the outcome of critical pedagogy. If participants in the movie-making praxis experience conscientization, broadly, it can be said that the praxis was successful. Therefore, this study assumed at the outset, and thus indirectly predicted, that conscientization would occur. The rigor of case study research opens this prediction to falsification once it has been analyzed in a context. If conscientization did not occur, the initial assumption could be challenged. The ability to falsify through case study research is important; however, of equal importance is the ability to verify. Case study research allows for the verification of the praxis developed for this study, and through that verification a potentially significant contribution to the field of critical pedagogy can be made. If conscientization did occur, then the praxis is viable (not generalizable) in this instance, which is inclusive of context and other considerations. Viability is confirmed through verification.

The multiple sources of data that comprise a single case are capable of informing both *etic* and *emic* issues. In this study, the etic issues are the larger questions surrounding the viability and success of the praxis to achieve its goals. These are the issues essential to

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[11] See Flyvbjerg's chapter on Case Study in *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research* (edited by Denzin & Lincoln, 2011) for a comprehensive refutation of the generalizability misunderstanding in case study research. Flyvbjerg highlights how case studies, especially through falsification, which he calls "one of the most rigorous tests to which a scientific proposition can by subjected" (p. 305), are ideal for generalizing, if that is the researcher's goal. He reminds us of Aristotle's law of gravity, which was the dominant scientific view for 2000 years, and how Galileo falsified it though a single case.

answering the primary research questions and transferring the findings back to theory. Emic issues, on the other hand, are the issues that emerge from the lives and experiences of the participants (Stake, 1995, p. 20). These issues are captured in the generative themes that materialize during the course of the praxis, the investigations of those themes that follow, and their coding, or representation, in movie form. In critical pedagogy research the etic issues inform the emic issues—in other words, considerations of context, power, and historical reality inform the way knowledge is constructed. They determine the way knowledge is distributed behind the Johari Window framework (see chapter two, Table 1). This is central to a constructionist epistemology. Unlike ethnography, however, these emic issued are not the subject of this research. Nevertheless, emic issues play an important part in this study, not because of the nature of the issues themselves—for example gender, caste, or unemployment—but because of the way they can be analyzed to understand emergence on the part of the participant. Therefore, they are the primary substance of the dialogical narrative analysis design framework to be discussed below.

The case study design framework also allows ample opportunity for *triangulation*. By collecting multiple observations of the same phenomena made by researchers and participants of diverse backgrounds, this study can approach what Stake (1995) calls theory triangulation, which is fundamental in interpreting and verifying the etic issues of the case. Stake further points out, "The stronger one's belief in constructed reality, the more difficult it is to believe that any complex observation or interpretation can be triangulated" (1995, p. 114). In this type of qualitative research, triangulation is not targeting the discovery of singular meaning. Rather, it can and should lead to multiple interpretations that can be analyzed holistically to help achieve *understanding*.

3.2.2 Dialogical narrative analysis

Narratives are the home of the stories that people tell about things that have directly or indirectly influenced them, inclusive of the "evaluative impressions that those experiences carry with them" (Landman, 2012, pp. 28-29). According to Chase (2011), "Narrative theorists define narrative as a distinct form of discourse: as meaning making through the shaping and ordering of experience…of connecting and seeing the consequences of actions and events over time" (p. 421). Although general narratives already comprise a large proportion of the data collected in case study research (see Yin, 1981), the narratives gleaned from semi-structured interviews and observations in the case study do not make up the substantive material of the dialogical narrative analysis. In this study, the

narratives are the outer shell into which the details of a story are constructed, and these stories are constructed through coding, and told in the form of a movie. Participants are in constant conversation with the stories they tell; they are never finalized, they simply open up the dialogue to more stories. Although this form of analysis has been criticized from a positivist perspective, Landman points out that the common response of narrative analysts is to claim "that narrative analysis does not aspire to the goal of inference and generalizability and seeks a different 'way of knowing' that is opposed to the positivistic spirit of the natural science model" (2012, p. 33).

Because the purpose of the dialogical narrative analysis is to *understand how the praxis developed for this study, by creating movies to investigate generative themes, leads to conscientization,* the movies produced by the participants during the praxis comprise the primary narrative data for interpretation. The research team collected subjective participant broad and specific impressions and understandings *about* these narratives through semi-structured interviews, which focused on the emic issues of the participants. Given the dialectical nature of critical pedagogy, the actions and perceptions of the educators and the participants are of equal importance, and educators were interviewed about the same emic issues. Themes that emerged from the movie narratives were identified and served as the basis for further interviews with participants during the months that followed the completion of the praxis. As the iterative praxis progressed, perceptions and actions relating to the generative themes were recorded for analysis. To provide a simple example, out of the generative theme *social problems and their solutions*, participants from the field site Godamchaur produced a movie on littering and its effects on the health and beauty of the village. Changes in perception and behavior related to that theme became the subject matter of participant interviews after the completion of the praxis.

Following the method of Frank (2010), the narrative analysis must be both *social* and *dialogical*. According to Frank, the word *social* does not represent an entity it itself, but rather a collection of practices. Storytelling is one of these practices (2010, p. 15). Stories do not exist in isolation from those who narrate them, those who listen to them, and the context in which they are expressed. In this way stories are also dialogical. Frank states that "analysis is always about the relationship between *at least two* and most often three elements: a story, a storyteller, and a listener. None of these could be what it is without the others. What is analyzed is how *each allows the other to be*" (2010, p. 16).

Monological stories, on the other hand, are stories that are beyond interpretation; but without interpretation the doorway to alternative understandings is closed. In dialogical analysis it is understood that there are multiple truths (Frank, 2010, p. 41).

Dialogical narrative analysis is a meta-interpretive research design. It is not just the stories that are analyzed, but also the interpretations that people make of those stories (Frank, 2010, p. 18). The anti-mimetic value that stories possess—or the understanding that life often mimics the stories we hear, rather than the other way around—is recognized, and with that understanding in mind, deeper interpretations can be made about the movies produced by participants, and how they can engender an emergence. Does the critical analysis of a theme generate a story, or does the creative act of storytelling generate a higher-level critical theme? In what ways are the movies representations of the lives of the participants, or do their lives mimic the stories that are told, the stories that comprise their narrative habitus? Here the theoretical connection is made between Bourdieu, as discussed in the previous chapter, and Frank. Just as habitus was described as "a genetic mode of thought, as opposed to existentialist modes of thought" (Maton, 2008, p. 56), narrative habitus is "a disposition to hear some stories as those one ought to listen to, ought to repeat on appropriate occasions, and ought to be guided by" (Frank, 2010, p. 53). Habitus can be thought of as what comes as second nature to an individual, and narrative habitus as the stories that do not clash with that second nature; stories that are recognizable, and in that recognition validate an individual's membership in a group. As Frank points out, it is often the stories that people know and the way they react to those stories that determines the extent to which one can fit into a group (2010, p. 53). The importance of shared narrative habitus is paramount in a study of conscientization through storytelling. Likewise, Freire emphatically stated that conscientization does not happen to an individual in isolation (Freire & Shor, 1987, p. 22-23). Simply put, "Dialogical narrative analysis studies the mirroring between what is told in the story—the story's content—and what happens as a result of telling that story—its effects" (Frank, 2010, p. 72).

Finally, the narrative analysis in this study will adhere to the principle of *perpetual generation*, which is congruous with the theories and goals of critical pedagogy. According to Frank (2005), the "principle of *perpetual generation* means that narrative analysis can never claim any last word about what a story means or represents. Instead, narrative

analysis, like the story itself, can only look toward an open future" (p. 967; see also Frank, 2010, on *Devushkinization*[12]).

3.3 Synthesizing the case: movie making, critical pedagogy, and Nepal

The paradigmatic case that is the subject of this research was synthesized from the theories and practical examples of critical pedagogy and participatory video described in the preceding chapters. Practically speaking, I developed the paradigm of praxis, provided all the necessary materials for the classes, trained the critical educators, and supported them in their recruitment of the participants. The case consisted of two community-based groups each led by a critical educator from that locality. The locations of the two groups represent two different contexts in Nepal: the city and the village. It is important to mention that these two different groups do not constitute two separate cases for comparative analysis. The bounded system is the paradigm itself, and the two cases are both expressions of the same paradigm. This can be likened to the singular nature of a case study of a school with two separate classrooms teaching the same curriculum; the school is the bounded entity.

Comparative analysis between the two groups of participants within the single case only functioned at the level of etic issue. It was used to analyze the viability of movie making as pedagogical praxis and understand its contextual limitations. The primary reason for establishing two groups in two separate communities was to obtain more data to be aggregated for analysis. The success of the praxis in two different settings would also help verify the viability of the movie-making paradigm. Owing to the nature of the praxis, group size was initially capped at twelve participants per group, plus the educator; therefore, a class in a second field site helped to increase the number of overall participants. The selection of two different contexts also resulted in a greater diversity of case study data and movies for analysis.

The overarching fieldwork strategy involved an initial preparation period at The University of Queensland, followed by three phases in Nepal. An overview of each phase is provided below. The methods of data collection used in each phase are discussed briefly and will be described in more depth in Section 3.4.

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[12] According to Frank (2010) social science research too often silences participants by enumerating "all that is significant about them." From a dialogical perspective this is not only ethically questionable, but false, because it "creates a pretension of knowing what cannot be known." Frank calls this act *Devushkinization* after the character Makar Devushkin from one of Dostoevsky's early novels. Devushkin is a character that recognized the falseness behind any analysis that attempted to finalize him (pp. 97-98).

Preparation

My preparation work at the University of Queensland was primarily dedicated to developing the training curriculum for the educators, securing funding for fieldwork, and making arrangements for travel to and accommodation in Nepal. The participant information sheet and consent form were written during this period (see Appendix for examples of both the English and Nepalese versions). Other tasks such as obtaining ethical clearance and procuring the necessary video equipment for the research project were also completed in this phase. Two camera kits were purchased for the project, one for each site. Each kit contained a camera with a built-in projector (essential for the screening and decoding process), a camera bag, a handheld microphone, a tripod, and two batteries with a charger cable. Travel to Nepal occurred at the conclusion of the preparation activities.

Phase One: training of critical educators and recruitment of participants

The selection and training of critical educators was a vital stage of the overall research project. Indeed, the strength of the educators and their understanding of the paradigm have considerable influence on the entire process (Blackburn, 2000). Candidates for educators were approached and finally selected from my existing local networks. They were remunerated with a competitive hourly rate for all of their work during the project.

Interest in the program was generated through the local networks of the educators, one of the determining factors in terms of their suitability for the role. For this reason, the actual locations for the two sites were not finalized until the educators had been formally selected. Following the selection of the two educators, members of the community from their respective localities were invited to participate in the program. The information sheet detailing the particulars of the program was handed out to interested participants. Applicants were assessed on a first-come, first-served basis, and registration was limited to adults over the age of seventeen who were willing to honor the time commitment. An arbitrary cap on male participants was put in place so that no more than six members of each group could be male, although this was never an issue (in fact very few men joined and the majority of the participants were women). All participants were thoroughly briefed on the nature of the program and the fact that it was a research project.

The search for critical educators began in March 2014 and did not need to extend beyond the existing network of the researcher. The search began by word of mouth, with the intention of casting a wider net if no interested (and interesting) candidates were found. This was unnecessary as several very promising young adults expressed interest in the role of educator. The two individuals finally selected to be educators were both young women. The first was named Remee,[13] age 26, and the second was named Pooja, age 21. They were both selected on the basis of their interest in the project and their confidence in their ability to recruit participants from their locality. In Remee's case it was the northwest Kathmandu neighborhood of Kapan, while Pooja's course was established in the village of Godamchaur, in Lalitpur District, south of Kathmandu.

The training of critical educators occurred over the months of April, May, and June of that year, and involved weekly meetings and practical exercises. In total, eight training meetings of varying length were held with the two educators as well as with Rishi, the research assistant for Phase Two of the project. There was no rigidly predetermined length for the overall training, and the readiness of the educators to begin their classes was based entirely on my assessment. The meeting days varied in length with the total training time adding up to approximately thirty-five hours.

The educators received technical training in basic filmmaking and in simple methods they could use to teach these skills to others. They were also oriented in the principles of both critical pedagogy and participatory video. Current and critical debates in the field of participatory video were explored in order to highlight the distinction between branded PV practices and the movie-making praxis they would be leading. The praxis was discussed and consulted upon until a sufficient level of understanding was achieved. Educator feedback was solicited and incorporated based on their insider understanding of the context in which they would be leading their courses.

Phase Two: the praxis

The movie-making paradigm of critical pedagogy described in the previous chapter is an iterative process, with the steps of thematic discussion, problem posing, coding, participatory investigation, and decoding comprising the first iteration of the multi-stage process (see chapter two, Figure 2 for a graphical representation of the praxis). Each of

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[13] Based on the desire expressed by participants to be represented accurately, but also taking into consideration a measure of anonymity, only first names will be used throughout this document.

the two groups of participants went through three iterations of the process before the course reached its conclusion, totaling six participatory investigations of themes across both settings. Data was collected throughout the period, which lasted from July through September 2014. Various methods like observations and semi-structured interviews were used in order to achieve the case study research objectives (Simons, 2009; Stake, 1995; Yin, 1981). These methods of data collection will be described in detail in the next section. At the end of Phase One it was agreed that a twelve- to fifteen-week program, with one group meeting per week lasting a recommended two hours, would be the most feasible. In Godamchaur, however, participants expressed a desire to meet more regularly in order to finish the course before the planting season in the village began. Meeting at that site typically occurred twice per week. It should be noted that the timetable of the two courses did not coincide. The course in Godamchaur began earlier and moved comparatively quickly. In Kapan, participants could only meet once per week, on Saturday mornings, because of their urban work and study schedules. At no point was there any crossover between the two courses in terms of participation or activity.[14]

The timetable of two-hour classes during the second phase was negotiated between the educators and their respective groups based on the schedules best suited for the highest attendance rates of the participants; however, it was decided that the program should not run longer than three months. The educators had general guidelines for timing, but not a precise prescriptive workflow, and it was understood that the groups would move at their own pace. At the graduation of the Kapan class, Sajata, the master of ceremonies selected by her fellow participants, asked the question: "What can we learn in a day?" This question referred to the length of the program, which consisted of twelve two-hour sessions. It was an approximation because on shooting days the participants would regularly take more than two hours, and often shooting lasted for six to eight hours. But the spirit of the question was understood and appreciated by all.

As mentioned, the program was initiated in two very different locations. Godamchaur is an agricultural village comprised of ethnic *Magars*, *Tamangs*, and *Dalits* (untouchables). Pooja's class in Godamchaur began with ten participants, three male and seven female (see Table 2 for participant and research team information). One young man dropped out after the first class because he got a new job and could no longer commit to the meetings,

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[14] On one occasion Pooja, the educator from Godamchaur, attended a class in Kapan to gather the observation notes on a day when neither the research assistant nor I could attend. This happened after the Godamchaur class had already concluded and that setting had moved into Phase 3 of the research.

yet he featured as an actor in some of the movies shot by teams of participants. The remaining nine participants all graduated from the course. The location for the class was at the home of a villager who generously opened her empty ground-floor room to use as a meeting place.

Table 2: Participant and research team information

Name	Age	Site	Role in project	Occupation
Pooja	21	Godamchaur	Educator	Researcher and accountant
Sabita	17	Godamchaur	Participant	Management student, class 11
Manisha	18	Godamchaur	Participant	Humanities student, class 12 and part-time teacher
Namuna	17	Godamchaur	Participant	Management student, class 12
Buddha	17	Godamchaur	Participant	Seasonal odd jobs (farming, plumbing, wiring), but currently unemployed
Deepak	18	Godamchaur	Participant	Humanities student, class 12 and cable TV technician
Arina	18	Godamchaur	Participant	Management student, class 11
Anju	26	Godamchaur	Participant	BBS passed, currently unemployed
Sanchita	25	Godamchaur	Participant	Housewife
Sajina	18	Godamchaur	Participant	Management student, class 12
Remee	26	Kapan	Educator	Primary school teacher at Wendy House School
Suman	20	Kapan	Participant	College student (pharmacy)
Sajata	19	Kapan	Participant	College student (microbiology)
Sarjil	15	Kapan	Participant	Student in class 10
Luna	18	Kapan	Participant	Student (nursing)
Sunita	18	Kapan	Participant	Science teacher at Durga Bhawani School
Sujan	19	Kapan	Participant	Student
Divya	19	Kapan	Participant	Teacher at Pushpa Lal School
Poonam	18	Kapan	Participant	Medical representative for Lotus Enterprises
Kabita	19	Kapan	Participant	College (social work)
Sunita	19	Kapan	Participant	Unemployed
Rishi	30	Godamchaur & Kapan	Research Assistant	Proposal writing officer at CARE Nepal
Niraj	25	N/A	Translator	Student

Kapan is a growing neighborhood in northwest Kathmandu with a great deal of recent urban development and increasing migration from the villages. Some land is still dedicated to agriculture in between the cement and brick buildings, which is characteristic of the transition from rural to urban at the peripheries of modern Kathmandu. Remee's class in Kapan met in the home of one of her personal friends. She was able to recruit twelve participants, out of which ten (three men and seven women) completed the entire course and graduated. Both dropouts were young men; one had become ill while the other had found a new job that prevented him from continuing in the class.[15]

In the next chapter the entire case will be defined in detail, and the activities carried out in each session of each course at both settings will be described. That chapter represents a comprehensive description of Phase Two of the research project so no outline of the class-by-class activities is included here.

Table 3 provides information on the thematic progression that took place in each research setting. The way the themes were selected topically, or generated dialogically, and the implications that they had on the groups discussions, will also be described in detail in the next chapter. Each round represents a single iteration of the movie making praxis; therefore, each theme resulted in either two or three movies, depending on the way the participants divided into teams. The critical educators ensured that the participants were distributed in their teams differently in each round. This not only helped with dialogue, and therefore knowledge production, but it also prevented a competitive spirit from developing between participants with a team mentality, trying to outdo one another each round in terms of movie production value. This would have resulted in an unnecessary focus on the craft of filmmaking, rather than allowing for the true purpose of the activity, which was to analyze and investigate each coded theme.

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[15] A more detailed description of Godamchaur and Kapan can be found in the next chapter.

Table 3: Thematic progression

	Kapan	*Godamchaur*
Round one	Children (topical)	Responsibility (topical)
Round two	Awareness (generative)	Social problems and their solutions (generative)
Round three	Awareness is not enough (generative)	Overcoming negative forces (generative)
Post-praxis	N/A	Caste discrimination (generative)

Following the completion of the twelfth class of the course in both settings, the groups held graduation ceremonies that were organized by the participants and their educator. The graduation ceremonies followed the same format and involved screening three films produced by the group. In the case of Godamchaur the participants voted on the three films to screen, whereas in Kapan they asked the educator, the research assistant, and me to choose three films for them. Interestingly, this was the only time during the entire course in Kapan that the participants engaged the research assistant or me, and included us in their decision-making. The fact that this did not occur until after the final class of the course, and the conclusion of the praxis, is a testimony to the educator who did an admirable job of making sure we were seen only as outside observers, and not as participants in their inquiry. Participants from both classes asked to have a *Best Picture* certificate awarded to a single film at the conclusion of the ceremony. All participants received certificates of completion in a basic video production course (see Appendix 1 for an example). Members of the community were invited to the graduation ceremonies and snacks were served. In both settings a master of ceremonies was elected from among the participants to introduce the nature of the course, discuss the films, and lead the question and answer sessions. In Godamchaur twenty-four people, including participants, attended the graduation, and fifteen attended the occasion for the Kapan course. The next chapter contains more discussion about the graduation ceremonies.

Phase Three: after the praxis

Phase Three of the project began in September 2014 and lasted until December. This phase involved the collection of semi-structured interviews from both the critical educators and some selected participants following the completion of the course. I interviewed the educators individually during this phase using a semi-structured approach. Since their interaction with the participants in Phase Two as critical educators approximated the role of sensitized agents in participatory action-research (Tilakaratna, 1991; see also section 4.4.1), they conducted all of the Phase Three interviews with their respective participants. This decision followed the initial conceptions behind the design of the study. Throughout Phase Two the research assistant and I had only ever observed the participants, and by virtue of that consciously constructed boundary, we had not interacted with them apart from a few instances. The educators and I agreed that they would be unlikely to open up to either of us if we conducted interviews during Phase Three. There was also no research-related reason to break the insider-to-insider dialectic that had been established between the "teacher-student" and the "students-teachers" (Freire, 1970a, p.80). The interaction between educators and participants, although also a means by which data about the participants was gathered through interviews, was also, intrinsically, an etic issue of the case and a subject of the overall research objective.

The educators interviewed all participants at least once, and interviews were conducted individually at the research settings. In order to incentivize attendance to the first round of interviews, the educators promised the participants a DVD copy of all of the films produced during their praxis. This was successful because no participant missed his or her first interview. Following the first round of interviews, a group of participants was selected by the educator and me to be interviewed in the second round. Thus, the method of interviewing in Phase Three used purposive sampling. We based our decision to progressively decrease the number of interviewees in each round on a number of factors, such as the availability of the participant, their desire to continue with the study, and their responses to questions from the first round. In total there were four rounds. After the first round, I developed specific questions for each individual being interviewed based on their responses, with the aim of informing the research objective: to *understand how the praxis developed for this study, by creating movies to investigate generative themes, leads to conscientization*. It was of importance to discuss with the participants the effects the praxis had on their perceptions and actions once the praxis had concluded, and to what extent it had an influence on their lives following its completion. The analysis of this data

adhered to the aforementioned principle of perpetual generation as delineated by Frank (2005). Because the narrative analysis is dialogical, involving the relationship of two or more elements, the interviews support the primary narrative data, which are the movies the participants produced. As delineated by Frank (2010), the analysis focuses on the stories that are told and what happens as a result of telling those stories (p. 72).

While there were no expectations placed on the outcomes of this praxis, the potential existed for unexpected outcomes and interventions. Although the Kapan course concluded at the graduation, some participants from the Godamchaur course expressed interest in making another film and approached the educator about their idea. The decision was made to facilitate their request and they were provided with the camera equipment. Three young *Dalit* women, Manisha, Namuna, and Sabita, spent five days shooting a film in their village that included a cast of over thirty individuals from their community. The theme they generated for this movie was *caste discrimination*. They invited all who participated in the production, and other members of their community, to attend a screening of the film that they organized on their own.[16] Over sixty villagers attended the screening and, at the request of the audience, the film was played three times in succession. This, and other interventions, will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapters.

3.4 Data collection

Table 4 features the methods of data collection relevant to each design framework, in which phase they occurred, with whom or what they are applicable, and which research objective/s they addressed.

The methods of data collection for the case study followed the framework put forth by Stake (1995) and echoed by Cresswell (1998). These methods included semi-structured interviews, observations, descriptions of context, and the gathering of other relevant content that could contribute to analysis and understanding. This additional content included storyboards, participant feedback sheets, expenditure receipts, photographs, and the movies produced during the praxis. Three separate sets of observations were collected for each class session at both sites, with a few exceptions, such as days when the research assistant was not available to attend. The research assistant and I both took

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[16] This film, and many of the others produced by the participants from both sites can be seen on the project *Vimeo* channel: vimeo.com/channels/insiderwindows

independent notes (which were not compared until the conclusion of Phase 2), and each educator wrote a reflection journal entry about every individual class after its conclusion. Therefore, the total number of observation entries, each ranging from one typed page to six typed pages, totaled sixty-five. This repetition of observations supports qualitative triangulation (Stake, 1995), which comprises this initial level of analysis that will be discussed in the next chapter. The audio from the majority of classes was also recorded, despite Stake (1995) recommending against audio recordings in favor of shorthand notes (p. 56). Because the recording of audio could occur at no extra cost (to the researchers or the participants), the decision was that recordings would serve as backups in the event observations were irreconcilably contradictory. This obviously does not refer to *interpretations* from the observation notes, which, if contradictory, inform triangulations, but refers to factual discrepancies such as the order in which films were screened, for example. During analysis it turned out to be unnecessary to refer to the audio recordings.

Table 4: Methods of data collection

	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3
Case Study	<u>Semi-structured interviews</u> • Educators <u>Observation</u> • Educator training <u>Description of context</u>	<u>Semi-structured interviews</u> • Educators • Participants <u>Observations</u> • Class sessions • The praxis • Graduations <u>Content gathering</u> • Storyboards • Movies produced by participants <u>Description of context</u>	
Research objectives	Obj. 1: *Analyze the utility of movie making as a tool to operationalize conscientization.* Obj. 2: *Define the parameters of the movie-making process within a critical pedagogical praxis.*		
Dialogical narrative analysis		<u>Movies produced by participants</u> <u>Video reflections (decoding exercises)</u>	<u>Multiple rounds of semi-structured interviews</u> • Participants • Educators
Research objective		Obj. 3: *Understand how the praxis developed for this study, by creating movies to investigate generative themes, leads to conscientization.*	

Each participant in the study was asked to submit a feedback reflection and attend the first round interview. As mentioned, based on availability of participants, and their engagement and interest level, the number of interviews collected in each round declined by one or two participants. Every participant was interviewed at least once, and several were interviewed up to four times. Both educators were interviewed three times. A total of forty-nine interviews of varying lengths was collected across both research sites. All of the interviews from the decoding exercises, or *video reflections*,[17] shot during the praxis were also subsequently translated and featured in the analysis.

For the dialogical narrative analysis, the methods of data collection followed the frameworks provided by Frank (2005; 2010), and to a lesser extent Chase (2011) and Landman (2012). The primary narrative data for analysis are the stories told cinematically by the participants in their movies. Between both classes, sixteen movies were produced of lengths varying from thirty-five seconds to nineteen minutes. Additionally, the content from the video reflections made a valuable contribution to the narrative analysis. There were video reflections recorded by each team after the conclusion of every screening as part of their decoding process. Because both the movies and the video reflections occurred in Phase Two, data collection for the dialogical narrative analysis happened over two phases of research (as shown in Table 4). The semi-structured interviews collected during Phase 3 were used to support the primary data (the movies) and allow for a dialogical analysis between multiple elements. Chapter five will demonstrate the way in which this was carried out.

3.5 Ethical considerations

Full ethical clearance following the guidelines and procedures of The University of Queensland was sought and granted before traveling for fieldwork, and data collection did not begin until the ethics committee had granted approval. All potential participants were provided with a participant information sheet in both English and Nepalese (see Appendix). Once an individual agreed to be a part of the study, he or she was required to sign an informed consent form, which was available in both English and Nepalese. At all times it was clear to the participants that they were taking part in a research project. It was understood that the research project would provide the camera equipment and additional materials necessary for the course (a notebook and a pen to each participant, paper for

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[17] The method of decoding developed for this praxis; it will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

storyboarding, and markers), plus a snack and refreshment at the midway point of each class session. Certificates were promised to all participants who adequately completed the course, based on the discretion of their critical educator. In Phase Three, all participants who attended their first interview with the critical educator were given a DVD of all of the films produced by their class (not including any of the films produced by the other class). A few participants requested not to have certain films included on their DVD and their request was accommodated. No remuneration was provided to any participants at any time during the study. Members of the research team (inclusive of the critical educators) all received a competitive wage based upon their experience level. The funding for their wages was drawn from my personal living stipend.

Permission was sought before any of the movies produced by the participants were uploaded to the project *Vimeo* channel, and indeed, two of the movies were not uploaded because of objections voiced by participants. Among their reasons for requesting films not to be uploaded, and equally not to have certain films on their final DVDs, were issues related to film content. For example, one married participant who acted in the role of the wife of another participant in a film did not want others to see her portraying another man's wife on screen outside of the class setting. Despite the unavailability of these movies online, they still featured as part of the dialogical narrative analysis because no objections were made to the movies playing a part in the overall study.

In order to respect the insider-to-insider dynamic (see chapter two) fostered by this project and emphasized by Freire as an integral ingredient of conscientization (1970a), all interviews were conducted by the critical educator acting in the role of a participatory action-researcher. Interviewees were given the choice of having their interview recorded, or receiving the questions beforehand so that they might write out the answers to them after more careful consideration. In the majority of cases participants preferred to write out their answers rather than have them recorded. Whether the interviews were written or recorded, they were always played back or read back to the participants so that they could undergo member checks (Stake, 1995). The interviews, as well as all of the movies and video reflections, were translated collaboratively. Remee, Pooja, Niraj (an additional translator) and I worked together on the translations. Painstaking efforts were made to adhere to the foundational principles of critical pedagogy, qualitative case study research, and dialogical narrative analysis at all times, with the recognition that reinvention is an essential element of these disciplines going forward.

Chapter 4: The case: *Insider Windows*

This chapter is an analysis of the *Insider Windows* praxis, which is the bounded entity that comprises the case, the study of which is the first of two design frameworks underlying this research project. The second design framework, and the research questions that it informs, will be the subject of the next chapter. Although the case took place during Phase 2 of the research project, some of the data gathered through reflections and interviews during Phase 3 are integrated into the story. All of the information about the *establishment* of the case is detailed in chapter three (research methodology). Although reading a single chapter in isolation can often mean some loss of the overall context, the intention is that this chapter should be able to stand alone, and therefore some information from the chapter on methodology is repeated below. This is consistent with Stake's design with regard to the presentation of case study data (1995).

4.1 Case study research

Case study reports often read like stories (Stake, 1995, p. 134). The objective of this chapter is to present the story of the *Insider Windows* praxis, which was tested in Godamchaur and Kapan, Nepal in 2014. The chapter will be based on the framework for writing a case study report developed by Stake (1995) and used extensively by other qualitative researchers (see Creswell, 1998, p. 62). The use of one framework is conducive to clarity and methodological consistency in the way the data are to be presented.

Vignettes will be used to buttress the greater narrative of the case, which will weave together observed data, interpretations, interviews, and participant reflections. First, the issues of the case will be summarized, and then the case will be defined using relatively incontestable data, "not completely without interpretation, but a description not unlike [the readers] would make themselves had they been there" (Stake, 1995, p. 123). Next, the triangulation of certain interpretations will be discussed and some initial assertions will be made, all directed towards informing the research questions supporting the objectives associated with this design framework. As a reminder, the research objectives and related questions addressed by the case study are:

1. Analyze the utility of movie making as a tool to operationalize conscientization.
    a. Is producing movies a viable critical pedagogical praxis in the given context?

      b. Does the praxis result in initiatives or actions taken to transform social reality?

2. Define the parameters of the movie-making process within a critical pedagogical praxis.

      a. How does this differ from other models of participatory video?

      b. What are the barriers and limitations in implementing this model?

It is important to note that the two separate locations in which the critical pedagogy praxis was tested still comprise a single case, bounded by their locations and time frames (Ragin and Becker, 1992; Stake, 1995). While some comparisons will be made between the two settings, the purpose is not to compare different locations with each other, but gain a deeper understanding of how movie making can result in conscientization by collectively analyzing the relevant issues generated in each setting. For example, take the research question: *Did the participants respond by taking initiatives or actions to transform their social reality?* Did this happen in both settings? Why or why not? Supporting the answers to these and other questions with examples from the different settings will help establish meaning. When unexpected differences occur between the two settings, this will raise further questions for discussion. Stake rightly points out, "We assume the meaning of an observation is one thing, but additional observations give us grounds for revising our interpretation" (1995, p. 110). Examining the common issues from the two settings side by side will support what Stake calls data source triangulation (1995, p. 112).

In accordance with Stake's model of qualitative case study research, this study is highly personal, and based on a constructivist epistemology (1995, p. 99, see also p. 135). The perspectives of the researcher are included in the interpretation, and it is this interaction that makes the case unique. Therefore, "the quality and utility of the research is not based on its reproducibility but on whether or not the meanings generated, by the researcher or the reader, are valued" (p. 135). A subjective valuing of the research, and meanings generated by it, is hoped for on behalf of the reader. Stake claims, "It is an effective author who tells what is needed and leaves the rest to the reader" (1995, p. 121). With that point in mind, the reader should not at this stage expect definitive answers to all of the research questions, but greater insight into the meaning behind a complex case. The research questions will be addressed individually and systematically in a later chapter. Before that, the narrative analysis that follows this chapter must add another layer of

meaning. These two chapters (four and five) of the thesis comprise the raw materials that will be fused in the discussion and concluding synthesis that form the final two chapters.

A note on naming participants and identifying sources of data

In order to balance a fair representation of participants in the study, who desire recognition for their achievements, with the level of anonymity required by the ethical standards of social science research, only the first names of individuals will be used. Indeed, these are the same names that participants themselves often used when portraying characters in the films they made, the majority of which are available for viewing online.

For the purposes of triangulation, it is important to distinguish at times between my observations and those of the research assistant. The research assistant's direct observations, when quoted verbatim and *integrated into the prose*, are written in *italics* and will be followed by his initials: *R. R.* In other circumstances, his quotes are formatted in accordance with the overall style of the document.

4.2 A time and place

Before beginning with a discussion of the issues of the case, it is my intention to establish an image in the mind of the reader of the context in which the case was situated. The following two vignettes are intended to provide a mental picture.

The Village

Several early arrivals sit on the floor of the room that has been their classroom for the past two months, chitchatting contentedly among themselves as they wait. The first ones to appear on this Sunday afternoon were the only two young men to participate in the video production course, Buddha and Deepak. They have been busy cleaning the four-meter by seven-meter cement room that adjoins a traditional mud-brick house, situated on the edge of a gentle slope at the end of a narrow grassy lane in the village. The seasonal rains have caused the surrounding green biomass of bushes, weeds, and creepers to expand to the point that it seems only a matter of time before the lane is completely consumed by jungle.

In preparation for today's movie screening Buddha and Deepak have borrowed a large whiteboard from the nearby school and placed it in front of one of the windows. Thick, dark-colored shawls have been draped carefully over the other window. They were

brought specially because they are clearly not the type one would wear on a muggy monsoon afternoon in June.

The ground outside is wet from an earlier drizzle and the bright sun projects a white line across the room through a gap between two shawls. A young woman moves to adjust them. Pooja, the educator, has arranged the refreshments in one of the corners. Beads of moisture drip down three 1.5-liter plastic bottles of bright orange Fanta onto the paper napkins below. Two kilograms of dry *nimkeen* and sixty samosas will also be shared after the screening. Thin paper cups, worn down from repeated use, are scattered around the room in the way they might be found after a party. Each has the name or initials of a participant scrawled somewhere on its side. These cups would have been discarded after a single use in most places.

The room is always sufficiently darkened for a screening, the built-in projectors on the cameras do not work if there is too much ambient light; but clearly the participants have made extra efforts to prepare the room for today. There is a musty odor and the warm air is thick and still. The rough spun jute mats on the floor are slightly mildewed from the humidity of monsoon.

Flies have landed on the samosas. A single fluorescent tube light hums overhead. Everyone waits patiently and no one seems too bothered; the screening will begin once all have arrived. It is planting season after all, and the participants have fields to tend. In a previous class some arrived an hour late, direct from the fields, with mud still caked on their bare feet. Three older ladies from the village arrive, one of them carrying a baby. Pooja exclaims, "Hurry up and sit down otherwise you won't get a seat!" The relaxed atmosphere among the participants and their guests who have accompanied them lends a last-day-of-school quality. Visitors have not been allowed to sit in on class in the past. In fact, on occasion, after hearing about a screening some had certainly tried but were hastily shuttled out. But today's isn't just any regular class; today is graduation day in Godamchaur.

The City

A turboprop airplane buzzed loudly overhead and Remee, the educator, had to wait for it to pass before she could continue speaking. The small three-room cottage sat directly under the approach to Kathmandu's international airport. Not many years ago this swathe of land was agricultural with a few scattered households, but the rapid urban expansion in northeast Kathmandu Valley has transformed Kapan into a peri-urban mix:

high density brick and cement buildings now dominate, and the islands of green farmland scattered between the concrete are inexorably shrinking.

The home belonged to a friend of Remee's, and his family had agreed to let her hold class in their small common room, flanked by a kitchen on one side and the single bedroom on the other. The host family often stayed to observe the classes themselves, entering and exiting as they pleased, and offering words of advice or raising questions of their own. Their small white dog was temperamental, and after snarling and snapping at several participants, he had to be forced outside.

Later Remee would reflect that she had been worried about today's class. It was the fourth class in the course and the most important one. She had heard about Pooja's experience in Godamchaur and did her best to prepare. The first three classes were focused on video training. Participants learned how to use the cameras and tripods, and practiced the storyboarding technique. They learned how to compose a shot, and how to edit in camera. The mood in those first three classes was jolly, with lots of laughs. Today was the transition class. Today Remee would have to direct them towards a critical analysis of issues related to their lives. By the end of the session they would have to agree upon a theme and then storyboard a narrative representation to shoot with the cameras the following weekend. Several participants would later say that they had never really thought critically about anything until that day. Remee was worried that they would be unprepared, or lose interest in the course altogether.

With the airplane now in the distance, Remee asked, "Well why is this article relevant? Why do you care about breaking the Guinness record of the largest human national flag?" At the end of the third class she had asked the participants to bring in a newspaper or magazine article on a topic related to youth for a discussion. All of the participants in her class were young adults from the surrounding neighborhood. All had recently completed the SLC or 10+2[18] examinations and many were seeking work for the first time in their lives.

"It's important for youth like us because it's being organized by a youth group," a young woman replied. She was one of seven women in the class of ten. The article was about a youth organization that was calling people to the *Thundikhel*, the open park in the center of town, to form a human flag that would be photographed by helicopter. They were hoping for 30,000 participants in order to smash the record currently held by the Pakistanis.

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[18] The SLC (School Leaving Certificate) is the examination at the end of 10th class. 10+2 is the completion of two years of schooling beyond the compulsory 10th class.

"The purpose is to bring people together for national pride," said another young woman. "In Nepal we only see unity in negative things, like among drug users and criminals." Remee asked them if unity had achieved anything in their community. They were skeptical.

"In nearby Arubari a dog died and the body was rotting on the road. Some youths offered to bury the carcass but the community opposed them, and wouldn't allow the dog to be buried on their land," responded a participant.

"In Kapan we were even unable to agree on a security siren system for the neighborhood," exclaimed another. "The whole community fought over it. In the end half agreed and half didn't." More participants began to speak up. Remee looked energized, and relieved.

4.3 The issues

Although the case will be defined in its entirety in the following section, it is pertinent to briefly introduce the salient issues underlying this case. The above vignettes provide a glimpse into the two different settings within the greater context of Nepal that played host to the *Insider Windows* praxis. The two research sites shared multiple similarities but were distinctively different. Within the context of Nepal, both settings engaged educators and participants who could all be classified as youth or young adults. Both settings also followed the same paradigm of critical pedagogy and occurred over the summer and early autumn months of 2014. Both groups investigated issues related to their lives and grounded in their daily existences. Zoom in and view the two groups within their independent contexts, however, and the differences rapidly begin to emerge. In the village, nine out of ten participants were untouchables, or *Dalits*. Meanwhile in the city, most were high-caste and had completed, at the very least, their secondary education. The village participants still relied heavily on agriculture for their livelihoods, whereas the young adults from the city were working, or seeking work, in the retail and commercial sectors. Essentially, the social landscape, realities, and challenges faced by both groups were distinct, and this was reflected in the investigative journey charted by participants in each setting. Viewed through Bourdieu's lens (Maton, 2008, pp. 50-51), each group shared a field and habitus that would have been alien to the other.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the overall study is informed by both *etic* and *emic* issues. Simply put, the etic issues are those that are of importance to the researchers; the outsider issues. The emic issues are those that are of importance to the participants; the

insider issues. Note that the research questions supporting the objectives of the case study design framework all have in common their shared reliance on etic issues. Central to both the similarities and differences found in the two settings, however, were the emic issues. The participants brought these issues to the praxis; they were the issues they investigated. Both groups revealed understandings and subjectivities that had previously been hidden or blocked, yet neither group's emic issues would have resonated with the other.

The emic issues are critical to understanding *how* conscientization happened among the members of the groups. Their in-depth analysis, however, is beyond the scope of the case study analysis, which is limited to discussion of the etic issues, the issues that are instrumental in informing the research questions mentioned above. To put it another way, before understanding *how* conscientization occurred, it must be asked:
did conscientization occur? Since the emic issues are fundamental to the dialogical narrative analysis design framework, they will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, but will still have a role in defining the case.

As mentioned, this case was created for the purpose of answering the research questions, which were formulated *a priori*, and the data generated for the case would not have existed had the case not been established; therefore, the case is both paradigmatic and instrumental (Flyvbjerg, 2006, pp. 15-16; Stake, 1995, p. 3). Contrast this with a case study of a formal education program, for example, that existed prior to the formulation of research questions and continues to exist regardless of whether researchers are present or not. The instrumentality of the case in this study is what makes it possible to achieve the second research objective: *Define the parameters of the movie-making process within a critical pedagogical praxis.* Whereas in many intrinsic cases certain etic issues remain obscured or unattainable to the researchers, in this instrumental case the parameters were constructions of the researchers and are therefore able to be defined with greater clarity and understanding.

Because this case was created to understand meanings generated by a movie-making praxis, it is important to return the discussion briefly to the central goal of critical pedagogy: conscientization. As broadly outlined in chapter one, the directive elements of critical pedagogy are aimed towards a withdrawal from the culture of silence and an emergence into a previously hidden or blocked subjective reality by way of conscientization. This

withdrawal is dependent upon the elements of self-reflexivity and dialogue (see Couldry, 2010, p.8). These two elements were integral to the praxis, and as the data will show, fundamental to the emergence experienced by participants in this study. The *Johari Window* figure introduced in chapter two, which addresses the interplay of outsider and insider knowledge, provides a framework-level guide to understanding how conscientization is understood in this analysis. Because much of the discussion in this chapter assumes a common understanding of what conscientization is, and how it differs from simply raising awareness and other outcomes of mainstream pedagogy,[19] it is advisable to revisit the framework provided in subsection 2.2.2. Fortunately, there is no theoretical or analytical leap required to understand whether or not conscientization did occur. About conscientization, Kincheloe (2008) writes, "Teachers and students with a critical consciousness conceptually pull back from their lived reality so as to gain a new vantage point on who they are and how they came to be this way" (p. 73). As a result of this pull back, or emergence, participants are completely capable of articulating, in their own words, any subjective transformation they have undergone.

4.4 Defining the case

The purpose of this section is to define the *Insider Windows* case using extensive narrative description. Simply put, a body of incontestable data will be presented along a timeline. The first subsection will focus on the critical educators, and is followed by a narrative description of each setting and what transpired, beginning with the first group established in Godamchaur village. The data presented will weave together my observations, the observations of the research assistant, the reflections of the educators, and interviews conducted with the participants. While there will be some interpretations made in these sections, for example, when the research assistant's notes include interpretive points, the overall descriptions are meant to resemble ones readers would make had they been there themselves. Following the description of both settings, which together form the bounded entity that is the case, there are sections on triangulations and initial assertions.

4.4.1 The role of the critical educators as sensitized agents

Getting to know Remee and Pooja, the critical educators, and understanding their role as participatory action-researchers, will help readers appreciate their contributions, considering how significant the influence of the educators is to the success of praxis. At the time that I hired them to be the educators for this study, Remee was 26 years old and

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[19] This distinction will be discussed in greater detail in chapter five.

Pooja was 21. Both were soft-spoken and unassuming young women, and perhaps not possessing the outward bold and confident image I might have imagined when asked to picture a *critical educator*. Remee was a primary school teacher, and Pooja was studying accounting (although she asked to be identified as a *researcher* when I asked her what her profession was for the data sheet following the completion of the course). They both possessed gentle dispositions, and came across as *loving* people; they cared for the world. The presence of love in an educator's approach to the participants is significant, and central to Freire's praxis. In fact, Freire writes, "dialogue cannot exist…in the absence of a profound love for the world and for people. Love is at the same time the foundation of dialogue and dialogue itself" (1970a, p. 89). The attitude of love was a characteristic that I had identified as essential for the educators to possess, and it had informed my selection during Phase 1. Both attributed their love of humanity to their membership in the Baha'i Faith, and because they were both Baha'is, they knew each other peripherally, although they lived in different communities. Over the coming pages, the actions and decisions made by Remee and Pooja will become evident, and the emergence that they underwent is a thought-provoking sub-narrative in itself.

As previously mentioned, Freire writes that, "For me, education is always directive, always. The question is to know towards what and with whom it is directive" (Freire & Shor, p. 22-23). This directivity signals the importance of the role of the educator in critical pedagogy, and the methods that the educators have at their disposal. The asymmetry of power relations in education constructs a formidable barrier to communication in the teaching and learning environment that the educator must navigate (Morrow & Torres, 2002, p. 130); therefore, it was imperative that the educators had a thorough understanding of their role. They had to understand the implicit directivity of critical pedagogy, which is based on certain assumptions that they may not have initially understood. Giroux writes, "Unlike dominant modes of teaching, critical pedagogy insists that one of the fundamental tasks of the educators is to make sure that the future points to a more socially just world" (2011, p. 158). The data will show whether or not, and to what degree, Remee and Pooja were successful in that task.

Buber, to whom Freire's work owes much (Blackburn, 2000, p.4), characterizes two common relationships in society that could never be entirely mutual in the way he conceived his "I-Thou" mutuality. The first is between a doctor and a patient, and the second is between a teacher and a student (Cohen, 1979, p. 92). This offers an indication

of the implicit dialectical nature of the student-educator relationship in critical pedagogy (Kincheloe, 2008, p. 17). Critical educators, occupying the role of problem posers, are often an oppositional (but not antagonistic) force in the classroom. Their relationship with the participants is under a continual process of negotiation, and invariably, the educators are also undergoing their own process of emergence.

Pooja, in Godamchaur, and Remee, in Kapan, began their classes as owners of outsider expertise in the form of video camera and movie-making skills. This initial replication of the subject-object relationship common in formal education created a pedagogical environment that the participants were accustomed to, albeit in a non-formal setting. Freire, drawing from both Fromm and Illich, argues that the apparatus of mainstream education is fundamental in maintaining the culture of silence (1970a, p. 30; see discussion in chapter two). This mainstream replication was unavoidable because of the fact that all participants, reliant on the instrumentality of cameras in their praxis, faced varying measures of dependency upon direct technological training. It was also accommodating, however, to the progression towards self-reflexive and dialogical learning, because the transition from recipients of information to generators of knowledge emerging from the culture of silence, could not have simply happened at the outset. Participants grew into their roles as the educators reduced their influence.

As the course progressed and the participants became increasingly proficient with the cameras, they no longer looked to the educators as owners of that knowledge set. In an interview, Pooja, the educator from Godamchaur, stated, "Before, every time they used the camera, they would ask, '*Di*, how to do this?'[20] And, 'What should be done with this scene?' Later on, even if I wanted to tell them, they didn't need my suggestions, they wanted to do it in their own way, and they were so much focused." Meanwhile, as the subject matter of the discussions transitioned from technical skills to themes generated by the participants themselves, they began to recognize that they were the experts on the classroom topics. This was a crucial element in their emergence. Their relationship with the educators was constantly being renegotiated as this emergence materialized.

Clearly, the training carried out in Phase 1 was instrumental in preparing Remee and Pooja to shoulder the responsibilities of a critical educator. The significance of this preparation cannot be overemphasized because the educator is the keystone in the

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[20] *Di* is a colloquialism. It is a shortened form of *didi*, which means elder sister.

structural composition of the group. Although Phase 1 was treated in the previous section, the reflections of the educators on the importance of this training are relevant at this point. Following are excerpts from their journal entries written after the completion of their training and before the first class:

> Camera cannot be limited to clicking fancy pictures and occasional videos. It can be the medium to bring out many hidden truths and untold stories of our society. Those stories and truths come out when the people start to think critically. I am very much excited to be a part of this research project as I can help a small group of people to tell their stories in their own understanding and way. *- Pooja*

> This training has definitely broadened my understanding towards critical thinking. I never thought critically about anything in my life. As a part of underdeveloped society where people are veiled with prejudice, I thought whatever is happening is my destiny and however the people are is because of their culture…Paulo's idea about the teachers and how they will be helpful playing the role of an initiator to make people think about the betterment of themselves and of their society was another beautiful aspect which I found quite impressive. *- Remee*

Because the educators had an insider understanding of both the local environment in which they were conducting their classes and the needs and requirements of the research project, they were cognizant of both etic and emic issues. As a result of this position, it can be argued that they played the part of participatory action-researchers (PARs) as described by Fals-Borda (1991, p. 45). In the process of the training, Pooja and Remee both experienced what Tilakaratna calls *stimulation* (1991, p. 136). Tilakaratna writes that stimulation has two steps. The first, mirroring Remee's reflection above, is awareness that social conditions are the result of specific forces, and not caused by destiny or fate. The second is a manner of interaction "which could be summarized as the breaking up of the classical dichotomy between 'subject' and 'object' and its replacement by a humanistic mode of equal relation between two subjects" (1991, p. 136). This manner of interaction is "fundamentally different from that adopted by a political party worker or a conventional development worker" (1991, p. 136). Both college graduates themselves, and having undergone training in the principles underlying this manner of interaction, Remee and Pooja fulfill the criteria of a *sensitized agent* within PAR (Tilakaratna, 1991, p.137-138).

As sensitized agents conducting their own change process within their own environs, and adhering to the project research design, the educators managed all lessons, interviews, and interactions with the participants. As mentioned, the research assistant and I limited our direct impact on the praxes to gathering observations.

4.4.2 Godamchaur

The entire course was composed of twelve classes and a graduation. As discussed in chapter three, it was described to participants as a "video production course" that was part of a research project in critical education. Detailed information was provided on the participant information sheet and participant consent form (see Appendix). The length of each class was intended to be approximately two hours and, for the most part, they did not exceed that timeframe by much, with the exception of shooting days, which lasted up to nine hours on occasion.

The class held in Godamchaur village was facilitated by Pooja, the educator, and observed at all times by me or the research assistant, and in most cases both of us together. The exceptions were the shooting days, which were classes five, eight, and eleven. Pooja was present on those days, however, and took notes in her reflection journal. The decision not to observe these classes was based on the likelihood that the presence of the observers might influence the freedom of the participants to shoot their films. Because shooting days were not spent in the classrooms, but out in the village engaged with the community, the presence of outsiders would have had not only an effect on the comfort of the participants to move freely within their community, but also on the way the community viewed the participants as local researcher-filmmakers.

Image 1: The participants in Godamchaur

4.4.2.1 Classes one through three: skills training

Based on the course design, classes one through three were designated as skills-training classes. The intention was that by the fourth class, when the first theme for investigation was to be decided upon, all of the participants would have a basic understanding of camera functions, film aesthetics, sound recording, the tripod, and the technique of storyboarding.

The first class began with introductions. Two young men and seven young women had arrived. Pooja initiated an icebreaker game, and it was not long before participants were laughing. She then carefully went over the participant information sheet and participant consent forms with everyone present. Participants determined the schedule for the upcoming classes, choosing to have three in the first week. They looked ahead and wanted to complete all twelve classes before planting season began, when their free time would be limited. For the remainder of the first class Pooja covered the camera and tripod functions with the group, giving everyone a chance to try different actions with the camera. Halfway through the class there was a ten-minute break. Disposable paper cups were handed out to all participants, and without any prompt, they all wrote their names or initials on them. All of the participants, coming from the same village, already knew each other to an extent and there was no awkwardness in the group. Several of them already knew Pooja, and the ones who did not were close friends of the ones who did. Pooja later reflected that she was extremely nervous before the first class, and worried that no one she invited would actually show up. She wrote, "I felt relieved when I saw the group of smiling faces waiting outside the classroom."

Pooja began the second class with a review of the first class. This became a comfortable way to open up discussions, and she would do this in every subsequent class. Later, Remee would adopt the same approach in Kapan. A third male participant attended the second class, but it would be his only appearance[21]; he told Pooja that he had found a new job and could no longer attend. The activities for the second class very much mirrored methods used by participatory video practitioners to provide ample practice time to first-time camera users. Pooja initiated versions of both the *Name Game* and *Twist In Frame*

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[21] He would later resurface as an actor in one of the films, playing the role of the father in the movie *Think Before You Do*.

on either side of the break (Lunch & Lunch, 2006, p. 24-26). The main discussion focused on framing, different types of shots, the rule of thirds, and other shooting techniques.

The third class was dedicated to working with the participants on storyboarding. To that end, following a description of storyboarding, Pooja invited the class to tell a story about the village together. While she was drawing, participants offered ideas regarding what narrative the story should take. Afterwards, Pooja asked individual participants to draw a practice storyboard in their notebooks. *Most of the storyboards that the groups drew were framed around their daily lives and activities, such as taking cattle for herding, planting a seed and drawing out the process of it maturing into a tree, bearing fruit, and selling the fruit (R.R.).* When they were finished, it was time to integrate the cameras into the activities, so Pooja divided the class into three groups and introduced a game developed with the researchers called the *Choosing Game*[22]. The groups shot their storyboards outdoors and returned to screen them in front of the class using the camera projector. One of the groups made a short public message about cleanliness and the importance of washing one's hands. Another group told a story about a motorcycle that was in need of repair. They used the research assistant's motorcycle as the prop in this film, and its appearance caused all of the participants to erupt in laughter. The third group depicted a series of objects but it was difficult to discern any narrative message. At the end of the class, Pooja asked all participants to bring in a newspaper clipping to the next meeting. The clipping was meant to reflect something the participants found relevant in relation to their lives and it was to be discussed in class. In his reflection of the third class, the research assistant noted:

> The ability to view their work and effort, sharing it with the rest of the class, and discussing the outcomes in a group, is a very effective way to continue to develop a strong understanding of making short videos. The participants got a good laugh out of some of their films and I believe the process increased their interest in the project and their desire to make longer, more sophisticated films. They got a chance to fine-tune their technical abilities using the camera and also work as a group.

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[22] The Choosing Game involves drawing out four pictures of different objects on small note cards. These objects should be readily found in the vicinity of the class location (i.e., a motorcycle, a flower, a lightbulb, etc.). Descriptions of a type of shot are written individually on another set of four cards (i.e., long shot, extreme close up, etc.), and finally a camera action is written on a final set of cards (i.e., zoom in, pan left, tilt down, etc.). In small groups, participants are then asked to create a six-frame storyboard that expresses a message of their choice. A member of each group chooses a card from each stack and they must somehow incorporate what they chose into their storyboards. The short movies are screened with the entire class and the educator can offer feedback to the group.

4.4.2.2 Classes four through six: movies on a topical theme

As discussed in earlier sections, the praxis is an iterative process involving the participatory elements of film conceptualization, film production, and screening and reflection. Each of those elements is allotted to a single class, so a complete iteration of the praxis involves three classes. Classes four, five, and six are important because it is during this first iteration that participants have to make the transition from recipients to initiators.

The fourth class began in the usual way, with Pooja reviewing the discussion from the previous meeting. After some conversation, Pooja asked the participants, "Why do we watch films?" Some responded for entertainment, another said to convey a message or impart information. One of the participants posited that films actually have the power to change communities, and that they could encourage and give confidence. Participants discussed what their favorite films were, and why. All of the films and programs mentioned were from the Bollywood industry, or on local television. Next, Pooja asked the participants what type of films they would like to make, and should they be fiction or based on real events. This opened up a discussion among the participants, who began to think freely and offer opinions on the types of movies they would like to make. One of the young men wanted to make a comedy, something that would entertain the audience and make everyone laugh. Another participant wanted to make a non-fiction film that would have a positive message for the viewers. Others expressed interest in a non-fiction film, and one wanted its message to be targeted towards students who are not serious about their studies.

Building on the energy of this discussion, Pooja asked the participants to pull out their newspaper articles. The newspaper article assignment was part of the pre-developed curriculum for the course. Both educators were initially apprehensive about the fourth class and the process by which they would settle on a theme with the participants. The consultation on relevant newspaper article topics was provided to them as an example of a discussion starter, and both educators opted to use this method.

Pooja faced her first major challenge at this point, because none of the participants brought in an article. She later reflected, "The next hour was tough for me because things didn't happen as planned. The participants didn't bring the news article for various reasons. So, I had to think of other ways to make them think critically." *In an ingenious*

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move Pooja asked the participants to each draw out their own personal storyboards on why they forgot to bring an article to class. One of the storyboards depicted the participants having multiple responsibilities that led them to forgetting the assignment (R.R.).

Pooja engaged the group in a discussion about responsibility, and what happens when individuals neglect their responsibilities. She asked the participants what responsibilities they had fulfilled that day, and what effects, if any, does shirking one's responsibilities have on their community or society. Participants responded that the family is affected; for example, if lunch is not prepared then family members will go hungry. *Another participant said that if the Village Development Committee issues a budget allocation to a contractor to fix a road and the contractor does not do it, then the whole village would suffer (R.R.).* The conversation continued among participants and became very lively. Based on that, Pooja proposed the topical theme of *responsibility* to the group.[23] Only seven participants were present that day so Pooja divided them into a group of three and a group of four. They spent the remaining thirty minutes of the class working on their storyboards that would reflect *responsibility* in a narrative form.

The fifth class was a shooting day and the researcher assistant and I did not observe it. Reflecting in her journal, Pooja wrote, "It was a rainy day but everyone showed up. Both groups took one hour each to shoot. Since this was the first video, the first group was a bit confused regarding shots. I helped them when they asked but I was more focused on letting them do all the shooting on their own."

Pooja began the sixth class with a pre-screening discussion. All nine participants were present, and they reflected on the challenges they encountered during their shoots. Generally, they expressed that they had a lot of fun, but found shooting to be more difficult than they had imagined. Pooja asked them to present their storyboards before the room was darkened for the screening by placing shawls over the windows. The films screened were *Happy Family* and *Student Life*.

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[23] Although the proposal of a topical theme was perfectly acceptable for the first iteration of the praxis (see chapter three), Pooja still approached me during the snack break to make sure it was okay. Considering the discussion generated by the introduction of the topic, it was clear that the theme resonated with the participants and was anchored in the context of the class by the fact that all the participants had forgotten their articles and neglected their responsibility.

Happy Family

Happy Family is about members of a family in the village fulfilling their responsibilities over the course of a day. The story begins with a father waking up to brush his teeth in front of his home, and a mother returning from the public water tap with a vessel of water. In the next scene their children walk to school by themselves and express their eagerness to study. At the end of the workday the father is exhausted and ready to go home. Back in the interior of their kitchen the mother has been cooking all day. The father returns and calls the children, home from school at this time, down to eat dinner.

Image 2: A screenshot from Happy Family

Student Life

The opening title shot includes an English caption that reads: *If you do something you will get something, we should staying in disciplane* (sic). The film tells the story of two young male students who are casual about tardiness and disruptive in class. While on a recess, they are caught smoking cigarettes at school by their teacher. After catching them, the teacher sends them to a rehab center for a period of several months. At the end of the film we see the teacher delivering one of the boys into the hands of his sister, who is grateful for the changes she sees in her brother. The boy tells his sister that he is now on the right track and, likewise, expresses his gratitude to the teacher.

Image 3: A screenshot from Student Life

Following the screening the groups discussed the similarities and differences that they found in the two films. Pooja then took time to go over some technical shortcomings of the films in order to help the participants during their next productions. She mentioned issues related to sound and framing, among others. At this point in the praxis participants are meant to decode their narratives, and the process by which this was done was developed by Pooja herself, and came to be known as the *video reflection.*[24] Pooja recognized during the early camera practice sessions that participants, when holding the microphone, were more confident in their speech and also felt the urge to contribute more. By asking them all questions individually with the camera rolling, and then screening those interviews back again, the barrier to open dialogue was eliminated, and the ensuing discussion resulted in the generation of the next theme.[25]

During this decoding process the starting point of the discussion was the theme *responsibility*, as depicted by the movies that were screened. The following participant comments, transcribed in the order that they were expressed, highlight the dialogic progression towards the next theme:

- "Teachers should show concern and consideration for their students."
- "For a family to be happy, all members must fulfill their roles and responsibilities."

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[24] The format mimicked a television show in the way it was set up. Pooja would introduce herself as the host and position herself in front of the camera next to a team of filmmakers, and they would discuss their movie. Pooja would address them as *directors* and hand them the microphone when it was their turn to answer a question. The television show was recorded, and after both teams were interviewed, Pooja projected the episode for a screening. Following the screening the participants discussed the topic further, and with Pooja playing the role of a problem-poser, they would generate a theme for the next set of films. Later on, Pooja would let the participants conduct the interviews themselves. Remee in Kapan would end up adopting this method.

[25] This process of decoding, which was used by both Pooja and Remee, replaced the ALP decoding process initially selected when the praxis was designed (see section 2.4).

- "The films were connected. Student life is good if they come from happy and functioning families."
- "Students who come from happy families will be able to concentrate on their studies. They will be less likely to take up bad habits and practices."
- "We should show a dysfunctional family and capture their problems and associated bad habits."
- "We need to take the negative aspects of our society and transform them into positive outcomes."
- "The films should portray actual events and issues so that the viewers can relate the themes to their own lives."

Out of this discussion the first generative theme was developed. Pooja, as the problem-poser, was able to gradually reduce her impact on the conversation as it continued. *The theme was built around the concept of showing social problems faced by families and individuals in the community, mostly problems such as alcoholism, poverty, and a lack of concern for children. By focusing on these problems the group would come up with ideas to rid the community of such negative social issues (R.R.).*

Thus, the theme decided upon by participants was *social problems and their solutions*. Although not a concise one-word theme conforming to what the research assistant and I had an erroneous *a priori* predisposition to expect, there is no reason that it needed to be. Both sets of observations acknowledged the pivotal role played by the educator in the decoding process. In his reflection about the class, the research assistant noted, "The facilitator did a commendable job in ensuring the objective of the project. Facilitating critical thought and dialogue remained at the core."

4.4.2.3 Classes seven through nine: movies on a generative theme
Classes seven, eight, and nine very much mirrored the previous three classes in their pedagogical method. Class seven began with a review of the discussion from the previous meeting and that developed into a more in-depth discussion of the theme that the participants had selected. Pooja again acted in the role of problem-poser and, when participants began to discuss social problems affecting society at the national level, she refocused discussions on issues related to the local community. It was during this conversation that the issue of water access first surfaced, a topic that would recur often in dialogue and in the movies.

Pooja followed the discussion with a few more reminders about technical issues related to video production. *She asked the group to conduct some sound tests using the camera so that the participants would understand the difference in audio quality when someone was recorded from close up as opposed to far away (R.R.).* The periodic return from thematic discussion to filmmaking instruction was helpful in breaking up the sessions into segments, and preventing the participants from entirely departing from the action element of the praxis by becoming entangled in circular discourse.

The final hour of the class was allotted to the creative component of storyboarding. Following the course design, the movies could now use up to twelve frames of the storyboard, twice as many as was allowed for the investigation of the topical theme (see chapter three). In his reflection, the research assistant recorded, "One aspect among the participants that reflected their increasing level of critical analysis was their idea to portray a negative issue in their community but ensure that their films give a positive outcome or message. Based on this concept the participants set out to discuss and draw their storyboards." This reflection corresponded with a key observation: the first movies about the topical theme were descriptive of that theme; the movies about the initial generative theme were becoming more analytical. This transition from being *descriptive* about one's context to becoming *analytical* about it is indicative of the fledgling stages of an emergence (Freire, 1970a, pp. 108-109).

The eighth class was a shooting day, and no observations were made. Because the films were substantially more ambitious this round, each of the three teams chose a separate day to shoot. Pooja accompanied each team during their production, with one of the shooting days lasting for more than five hours. In her journal, Pooja praised the hard work and team spirit of the participants.

Participants prepared the room in advance for the screening of the movies during the ninth class. There was an air of excitement in anticipation of the screening. Because the rainy season had begun, several of the participants were away planting and arrived late; therefore, Pooja immediately began the screening when they arrived and didn't review the discussion from the previous meeting. The films screened were *Dharo Bhitrakaa Kathaaharu*, *Education Can Change the World*, and *Hamro Parivaar.*

Dharo Bhitrakaa Kathaaharu

Dharo Bhitrakaa Kathaaharu means *Stories From the Water Tap*. The *dharo* is the public water resource, and in this movie participants reenacted a common story of conflict that occurs regularly in the village. The movie begins with a group of women going down to the water tap and bemoaning the recent water shortages. One complains that she does not have enough to water her crops. They await the arrival of the water flow for an hour, and when the tap finally begins to function there is a disorganized rush while women attempt to fill their vessels. The scene descends into chaos and arguing. One woman tries to connect a hose to the tap in order to water her crops while the other women wait to fill their buckets for their households. While she is away they disconnect her hose in order to fill their buckets. She returns, furious, and the quarreling begins to escalate into a pushing match. Locals from the community observe gleefully, and an elderly woman cautions them to behave and get along. Two young boys enjoy themselves as they spectate, one of them commenting, "They can't even digest their food without fighting." Finally, two young school-aged girls arrive and try to reason with all of the women amidst the chaos. Eventually, their voices of reason prevail, and all the women agree that they should share the water cooperatively by waiting in line, taking turns, prioritizing household use, and not taking more than is reasonable for one's needs.

Image 4: A screenshot from Dharo Bhitrakaa Kathaaharu

Education Can Change the World

This film contains both documentary and narrative elements. The title shot for *Education Can Change the World* includes a phrase in quotation marks that reads: *There is no time to lose*. The film is about pollution in the village and how a grassroots awareness campaign results in better habits on the part of the villagers. After the campaign, there is a scene in which a young girl chastises one of her friends for littering. The narrator explains that the mindset of the people in the village has changed. In the final scene one of the

participants is shown sweeping the small temple before the narrator appears on camera herself, appealing to the viewers that cleaning the community begins with them, and there is no time to lose.

Image 5: A screenshot from Education Can Change the World

Hamro Parivaar

Hamro Parivaar means *Our Family*. The movie is about the arrival of a new family in the village, and the positive influence that the family, particularly the mother Sachita, has on the local neighbors. Early on, there is a scene of a young woman named Sital walking alone through the village. She encounters a friend of hers, and she complains that she is having stomach cramps and does not feel well. Her friend deduces that she is having her period and asks if her mother has ever spoken to her about it. Sital says no, and runs away in tears while her friend calls after her. Sachita sees Sital distraught and attempts to console her by inviting her to sit down and treating her with compassion. She says that she is like her mother too, and invites Sital to her home for a glass of warm water. On the walk back to the Sachita's home, they encounter Sital's mother who is loud and callous, and roughly drags Sital away from Sachita, telling her not to interfere in another person's family. In the scenes that follow, Sachita's children are also shown having a positive influence on their peers. Their mother expresses her happiness that she has wonderful children who are so well behaved. At the end of the film Sital's mother and Sachita reconcile, and she thanks Sachita openly for changing the disposition of the village. She says that everyone used to fight but now they get along. An elderly woman agrees.

Image 6: A screenshot from Hamro Parivaar

There was energetic applause after each film. The participants wanted to watch *Dharo Bhitrakaa Kathaaharu* a second time, so the film was projected again. The participants all agreed that the film depicted true events. Pooja opened the floor for comments after the films were over. She asked them about how the films had represented the theme. After some discussion the participants broke up into three groups to write questions for the video reflection. This time each team acted as hosts and interviewed the other teams about their respective films. The following examples reflect some typical exchanges between hosts and guests during the video reflection:

Example 1

Host: Today we have three directors with us. They have made various films between them. First I would like to start with you. *Namaste*! The film you have made, *Haamro Parivaar*, what kind of message does it have?

Guest: *Haamro Parivaar* includes some negative incidents that happen in our society. In it, educated parents who move into a new community make their neighborhood and neighbors better. The new parents teach the villagers and people that we should live and work together in harmony. They try to help young people with problems. In the film, we show them working to achieve these.

Host: In this film you're both a director and an actor. Can you tell us a little about your character?

Guest: I've taken the role of a daughter. Through this role I show the confusions of young girls, for example regarding menstruation.

Example 2

Host: *Namaste* to all. We welcome you to our live program… You probably will make another film. Tell us about that.

Guest 1:   Our next film will give people a lot of knowledge. Something from which people will learn.

Guest 2:   We want people to be able to express things that they have kept hidden inside. We want people to express their positives and not have to express their inner negatives.

Guest 3:   The next film will be based on events that happen in society, and people in society will see the film and learn.

As indicated by the final comment, it was during this discussion that participants first began discussing the idea of producing films that could be shown to the wider community.

Because class began late, Pooja ended it after the video reflections were recorded and told participants that they would review them at the beginning of the next class. In his reflection, Rishi, the research assistant, noted, "The films that were made served as great examples of how the participants had started to develop their critical ideas and present them concisely and artistically. All of the issues that were selected for portrayal in the films were actual issues faced by Godamchaur community members."

4.4.2.4 Classes ten through twelve: the final set of films

Classes ten, eleven, and twelve were the final three classes of the course, and the final iteration of the praxis. Class ten was delayed, like the class before it, because some participants were late. The monsoon season causes many road delays and when the last of the participants finally arrived, the muddy footpaths and roads were blamed for the tardiness. On their own initiative, the participants prepared the room to screen the video reflections from the previous class. The responses to questions in the video reflection already showed that participants had begun thinking ahead to their final film, as evidenced by the example in the previous subsection. After the reflection screening concluded, Pooja asked them to continue the discussion while thinking ahead to the next film. Many participants had expressed interest in building directly on the previous theme. A participant stated that they would need to recruit more people from the community to help with the next films. Participants suggested ideas for films such as a movie about superstitious beliefs and practices in the community that are harmful. Others mentioned a

belief in ghosts and witches, and practicing with a witch doctor. *They share that they want to go all out and give their best effort to make a quality film, even if it takes much longer to produce (R.R.).* Pooja encourages them to be creative, and think of filming in different locations. With different teams projecting ahead to the stories they might tell, Pooja asked them to agree on a theme, something that all of their ideas had in common. *Overcoming negative forces* was chosen as the final theme. Pooja asked them to begin their storyboards.

Over the course of the project the teams appear to have grown in confidence and motivation. They have also familiarized themselves well with the tasks, and easily transitioned to storyboarding (R.R.). Storyboarding moved very quickly this time. Despite developing movies that could have up to eighteen frames, participants finished their storyboards faster than when they had to draw only twelve frames. Reflecting on class ten, Pooja wrote, "It was probably one of the best classes so far. Everyone was so engaged in the work. They were working as a group to make their best film."

Class eleven was a shooting day and there were no observations made. Pooja noted in her journal that shooting was once again spread out over three days so that each team could use the camera for as long as they wanted. Rain frequently delayed the shooting, which was expected because of the monsoon.

The twelfth and final class of the course began with the screening. The participants were excited, and they had worked very hard on the shooting days. They were eager for the other members of the class to see their final movies. The three films screened in succession in the darkened room were *Sangarsha, Prerana ra Safalta*, *Education Can Change the World 2*, and *Think Before You Do*.

Sangarsha, Prerana ra Safalta

Sangarsha, Prerana ra Safalta, at almost nineteen minutes in length is the longest film made by participants of the course in either setting. The title means *Struggle, Encouragement, and Success*. This remarkable documentary film was shot in and around the village, and captured the interviews of different community members who somehow embody one of the three themes of the film: struggle, encouragement, or success. The first interview is at a famous local temple, and is conducted with three women who discuss its historical and religious significance, and speak about tradition in general. Next, is the

shopkeeper Sita, the chairperson of the Women's Cooperative. She talks about the establishment of the cooperative and the challenges that she faced in the process. The next interview is Anita, who is working on her farm. Anita has provided employment on her farm to a number of young people in the village over the years. She encourages others to look at farming as an occupation because "there is profit if one is willing to work hard." Following Anita's interview, the filmmakers meet Rama, a *Dalit* woman who faces regular discrimination because of her caste. She shares stories about how she has been abused, verbally and physically, by high-caste people in the surrounding area. She attributes the continued caste-related bigotry to the fact that people have conflated discrimination with culture and tradition. The next scene is at Sita Ram Tailors, a small family-run business in the village. Sita Ram and his family are interviewed, and Sita Ram's son explains his reasons for staying at home to work rather than seeking employment abroad as a migrant laborer, like most other young men his age. The filmmakers then interview Raj Kumar, the principal of a private school in the village. Raj Kumar discusses his reasons for establishing a school and his fee structure, which is on a sliding scale according to the economic reality faced by the student's family. Finally, the filmmakers interview Kapil, a fifteen-year-old boy who is one of Godamchaur's "emerging football talents." He talks about his inspirations, and dreams of becoming a professional footballer.

Image 7: A screenshot from Sangarsha, Prerana ra Safalta

Education Can Change the World 2

Education Can Change the World 2 is a story about the preferential treatment of young boys in village society. The movie opens on a small house where a husband and wife have twins; a girl named Samiya and a boy named Suraj. They put their son in school but they do not enroll their daughter, despite the eagerness that she shows for education. For five years Suraj gets to go to school and Samiya is denied the opportunity. One day, while Samiya is cutting grass, she discovers her brother smoking cigarettes in the jungle with his

friends. She runs and reports him to her parents who do not believe her. "My son couldn't do such a thing," says Samiya's mother. They follow Samiya to investigate and on the road meet Suraj and his friends, who have been caught by their teacher for missing school. Later that day after a family consultation, they decide to send Suraj to a rehab center and enroll Samiya in school. Ten years pass in the village. The husband and wife await the return of their son Suraj, who has been working abroad in America as a doctor. In the meantime, Samiya has been working as social worker in a nearby village. The husband and wife express their happiness that both of their children are successful. The husband admits that he did not think it would be possible. Suraj returns to the village and has a joyful reunion with his parents. He phones Samiya and asks her to join them. The family reunites and the parents express their desire that the children now remain in the village to serve their own community.

Image 8: A screenshot from Education Can Change the World 2

Think Before You Do

A narrator introduces the film, saying, "With this film we want to show different incidents that occur from a lack of education." The film is about an alcoholic father of five girls who pays a local healer his savings in the hope that one of his spells will help his wife have a son. His wife becomes ill so a local boy recommends that the man meet the health worker who serves the village. The man brings the health worker, who is a woman, over to his house to examine his wife. The health worker sees that the wife has had a miscarriage and learns that the man has not cared for her well since she became ill. The health worker is furious and scolds the man in front of his daughters. She tells the man that it is ignorant to prefer sons, and that his daughters can all become doctors and engineers, just as she herself is a doctor. The man is ashamed and agrees to let his daughters attend school beginning the very next day. The health worker tells the man that he already has five daughters and he does not need to have any more children. Sometime later, the man's

daughters have all received top marks in their classes. The man is proud of them and departs to distribute sweets in the village.

The film now switches to a second story. A young single mother and her son are at the village temple, praying for the safety of her husband who has gone abroad as a migrant laborer. Over the next few scenes the young son is depicted growing up. He constantly misbehaves by bullying, stealing, and running away. His mother is in denial about her son's character, even when neighbors try to intervene. Only after her son has stolen from her, his own mother, does she see that he has grown up without any discipline. He runs away again and is brought back by the neighbors. In the final scene the mother is crying and the son tries to console her. He says, "Mommy, why are you crying? When I was small I stole a doll and you didn't say anything. And later, when I stole other things, you didn't tell me not to. Now why do you cry?" The boy's mother apologizes to him and we learn that his father never returned. The boy tells his mother not to worry, because when he grows up he will take care of her.

Image 9: A screenshot from Think Before You Do

The narrative complexity of these final three films is clear when compared with the movies that were produced earlier. The film *Sangarsha, Prerana ra Safalta* (Struggle, Encouragement and Success) is an investigation of opinions and viewpoints in Godamchaur, and is a significant piece of independent community research. The types of questions that the participants asked during the interviews signaled critical thought. *It appeared that they had put a lot of effort into producing the film and learned a lot about their own community through the process (R.R.).*

Following the screening the educator asked the participants to share their thoughts on the films. The participants agreed that all of the films shared common social messages. The

first one discussed was the portrayal of positive achievements by the community or individual community members in the face of negative forces, and this portrayal was encouraging to see. The second prevalent social message identified was that young girls and boys should be treated equally. The group continued until the snack break to discuss the different standards that society held for women and men.

Following the break, Pooja chose to facilitate a final discussion rather than use the video reflection method. The video reflection is a method intended to set in motion discussions aimed at projecting forward and generating a new theme, but since this was the final class session, Pooja, taking cues from the participants, allowed them to discuss their experiences.

The feedback from the participants was very much based on their subjective experiences, what they enjoyed, and what they found challenging. Pooja encouraged them to refocus their discussion on the themes from the classes, and on what knowledge had been revealed over the course of the program. Below are some examples of the feedback offered by participants during this discussion:

> As a result of the films the community was made aware of different issues and problems. The community members who saw, or participated in the films, were exposed to the themes and topics of the films and, therefore, were able to develop their awareness on the themes, and reflect on the topics. – *Sajina*

> We got a chance to meet together and reflect on issues in the community, something we wouldn't have done otherwise. This allowed us to think about how we could change or improve our current situation. More of these activities are needed to keep the youth engaged and motivated, as well as active. – *Namuna*

The overall mood of the class was more celebratory than reflective, however. The participants were clearly proud of what they had achieved and preferred to recount funny events from the past weeks. There was consensus among them that they wanted to host a graduation ceremony, an option offered to them at the beginning of the class. There would be snacks, the presentation of certificates of completion, and they could choose films to screen for all of their friends and neighbors who were welcome to attend. Participants also asked that a Best Picture certificate be awarded. In his reflection of the final class, the research assistant wrote:

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It is apparent that the group has come a long way in terms of their confidence in filmmaking and their awareness of social issues in their community. The process of making short films on socially relevant themes and topics appears to be a successful tool in getting the participants to think critically, analyze problems, and portray their own depiction of community issues.

4.4.2.5 Graduation and beyond

Here the narrative of the Godamchaur *Insider Windows* course arrives at the vignette presented at the beginning of this chapter. The graduation was a success and *Dharo Bhitraakaa Kathaaharu* was awarded the Best Picture certificate to rowdy applause. The other films selected for screening were:

- Student Life
- Education Can Change the World
- *Sangarsha, Prerana ra Safalta*

Fewer guests attended than the participants had expected, thirty-three in total, which was slightly disappointing for them, but despite that, the participants continued with the facilitated screening and discussion of their movies in a program that they developed entirely on their own. The participants were clearly proud of their work and were excited to show it off. When a guest spoke out during the screening of *Dharo Bhitraakaa Kathaaharu* she was hushed and told to "just stay quiet and watch" by one of the filmmakers. Following the screening of *Sangarsha, Prerana ra Safalta*, a woman stood up and quickly exited the room. Pooja later explained that she was a high-caste shopkeeper who had left in embarrassment after the movie ended. Apparently, she was frequently rude to her *Dalit* customers, one of the forms of discrimination explicitly identified by interviewee Rama during her segment of the film.

After the graduation some of the participants continued to express their interest in filmmaking, and requested equipment to make further films. They took the class very seriously and have become interested in film (R.R.).

Image 10: The participants from Godamchaur after graduation

Frequently surfacing in the initial discussions between the educators and me was the question: what happens after the course finishes? The notion that the participants would have a desire to make more films was considered, but it was never mentioned as an option. The aim was to see what might grow from the praxis without influencing a predetermined outcome in any way. Their request to make more films was sincere, and it was repeated to the educator several times over the month following the graduation. Three young women asked to borrow the camera again. Pooja said they could on the condition that they agreed upon a theme based on everything they had learned from the class, and storyboard it completely as they had been taught.

The theme they chose was *caste discrimination*, and the film they produced, *The Wedding of the Priest's Son*, was a remarkable achievement. Dozens of community members acted in the film, both with speaking roles and as extras, and the three directors organized a screening at the school featured in some of their earlier films. Pooja attended the screening and counted sixty-two attendees. By popular demand, the movie was played three times in succession, not from the small camera this time but on a large television screen, and was followed by a discussion facilitated by the directors. The attendees discussed the film and shared their own personal stories about caste discrimination to the group. The film also encouraged a few attendees to share their own stories of experiences with suicide and elopement in the village, two other issues highlighted in the film. In her final reflection Pooja noted, "[The guests] were sad when they announced that

this was their last film. They wanted them to make more movies. So, Rajkumar uncle[26] requested that more movies like this be made for his school, and he would be the producer. So the group was happy to get a new job."[27]

The Wedding of the Priest's Son

The Wedding of the Priest's Son, or *Panditko Choroko Bihe* in Nepalese, is a complex story about inter-caste marriage, teen suicide, and the challenges young people face in the village. The main plot focuses on Kapil, the grandson of the local village priest, who has run away with the daughter of Kaley. The film opens with a montage of scenes from the village. Everyone is talking about the fact that the priest's grandson, a high-caste *Brahmin*, ran away with Kaley's daughter. This is big gossip in the village because Kaley is a low-caste *Dalit*. An additional plot thread follows the story of the suicide of Meera, a local village girl who kills herself after having a fight with her mother. With the help of the local schoolteacher, the principal, and two young students, the plot dilemmas are individually addressed. Somehow, despite the initial vehement opposition of the priest, his family convinces him to accept Kaley's daughter and he offers his blessing for the wedding. In the final wedding scene many villagers have come, and there are young girls dressed up in the different traditional clothes of the ethnic groups found in Godamchaur, which is symbolic of unity in the village. The wedding is a joyous affair, with music and speeches by the principal and Kapil's father. Kaley and Kapil's father embrace and exchange kind words. The film ends with the marriage ceremony and someone attending shouts, "Happy ending! At last the marriage of the priest's son has happened!"

Image 11: A screenshot from The Wedding of the Priest's Son

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[26] The headmaster of the school.

[27] Although it may be of interest to know what transpired with regard to their new job, it falls outside of the boundaries of the case, and likewise does not factor into the narrative analysis, both of which must have a concluding point for the purposes of research. This study focuses on a period in time in the lives of the participants, and by adhering to Frank's (2005, p. 967) principle of *perpetual generation*, it is understood that any analysis here is not final, and like the stories the participants tell, this story has an open future.

The screening of *The Wedding of the Priest's Son* in Godamchaur marked the conclusion of the case study in that setting. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the two settings together form the bounded entity that is the case; therefore, the course in Kapan will be discussed before some initial assertions and triangulations are made.

4.4.3 Kapan

The course held in Kapan, a suburb of Kathmandu, was facilitated by Remee, and observed at all times by the research assistant and me, apart from one occasion when neither of us could attend and Pooja from Godamchaur observed. Because this course began later in the summer and progressed at a slower pace than its counterpart in Godamchaur (by the second meeting of the Kapan group, the participants in Godamchaur had completed six classes), the research assistant developed other obligations that limited his available time; therefore, the secondary observational data set of this course has less content. The schedule of the course remained identical, however.

Shooting was still organized for the fifth, eighth, and eleventh classes. By design, the course very much mirrored the one held in Godamchaur, and because it took place later in the summer, lessons learned in Godamchaur were shared with Remee to help her prepare better. An unintended but acceptable outcome of this scheduling divergence was that observations often made comparisons between Kapan and Godamchaur. Defining the Kapan case over the following pages will take the same approach. Rather than repeat much of what has already been said, the narrative will broadly tell the story of the course in Kapan, but use detail when describing how the two settings differed.

Image 12: The participants in Kapan

4.4.3.1 Classes one through three: skills training

In her reflection about her first class Remee wrote, "I was very nervous and a bit scared. It started raining and I was not sure if all the participants would come." All of them did come in the end, seven young women and three young men, but the monsoon rains were a continual source of anxiety for Remee across the duration of the course. The first three classes in Kapan closely mirrored the first three in Godamchaur in their process. The camera and tripod were the focus of Remee's instruction, and the participants all played the practice games: the *Name Game*, *Twist In Frame*, and the *Choosing Game*. Remee's approach towards explaining the course was more direct than Pooja's. She often reminded participants that it was an external research project and that the eventual outcome of their camera training would be to use the camera as a tool for investigation. The first time she said this it seemed to confuse participants, despite the details provided on the consent and information sheets, but they listened attentively nevertheless. After an icebreaker game, they were all laughing and enjoying themselves.

The participants, most of them 10+2 graduates, were more educated and from a higher economic bracket, which can generally be called the urban working class. Several participants brought smartphones with them, and overall they dressed in a more sophisticated style. *It appeared that their interests and core concerns would be different from the Godamchaur group as well. Their attitudes and personas were aligned with young students and urban youth, rather than the more rural touch of the youth in Godamchaur (R.R.).* When Remee delivered the lesson on the rule of thirds,[28] several participants spoke up and were able to identify what she was going to say because they had studied mass communications in college.

In general, there were more potential distractions in Kapan. The family who generously allowed Remee to use their three-room cottage was often home when the classes were taking place. At times their son would practice guitar in the adjacent room. They also had a dog that both intimidated and delighted participants. Although these potential distractions were noted in the observations, there is no indication that the educator or any of the participants were bothered. In fact, having the family present and even occasionally making comments, gave the course a more communal and non-formal atmosphere.

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[28] The rule of thirds is a suggestive guideline for the composition of visual images such as photographs and film.

The second and third classes covered extended technical practice with the cameras and storyboarding, respectively. Remee did an excellent job of reviewing practice footage shot from the previous class in order to point out in detail minor issues with framing, lighting, and sound. Participants recorded everything in their notebooks. Remee also opened the technical critique up so participants could discuss the footage shot by others, such as the *Choosing Game* clips. Although technical in nature, this open forum for analysis seemed to be good practice for the upcoming classes. At the end of the third class, Remee asked participants to bring in a newspaper article "related to youth, their own life, or which grasps the attention of the young generation like them."

4.4.3.2 Classes four through six: movies on a topical theme

The fourth class in Kapan is the setting of the vignette at the beginning of this chapter. The class began with a review of the previous three classes and a careful group reading of the participant information sheet. As a group they discussed terms from the participant information sheet that they did not understand. This discussion was followed by a review of the articles students had brought in for their homework assignment. Three articles were discussed at length. The first was about a woman who was beaten in her village because she was suspected of being a witch; the second was about the Guinness Book record for the largest human national flag; and the third was about a young fifteen-year-old who earned praise in an Indian village in Rajasthan for opposing the practice of child marriage.

Remee did not need to say much to get the participants to discuss the articles. Many of them already had strong opinions about the topics. Remee did try to refocus the discussion on the community by problem posing. She asked if and how the themes from the articles were relevant to their community or the neighborhood. The discussion focused predominantly on the article about the human flag and the issue of unity. It seemed that Remee would not have to propose a topical theme because the participants were generating a theme as the discussions about unity became more focused and localized. Sujan, a young man, then introduced his own topic to the group. He asked the group, "Is the culture of giving for charity good or not? How many NGOs claim to be helping children but are in fact helping themselves?" This sparked a lively debate among the participants who proposed making their films on one of several related themes:

- The plight of street children
- Parents forcing their children to beg for money

- Child labor in restaurants, teashops, and as bus conductors
- The false pretenses of NGOs

Remee saw that *children* was the commonality among the film ideas being discussed, so she asked the participants to begin storyboarding with that theme in mind. Because Sujan introduced the theme, it was technically topical. Although Remee did not propose it, she saw that the group supported it, and the outcome of the first thematic discussion was negotiated in that way. Storyboarding lasted for the remaining fifty minutes of the class, and Remee distributed the snacks while participants worked. In a notable reflection on the fourth class the research assistant wrote:

> Although the articles were well discussed and the educator guided the group to the theme of unity, one of the participants sort of introduced his own theme of interest. The rest of the group took it into discussion and started to contribute their ideas and knowledge on the theme surrounding child rights, and eventually the group adopted this theme for the films. While the entire group was not equally responsible in generating the theme, they did agree and contribute their thoughts as well as adopt their own issues around the theme.

The fifth class was a shooting day and there were no observations. Remee, likewise, did not attend the class because she had other commitments. The participants took the camera home at the end of the fourth class and managed the handover of the equipment between the two teams.

Only seven participants attended the sixth class, but five other non-participants were at the home that day because Remee brought her parents. In the common room, Remee taped a large piece of paper to the wall so that she could project the movies onto it during the screening. Before the screening began she asked the two teams to present their storyboards and describe the shooting experience. Both teams stated that it was more difficult than they had expected. The teams had divided up by gender, and the team of young men had traveled all around their quadrant of Kathmandu looking for street children to interview for their documentary. The curtains were drawn and the front door was closed—then the screening began. The films screened were *Street Souls* and *Why Child Labour?*

Street Souls

Street Souls is a short documentary film about street children in Kathmandu and the struggles they face. The directors capture street children and their conditions in a succession of shots. The movie was recorded on some of northeast Kathmandu's major urban thoroughfares, nearby to Kapan. The filmmakers ask the question, "Who should be responsible for the conditions faced by these children? The government? Their parents? Or us?"

Image 13: A screenshot from Street Souls

Why Child Labour?

Why Child Labour? is the story of a family with five children. The father is an alcoholic and the mother is finding it increasingly difficult to feed her children with what little money she has. She confronts her husband about wasteful spending on alcohol and he hits her in front of the children. When one of the sons speaks up for his father, his father hits him too. The father has his children smashing rocks into gravel for extra cash, but one day realizes he has been a bad parent and tells his children to join school. The movie ends with a shot of the children wishing their mother goodbye as they depart for school; meanwhile, their father is toiling in the garden.

Image 14: A screenshot from Why Child Labour?

Following the screening Remee first pointed out some technical issues that she wanted the participants to think about when shooting their next movies. Afterwards, she led a short discussion about the films and then asked the teams to develop a set of questions to ask the other team in the video reflection, initiating the same method of decoding that Pooja used with much success in Godamchaur. The following examples are excerpts from the video reflection:

Example 1:

Q: In your video you brought in actors. What was it like to bring in actors?

A: Bringing in actors was difficult. Because this movie has child actors, it was difficult convincing their parents. We spent a lot of time convincing parents.

Q: Whom do you blame for this problem [of child labor]?

A: I don't blame anyone for this problem, because life is never without difficulties. One always has to struggle. If we hadn't struggled, we wouldn't have been able to make this movie. That's why I don't blame anyone in particular for this problem. Struggle is a part of life.

Example 2:

Q: Your production company is called *BB Production*, what is the meaning of that?

A: There is some thought behind the name. *BB Production* means Big Business. It is based on those big businesses in Nepal that do no work but only raise money from NGOs and INGOS. They show problems, raise money, but don't spend it on the problems. This business of fattening themselves is becoming more apparent. Keeping an eye on that, we called our production company *BB Production*.

After the screening of the video reflection, Remee led a discussion that culminated in the generation of a theme. Remee asked questions such as, "How do you know what the problems in society are?"

"We see them, we hear them, we face them," replied a participant. As a group they agreed that there are social problems in their community, but people often do not recognize them because they lack awareness. Building on that notion, they chose the theme *awareness* for their next round of movies. In Remee's own words, the class concluded in the following way:

We all discussed the basis of the videos and tried to draw a conclusion, which was supposed to be our next theme. I asked questions to help them get to the theme.

To know or understand that problems exist in our life or in our society, people have to be aware about the problem. They should have knowledge of the existing problem. So everybody agreed that *awareness* was the perfect theme for our next movie.

4.4.3.3 Classes seven through nine: movies on a generative theme

There was heavy rain on the day of the seventh class. The first four participants to arrive waited for others while discussing the visit of the Indian prime minister to Kathmandu. While Remee phoned participants to ascertain their whereabouts, the young fellow who selected the article about the human flag record brought up the topic again. He mentioned that he wanted to go but was discouraged by the fact they were planning to charge 100 rupees to participate. He linked this to corruption.

Once eight participants had arrived, Remee began the class with a discussion about the theme generated the week before. She asked participants to think about different ways that people can become aware. "Education," said a participant. "The media." "Rallies." A participant mentioned Facebook and another responded, "People often misuse Facebook and just waste their time. The main way village people become aware is through radio and video." Following some discussion, Remee divided the eight participants into three groups, and handed out the storyboarding paper. She explained that they could make movies that were up to twelve frames long this time. As the participants began to work on their storyboards, Remee distributed cups of Sprite and cream crackers with spicy *bhujiya*. Across both courses the energizing effect of the snacks was frequently noted in observations.

Remee visited the groups individually and spoke with them about how they planned to represent *awareness* in their movies. Unlike Pooja, who let the participants work at their own pace until they finished their storyboards, Remee kept them on track by giving them reminders every ten minutes about how much time they had left. In her reflection diary she wrote, "They all wanted to make the videos better this time than the last, so they were taking their time to discuss and prepare better stories, and all the members of the groups were giving their best thoughts and ideas." When the storyboards were finished, the shooting schedule was negotiated for the following weekend.

The eighth class was shooting so no observations were made, but Remee was able to accompany two of the three groups while they produced their movies. The course in Godamchaur had concluded by this time, so Remee had access to both camera kits, which helped facilitate shooting. Because many of the participants in Kapan worked during the week, Saturday was their only day off and it would have been difficult for three teams to juggle one camera, considering one team took seven hours to shoot their movie.

Remee taped a blank white sheet of paper on the wall in preparation for the ninth class screening. She forgot the masking tape so she used electrical tape instead, but the humidity kept causing it to lose its adhesiveness. She sent the boy who lived at the house out to buy some more masking tape. In the meantime, she asked the participants to share their shooting experiences. Several mentioned that despite it taking longer, it had become easier since they had practiced more. Before screening the films, Remee had each team present their storyboard to the group. Then the door was closed and the room was darkened. The participants were eager for the screening. The films screened were *Clean City is Healthy City*, *Nepali Paurakhi Haatharu,* and *More Hands More Money*.

Clean City is Healthy City

Clean City is Healthy City is a movie about the garbage problem in the Kapan area. A man who has been carelessly throwing garbage in a local informal dump becomes very ill. His son learns of a news article posted online about several people who have died in the Balkhu area due to poison caused by surface garbage. He worries for his father and tells him about the incident in Balkhu. He suggests that his father might be ill for the same reason. His father regrets throwing the garbage, and tells his son about how he was rude to a stranger who advised him not to drop his garbage at the informal dump. He promises his son that he will stop polluting the neighborhood. Later he even stops others from doing the same, encouraging them to wait, and hand their garbage over to the municipality truck that comes around to collect it. A fellow he has asked not to litter is then shown asking another person not to litter, and this highlights the way good habits can spread in a community. The film ends with the man, now healthy, walking around his neighborhood and admiring how clean it has become. He says, "If everybody is this aware, then our country will reach new heights and be developed."

Image 15: A screenshot from Clean City is Healthy City

Nepali Paurakhi Haatharu

Nepali Paurakhi Haatharu means *These Hardworking Nepali Hands*. The movie is about Poonam, a recent college graduate who goes to a job interview but is unsuccessful. She meets a friend who offers her a job as a junior accountant, but Poonam refuses because she is now a graduate and is seeking a better job than that. After several other unsuccessful interviews Poonam feels helpless. She is walking in the neighborhood one day and encounters an old friend, Kabita, who topped their graduating class in college. Kabita is feeding pigs and tells Poonam that she has started a farm from scratch, and that it is a successful business. Poonam is disgusted at the idea of working with animals and considers it low. Kabita asks her, "Can work be high or low?" She offers Poonam a job because it is clear she needs help, but Poonam refuses. It turns out that Kabita was given an award from an agricultural specialist, and the media lauded her contribution to the local economy. Poonam hears about this on the radio and reconsiders the scorn she has shown to certain types of jobs, understanding that she has remained unemployed since college because of it. With newfound humility, she seeks out the agricultural specialist herself, and finds out that there is an agriculture training beginning soon. Poonam joins the training to learn how to become an independent farmer in order to establish a productive farm herself.

Image 16: A screenshot from Nepali Paurakhi Haatharu

More Hands More Money

More Hands More Money is a film about child labor. Instead of sending any of their five children to school, a husband and wife put them to work to make ends meet. They wonder who put the idea of schooling into their children's heads. One day, a letter arrives for the husband and wife, but neither of them is literate and they are unable to read it. The husband says, "These black letters have as much meaning as a buffalo's color," and they seek out a neighbor to help them make sense of the letter. All of their neighbors are busy, however, and do not have time to help them. Finally, a man who was painting his house and initially refused to help them has finished his work and reads them the letter. The man tells the husband and wife that they did not study when they had the chance, and that is why they cannot read. Likewise, they are denying their children that chance. When alone, the husband and wife consult with each other. They recognize that had they sent their children to school, one of them could have read the letter to them. They agree that they should enroll their children in school the next day. The movie ends with the parents giving new notebooks to their children who are celebrating the fact that they can attend school.

Image 17: A screenshot from More Hands More Money

The screening went well, and there was lots of laughter. After the door and curtains were opened again, Remee led a discussion that focused on what the films made the participants think about. Participants began to suggest ideas for their next films before actually agreeing on a theme. Topics like *corruption*, *poverty*, *development*, and *deforestation* were all mentioned. Remee did a good job of directing the discussion towards preparing questions for the video reflection. At that moment, a participant arrived very late. Other participants teased her, saying she only arrived in time for the snacks. In their teams they developed questions for the video reflection and went outside to shoot it. Below is an example of questions and responses from the video reflection:

Q: Where did you get the inspiration to make this movie?

A: I think that the inspiration came from our own society, our own country, our own surroundings, because we ourselves are youth, and we ourselves are hesitant to take any type of jobs. We hoped that by making this movie, we ourselves would be energized. The four of us, we sat down and discussed this, and we asked ourselves what societal problems are most prevalent among youths. We consulted together, and we got the inspiration from ourselves.

Q: While making the movie you probably had to struggle at times. How did you face these difficulties, and what experiences did you have facing these?

A: Going to an unknown place to do the shooting, interacting with strangers, these things were definitely difficult. But on the other hand, we were successful because of our teamwork.

Q: This is our last question. What do you personally think about the movie?

A: I feel the movie presents the message we were trying to convey. Also, I feel that we learned a lot while shooting. Some mistakes and errors may have occurred, but even from those we learned a lot. And the most important thing: whatever we were trying to teach—to society, to ourselves—whatever we were trying to make understood, I think we were successful in that.

Remee projected the video reflection for the participants and they enjoyed watching themselves answer the questions confidently. The discussion then continued, and in her reflection journal Remee wrote the following about how the final theme was generated through that dialogue:

We continued our discussions of the videos to find our theme for the next videos. The discussions went very well as everybody gave their ideas and opinions about the prevailing situation of people who are aware about the problems of society but

cannot do anything. The reason is that they have many problems of their own which they cannot overcome like poverty, their own superstitions, prejudices, etc. So we concluded that for our theme we get the title *awareness is not enough.* We have people who may know the importance of something, like education, but because of poverty or their superstitions, they cannot get that education. So everybody agreed that *awareness is not enough* would be the theme for our next videos.

4.4.3.4 Classes ten through twelve: the final set of films

The tenth class was the final storyboarding session. Because of heavy rain, only six participants attended; five were young women and one was a young man. Remee began the discussion of the theme, and participants offered their perspectives about why they felt just having awareness is not enough. Remee suggested the example of parents who are aware of the need to educate their children, but cannot afford the fees. Some participants advanced other constraints:

"What if the child does not want to study? Or if there is no school?"

"Sometimes the mother might be in favor of education and the father against it, or vice versa."

"People cannot change if they are not willing to change."

The discussion shifted to parents who are guilty of forcing their children to do things that they do not want to do, then transitioned to the government of Nepal, bribery, job discrimination, and other topics in which awareness on its own is not enough. Two of the participants pointed out that everyone is aware of corruption, but no one does anything. Remee played the part of problem poser and led the discussion until she felt they had generated enough subject matter to support the creation of stories. With only six participants there, Remee divided them into two groups for their final films. The participants storyboarded their eighteen-frame movies for the final hour of the class.

The eleventh class was a shooting day and there were no observations made. Each of the two teams had their own camera kit, and one of the teams faced a complication with shooting. Their storyboard was a movie about the problems with the roads in their community, but because of heavy rain they were unable to shoot outdoors. They revised their script in the morning and developed a movie that was a completely different analysis of the theme, which was shot entirely indoors.

Seven participants, two observers, the educator, and the residents of the cottage attended the final class. Remee set up the room for the screening while the participants engaged in small talk with one another. When the room was ready, Remee asked them to share their experiences with shooting. One of the teams described how rain had forced them to change their story to one that could be shot indoors, and that this was very frustrating for them. Two movies were screened for the participants on the final day, *Ichyalaai Dabaunu Parda* and *Struggle to Superstitions*.

Ichyalaai Dabaunu Parda

Ichyalaai Dabaunu Parda means *Forced to Suppress a Wish*. The movie is about Suman and his family. They have little money or resources, but Suman's mother, after listening to the news on the radio and learning about a local boy who went on to become a doctor, resolves to send her son to school. Her son was at the top of his class, and her daughter, who is in primary school, also excelled academically. Once she sees that her son received high marks on his examinations, she decides to sell her property to finance his education. She sends him off to school in the city with the money, and tells him to make her proud. Once he reaches the city he is faced with high rent and expenses, and he quickly spends all of the money his mother gave him. Suman manages to finish his A-Levels, but cannot continue to study further because he has no money. He gives up on his dream of an education and gets a small office job to make ends meet. After five years he returns to his mother's house. His sister is grown up and ready to go to college herself, but because of poverty her mother cannot send her. Suman gives his mother the money he has saved for the past five years and says that it should go towards his younger sister's education. Suman explains that, despite having the desire and the top marks, he was unable to pursue his dream due to poverty. Now he understands he must suppress his wish for an education in order for his sister to realize hers.

Image 18: A screenshot from Ichyalaai Dabaunu Parda

Struggle to Superstitions

Struggle to Superstitions[29] is about the pressures a young woman faces at home to forgo her education and get married. The film opens with the narrator asking the question: "Even though in the 21st century men and women are considered equal, still women cannot progress hand in hand with men. Who is responsible for this?" The young woman is the best student in her class and her parents praise her efforts. She expresses a desire to continue her studies abroad like the other top students, but her mother is guarded in her response, and tells her daughter that their family does not have much money. Meanwhile, her father, who is working abroad, has tried to arrange a marriage for her. Her mother tells her that her sister is already married and that now it is her turn. She refuses her mother and mentions that some of her friends who got married early are unhappy. She wants to have a career before getting married. Later, she meets a friend who advises her not to get married, and shares her own experiences of dealing with frustrating in-laws and giving up on dreams. The young woman meets her mother again, who criticizes her friend for portraying marriage negatively. The mother says that the reason the young woman's friend has not yet had children is probably because she wants to run away with someone else. The young woman says that having children does not mean happiness. She brings up the example of her own sister, who has been married for three years, has children, but remains unhappy in her marriage. The mother's phone rings and it is bad news; her other daughter left her husband and ran away with another man. Her father calls and is very upset, but the young woman explains on the phone that they should have let their other daughter study nursing as she wanted, rather than arranging a marriage she did not want. The young woman's mother realizes that she should not make the mistake with her only other daughter, and says that she will support her desire to get an education and career before getting married.

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[29] Like several of the other movies, the participants chose to give this one an English name. The meaning of the name might be unclear, but what they were trying to convey with the title was *struggle against superstitions.*

Image 19: A screenshot from Struggle to Superstitions

After the screenings, the participants sat in a circle in the common room and discussed their overall experiences in the class. *They stated that there were lots of things that they saw on a daily basis that were wrong with society, but they did not act to change the situation. Before, they were confined to their own lives and did not think or reflect on larger concerns of their society and community in a forum like this (R.R.).* Unlike in Godamchaur, Remee wanted the participants to shoot a final video reflection so she gave them ten to fifteen minutes to draft some questions. The electricity came on during this time, and several participants plugged in their mobile phones to charge them. After the snack break that followed, which consisted of spicy *bhujiya* and Mountain Dew, the participants went outside to record their video reflection. The following exchanges are excerpts from the video reflection.

Example 1

Q: Namaste, welcome to our program. What was the reason for choosing the topic behind your film [*Ichyalaai Dabaunu Parda*]?

A: This is a big problem in Nepal – having to suppress your wishes. It is a topic we chose after some thought. There are so many people living under poverty who have the capacity to study and get an education but cannot. Because of financial reasons, even though they have the desire, they have to give it up. They have to suppress their hopes and desires within themselves.

Q: What is the message your movie is trying to convey?

A: The theme of our story is that it is not enough to only have awareness. The message we try to convey is that through hard work one should try to achieve their dreams.

Example 2

Q: We welcome you to today's program. The first question is, what is the main reason you made this film [*Struggle to Superstitions*]?

A: In this video we focus on a big problem in society, namely equality of men and women. Even though it is said that men and woman should be equal, in reality this has not been seen in practice.

Q: The problem you are presenting—the way you see the problem and the way most other people see the problem—what's the difference?

A: In this movie we showed the problem from the perspective of the common people; we did this by understanding the problems faced by the common people. In truth, we ourselves are common people, so we understood that these problems are ours, and we made this movie based on problems we ourselves face.

The video reflection ended a bit late so there was not much time to discuss the responses after screening them, but the participants seemed satisfied. The discussion moved on to their graduation and the format for the ceremony. Like Godamchaur, the participants wanted to invite friends and family to watch their movies, and also have an award certificate for best picture. Remee said she would make the necessary arrangements, and with the course now officially concluded, the participants walked up the muddy track and away into the evening drizzle.

4.4.3.5 Graduation

As a result of the October holiday season in Nepal, the graduation for the Kapan participants had to be scheduled a full month after the completion of their course. It was understood that several participants had to make sacrifices in order to attend, so the ceremony was kept short and to the point. Eight of the participants attended, and in total they brought five guests who were all mostly friends about their age. The researchers provided snacks to be shared after the screening of the films and the distribution of individual certificates. Sajata, a participant, introduced the course by asking everyone present, "What can you learn in one day?" She then pointed out that the course was composed of twelve two-hour classes, which totaled one day, and in that time they had learned so much. *She stated that the opportunity gave them a chance to step out of their daily lives and routines to deeply think about social issues (R.R.).* The films chosen for screening by the participants were:

- Clean City is Healthy City

- More Hands More Money
- *Nepali Paurakhi Haatharu*

Because enough time had elapsed, the films had been transferred to DVD, so the screening was done using a television, which was an improvement on the camera projector, particularly in terms of sound volume. The best picture award went to *Clean City is Healthy City*, and one of the directors, Sujan, came forward to receive the certificate. He spoke briefly, mentioning that he had the initial idea for the film when he came across an informal garbage dumping ground near his house that he had not previously known was there. Finally, certificates were distributed to applause and the program was closed with snacks and soft drinks. Remee concluded her journal with a fitting prosaic description of the graduation. She wrote, "The program was not that long but it seemed liked everybody enjoyed. We had a special refreshment part, which the participants liked as well. Then we had a few photo sessions, then we all left happily."

Image 20: The participants from Kapan after graduation

The graduation in Kapan signaled the end of the course in that setting, and the conclusion of the bounded *Insider Windows* case in its entirety. As mentioned, the previous two sub-sections were intended to provide *overall descriptions not unlike ones a reader would make had they been there themselves*. The purpose was to define the case in order to proceed with some initial analysis in this chapter, followed by deeper analysis in the next two chapters.

4.5 Data comparison through triangulation

In case study research, the identity and theoretical position of the observers is of importance when triangulating data. Stake writes, "Since no two investigators ever interpret things entirely the same, whenever multiple investigators compare their data, there is some theory triangulation… To the extent they describe the phenomenon in similar detail, the description is triangulated" (1995, p. 113). Likewise, as mentioned earlier, the two settings in which the courses took place provide further opportunity to understand meaning through data source triangulation (see Stake, 1995, p. 112). Additionally, recognizing the role of the educators as PARs, who have written their own subjective accounts of the entire process, provides more data to inform any triangulations. Therefore, triangulation is achieved by finding harmony, or discord, among the notes of the two observers, the reflections and interviews of the educators, and the written and verbal feedback of the participants themselves. Insofar as a research question relates equally to both settings, harmony between the meanings generated by data from the two courses will achieve data source triangulation. The juxtaposition of these data threads will help to inform the research objectives of the case study, and provide the reader with a deeper understanding of the story so that a subjective valuing of the research and the meanings generated can be better achieved. It should also be noted, however, that the comparison of these different threads is as equally capable of disconfirming assertions as it is confirming them.

As a reminder, the two objectives of the case study design framework, rephrased as questions, are, did conscientization occur, and what were the parameters of the process? The comprehensive definition of the case in the previous section should already produce within the reader a certain level of insight into these questions. Beginning with the latter question about defining the parameters of the praxis, data source triangulation can be used to illustrate that the method of pedagogy, the overall structure of the course, and the processes of participant investigation using cameras as the tool, are elements that can be successfully adapted to different settings and contexts.

The overall design of the course was structured enough to provide the educator with a substantive program in which to support her pedagogical goals, while fluid enough to allow ample room for innovation, *ad hoc* activities, and context-based realignment. There were no instances in the observations or feedback that directly identified structural elements of the course—such as the duration of the classes, the ordering of activities, or the

dependence on a technology—as barriers to achieving the goals of the praxis. Participants did respond that they had trouble with the technical elements of the course at the beginning but overcame them rapidly through practice. This rapid transition to technological literacy by participants is apparent in studies of both video-based critical pedagogy initiatives like *Video of the Oppressed* (DeGennaro & Duque, 2013) and typical participatory video practices (Walker & Arrighi, 2013).

Participants in Kapan had less trouble with the cameras and were more technologically innovative from the beginning than their counterparts in Godamchaur. For example, they often used their mobile phones to produce non-diegetic sound that is typically difficult to include when using in-camera editing. They all had difficulties grappling with the realties of filmmaking such as scouting locations, finding actors, and being dependent on the weather. These challenges that participants faced and overcame in both settings engendered confidence and belief in their abilities, two of the essential elements upon which their critical emergence was based; therefore, these initial challenges were not barriers but, on the contrary, were supportive to the goals of the praxis. When asked what they found to be the most difficult part of the course, in both settings the majority of participants responded: shooting and acting. Interestingly, many participants also listed shooting, along with participating in the thematic discussions, as their favorite part of the course.

Considering further the parameters of the process, the definition of the case in the previous section called attention to two minor limitations, neither of which could really be controlled by the educator: the impact of weather and the attendance of participants. Although rain and absenteeism did cause minor tensions, the former was an expected inconvenience that influenced all daily activities, and the second was a problem to a much smaller degree than had originally been anticipated. During the training both educators expressed anxieties that participants would not attend the classes and proposed the idea of paying allowances as an incentive. Those anxieties proved to be unjustified.

Having reviewed the parameters of the process, at least insofar as they are informed by data source triangulation, the other question remains: Did conscientization occur? Recalling subsection 2.2.2 and the *Johari Window* figure, was Window 4 (blocked subjectivity) opened, revealing some of what had previously been unknown, and did Window 3, the window of insider knowledge, enlarge? Did participants withdraw from the

culture of silence (see Freire, 1970a, p. 30)? Data triangulation is pivotal in making the initial brushstrokes that will begin to paint the picture of conscientization through a movie-making praxis. Since the participants' journey was independent in each setting, the discussion will begin with Godamchaur.

The research assistant's direct observation of the entire course in Godamchaur gave him meaningful insight into the participants' journey. Because he also attended the educator training, he was knowledgeable about the principles underlying the project and what the roles of everyone involved were. His final conclusion about the course is worthy of quoting at length:

> At the beginning of the course, one could be forgiven for doubting whether the group could really pull off complex productions. They had no experience whatsoever in video production. Getting the group to participate in open discussion was also a challenge at first. As a result, the educator's role in facilitating the discussion was crucial throughout the class. Pooja fulfilled her role exceptionally, especially as she was well acquainted with the group and they looked up to her and listened to her. The relationship between her and the group was not so formal, as student teacher relations usually are. As the educator she was both friendly and firm with the group and they respected her for it.
>
> Critical discussion remained a major component of the program. The group did engage in meaningful discussions and dialogue, focusing on themes and issues relevant to their own community. At first the group found it a bit difficult to portray the issues in their films, but gradually the group grew in developing their films around critical issues. It was impressive to see the growth in confidence, in analyzing abilities and showcasing their understanding of community issues in intelligent depictions through the medium of film. Viewing the overall impact of this process of utilizing video as a tool of critical education upon the group, it can be stated that for this group it was a successful means.

There are several points worthy of consideration from this conclusion. The research assistant was very experienced working in village settings and believes strongly in the capacity of village people, yet the initial doubt that he felt when he encountered the participants is indicative of the clear lack of experience they had with a camera. Many of them had never held one before, but they had the desire. Deepak, one of the participants,

stated a sentiment echoed by many others: "I learned how to use the camera in class. I've always wished to learn to use a camera." The research assistant's reflections about their growth in confidence and analytical ability are also important. These are both key elements in a critical emergence. Discussing the course in an interview, Pooja stated:

> When I talked to the participants after the class was over, they said that now they are very clear about many things. Before they used to ignore many things, but now they are very much conscious, they want to make people aware about these things. They want to share the movies they have made and encourage people to think more. They say that they have started thinking. It will make a change, even if a group of two or three people [begin thinking]. Maybe not all nine of them, but even if two or three of them think critically it will make a change, if not for all the people, then for her family, or for herself only.

When viewed through the *Johari Window* from subsection 2.2.2, Pooja's conversations with participants after the course's conclusion reflect the desired trajectory of knowledge generated through conscientization. The transition from "ignoring many things" to being "very much conscious" is represented at the framework level by the revealing of some of what is hidden behind Window 4, and the enlargement of Window 3. The desire to make other people "aware about these things" is represented by the enlargement of Window 1, open knowledge, by drawing from Window 3. So what was the subjective experience of some of the participants? The following are excerpts from interviews and written feedback provided in the form of reflections:

> Class helped my personal life change a lot. It helped change my mind also. I concluded that if we are unified we could do anything. Class helped to change not just my mind but my actions too. For example, I feel like I can do something in my society and I have begun to guide my younger brothers and sisters in a good way. I was inspired in class and I can now separate the negative elements of society, and I'm now confident I can warn others about them. – *Sabita*

> I learned to speak confidently. [The course] helped me to be able to discuss with my friends better, to have better conversations. In *Sangarsha, Prerana ra Safalta* we say that if you do any task with confidence, you can become anything in the future, and be an example and role model to others in the process. These things, we have learned. We have [also] seen changes in our behavior. Now when I buy

candy I don't throw the wrapper on the street like I used to. I put it in my pocket. So these changes have influenced our behavior. – *Manisha*

After the video class I don't roam around like I used to, my way of speaking became more polite, and I believe my behavioral patterns changed a lot. In our Godamchaur community there are many problems. Only we youth can solve those problems, because youths have a special energy. – *Deepak*

We learned many good things while making videos that we can apply to our own behavior. Along with the knowledge of camera and video, we were able to bring out the true facts of society. I'm trying to change completely. – *Buddha*

Directly, it looked like a camera and video class, but indirectly, we learned many other things from this class. For instance, we learned to think about our society and to work together. Outwardly I haven't changed, but inwardly I notice the incidents related to the themes. Those themes are always on my mind, and because of that my consciousness is higher. – *Sajina*

All of these statements reflect a subjective inward or outward change on the part of the participant. It is important to keep these statements in context. While a sampling of reactions from students enrolled in formal education could conceivably yield similar responses, the significant difference is that these inward and outward changes did not originate as the result of studying a predetermined curriculum. It is vital to remember that the educator did not present any knowledge to the course apart from the skills related to the camera. Participants dialogically generated all thematic elements that comprised the learning content, and that is what makes their statements representative of conscientization, rather than simple awareness raising.

Triangulating the data from Kapan in the much the same way, the observations of the research assistant serve as a good starting point. Although he was unable to observe the same number of classes as he did in Godamchaur, the fact that he was there at the beginning and at the end allowed him to comment on the changes he saw among the participants:

The videos, the themes captured within them, and the discussions generated, have definitely stimulated critical and analytical thought processes among the group of

youth participants in the project. They themselves have come out and admitted that the course has allowed them to step outside their normal lives and reflect on the issues of their community and society around them. The discussions that the group engaged in showed that they were reflecting on the issues and themes from multiple perspectives, trying to analyze both sides of the story. The urban setting in which they lived influenced the themes they came up with and their current point in their lives was another influencing factor.

The setting—the local neighborhood—and the time period of their lives—youth—were the primary influences that the research assistant identified within the participants' analysis of generative themes. Both of these factors speak to the subjectivities that participants were able to bring with them to the course. In both settings, the freedom for subjective expression was in contrast to the true/false binary understanding of knowledge that the students would have encountered in formal education. Transcending positivist views of knowledge and reality are required if knowledge producers are to recognize the ways they have been impacted by history, culture, and ideology (Kincheloe, 2008, p. 138). The fact that participants admitted that they were able to "step outside their normal lives and reflect" is a further characteristic of this transcendence, or emergence.

While making their films, the participants were enabled critical researchers, and used what Denzin and Lincoln (2002) call a *bricolage* approach towards their inquiry; they used whatever available methods they deemed necessary to investigate their themes. *Street Souls*, for example, used observations; some films used interviews, while others used fictional narrative creation and analysis as the method to reach a subjective understanding. Kincheloe (2008) stresses the importance that a bricolage approach has to critical researchers because it values the imaginative presentation of research findings (p. 131). The fact that they had become *bricoleur* researchers in their own right did not escape the participants. Sunita, one of the participants in Kapan, responded in an interview:

> Before making the film [on child labor] I knew it was just a social problem but I didn't know that this problem was getting worse day by day. So, when I started researching this problem for making a movie, I found many hidden things. First, I went to that place where many small children were for working for making a building. I asked them, why are you working here without going to school? Then they answered, our parents forced us to work here to earn money for food and

clothes. After that I came to know that child labor is not only supported by other people, but by parents also, who are very poor. In this way my research process on child labor ended. Anyone can be a researcher in their own society if they have desire because there are lots of problems in our society, which need to be solved to make a good society.

Sunita's account shows that by stepping out of her normal life and becoming a researcher in her own community she "found many hidden things." This sentiment was shared by other participants in Kapan and was initiated through their own quest for answers to questions they generated dialogically among themselves. Situations that they had previously never questioned (such as children at a worksite) became sources of new insight into their community and their reality (their own parents forced them). According to Kincheloe, these bricoleur researchers cannot go back to viewing their society in the same way. To them he says, "Welcome to the critical planet, where we realize objects in the mirror may not be what they seem" (2008, p. 138). Statements from other participants in Kapan reinforce the notion that a critical emergence engenders a different understanding of the society in which they were formerly immersed:

> We were busy in our life, and we didn't have time to notice the problems of our society. But when we joined this class we started to search the problems of society. We found lots of problems we hadn't noticed before, like an uneducated society, child labor, a dirty city, etc. We were involved in the research. Through videos we tried to show our societal problems in details. We were part of these videos. – *Poonam*

> During the shooting of *Clean City is Healthy City* my project team were in search of a bunch of waste for the first scene of the movie. I suddenly noticed waste near my home that I had never noticed. At that very moment something knocked my mind that said, "Why shouldn't I contribute to my society?" Then me and my friends formed a group to clean the neighborhood. Working in a team and seeing through the camera has boosted up my mind and the way I see things around. I don't want to die ten years early due to pollution and I also want to make people around me live green. – *Sujan*

> Now I've learned that there is a vast difference between watching, commenting on, and actually making a movie. As we discussed the themes we also got to see the

possible solutions. Then we made videos again which made the youths aware about the current problems of our society. – *Suman*

Our awareness became higher because we used to pass through these social problems and they remained unseen, and now we know about them. – *Divya*

Making a video changed our perspective. When we start making the videos we just have a few things we know about the theme, but we end up knowing new things about it, which we never thought of knowing. – *Sunita*

All of the participants in Kapan, in one way or another, expressed that they began to see issues that they had previously ignored after they took the role of critical researchers within their own community. A common response was that they had not even identified certain issues as "problems." As the responses show, "problems in society" was the dominant thread emerging from their representation of the Kapan themes, which when viewed at the thematic level are actually considerably neutral, especially when compared with the themes generated in Godamchaur (see Table 3: Thematic progression, chapter three). This speaks to the qualities that Remee brought as a critical educator. At no time did she direct participants to investigate or represent "social problems," but instead patiently and diligently executed her role as the problem poser. Her goal was broadly to make sure that "the future points to a more socially just world" (Giroux, 2011, p. 158). As a sensitized agent engaging in action-research with the participants, she supported them as they pulled back, or emerged from their lived reality, to gain a new vantage point that Kincheloe attributes to a critical consciousness (2008, p. 73). In other words, conscientization revealed what had been hidden, and enlarged the window of insider knowledge. Like Pooja, Remee also identified this transformation in the participants of her course, and spoke about it in an interview:

> I knew that this was for making people able to understand their own society and making them able to know themselves first and their part in that society. When I asked for their comments and views they said that they are starting to think about everything critically and they would no longer just be silent. They started to see many things that they never used to notice. They never used to notice those things before the classes, but now whenever they are walking, or doing their work, they are finding those things easily.

When compared with Pooja's response quoted earlier in the section, the similarities found in the above statement are striking, but not surprising. After all, both educators implemented a praxis which, although propelled by the unique analyses of participant-generated emic issues, was identical at the framework level—the level at which the research objectives associated with the case study are aimed. The purpose of triangulation in Stake's case study design is to help establish meaning (1998, p. 110). The intent is that the triangulations of what the praxis meant for those involved, both among the participants within a single setting, and across settings, are added as another layer on top of the definition of the case from the previous section. With each layer the case gains depth and the reader is provided with more raw material to construct his or her own subjective valuation.

4.6 Some assertions on the effectiveness of the praxis

The previous sections have conveyed observational data, interviews, and reflections in the hope that the narrative has defined, to a preliminary extent, the parameters of the movie-making process within a critical pedagogical praxis. The purpose of this section is to consider some initial assertions that can be based on data gleaned from this narrative as it stands, before the analysis and synthesis of the next two chapters.

The *Insider Windows* praxis borrowed certain elements from the participatory video (PV) method discussed in chapter two, especially during the first three classes of the course. PV's popularity as a method has resulted in an abundance of publications and handbooks, and a well-articulated activity sequence (see, for example, Lunch & Lunch, 2006). The games and procedures PV employs to rapidly transit beginners up the learning curve to basic-level videographers were instrumental in the first three classes of the *Insider Windows* praxis. Likewise, the storyboarding method, though certainly not originating with PV, is utilized in PV practice to good effect. Beyond these activities, however, there is not much resemblance between the praxis and common PV methods. Returning for a moment to Figure 2: Three models of participatory video (see chapter two), it is clear that the *Insider Windows* praxis does indeed most closely resemble the third model, insider-to-insider, but a mere resemblance is the farthest extent one can reasonably argue exists. *Insider Windows* met and exceeded the call for a "lengthier and more reflective process of insider-to-insider communication" put forward by Walker and Arrighi (2013). Reflecting upon the feedback offered by the educators and participants alike, it is clear that what began as a video production course evolved into something more, to the degree that the

movies were at once both instruments in propelling the praxis forward, and skillfully, creatively composed pieces of art and criticism in their own right. Based on what the broad definitions of PV are in the majority of practical and academic publications, the conclusion is that the application of the term *participatory video* to the *Insider Windows* praxis would be grievously reductive.

The same can also be said about the *Fogo Process* discussed in chapter two. Often referred to as the inspiration behind modern-day PV, its scope extended far beyond the parameters of current PV activities. The concept of self-reflexivity, that Crocker argues was at the core of the *Fogo Process*, is likewise something worthy of further discussion with regard to *Insider Windows* (2003, p. 130). Self-reflexivity, through the empowering experience of seeing one's reality on screen, promotes "feelings of confidence, self-worth, [and] better self-image, all as a result of seeing yourself as others see you" (p. 130). Couldry (2010) indicates that self-reflexivity and dialogue are two essential elements needed for any withdrawal, or emergence to occur among participants. It can be argued that conscientization cannot be achieved without self-reflexivity, the ingredient that, above all others, instills in participants a nascent subjective confidence. This subjective confidence is in contrast to the objective confidence an individual may feel when he or she recites dominant forms of learning grounded in the epistemology and spoken in the idiomatic language of the knowledge hegemon (see Illich, 1970; see also Shor, 1992).

Indeed, when acting in their movies, *Insider Windows* participants in both settings would just as often play themselves as they would a fictional character, using their own names and including their own home or family members in a scene. When screening these movies they would see the portrayal of their reality on screen. This was just one layer of self-reflexivity, however. The next layer occurred during the decoding exercise, and mimics the process used by Snowden in *Fogo*—an equivalent of which is not seen in typical PV practices or in the video-based critical pedagogy initiative discussed in chapter two entitled *Video of the Oppressed* (DeGennaro & Duque, 2013). Pooja in Godamchaur developed the exercise, known to the participants and educators as *video reflection*. Using that method, the educators created an expanded space for Crocker's concept of genuine self-reflexivity (2003, p. 130). Participants crafted questions with care and answered them with authority because they had ownership of that knowledge or concept. Having themselves generated the themes, constructed the narratives, and conducted the

investigations, participants were experts and that expertise was validated when reviewing the *video reflection* interviews.

As previously discussed, this emergence into the role of an expert coincided with the reduction of the educator's role as an expert in a negotiated dialectical exchange. In one of her reflections Remee wrote, "Their stories were very impressive. If I was supposed to make the stories for the videos on the theme I would have never thought of such unique stories." The stories were based on the lived experiences of the participants, so Remee, like Pooja in Godamchaur, learned from them. Freire writes, "Through dialogue, the teacher-of-the-students and the students-of-the-teacher cease to exist and a new term emerges: teacher-student and students-teachers. … They become jointly responsible for a process in which all grow. In this process, arguments based on 'authority' are no longer valid" (1970a, p. 80). This process of mutual learning from stories, and the stages of emergence that accompanied it, are the subjects of the next chapter.

4.7 Sunset beyond the village

It was late afternoon and the final class in Godamchaur was winding down. The group made arrangements to reconvene several days later for their graduation, but the course was officially coming to an end. The setting sun cast long shadows across the room, and the ten youths sat in a circle, recounting memorable experiences from their eleven previous meetings over the past two months. One would be forgiven for being unable to identify the educator in this group; there was no way to tell. They were sharing snacks— dry *bhujiya* and orange Fanta—and laughing cheerfully. Then they fell silent, and Sabita turned to the two observers seated on the mats in the far corner of the room, and invited them to join the circle for the final discussions. The observers looked at each other, uncertain. It was as if the actors in a play had suddenly asked two audience members to join them on stage. This was one of the few times across the entire course, after the curiosity of the first classes had worn off, that the participants had even acknowledged the presence of the observers apart from the respectful "*Namaste"* offered at the beginning and end of each class. Leaving their notebooks behind, the observers squeezed into the circle, and in the final lingering moments of daylight, added their laughter to the chorus.

Each researcher, educator, and participant had a unique subjective encounter with this case. The story told over the course of this chapter represents just one encounter.

Chapter 5: Enlarging the window of insider knowledge

The purpose of this chapter is to address the third research objective and underlying questions using a dialogical narrative analysis design framework. The presentation of data in this chapter will differ from the previous chapter. Whereas in the case study the data are presented in such a way that readers may feel as if they were there themselves (Stake, 1995), thereby allowing them to develop their own understanding, in this analysis the focus is on interpretations. As mentioned, Frank calls dialogical narrative analysis a meta-interpretive method (Frank, 2010, p. 18). What will be analyzed are not just the stories themselves, but also the interpretations of those stories made by participants.

5.1 Introduction

The third research objective marks a departure from the etic, framework level issues that the case study sought to inform, and represents an analysis of the emic issues that signify *how* conscientization occurred as a result of the movie-making praxis.[30] In other words, the focus of this chapter will shift to the issues that were relevant to the participants, and away from the etic issues that were of importance to the researchers. While the etic issues can broadly inform us as to whether or not conscientization did occur—indeed, at the surface level, the participants themselves stated this unequivocally—the emic issues are drawn from context-specific conditions and act as catalysts for representation and action within the praxis itself. Their analysis will reveal *how* conscientization occurred among the participants. The third research objective and its underlying questions are:

Understand how the praxis developed for this study, by creating movies to investigate generative themes, leads to conscientization.

    a. What effects does the movie-making praxis have on the participants who produced the films, and how does this contribute to conscientization?

    b. What effects do the stories participants tell through movies have on those who watch and discuss them, and how do they contribute to conscientization?

Central to the two research questions associated with the above objective are the generative themes. There has been much discussion in this thesis on the abstract role

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[30] As chapter three discusses, the etic issues are the larger questions surrounding the viability and success of the praxis to achieve its goals. These are the issues essential to answering the primary research questions and transferring the findings back to theory. Emic issues, on the other hand, are the issues that emerge from the lives and experiences of the participants. These issues are captured in the generative themes that materialize during the course of the praxis.

that themes play. In this chapter, however, the abstract functions of the themes are less important than their practical implications, the reasons for their selection and analysis, and importantly, the stories that participants told about them. As Ricouer states, "Action is in quest of a narrative" (1984, p. 74). Without narratives there would have been no movies, and without movies there would have been no praxis, and no action. Over the following pages the goal is to illustrate how storytelling *about* action became storytelling *as* action, insofar as it began to engender the inchoate stages of an intervention in reality—an intervention that resulted from an emergence resulting from conscientization (Freire, 1970a, p. 109). At the intersection of storytelling and action is where this emergence took place.

5.2 Narratives and stories

Frank qualifies his version of narrative analysis as *dialogical* because it relies on three essential elements: a story, a storyteller, and a listener (2010, p. 16), and because it begins with the recognition of "unfinalizability" (2005, p. 967). Each element is significant insofar as it allows the other elements to be (to exist), and insofar as no element can finalize the other. At the outset, then, it may be prudent to ask a simple question: what is the difference between a narrative and a story? Frequently both terms are used interchangeably in much of the literature, but a narrative analyst understands that there is a fundamental distinction between the two. According to Frank, "Narratives, in contrast to stories, are templates that people use as resources to construct and understand stories…people's abilities both to tell stories and to understand stories depend on their narrative resources" (2010, p. 121). Therefore, the story is not the narrative; the story is what unfolds within the template of the narrative. A single narrative may encompass many different stories. Further clarification of this will come in the following section.

Like all dialogical narrative enquiry, this analysis is unique. Frank writes that every narrative analysis "needs to discover its own singular way to proceed" (2010, p. 112). Traditionally, narrative analysis focused on the lived experiences of individuals—an approach known as the *Chicago School* (Landman, 2012, p. 30). More recently, however, methods have begun to allow for interpretation *across* and *within* narratives (Landman, 2012, p. 30). The frameworks of analysis developed by Chase (2005), and to a greater extent Frank (2005; 2010), are capable of this type of interpretation, and are at the

foundation of this analysis.[31] Despite this interpretive openness, Chase's (2005) definition of what comprises a narrative remains somewhat limiting: she suggests that narratives fall within three general categories, all of which represent the stories that people tell about their lives as subjective socio-historical beings (p. 652).[32] This narrow definition notwithstanding, much can be learned from the methods she discusses. What is of significant importance to Frank (2010), however, is that the stories are represented in both an appropriate manner given the research objectives, and in a manner that is true to the stories themselves (p. 112). In contrast to Chase's definition, the stories that participants in this study told were not historical or biographical, yet they contained elements of both subjective history and biography. Broadly speaking, participants told stories that reflected their subjective reality not only as it *was*, but also as they ideally thought it *should be*.

This element of aspirational fiction, which was constructed dialogically by a group, differs from the stories an individual might tell by mining his or her memories in isolation. Coming together in a group to create a story can be considered an example of Latour's *fabrication mechanism* (Latour, 2005, p. 31; see also Frank, 2010, p. 130). According to Latour, there is no such thing as a group in concrete terms; groups are merely entities composed of people who are in the process of assembling or disassembling (Frank, p. 130). This process is enacted, for example, through a fabrication mechanism, such as a group spokesperson (Latour, 2005, p. 31). Frank suggests that stories are another one of these fabrication mechanisms (2010, p. 130). In fact, the participants in the two praxes were unified by the stories they told together as groups. It was these stories that brought them together and transformed them from individual participants to a group. Narrative was the mechanism that fabricated their assembly. Although many of the participants knew of each other before their course began, several met there for the first time. As a result of the course, it is likely some bonds of friendship were built that endured past its conclusion, and it is equally likely that some participants went their own way. These considerations, like the stories themselves, are left open-ended. The participants, like their stories, cannot be finalized. This is Frank's (2005) principle of *perpetual generation*. Narrative analysis can only ever look toward an open future (p. 967). As a narrative analyst, I can claim no final word. I can never say, *this is how it is*; I can only say, *this is how it was at that time, and I do not know how it is now* (Frank, 2005, p. 967; Frank, 2010, p. 98). Similarly,

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[31] For more general information and background on narrative analysis as a design framework, see chapter three: research methodology.

[32] Chase's categories of narrative are: 1) A short story on a particular topic or about a particular event that one has experienced. 2) An extended story about an aspect of one's life. 3) The story of one's entire life, beginning at birth. These narratives can be oral or written. See Chase (2005), p. 652.

conscientization is not a finalized state, but an ongoing process. Understanding *how* it happens, then, requires the analysis of a moment of time in the lives of participants, a moment when they are undergoing an emergence. Where the participants go from there cannot be finalized. The future is open and it is beyond the scope of this study.

Conscientization and dialogue

Freire characterizes conscientization as an emergence, and this is a helpful way to conceptualize it from the perspective of narrative (1970a, p. 109). In chapter two, I adapted the Johari Window framework to operationalize conscientization in order to bring a measure of clarity to what some consider a fuzzy concept. In chapter four, conscientization was discussed at both the framework level and through the reflections of individual participants, and the data demonstrated that it did occur. Since I have shown that conscientization did occur, the question is: *how?* In this chapter, conscientization will be discussed at the level of praxis through an analysis of the participant-generated stories, or movies, and how these stories can provide us with indicators of an emergence. These indicators are not only useful for identifying evidence of an emergence but also, through hermeneutic interpretation, for recognizing how the movies called upon their viewers *to emerge*. Using these techniques will be helpful in understanding how conscientization occurred.

Conscientization can take place among participants in myriad ways; the important element, Freire stresses, is that participants are the masters of their own thought processes (1970a, p. 124). While in Freire's time participants often analyzed images depicting an existential situation in order to kick-start their thematic investigations (1970a, p. 118), in this study participants analyzed stories that they scripted, produced, and shared. Beginning with participant-led storytelling is an example of what Freire and Shor call *situated pedagogy* (1987, p. 17). According to Shor, situated pedagogy "presents subjective themes in their larger social context, to challenge the givens of our lives and the surrounding system dominating daily life" (1987, p. 19). And what if the stories are simply facile representations of what could conceivably be considered a very complex theme? Is there not a danger that situated pedagogy never elevates the analysis of reality beyond facileness? On the contrary, a simplistic and descriptive representation of a theme is helpful in marking the starting point down the pathway of emergence. Freire reminds us, "The investigation of thematics involves the investigation of the people's thinking—thinking which occurs only in and among people together seeking out reality…Even if the people's

thinking is superstitious or naïve, it is only as they rethink their assumptions in action that they can change" (1970a, p. 108). Freire and Shor both insisted that dialogical education start with the description of everyday reality. Description is the first step in the transition toward critical consciousness (1987, p. 20).

At the heart of critical pedagogy is dialogue, and in this study dialogue was enacted through the creation, production, and sharing of stories. More specifically, it took three forms:

- Dialogue about story development, including coding, scriptwriting, and storyboarding.
- Dialogue during the production process, which involved communication, leadership, responsibility, and negotiation.
- Dialogue following the screening, which occurred through the *video reflection* and decoding processes.

In addition to this, the stories were also in dialogue with one another. Each generated theme was not represented once, but represented multiple times by the different teams from each group producing a movie of their own. Frank (2010) writes, "Two stories are the beginning of *thinking*, as opposed to being caught up in one story. *Two* stories instigate dialogue" (p. 152). *Insider Windows* participants made two to three stories about their themes and therefore their stories opened what Frank calls a *critical distance*; a construction of the necessary space needed for thinking (2010, p. 152). This critical distance was especially prominent during the video reflection processes. For example, the theme *overcoming negative forces* was represented through very different stories that included topics such as adolescence, family dysfunction, conflict, and community. During decoding participants saw that other teams in the group selected different negative forces to represent, perhaps ones they had not considered. The fact that each generated theme was represented in more than one way meant that a monological thematic representation did not occur, the theme was not finalized, and the differences between two or more stories became accessible starting points for a critical discussion that led into the generation of the next theme.

The purpose of the above discussion has been to provide a launching point for a discussion of stories insofar as they relate to both conscientization and dialogue. At the outset of this narrative analysis, it is important to be reminded of three key considerations:

1. The way that conscientization is conceptualized as an emergence.

2. The starting point of narratives as being description situated in the reality of the lives of the participants.

3. The multiple spaces of dialogue that exist not just among the storytellers but also between the stories they tell.

In the following sections a typology of different *Insider Windows* stories will be developed, followed by discussions about how the stories *acted upon* those who created them, and how they *called out* to those who watched them, thereby addressing the two questions underlying the overall research objective. Finally, the discussion will return to the movie-making praxis and the foundational role it plays in both narrative and critical pedagogy.

5.3 A typology of *Insider Windows* narratives

When people tell stories, they use the narrative resources that are available to them to fabricate their stories. Frank writes, "Experience is understood as residing as much outside persons as inside them; it is borrowed as it is felt" (2010, p.119). As discussed in chapter three, the concept of narrative habitus factors into this analysis significantly. Just as Bourdieu's habitus is described as "a genetic mode of thought, as opposed to existentialist modes of thought" (Maton, 2008, p. 56), narrative habitus is "a disposition to hear some stories as those one ought to listen to, ought to repeat on appropriate occasions, and ought to be guided by" (Frank, 2010, p. 53). As mentioned, habitus can be thought of as what comes as second nature to an individual, and narrative habitus as the stories that do not clash with that second nature, stories that are recognizable, and in that recognition validate an individual's membership in a group.

Frank points out that it is often the stories that people know, and the way they react to those stories, that determines the extent to which they can fit into a group (2010, p. 53). Again, this narrative habitus, the inclination to respond to certain stories and reject others, is a *fabrication mechanism*—Latour's theory of group formation (2005, p. 31). In other words, if a group of participants do not share a narrative habitus, a common predisposition toward certain insider understandings, they would face challenges fabricating a group through stories. The experiences expressed in stories by *Insider Windows* participants were not only individually subjective; they were subjective from the perspective of family and community identity as well. The stories that participants told drew much of their content from the cumulative experiences that formed the group's narrative habitus. These stories can be categorized into different types, and the initial step in the process of an analysis of these narratives is to develop a typology.

Returning the discussion now to the distinction between a narrative and a story, some examples from Frank's work may be helpful in understanding why this distinction is made, and how it contributes to the development of a typology of narratives. Frank (2010) identifies several core narratives in which the stories he hears in his practice can be positioned. One is the *quest* narrative, in which a protagonist is active, rather than passive, and finds meaning. Another is the *chaos* narrative, which he labels an anti-narrative; one event does not follow another and there are only ever more problems, never solutions (p. 118). Stories do not represent examples of these types of narratives; the types help the analyst understand what the stories are doing for those who make them and for those who receive them (p. 120). Therefore, narrative typologies are not created with the purpose of putting narratives into boxes or matrices. Frank points out, "Matrices look authoritative, but they risk imposing closure on what can be heard in people's stories, because the number of boxes is limited" (p. 120). A typology emerges from the stories, and like the stories themselves and the lives of the people who tell them, it is not final (p. 121).

In this study, stories were created to represent themes. The themes are also not narrative types, however, because each theme was represented in very different ways by the teams from each group. The stories about a single theme might all be of different narrative types. In aggregate, participants in both settings produced sixteen films. These films were all summarized in the previous chapter, and for the sake of brevity, there is no reason to reproduce those summaries here. As a helpful guideline, however, Table 5 provides the name of each film in English, the theme it was a representation of, and the setting in which it was produced. The narrative type is also provided—these narrative types will be explained in the following sections. The ordering of the movies follows their thematic progression in their respective settings.

Because narrative types are templates in which stories can find their home, they transcend the geographical distance between the two settings. In the previous chapter, the two settings were discussed separately, whereas in this section they will be discussed together. The distinction will only be made when it contributes to analysis. As the data will show, the most common type of narrative—the promise narrative—was home to the majority of stories in both settings.

Table 5: Movies, themes, and narrative types

Movie	Theme (type)	Setting	Narrative type
Student Life	Responsibility (topical)	Godamchaur	Promise
Happy Family	Responsibility (topical)	Godamchaur	Representation
Our Family	Social problems and their solutions (generative)	Godamchaur	Promise
Education Can Change the World	Social problems and their solutions (generative)	Godamchaur	Promise
Stories From the Water Tap	Social problems and their solutions (generative)	Godamchaur	Promise
Struggle, Encouragement, and Success	Overcoming negative forces (generative)	Godamchaur	Representation
Education Can Change the World – Part 2	Overcoming negative forces (generative)	Godamchaur	Promise
Think Before You Do	Overcoming negative forces (generative)	Godamchaur	Promise
The Wedding of the Priest's Son	Caste discrimination (generative)	Godamchaur	Promise
Street Souls	Children (topical)	Kapan	Turmoil
Why Child Labour?	Children (topical)	Kapan	Promise
Clean City is Healthy City	Awareness (generative)	Kapan	Promise
These Hardworking Nepali Hands	Awareness (generative)	Kapan	Promise
More Hands More Money	Awareness (generative)	Kapan	Promise
Forced to Suppress a Wish	Awareness is not enough (generative)	Kapan	Turmoil
Struggle to Superstitions	Awareness is not enough (generative)	Kapan	Promise

5.3.1 The promise narrative

Chase explains that narrative is significant when it reflects what is possible within a social context (2011, p.667). Across both settings, the majority of stories told by participants can fit into this broad category: possibilities. This plot was always expressed in what I call a problem/solution storyline. A problem in a story always begs for a solution, and in that

solution is where the possibility lies. The participants' stories often began with the depiction of a problem, and were resolved with a solution that was enacted by a resolving agent: for instance, an individual, a family, or the community as a whole. The problem portrayed in the stories was real, not abstract. It was an identified and dialogically agreed upon problem that the participants recognized in their communities. The solution was a plot invention—a possibility—an attainable and acceptable solution that fits within the boundaries of the group's narrative habitus. As mentioned in the previous section, participants in this study told stories that reflected their subjective reality not only as it *was*, but also as they thought it *should be*. This hopeful imagining of reality was the possibility the stories presented. In their presentation, the participants developed their plots in such a way that their subjective characters had the agency and capacity to solve problems. The resolving agents were never outsiders, nor did their plot problems ever rely on a *deus ex machina*. The movies depicted the characters, their families, and their community as showing promise. Additionally, by depicting reality as the participants thought it *should be*, they revealed the promise of a possible future. Consequently, I call this the *promise narrative*.

The promise narrative is an analytical narrative. Themes are not treated descriptively when they are represented by stories embedded in the promise narrative. Showing promise, both in the sense of capacity among the characters in a story, and as a commitment to a better world, is dependent upon a narrative starting point that is in need of resolution. According to Frank (2010), a story becomes recognizable as a story when it is complicated with *Trouble* (p. 28). Like other theorists, Frank uses the capital *T* when referencing this type of narrative trouble; it is more than simply a complicating plot event, which is trouble with a small *t*. He writes that the narrative analyst's "interest in Trouble is twofold: first, how do stories present models of dealing with different kinds of trouble, and second, how do stories themselves make Trouble" for those who tell them, and for those who hear them (p. 28)? The promise narrative uses Trouble effectively because the stories depict plot trouble using a problem/solution storyline, and they also cause a dilemma for the viewers who are now called upon to act a certain way when they are confronted in real life with the existential situations depicted in their stories.

An example of this was mentioned in the previous chapter. Sujan, a participant in Kapan, was shooting the film *Clean City is Healthy City* with his team, which follows the promise narrative. The problem, or trouble, in the story is that the neighborhood is filthy, and a

boy's father is contributing to the pollution by dumping his garbage. He then becomes sick and the boy, acting as the resolving agent, convinces his father to stop throwing garbage in the informal dump. His father agrees, and then himself becomes a resolving agent toward the community, encouraging many others to hand their garbage over to the municipality truck. While scouting locations for this film Sujan spotted an informal dumping site near his home that he had never previously noticed. He was faced with *Trouble* (with a capital *T*). About that moment he wrote, "Something knocked my mind and [I thought]: *why shouldn't I contribute something to my society?* Then me and my friends formed a group to clean the [area]." This use of Trouble within stories situated in the promise narrative is what makes them at once analytical of their theme, and open to further analysis by the participants. The stories open up a space in which the participants can insert themselves and consider how they would react to the existential situations depicted. Because more than one movie is produced about each theme, Frank's (2010) aforementioned critical distance is created between the thematic representations (p. 152).

The promise narrative is home to twelve of the sixteen films produced by participants, therefore making it by far the most prominent type. The four films that fall outside of that narrative type are: *Street Souls*, *Forced to Suppress a Wish*, *Happy Family*, and *Struggle, Encouragement, and Success.*[33] These fours films can be divided into two further narrative types.

5.3.2 The turmoil narrative

The first of these two remaining types, which fabricates the movies *Street Souls* and *Forced to Suppress a Wish*, is not entirely dissimilar to Frank's chaos narrative, in which there are only ever more problems and no solutions and one event does not lead to another, making it an anti-narrative (2010, p. 118). This is not the case, however, in these two films. Although both films clearly identify problems, they also have narrative structure, and are complicated with Trouble. Diverging from the promise narrative, these movies fail to offer any solutions to their viewers. The plot of these movies is not chaotic, but they do emphasize the turmoil and hopelessness that their characters face, and therefore I call this the *turmoil narrative*. Although the turmoil narrative did not feature prominently among

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[33] Of the four films that do not use the promise narrative, two are films based on topical themes: *Happy Family* and *Street Souls*, which are the first films that participants attempted. These were shot at the very beginning of the praxis and were largely descriptive. This exemplifies Freire and Shor's assertion that the path to critical consciousness begins with description (1987, p. 20).

movies produced by participants, it is significant in the way that telling it resulted from an emergence and pointed toward an intervention.

Consider the film *Forced to Suppress a Wish*. It is a movie about Suman, a young man who leaves the village with his mother's savings in order to pursue his dream of receiving an education. Faced with the reality of high costs in the city, he is unable to finish his schooling and must take a low-paying job in order to survive. After five years of struggling he gives up hope and returns to the village. He has managed to save a little money and he gifts it to his younger sister so that she can follow her own dream of attaining an education. He is forced to suppress his wish. Although the story seems like it ends with promise, the meaning is clear: no matter how hard one struggles, the disadvantages of poverty cannot be overcome. Suman's sister, likewise, is destined to fail.

Forced to Suppress a Wish was an investigation of the generative theme *awareness is not enough*. This theme was articulated through the discussions and video reflections about the previous theme, *awareness*. Remee, the educator, explained that participants felt awareness alone was not a force potent enough to change society. She wrote, "We have people who may know the importance of something, like education, but because of poverty or their superstitions, they cannot get that education." Likewise, in their video reflection, one of the filmmakers stated:

> This is a big problem in Nepal—having to suppress your wishes. It is a topic we chose after some thought. The common citizen who is living under crushing poverty, despite having the [intellectual] capacity to study and get an education, cannot. In our society, people know that education is important, but still due to poverty they have to suppress their desire.

Only by first investigating and dialogically analyzing the theme *awareness* did the participants determine it was not sufficient enough to change society. In fact, they could not have had these discussions prior to their thematic investigation, or first films. This highlights the importance of the thematic progression and the emergence that had to take place in order for participants to script a film that, effectively, depicted the hopelessness many of them faced, or feared they would face if and when they tried to change their situations. The turmoil narrative is a narrative type with which all of the participants identified. After watching the film, a participant reflected, "This is not just a problem for the characters in our movie, this is a problem for all Nepalis." Unlike the promise narrative, the

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turmoil narrative finalizes the story. There is no hope, and there is no space for negotiation as long as the conditions remain as they are. By using critical pedagogy, Freire writes, "People develop their power to perceive critically *the way they exist* in the world *with which* and *in which* they find themselves" (1970a, p. 83). It is not inconceivable that had the praxis continued, the next theme generated out of an analysis of the turmoil narrative might have explored the act of changing not simply one's situation within a taken-for-granted set of conditions, *but the conditions themselves*. Indeed, this is what Freire called authentic liberation (1970a, p. 79).

5.3.3 The representation narrative

The third and final narrative type expressed by participants in this study is home to the two remaining films: *Happy Family* and *Struggle, Encouragement, and Success*. Both of these films were produced in Godamchaur, and are notable because neither contain Trouble. These films are observational, depicting people in their reality in the village, but they present no problems that require the arrival of a resolving agent. *Happy Family* is descriptive of the topical theme *responsibility* and was made alongside *Student Life*, which utilized the promise narrative. Discussing *Happy Family*, one of the directors said that the idea for the story "came from observing people." Meanwhile, a participant who worked on both *Happy Family* and *Student Life* said, "More than *Happy Family*, I thought *Student Life* was successful and I liked that more. I think that one has more of a message." While *Happy Family* described what it meant to be responsible in the village, *Student Life* went a level deeper by presenting a lack of responsibility as a concern.

Another of the directors of *Happy Family* stated, "To become a peaceful and happy family, every member has to fulfill their responsibilities and duties." *Happy Family* attempted to represent the life of community members fulfilling their roles, but overall the movie had a low level of impact on the group during and after its screening. The narrative type would resurface again, however, in the remarkable film *Struggle, Encouragement, and Success*, which was celebrated by the group and chosen as one of the films to be screened at their graduation. Though distinctively different, both movies represented members of the community and community life in a positive way, one through fiction and the other through documentary. The way the filmmakers of *Struggle, Encouragement, and Success* depicted community members fulfilling their roles was not by casting them with actors and scripting their lines, but to seek out and find inspiring individuals and interview them directly.

Naming this narrative is complicated because it is very much an anti-narrative, in the sense that there is no Trouble, and, especially in the case of *Struggle, Encouragement, and Success*, one event does not lead to another. What the two movies attempted to do is represent community in order to inspire their viewers by depicting real situations and real people. Therefore, I call this the *representation narrative*. Considerations of plot, Trouble, and problem solving give way to accuracy in representation of community, an accuracy that was lauded by the participants, many of whom selected this film as their favorite from the eight their group produced. Anju, one of the film's directors, stated, "The documentary we made shows the reality of Godamchaur. There are no actors in this film. They are real individuals. Using the camera we brought out the successful and hidden stories of our village." Sabita, a participant from a different team, who named it as her favorite, explained, "It's about the real stories of the real people in our own village." Despite not being fabricated by the core narrative utilized by participants in this study, *Struggle, Encouragement, and Success* and its representation narrative made a notable impression on those who produced it, and those who watched it.

In summary, the narrative typology of the *Insider Windows* stories comprises these three narratives: promise, turmoil, and representation, with the promise narrative being the core narrative type. Frank highlights that one of the significant aspects of a typology is that it shows that stories depend on other stories to be recognizable. He writes, "A typology of narratives recognizes that experience follows from the availability of narrative resources, and people's immense creativity is in using these resources to fabricate their stories" (2010, p. 119). An understanding of the types of stories that participants told acts as a foundation for answering the research questions that are central to the objective this chapter addresses.

5.4 How did the stories affect those who made them?

This section focuses on the first question underlying the research objective addressed by this chapter: *What effects does the movie-making praxis have on the participants who produced a film, and how does this contribute to conscientization?* Through praxis, the production of a movie required not just analytical thought and discourse, but several levels of action. Participants first had to work together crafting and storyboarding their film before venturing out from the classroom to shoot it. Before shooting, they engaged with members of the local community, casting them as actors or as extras and directing them from

positions of authority to which they were unaccustomed. They shot their films at the locations their stories called for, at times venturing far from the classroom. The praxis combined the elements of dialogue, action, and critical reflection and analysis, not as separate activities, but as codependent features. It is not unreasonable to state that all of the ingredients in the recipe for conscientization through critical pedagogy were present. With the success praxis can have in achieving conscientization well theorized in the literature, one might sensibly ask why it is important, in this study, to discuss how praxis results in conscientization—after all, that is the premise and the assumption upon which the entire discipline of critical pedagogy is based. Freire did assert, however, that critical pedagogical practice and principles "remain open to reinvention" (Darder et al., 2009, p. 16). What this study has endeavored to demonstrate is that the use of cameras, to create stories in the form of movies, has a *particular suitability* as praxis. Therefore, it is important to understand what it is about this reinvention of critical pedagogical praxis that gives it that particular suitability. This signals an indication of the contribution to theory that this study seeks to make.

Emplotment

Simply put, making and screening the movies was the praxis. Or, to express it another way, the central feature of the entire course was the composition and analysis of stories. As discussed in chapter four, the discourse about technology quickly gave way to the discourse about thematic content as the educator guided reflective discussions toward analysis and away from technological considerations (such as lighting and sound). For example, the educator would ask participants to focus on a character's actions in a film, and not whether or not the audio was pristine. This can be seen in the following exchange between Pooja and Deepak in Godamchaur after the screening of *Student Life*:

Pooja: What is the main message of the character you play?

Deepak: The main message of my character is that people who are going on the wrong path have to get back to the right path.

Pooja: Have you seen any real people who have started going on the wrong path in life?

Deepak: I have.

Pooja: So is this story inspired by those people you've seen and know, or is it mostly imaginary?

Deepak: It's imaginary.

Pooja: But in our society there are these people who have started going on the
            wrong path and are in need of returning to the right path.

Deepak: Yes, there are, even in this community. These days there are many guys
            who smoke cigarettes, for example. For them, we've given good advice in
            the movie, so that they can see that they are walking on the wrong path.

Pooja: You play a character going on the wrong path. What would you like to say to
            these people you know in your community who are on the wrong path?

Deepak: Let's not start on the wrong path, and if you have started doing these things,
            please start cutting back and slowly reducing these activities so you stop.
            The bad things you do have a negative impact on society, and society has
            started going downhill in recent years because of people and their negative
            habits.

Notice the nature of Pooja's problem posing. She does not directly ask Deepak to relate his character back to society. Deepak's first response, in fact, is to say that the character, a young student caught smoking cigarettes at school, is imaginary. Pooja's response is not to question that position, nor does she let the dialogue end there, finalizing his character as merely *fictional*. She probes further by making a general statement about society, "But in our society there are these people who have started going on the wrong path and are in need or returning to the right path." Deepak agrees, and highlights "many guys who smoke cigarettes" as an example. Pooja then asks him a question that gives him an opportunity to zoom out. His conclusion: "Society has started going downhill in recent years because of people and their negative habits." This statement and others like it were influential in the generation of the next theme in Godamchaur, which was *social problems and their solutions.*

Effectively, what the participants reflected upon in decoding discussions like the one above was the stories that they told, and these discussions about stories then informed the theme that was the basis for the next stories they composed and shared with the group. As explored previously, the building materials for these stories were drawn from the participants' everyday lives. These shared narrative building materials were a fabrication mechanism for the participants. Narrative analysts, borrowing the term from Ricoeur (1984), call this building of a coherent story from a succession of real-life events *emplotment*. Through the use of emplotment, *Insider Windows* participants began their passage to an emergence.

Emplotment is the transformation of the things that are happening into a story that has meaning, or giving a plot to the events that happen in and around one's life (Frank, 2010, p.136-137; Mattingly, 1991, p. 1002). Frank writes, "Stories work to emplot lives: they offer a plot that makes some particular fixture not only plausible but also compelling" (2010, p. 10). Likewise, Riessman writes, "Events become meaningful because of their placement in a narrative" (1993, p. 18). The role that emplotment played in the emergence of the participants can be understood through the lens of the promise narrative, the predominant narrative type that participants in both settings used to fabricate their stories. Participants created stories that gave the experiences they had in day-to-day life, and the events that occurred in their community, a position in a recognizable plot according to their narrative habitus. Fighting among the villagers at the water tap, pollution in the streets, caste discrimination, and favoritism shown to male children—participants identified all of these issues, and others, during thematic discussions and converted them to stories.

That movie making was the key function in this process cannot be ignored. Sajata, a participant in Kapan, reflected, "We got to learn and think about making the situation better, and making the movie gives us ideas about how we can actually take a step to make the situation better." Rather than just speaking about the themes as isolated existential phenomena, storyboarding forced participants to emplot them. The format of a short movie required them to consider the subject of their thematic discussion objectively as they converted it into pictorial story form. This was an initial identification of what Freire calls the *objective-problematic situation* (1970a, p. 109). Take the example of the theme *overcoming negative forces*, generated in Godamchaur. Instead of simply describing their theme, participants had to choose a specific negative force, or several negative forces, to represent in the form of a story. They had to script scenes that illustrated the circumstances under which their chosen negative force might be encountered, and they did so with dialogue drawn from everyday experience that resonated with the narrative habitus of the group. Consider the movie *Think Before You Do*. A father who hires a village healer to treat his ailing wife highlights the negative force of reliance on superstition. His five daughters ask him for permission to attend school, and his wife indicates that he is always drunk and wasteful with their money; these narrative elements act to highlight the negative forces of favoritism in education, and alcoholism, respectively. These are real, negative forces that the participants faced in their individual lives, and using emplotment they represented the world as it *was*.

Crafting a story that incorporated the negative forces identified in the participants' day-to-day lives was integral to creating the subject matter of analysis: the problem, or trouble, of the promise narrative. Yet, this was only half of the story. The negative forces still had to be *overcome*, and to do this the participants had to imagine their world as they thought it *should be*. The real problems called for fictional solutions that were created through dialogue and imagination, but without ever leaving the boundaries of narrative habitus. In *Think Before You Do*, the directors Sangita, Sabita, and Deepak, invented a character—a young female health worker from the village—to act as the resolving agent. She convinces the father that his daughters should go to school, and can one day become engineers, or doctors, like her. She tells him that he should not have any more children—five is more than enough—and that he should be more respectful toward his wife. Just because the character, a young female doctor working in the village, may be implausible given the context, does not mean that she is outside of the boundaries of the participants' narrative habitus. A parallel example from pop culture may help to clarify this: as implausible as an alien invasion is, it is still a completely recognizable narrative trope.

In *Think Before You Do* the health worker is the embodiment of promise. She represents what the young daughters *could become*: a respected professional who helps other women in need while heroically smashing notions of patriarchy at the same time. In one scene of the film, after the father explains, unashamed, that he has been unkind to his wife because she has had only daughters while he has been demanding a son, the health worker exclaims:

> In which world do you live? Are you not shy to say that in this day and age? It seems like you don't have brains. You have these beautiful daughters and you're asking me what can daughters do? Look at me and look at you. Compare us! Look where you are and look where I am. I'm here to save your wife. Tomorrow your daughters could be doctors or engineers. There is nothing they cannot do. It's bad to prefer only sons. I'm very angry with you.

By developing her character and scripting her dialogue, the participants had to think about how the negative forces they see in their daily lives could be overcome, and they chose to develop a character with which they could identify. She is a young woman from the village like them, and she makes the indictment of their society that they believe needs to be made. The promise is not limited to the health worker, however. The father shows

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promise as well; he shows the promise of one's capacity to change. At the end of the scene he is contrite, and says:

> Oh that's true. I never thought about these things. I've made a big mistake. What do you say, daughters? Okay, start going [to school] from tomorrow, daughters. Study well and you'll become a doctor like this sister.

This same structure can be identified within every single story fabricated from the promise narrative, regardless of the theme. A problem or crisis is depicted using emplotment, and a fictional resolving agent is scripted through creative storytelling, within the boundaries of narrative habitus.

Consider another example: In *These Hardworking Nepali Hands*, directed by Divya, Poonam, Sajata, and Kabita in Kapan, the problem of unemployment experienced by the participants as recent college graduates in urban Kathmandu is given a plot. Using their real names, the participants play themselves in the story, as they depict a problem they selected as a representation of the generative theme *awareness*. In the story, Poonam has recently graduated from college but has been unable to find a job. Her friend Kabita offers her work at her farm, but Poonam rejects the idea condescendingly; she would never do manual labor that is considered "low" now that she has a degree. The resolving agent arrives in the form of an agricultural specialist, also a young woman, who gives Kabita a service award for supporting the local community economy with her farm. Poonam reflects and reconsiders her position. She seeks out the specialist in order to learn how to become an independent farmer herself.

The problem the Kapan participants represented is clear: they face an uncertain future as recent college graduates, but they are partially to blame themselves—degree-holders have an overinflated sense of worth that gives them unrealistic expectations. At one point in the movie Poonam asks Kabita, "You're top of our class from college, why are you working on a disgusting farm?" While the problem is real, the solution is imagined. Kabita wins an award and the news is spread over the radio. This represents promise. A woman who chooses to work as a farmer after graduating at the top of her class can receive recognition and even commendation, rather than scorn and derision. Poonam shows promise, too. She seeks out the agricultural specialist and asks to join a training session so that she too can remain in the community as an agricultural entrepreneur. Graduates may be stubborn, but Poonam shows that they can surrender pride and act for the

collective good, not just their own advancement. The broad promise of the entire story is that college graduates can remain in their communities to work, and do not *need* to leave to find a job.

So how does scripting and telling these stories represent an emergence on the part of the participants? Freire asserts that critical education, through problem posing, presents participants' situation as a problem—thereby making it an object of analysis (1970a, p. 85). Participants begin to perceive their situation objectively and critically, rather then being immersed in it. Freire writes, "A deepened consciousness of their situation leads people to apprehend that situation as an historical reality susceptible of transformation" (p. 85). For *Insider Windows* participants, emplotment is the means by which problems became an object of critical analysis, and the promise revealed in the solution represents an apprehension of what a transformation in historical reality would look like. This transformation in historical reality is what Freire describes as an intervention, the step that follows an emergence, which results from conscientization (1970a, p. 109). After the completion of the course, Anju, a participant in Godamchaur, stated, "The story of a film has to be about something that really happens in society. The story has to be a problem, and also successes related to that problem. If we can do that, we would be successful in contributing to society." Similarly, at the other setting in Kapan, Sajata affirmed, "We tried to show the effects caused by different problems in our society. While doing this, we got to learn about the problems deeply ourselves, and were able to discover the solutions too."

Therefore, before any intervention, there is an emergence through which participants are able to objectively identify what a transformative action against historical reality might look like. The multi-stage process of producing a movie as part of praxis causes this emergence, and is a pivotal factor in the conscientization of the participants. Following this emergence, participants are able to look back at the distance they have traversed. After the conclusion of the class, Poonam herself had the following reflection:

> We used to take social problems for granted, but through this class I was able to get to the root of these problems and discover some solutions. Before participating in this class we were busy with our own lives. We didn't have time to think about those other things. But after participating in this class I began to think about those other things.

Not dissimilarly, in her final reflection of the overall class, Remee, the educator from Kapan, wrote:

> The class inspired me to look at things critically, and inspired me to go deeper into the problems of society and to find out what the reason behind those problems are. I got to learn that youth have lots of new and fresh ideas to change the face of society…I saw the change in [the participants'] actions and behavior towards society. They all agreed that they started to think and see things in a totally different way than before. They are now noticing many things, which never seemed to get their attention. But the most incredible thing is that they are not only noticing and thinking about the situations of their society but they are ready to act, to do something to solve the existing problems. I myself found this change in me.

That the promise narrative stands as the most common canvas upon which stories were rendered comes as no surprise. In both settings, participants from different backgrounds, completely separate from each other, chose to fabricate their stories using this narrative type. It is not coincidence that the narrative began with the representation of a problem, and then offered a promise of transformation; indeed this is the process that Freire describes (1970a, p. 85). The fact that this is how it transpired is a credit to both the design of the praxis and the abilities of the critical educators.

Considering the transformation of historical reality discussed by Freire (1970a), is the turmoil narrative that emerged from the highest-level generative theme in Kapan any different in terms of its effectiveness? This point was touched upon briefly earlier, but it may be good to consider it further now that there is a better understanding of the effects the praxis had on those who produced the films. When asked about the theme, *awareness is not enough*, of which the turmoil narrative movie *Forced to Suppress a Wish* is an investigation, Remee stated that they would never have been able to make that film without first investigating the theme *awareness*. She went on to say:

> Everybody thought there should be awareness; that everybody should be educated. But nobody thought that even if the people are educated there are still so many things that would stop them from achieving something they wanted. I don't think they would have just made any of the films without going through all of the processes.

Remee's comment highlights the fact that *Forced to Suppress a Wish* actually went further than identifying problems and providing solutions, which upon later reflection, participants determined were somehow inadequate and simplistic. The film exposed barriers that exist to those solutions. There may be promise to be found in society, but promise is not enough. The turmoil narrative, therefore, marked the beginning of a more advanced degree of emergence. Just as awareness is not enough, promise is not enough. Emerging from historical reality is simply the step before intervening in it (Freire, 1970a, p. 109).

The purpose of this section has been to discuss the effects that the movie-making praxis had on the participants as the authors and producers of films, and how that process of *production* contributed to conscientization. Primarily with the use of the promise narrative, participants fabricated stories that made their existential social conditions, in which they were previously immersed, the object of critical analysis, and using emplotment, gave those conditions a home in a story. They perceived their *objective-problematic situation* (Freire, 1970a, p. 109). By providing solutions to these objective-problematic situations, the participants, as movie producers, emerged from their submersion. This was one dimension in their overall process of conscientization. In the next section, I will explore the effects that the movies had on those who *watched* them, insofar as those effects are the results of narratives.

5.5 How did the stories affect those who watched them?

This section focuses on the second question underlying the research objective addressed by this chapter: *What effects do the stories participants tell through movies have on those who watch and discuss them, and how do they contribute to conscientization?* Producing films contributed to an emergence on the part of the participants. Likewise, watching and engaging in dialogue about the films also had a significant impact on the participants, but via different narrative mechanisms. Frank writes, "Stories work with people, for people, and always stories work *on* people, affecting what people are able to see as real, as possible, and as worth doing or best avoided" (2010, p. 3). The stories told by participants during praxis worked *on* them, changing both what they saw as real and what they saw as possible in their communities and in their lives.

To frame this discussion I begin with the concept of *mimesis*. Mimesis suggests that art imitates life; what we encounter in literature and in art is a representation, or a mirroring, of

inner or outer existence. According to the conventional view, people have experiences and then represent them in the stories they tell. Stories based on this sequence of *event preceding narration* can be understood as *mimetic* (Frank, 2010, p. 21). At the surface level, this may be confused with emplotment—experiences from participants' lives are represented in a story; but emplotment is merely filling a narrative shell with events—a narrative that preceded those events. Accordingly, Mattingly writes, "There is no reality without narrative. Because we have stories, we believe we are having experiences. Experience is…an enactment of pre-given stories. Rather than action preceding stories, stories precede and help us to make action coherent" (1998, p. 33). Frank echoes Mattingly, suggesting that there is no reality independent of stories (2010, p. 88). This rejection of mimetic narrative understandings accounts for what is known as the *anti-mimetic turn* among narrative analysts (Frank, 2010, p. 177). It is possible, of course, to enter into unending circular discussions about the anti-mimetic value of narratives. The purpose of introducing it here is simply to point out that in narrative analysis, it is certainly not assumed that the stories imitate life, and in fact many narrative analysts believe that people instead mirror their lives around the stories they hear. This is the way that stories worked *on* participants in this study—they created a fictional representation of the world as *it should be*, and participants, in their real everyday lives, began to imitate the behavior characteristics of the characters they scripted. They reacted to the Trouble they faced in real life by using their fictional characters as exemplars. This was another mechanism of emergence and is a further example of the way that storytelling, in the form of movies, has a particular suitability as praxis.

Interpellation

In refining Althusser's (1971)[34] concept for narrative inquiry, Frank defines interpellation as the "calling on a person to acknowledge and act on a particular identity" (2010, p. 49). When individuals hear a story, certain characters call out to them, and ask them to respond by fulfilling a certain identity. Frank likens this interpellation to a medical waiting room. A nurse calls out a name, thereby *hailing* that person to come forth and assume the identity of a patient, and everything that comes with that identity (p. 49). If an individual does not respond to any interpellation, then how can that person claim to have an

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[34] Althusser (1971) argues that all ideology is "by the subject and for the subject," meaning that there is no ideology that does not depend on the subject, with the caveat, of course, that said ideology "has the function of 'constituting' concrete individuals as subjects" (p. 171). He describes interpellation as the means by which an ideology *hails* an individual, and through that hailing, the individual becomes a subject (p. 174).

identity?[35] Within stories, interpellation functions on two levels. First, the story calls on its characters to behave a certain way and to possess a certain identity; second, the story calls on its listeners to recognize their identity in the identity of particular characters (Frank, 2010, p. 49).

In *Stories From the Water Tap*, for example, the movie produced in Godamchaur about regular fighting that occurred between women in the village at the local water tap, the characters in the film interpellated the participants who watched it. When a villager is abusing her rights to the water, the women in the movie must stand up to her. The participants identified with these women. They themselves frequently collected water from that very tap and complained about the fighting they witnessed there regularly. This was the problem one of the teams identified through their thematic investigation, and it was the problem to be resolved using the promise narrative. During the screening, when they saw the misuse of the water tap, they became indignant; they were each hailed to assume the identity of a woman in the village who must provide water for her family and they recognized their identity in the identity of that particular character. Those who do not use the water tap are not interpellated by the story—they do not respond to that identity. In the movie, the fighting women are approached by two young schoolgirls, the resolving agents. The schoolgirls reason with the women and eventually persuade them to behave harmoniously at the water tap. They convince them that the best approach is to form an organized queue, and to not take more that one's fair share of water. Showing the promise of reconciliation, the women agree; meanwhile, the young schoolgirls represent the promise of positive influence that youth can exert. Their actions interpellated the participants who watch the movies to behave as reconciliatory community members. They were called on to behave a certain way and to possess a certain identity.

To explain further, in this study interpellation occurred first through the in-class screening and then through the decoding process that followed. During this process, which included the video reflection and discussion, participants used a hermeneutic approach to interpret their stories. Denzin and Lincoln define hermeneutics as "an approach to the analysis of

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[35] For an in-depth discussion on interpellation and subjectivity see Althusser, 1971, pp. 170-183. See also, Frank, 2010, p. 97. Frank asks, "If a person does not respond to some "Hey, you" interpellations, then who can that person be?" For Althusser, as a dialectical materialist looking through a Marxist lens, the argument is more complicated; the response of a subject to an interpellation requires a Subject (capital *S*), which does the interpellating. The subject then, in order to assume an identity, must submit to the validation of the Subject. "The individual is interpellated as a (free) subject in order that he [or she] shall submit freely to the commandments of the Subject, i.e. in order that he [or she] shall (freely) accept his [or her] subjection" (p. 182). Interpellation in narrative analysis does not necessarily assume this dialectical understanding.

texts that stresses how prior understandings and prejudices shape the interpretive process" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 27). Texts, as Frank explains, can be replaced with stories, in which hermeneutic interpretation means withholding the desire to show mastery over a story while at the same time expanding openness to what the storytellers are saying (2010, p. 88). In other words, engaging in a critical dialogue *with* the story. Had participants watched the movies as finalized pieces of narrative work, from which there were no diverging interpretations, the interpellative power of the stories would have been diminished. The movies were the starting points for the discussion of the next theme, rather than a finalization of the previous theme. The identities of characters in the stories were discussed and even debated among the participants. Questions were asked about why a character behaved a certain way and not another. Through these discussions the *call to be* that the stories exacted on participants became clearer and more articulate.

Stories From the Water Tap won the award for Best Picture at the Godamchaur graduation, and was chosen by a majority of the Godamchaur participants as their favorite film. Reasons for choosing it included:

- "In this film we showed the social reality."
- "This story is very realistic, and this movie can affect society in a good way."
- "The fight that we depicted in that film was very realistic and many members of the community participated in the production."
- "They made that tap not for one person but for everyone, and [the filmmakers] have shown that we have to work together."
- "It's about a situation in our society and it has affected all the people who watch it."

The final comment is telling. Although the film is very funny, and screening it resulted in lots of laughter from the participants, they acknowledged that what they found funny was the absurdity of the real situation at the tap. Without a discussion following the film, some participants may have just laughed it off, whereas others may have reconsidered the way they behave at the tap. As a result of the *video reflection* and discussion, however, the participants were able to engage in critical dialogue *with* the story. The following excerpt is from the conversation between Anju, one of the filmmakers, and another participant in the video reflection that took place after the screening of *Stories From the Water Tap*:

Interviewer: What effect do you think this video will have on society?

Anju: This video tells us that we have to all work together. The story starts at the [water tap] and ends at the [water tap]. We shouldn't waste the [water tap's]

water, we shouldn't fight over it…One person should not be selfish and use this public resource all for themselves. We're trying to show that.

Interviewer: Are there any such characters in this film?

Anju: I am the main character. The film started and ended with my character. I play a very greedy character.

When participants discuss the *reasons* behind why a character acts a certain way, and not another, there is the potential for them to relate and identify more intimately with that character. Perhaps one of the women at the tap is taking more water because she has more children than the others, or perhaps one of the women does not want to wait in line because her child is at home, sick and alone. Dialogically, the interpellative power of the story is expanded, and the call to associate oneself with the identity of a character becomes clearer. Then, through the fictionalized solution delivered with the promise narrative, the interpellation has the ability to turn reflection into action, which is another feature indicating an emergence. This action represents an intervention in reality (Freire, 1970a, p. 109).

The intervention, of course, depends on the objective-problematic situation revealed by participants. In some instances it can be a transformation of understanding, in others, a change in behavior. Or, as in the case of the extra film produced by participants in Godamchaur, *The Wedding of the Priest's Son*, an attempt to create a community-wide dialogue about a taboo subject as significant as caste-based oppression.

With movie making the interpellative power of a story is further amplified by the fact that participants are not merely watching anonymous characters on screen; they are *acting* as characters, and watching *themselves* on screen. This draws on Crocker's notion of self-reflexivity discussed in the previous chapter, the empowering experience of seeing one's self on screen (2003, p. 130). It also highlights another aspect of movie making that makes it particularly suitable for praxis.

To provide some examples, many participants reflected on the character that they played in certain films, and explained how, in their day-to-day lives, they had begun adopting the characteristics of that character. When watching the film, the character *called out* to them to behave a certain way, and they responded to the interpellation by making changes in their lives. Returning to *Stories From the Water Tap*, Namuna, a participant who acted in

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the movie stated, "Now when I go to fetch water, I wait for my turn." Also in Godamchaur, Manisha, who chastised others for littering in one of the films she made, said, "Now when I buy candy I do not throw the wrapper in the street like I used to. I put it in my pocket."

In Kapan, participants also responded to narrative interpellations in the same way. *Clean City is Healthy City*, discussed earlier, is a film in which characters based on local community members are interpellated to become responsible citizens and stewards of the neighborhood environment. Likewise, the participants who watched and discussed the films were called out in the same way. Several stated that they had stopped littering outright. Sunita said, "I decided [with my friends] to go around the community cleaning roads to make the people aware about the cleanliness." Similarly, Sajata reflected, "Before, I used to throw garbage everywhere but the video and discussion has made me realize the mistake and I will never repeat it again in my life."

Interpellations can also be more powerful because of the initial emplotment. Deepak, whose exchange with Pooja about cigarettes was quoted earlier, played the misbehaving student who was caught smoking in the film *Student Life* and the wayward young man in *Education Can Change the World 2*. Deepak's characters in these movies were coded to emplot existential problems identified in the real lives of his movie-making team. When responding to Pooja's comment about people on the "wrong path" in society, Deepak stated, "These days there are many guys who smoke cigarettes." In *Student Life*, his character overcomes his problems and chooses the right path—he quits smoking. Once a disobedient adolescent in *Education Can Change the World 2,* he changed his track to become a doctor. These triumphs over negative forces interpellated Deepak. He later claimed that he had eliminated many of his bad habits after the course. He stated, "After the video class I stopped roaming around like I used to. My way of speaking became more polite and I believe that my behavioral patterns changed a lot."

By making their own films, participants also increased the interpellative power of their stories because of the close connection between interpellation and narrative habitus. Frank asks the question, "Why [do] certain interpellations have force; why do people take up identities they are called to assume?" (2010, p. 49). He attributes this to narrative habitus, what he also calls the *inner library* of stories that shape people's lives (p. 49). People will respond to their own stories to a greater degree than they will respond to outsider stories. *Insider Windows* stories drew entirely from the participants' shared

narrative habitus, which gave the interpellations contained therein a particular force. Participants in both settings shot their films at identifiable locations in their community; they scripted the dialogue using their own idiomatic language; and they dealt with issues relevant to them—indeed generated by them. The primary narrative type they chose was a blend of fact and fiction: an existential problem addressed by a fictional solution. Additionally, many of the scripted characters depicted in the films were, in fact, playing themselves, even when casting extended beyond the body of participants in the course. In Godamchaur, the headmaster from the local school appeared as himself—playing the role of headmaster—in three of the films the participants produced. Sajina, from Godamchaur, expressed the effects of this clearly: "When we're watching our videos, we believe they were made to be shown to us." And, in fact, they were.

The purpose of this section has been to discuss the effects that the movie-making praxis had on the participants as anti-mimetic stories, and how the process of hermeneutic analysis, through *screening* and *discussion*, contributed to conscientization. Again, it is important to make the distinction here between raising awareness and conscientization. Watching a movie about garbage could conceivably convince a viewer to change his or her behavior with regard to littering; this is the function of raising awareness. Contrast this with conscientization. Through a praxis free from outside influence, and without any educator-provided learning content apart from technical video production skills, participants scripted stories that revealed some of the objective-problematic situations in their lives. Their own stories then interpellated them; *called out* to them to assume certain identities. These identities emerged from their stories, and even by the second or third films that the participants produced, these emergences had already resulted in transformations, and in some cases interventions. The participants were masters of their own thought processes, which is the fundamental difference between conscientization and raising awareness, even if the outcomes are difficult to distinguish.[36]

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[36] Discussions surrounding this distinction can be found in the literature, and one in particular is worth quoting at length. On the subject, Rahman (1991) writes:

> The term "conscientization," which has been popularized by Paulo Freire, is widely used to refer to raising people's awareness. As Freire has made quite clear, conscientization is a process of self awareness-raising through collective self-inquiry and reflection. This permits exchange of information and knowledge but is opposed to any form of teaching or indoctrination. But the practice of 'conscientization' often departs from this concept, and slips consciously or unconsciously into processes of knowledge transfer rather than the stimulation of an assistance to processes of the people's own inquiries to build their self-knowledge. This has nothing to do with conscientization, and in fact inhibits the development of self-awareness as well as the self-confidence needed to advance self-knowledge. (p. 17)

5.6 The praxis of storytelling

Narratives and critical pedagogy have something in common that make them natural partners, and this is the centrality of praxis to both. When designing the praxis for this study, I chose the video camera as the tool that propels it forward for the simple reason that it is a device that enables the creation and repetitive sharing of stories. Cameras have particular capabilities that render the above statement a simplification—the previous pages attest to that—but in essence they enabled storytelling in the form of movies. The *Insider Windows* praxis began and ended with stories—the stories that participants told about their lives and their communities. By scripting, shooting, screening, and reflecting on movies, and through the influences of narrative mechanisms like emplotment and interpellation, participants emerged as conscientized subjects capable of identifying their previously hidden objective-problematic reality. The progression of the themes they chose—from *social problems* to *overcoming negative forces* in Godamchaur, from *awareness* to *awareness is not enough* in Kapan—reflects this emergence and its orientation toward an intervention in reality.

Critical pedagogical praxis is defined by Freire as "the action and reflection of men and women upon their world in order to transform it" (1970a, p. 79). That this praxis involved not just dialogue and reflection, but action as well, results from the use of the cameras and the fact that the participants had to work in and among their communities to fabricate their stories from their chosen narratives. After all, praxis and the emergence that follows are social in character; they do not happen in isolation. Freire states, "Liberation is social act. Liberating education is a social process of illumination" (Freire & Shor, 1987, p. 23).

Stories are also social in character. "People are like actors cast into multiple scripts that are all unfinished," writes Frank (2010, p. 7). The world we live in is made up stories; stories that we tell ourselves, stories that we tell others, and stories that we hear. Just as praxis transforms the world as people reflect, and act upon those reflections, stories, likewise, have the ability to transform. Frank affirms, "Human praxis consists in making our world, and stories are both what is made and a means of making…Stories make by requiring interpretation, which institutes contests; and the results of those contests have as real material effects as anyone could want or shudder to imagine" (2010, p. 143). The following excerpt from an interview with Remee, the educator in Kapan, illustrates well the interconnectedness of the praxis of critical pedagogy and the praxis of storytelling:

When you make a film you always need a story. So when you go to that place to make the story, you would like to know more, and you will get to learn more, about that particular thing you are going to shoot. And then it will also broaden your knowledge about that thing you are going to shoot, and then it will also influence you, [you will think,] "okay this is happening here, I was not aware," even if it's in your own community. You may just be doing your own work, you may be busy with your life, but when you go to take a story, then you get to know, okay this is happening, this is the reality; so this is happening and I was just busy with my life. That is the influence. You'll want to know better and then you'll learn more from that.

Although the notion is at times obscured by academic discourse, it is important to remember that critical pedagogy is, above all, a *pedagogy of the oppressed*. The function that local and subjective stories can play for people, who have been relegated to society's objects, whether by the mechanism of exploitation or nostrum, is that of praxis—a means of making and of transforming the world. "We tell stories because in the last analysis human lives need and merit being narrated," writes Ricoeur. "This remark takes on its full force when we refer to the necessity to save the history of the defeated and the lost. The whole history of suffering cries out for vengeance and calls for narrative" (1984, p. 75).

5.7 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to address the third research objective: *Understand how the praxis developed for this study, by creating movies to investigate generative themes, leads to conscientization*. To achieve this objective, two broad questions were discussed, the first relating to the effects the *production* of a film had on participants, and the second relating to the effects the *watching* of a film, and the *reflection* that followed, had on participants. Because this objective is closely linked with the study's emic issues—the issues that are important to the participants themselves—a narrative analysis design framework was employed. Using Frank's (2010) method of narrative analysis, I first developed a typology of *Insider Window's* narratives, and then discussed the ways different narrative mechanisms, especially emplotment and interpellation, guided participants toward an emergence and an understanding of their objective-problematic situation. Finally, a brief discussion of praxis emphasized the intersection of storytelling and critical pedagogy, and the way both have the ability to transform and together direct participants toward an intervention in reality.

By departing from the etic issues of the case, the analysis provided in this chapter has sought to inform the reader of the fundamental and integral role storytelling plays in this praxis, and by virtue of that, in the way conscientization was engendered among participants in the study. When combined with the etic issues of the case, and the direct feedback provided by participants in the previous chapter, the emic issues provide a rich understanding of conscientization, not just whether or not it occurred—indeed, the participant feedback provided in chapter four provides ample evidence that it did—but *how* it occurred.

Along Freire's (1970a) trajectory of conscientization, intervention follows emergence. In both settings the inchoate stages of intervention were visible. The higher-level generative themes were indicative of a move toward intervention, as were the individual and collective actions described by participants following the conclusion of the praxis. Just as none of the stories the participants told finalized their reality by saying, *this is how we are*, the conclusion of the praxis did not finalize them at a point along a trajectory of emergence. As mentioned, the participants, like their stories, cannot be finalized. As a narrative analyst, I claim no final word. *This is how it was at that time, and I do not know how it is now*.

Chapter 6: A final discussion

The previous two chapters systematically addressed each of the research objectives of this study and their underlying questions. The purpose of this chapter is to continue the discussion about the findings by expanding it beyond the boundaries of the objectives of the study. There are two major themes worthy of additional focus prior to the conclusion of this thesis. The first is the impacts[37] that this study can have on different practices and research, and the second is a deeper analysis of the concept of conscientization, based on learning gained directly from the study. A synthesis and summary of the study, the implications that the study has on theory, and a final reflection, will follow in the concluding chapter.

6.1 Impact of the study

This section will highlight the impact that the study has on the practice of critical pedagogy, and other allied field-based practices such as participatory video and PAR. The potential influence that methodological design considerations from this research project could have on future studies will also be discussed, and a review of opportunities and limitations for further research within academia and practice in the field of communication for social change will be reviewed.

6.1.1 Impact on the practice of critical pedagogy

Methodologically, this research project was developed to synthesize the theoretical and practical elements of critical pedagogy through the observation and analysis of what was essentially a participatory action-research (PAR) project. While the broad theoretical contribution made by this research project will be discussed in detail in the following chapter, there is ample material that can be gleaned from this study that has practical applications in a variety of fields and settings. The purpose of this subsection is to highlight and discuss some of the ways that findings from the research might potentially impact future practice, and offer recommendations that could offset some of the obstacles one might face when practically implementing elements of the praxis in different contexts.

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[37] The term *impact*, as it is used here, refers broadly to the effect or influence that this study, or elements from this study, can have on practical applications. It is not to be confused with the term *impact* as it is used as a specific outcome or goal of an international development project. Because of the resemblance this praxis might bear to an international development project, it is important to make this clear at the outset.

The impact that this study has on the *practice* of critical pedagogy is clearly through its contribution to praxis—a movie-making praxis that is propelled by the introduction and use of cameras. Its contribution to praxis includes the knowledge gained through piloting the integration of cameras into an iterative process of coding, action, and decoding. The process was designed in order to facilitate dialectical group storytelling—the production, sharing, and critical analysis of subject-generated stories. As discussed, the praxis was novel in that it was *developed specifically for this study* in order to create the paradigmatic case called for by the research methodology design framework. The *video reflection* exercise used as part of the decoding process, an idea developed at the research setting by one of the educators, proved to be extremely effective at creating an open dialogical environment conducive to the generation of higher-level themes. The concepts of problem posing, generative themes, and coding/decoding are all drawn from the critical pedagogy literature, and therefore conceptually do not in themselves constitute a new contribution to knowledge. The use of *video reflection* as a process of decoding, however, can be creatively integrated into a wide variety of projects and programs. Decoding, Freire writes, "requires moving from the abstract to the concrete" (1970a, p. 105). The educators in this study quickly recognized that abstract themes such as *overcoming negative forces* were partly solidified through narrative emplotment—a component of the coding process. They also recognized that decoding would have to be an analytical process, a counterpoint to the often-descriptive nature of coding. Watching and discussing the representation of abstract themes, and seeing none other than their peers—indeed, themselves—acting in the stories, made the total transfer from abstract to concrete possible. Even as a reflective exercise done in isolation from the other elements of praxis, the *video reflection* can still be effective as an analytical process. The same exercise can also be retooled for use outside of critical pedagogy and applied to more general participatory approaches such as project planning and participatory monitoring and evaluation.[38]

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[38] For example, a diverse group of stakeholders with divergent interests in a proposed development project could each produce short participatory movies at the level of family unit or community (depending on the scope of the project) about important themes from their lives, abstract or concrete. Imagining a diverse spectrum of messages, unity in understanding the salient issues shared by a community, or group of communities, could be achieved through a reflective exercise like *video reflection*. By posing questions about the movies to one another and answering those questions on video, the discussions themselves become the objects of patient and thoughtful analysis. Other families or nearby community members would be able to self-reflexively see themselves and their neighbors on screen discussing issues that they can relate to. Video reflections do not need to be bound by geography or time. Videos can be traded between communities in a region over several months, for instance. Through this process a unity in purpose can be achieved among people, as was the case in the *Fogo Process* (Crocker, 2003).

6.1.2 Impact on other practice-based fields

Apart from critical pedagogy, there are other fields that can benefit practically from the learning that is central to this study. The inclusion of critical pedagogical concepts into other fields is not uncommon, and in many cases allows for a relatively seamless adoption of the practical elements of the *Insider Windows* praxis. If an alarm bell sounds here based on Freire's aforementioned statement regarding the dangers of a partial replication (1997, p. 238), that is fair. However, it is important to acknowledge that an academic research project is free from many of the barriers and limitations that hamstring field-based practices, and each field will have to balance any partial replications using its own theoretical and ethical mechanisms. The purpose of this section is not to provide advice on how to do so; that would be a monumental challenge considering the diversity of practices that fall under the single designation of just *participatory video*, for example. The purpose is to highlight potential places where an impact can be made, and make certain recommendations based on the findings from this study, with the proviso that each recommendation, more than likely, has an accompanying limitation. These must be considered by looking through the lens of context and situation, and cannot be hypothesized in this discussion *a priori* except in the form of hypothetical examples.

The field of communication for social change accounts for numerous practices and approaches; it is a broad umbrella term under which more definable activities like participatory video are positioned. There have been calls for greater attention to critical pedagogical principles in communication for social change, including, for example, a greater emphasis on conscientization (Walker & Arrighi, 2015). Because the de facto mechanism for delivering communication for social change programs to the communities that may benefit from them is through the machinery of international development, those programs become accountable to the expectations and audits of development agencies. The work these agencies do is limited by the parameters of their project foci and the discretionary power of their funders. Therefore, conscientization, a result of praxis that is difficult to quantify, monitor, and evaluate, is seldom considered a satisfactory development outcome in isolation.

This does not mean that there are not opportunities for learning from this study to have an impact on practice. Consequently, the recommendation to development practitioners interested in implementing some sort of praxis resembling *Insider Windows* is to align the initial topical themes congruously with their current stakeholder-driven agenda. In other

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words, if it is a public health project, the critical educator can always propose topical themes related to *public health*. The outputs can always be quantifiable *proxy indicators* such as the number of films produced, or the number of villagers who attended screenings (Walker & Arrighi, 2015). Even indirect indicators such as the number of participants and screening attendees who changed their behavior with regard to public health practices can be gathered by a basic survey. Simply put, the point would be to frame the outcomes within the parameters of the project. Conscientization can still occur alongside the attainment of other more quantifiable goals, as long as generative themes are introduced to the praxis at some point, and after which no more topical themes should be imposed.

There is always the danger that the generative themes depart from the project focus. It is not inconceivable, for example, that the participant-generated discourse within the praxis may shift from an emphasis on *public health* to an interrogation of *NGO corruption*, despite the efforts and directivity of the critical educator's problem posing. This may be seen as unfavorable to the development agency, which is itself an NGO. Certainly this is a risk, and most agencies will offset it by delegating too much power to the critical educator, by naming him or her a *facilitator*, and thereby forfeiting the dialectical nature of their relationship with the participants. If this occurs and generative themes are no longer truly generative, but remain topical or semi-topical throughout the praxis (for example, if the project staff say, "You can make any film you want, but it must be on the subject of *public health*"), then there will be no conscientization, simply a replication of hegemony, a submission to dominant knowledge, and a retreat by participants into the *culture of silence*.[39] This is the danger that a partial replication poses and for that reason it must be done with care. Lamentably, many development agencies are only interested in fulfilling certain quantitative indicators (or other deftly disguised positivist qualitative indicators); therefore, rigorous attention to process and theory is likely to be jettisoned. The unfortunate disconnect between stated theory and actual practice is not uncommon in participatory video, as discussed in chapter two. I feel it pertinent to point out here that my warnings originate from the position of critical pedagogy—which carries certain assumptions about knowledge and society that traditional development agencies do not necessarily share. Just because there is no conscientization on the part of the participants, it does not mean worthy and successful development projects cannot be

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[39] This conclusion is based on my personal observations of praxis during the course of this research project, contrasted with my prior experience as a participatory media facilitator.

undertaken. Improving the public health in a community *can* be achieved by simply raising awareness, for example.

With any activity that relies on a technologically sophisticated piece of hardware, such as the video camera in the case of *Insider Windows*, there will always be some barriers and limitations in establishing that activity, especially in the contexts for which critical pedagogy praxes are primarily intended. The obvious barrier that the participants in this study would have faced, had it been strictly a PAR project led by the critical educators (in the role of sensitized agents[40]), rather than academic research led by an outsider researcher, is the barrier of access to the necessary technology. This barrier, however, is often overstated. The camera kits assembled for this research project were affordable, even by local standards, and although they were acquired in a different country, all the components were also locally available. The training provided to the critical educators was also dependent, initially, on an outsider. Based on their performance in their roles my assessment is that both educators are now fully capable of training other critical educators, or sensitized agents (see Tilakaratna, 1991). Therefore, training conducted by an outsider really only has to happen once, after which it can move horizontally from peer to peer. The barrier of attainment of the technological skill to make movies, a reservation expressed by the research assistant in chapter four, proved not to be a barrier at all. In his final reflection about the participants in Godamchaur he wrote:

> At the beginning of the course, one could be forgiven for doubting whether the group could really pull off complex productions. They had no experience whatsoever in video production… At first the group found it a bit difficult to portray the issues in their films, but gradually the group grew in developing their films around critical issues. It was impressive to see the growth in confidence, in analyzing abilities and showcasing their understanding of community issues in intelligent depictions through the medium of film.

As urban youth, the participants in Kapan were even more confident with technology, and this was reflected in their movies, to a minor fault at times because it can be argued that they overused certain effects like non-diegetic sound[41] and shots of a computer screen for their opening credit sequences. In summary, with adequate basic training, anyone can learn to use a simple video camcorder and tripod. Storyboarding, composing shots, and

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[40] See chapter four, section 4.1, for a parallel between the roles of the critical educators and the sensitized agents in PAR.
[41] Non-diegetic sound is sound that has a source that is not visible on screen—music, for example.

editing in camera were also at no point barriers for the participants in terms of their ability to tell the stories they wanted to tell.

The issue of compensation may be a barrier in certain situations. Unless this sort of project emerges in a setting organically, at the initiative of a trained sensitized agent who has the wherewithal (and free time) to motivate participants and overcome the access to technology barrier, it is likely it will be reliant on some measure of financial resources. Compensation for the *Insider Windows* educators came from my personal research stipend. It was generous when compared to the average wage for teaching and was structured on an hourly basis rather than the typical monthly salary, which allowed the educators to continue working at their regular jobs. As academic research the monetary considerations would be included within the project proposal and written into the application for ethical approval. In PAR, however, the funding considerations are reliant on a less stringent series of checks and balances. Therefore in PAR Tilakaratna (1991) cautions against the recruitment of sensitized agents drawn from the formally educated and middle-income classes because of their high turnover rate resulting from careerist tendencies. Their higher wage demands would also increase reliance on external funds (p. 139). If these external funds are provided by a donor agency with a specific agenda, then the dilemma of directivity of the praxis, mentioned earlier in this section, will have to be faced. Tilakaratna writes, "In order to avoid both a high dependence on external funds as well as the problems created by high turnover, it is necessary to confine the cadre of [sensitized agents] to a modest number of committed persons" (p. 140). His recommendation is to partner with self-reliant organizations that show solidarity with the aims of PAR, and who have people on staff whose time can be allotted toward a project. Compensation therefore would only be necessary if it were paid in overtime, travel costs, or the like (p. 140). Regardless of these details, the potential exists for this praxis to be used within the context of non-academically affiliated PAR.

On one issue I am in disagreement with Tilakaratna. Both educators whom I recruited for *Insider Windows* were formally educated, and I found that to be of great benefit because, as a result of their formal schooling, they were able to recognize and understand what exactly was *different* about critical education. Sometimes it is easier to describe something by using its antithesis as a starting point, and that was very much the case when describing the methods of critical pedagogy during the training of the critical educators in the first phase of fieldwork. As for certain highly qualified individuals who are

used to working for donor agencies, and who may have strong careerist inclinations and high wage demands, it is highly unlikely that they would consider the job of a critical educator.

Another important issue is the length of time the praxis is meant to continue, and consequently the extent to which the critical educators need to have a long-term commitment to their roles. This point must be evaluated on a project-by-project basis. All of these considerations should not be hard and fast rules but flexible guidelines; in other words, they should not be elevated to the level of *principle*. The goal should always be to find the right individuals for the role because a capable and determined critical educator is the *sine qua non* of the entire exercise.

Finally, no matter in which practice-based field this praxis, or elements of it, may be employed, it is imperative that the agency, institution, or individual participatory action-researcher does not adopt a technical or instrumental rationality. There is a danger of doing so because of the dependency on a piece of technological hardware, and the prescriptive step-by-step nature of the movie-making praxis. The key takeaway is to not prefer the means to the ends. The goal is conscientization. Kincheloe and McLaren (2005) warn that an interest in method and efficiency over purpose will result in a focus on "how to" rather than "why should" (p. 308).

6.1.3 Impact on further research

Regarding recommendations for further research of this praxis, or conducting a similar study, there are several points that can be made. In research related to critical pedagogy, it is important to clarify the distinction between PAR and the empirical research I conducted as an outsider observer. I have already alluded to the fact that PAR was carried out by the critical educators in collaboration with the participants. PAR, therefore, is not a way to study critical pedagogy empirically; rather it *is* the practice of critical pedagogy. The participants researched their own communities using the visual method of movie making. As Fals-Borda (1991) reminds us, PAR is not exclusively research; it must also include components of education and socio-political action with the explicit intention of opposing power leveraged over the oppressed (p. 3). PAR is concerned with the emic issues a community faces, and is embedded within them. It does not hover objectively above the praxis—it is the praxis. Therefore, by using the design framework developed for this study, the act of empirical research still has an impact on the *participants themselves*

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through their engagement with PAR. Contrast this with other potentially extractive forms of observational research such as ethnography, for example, that make the emic issues of a community or society the object of analysis. It is the ethnographer who has an intrinsic interest in the emic issues of their research subjects. To put it another way, the participants in this study engaged in a form of auto-ethnography, and I empirically studied their inquiry without interrupting it. With regard to their emic issues, *no outsider ever asked a participant an interview question, nor did any participant ever discuss an issue that they had not themselves brought to the research project.* Because what was being observed was effectively PAR, this study, although observational and interview-based in design, did have an impact on people in their context through their participation in praxis.

The research objectives of the study are what determined the methodological considerations and research design frameworks. Case study and dialogical narrative analysis were selected so that both the etic and emic issues could be captured methodologically. While case study research is well equipped to understand the etic issues of a bounded entity, there are limitations when an analysis of emic issues, independent of the etic issues, is required to answer some of the research questions. Indeed many case studies ignore emic issues altogether and do not necessarily lose any of their scholarly rigor. Often design frameworks like ethnography would be employed under these circumstances, but an ethnographic study would not have been appropriate for this research project because none of the objectives and underlying questions are *specific to context*. Dialogical narrative analysis, meanwhile, provided the necessary methodological resources in the form of theory and methods of data analysis to achieve the final research objective; it was complementary to the case study, the meta-design, yet independent of it. The recommendation for greater impact in further research is that studies of praxis should be designed in such a way as to understand etic and emic issues independently, before synthesizing the findings. This may require the development of a dual-design methodology for the study of praxis.

6.2 On conscientization

Central to critical pedagogy, and therefore equally central to the study, is Freire's concept of conscientization. Although related to the theoretical implications of this research project, which will be discussed in the final chapter, its centrality to the study requires some independent analysis. A point that I believe is of importance to consider is that *conscientization is entirely subjective*. In the final analysis the researcher or the critical

educator cannot say that conscientization has or has not occurred. The participants themselves must first articulate that it has, and only then can conclusions follow. Participants, or knowledge producers, do not even need to learn the word itself; in a sense, it is academic jargon, but they should be able to clearly convey the spirit and thrust of its meaning if the praxis has been successful in achieving the goals of critical pedagogy. This is the "trust" that Freire states must be placed in the ability of the oppressed to reason for themselves (1970a, p. 66). If the final conclusion with regard to conscientization is left to the researcher, then the initial dualism of knowledge ownership that praxis seeks emancipation from has simply been reproduced. In dialogical narrative analysis this is the finalization that Frank (2010) speaks about that makes a story monological. Frank claims that social science research too frequently attempts to finalize. "It silences people with its enumeration of *all* that is significant about them" (2010, p. 98). In truth, the role that conscientization plays in the story of the participants' lives after the conclusion of their class cannot be known, and that is why finalization "creates a pretension of knowing what cannot be known" (Frank, 2010, p. 98). Freire writes, "[Conscientization] does not stop at the level of mere subjective perception of a situation, but through action prepares men [and women] for the struggle against the obstacles to their humanization" (1970a, p. 119). In other words, although it was the outcome of the *Insider Windows* praxis, it is the starting point of another possible journey—one that the participants may or may not now take beyond the scope of this study.

As a narrative analyst, I valued the stories, or emic issues, of the participants and did my best to construct my research around them, rather than present their stories as data to validate or falsify my preconceived ideas. It was only *after* the completion of the praxis and three rounds of interviews that I was able to identify emplotment and interpellation as the main narrative devices used to trigger an emergence, an initial indicator of conscientization. The distinction should be made here with the etic issues addressed by the case study design framework, however, which are subject to validation, as discussed in chapter three.

So how did the participants articulate the spirit and thrust of conscientization? Although several of these quotes have already appeared in previous chapters, they are provided below in the context of this discussion:

> As a group we got to discuss deeply about many things which were ignored by us. We got to know more about the themes through discussions. – *Luna*

Making a video changed our perspective. When we start making the videos we just have a few things we know about the theme, but we end up knowing new things about it, which we never thought of knowing. – *Sunita*

Our awareness became higher because we used to pass through these social problems and they remained unseen, and now we know about them. – *Divya*

We used to take social problems for granted, but through this class I was able to get to the root of these problems and discover some solutions. Before participating in this class we were busy with our own lives. We didn't have time to think about those other things. But after participating in this class I began to think about those other things. – *Poonam*

Directly, it looked like a camera and video class, but indirectly, we learned many other things from this class. For instance, we learned to think about our society and to work together. Outwardly I haven't changed, but inwardly I notice the incidents related to the themes. Those themes are always on my mind, and because of that my consciousness is higher. – *Sajina*

Class helped my personal life change a lot. It helped change my mind also. I concluded that if we are unified we could do anything. Class helped to change not just my mind but my actions too. For example, I feel like I can do something in my society and I have begun to guide my younger brothers and sisters in a good way. I was inspired in class and I can now separate the negative elements of society, and I'm now confident I can warn others about them. – *Sabita*

The class inspired me to look at things critically, and inspired me to go deeper into the problems of society and to find out what the reason behind those problems are. I got to learn that youth have lots of new and fresh ideas to change the face of society…I saw the change in [the participants'] actions and behavior towards society. They all agreed that they started to think and see things in a totally different way than before. They are now noticing many things, which never seemed to get their attention. But the most incredible thing is that they are not only noticing and thinking about the situations of their society but they are ready to act, to do

something to solve the existing problems. I myself found this change in me. – *Remee*

The concept of conscientization is one that is much discussed across the literature, although often it is engaged with abstractly. Beginning with the Johari Window framework adopted in chapter two, followed by the division of participatory video into three models (with the *Insider Windows* praxis most closely resembling the insider-to-insider model), and combined with the application of a dialogical narrative analysis research design used to discuss *how* it occurred in chapter five, I have sought to reify conscientization by engaging with it as much as possible in this study. This is in contrast with just treating it simply as an "outcome" of praxis and discussing it only in theoretical language untethered from the context and participants.

At this point it may be timely to ask, what exactly, then, is the unknown knowledge referred to in chapter two, and why is it that insider-to-insider communication must reveal it? The unknown has also been called *blocked subjectivities* at other places in this thesis. It is a subjective understanding of an individual or community's objective-problematic situation (Freire, 1970a, p. 109). The fact that it is *subjective* precludes any knowledge of it on the behalf of outsiders. This is an outcome of the dialectical relationship between insiders and outsiders. These terms are relevant to context, of course. It may be helpful to conceive of them in the following way: if the context were to be reversed, then the insider might become the outsider, and vice versa. It is pertinent, therefore, to always view the notion of insider and outsider from the epistemological vantage position of this thesis, which is that knowledge is constructed in a context. Now filter that position further through the lens of critical theory, and we can acknowledge that there really is no *reversal of context*, or at least there is no practical reason to conceptualize one. The material condition of the world, from which critical theory seeks *emancipation* (Horkheimer, 1972, p. 246), dictates that critical pedagogy is directed towards those particular *insiders* who have had their subjectivity blocked by the dominant ordering of an unequal society. Therefore, the Johari Window framework (Figure 1) presented in chapter two really applies only to those particular contexts in which those particular insiders are found—contexts where the expansion of insider knowledge has been *blocked*. Certainly, one might find the exercise of categorizing stockbrokers into groups of insiders and outsiders and dividing up their knowledge accordingly to be interesting, but it is not the purpose of Freire's critical pedagogy. This is also why positivist thinkers may find the application of these

frameworks to be problematic. When prefaced with the notion of "all things being equal" they lose their directivity, because the concept of an insider essentially becomes interchangeable. All things, unfortunately, are not equal, and this is the reason critical pedagogy was conceived of in the first place.

Conscientization can only be an outcome of insider-to-insider communication—this is simply taken for granted based on the assumptions of critical theory and critical pedagogy. The model of participatory video presented in chapter two (Figure 2) is an initial attempt to take an existing activity and reorganize it as praxis for conscientization. Freire writes that only the power that emerges from the weakness of the oppressed can liberate both the oppressed and their oppressors (1970a, p. 44). This power is realized through the process of conscientization, and was visible in the intervention conducted in Godamchaur by the three young women who produced the film *The Wedding of the Priest's Son*. The theme they generated—*caste discrimination*—and the scale of their intervention— recruiting over thirty participants in the production and screening the movie to over sixty villagers—are demonstrative of a power that emerged from what society-at-large in that context would have deemed the most unlikely source: three teenaged *Dalit* women. The fact that high-caste community members attended the screening (in which the request was made for the movie to be played back three times in succession) is suggestive of a means by which the power of the weak can liberate both the oppressed and their oppressors.

Putting aside the practical considerations of the praxis and the extent they represent a contribution to various fields, the dialogical understanding of conscientization arrived at by the researcher, educators, and participants in this study is in itself a worthwhile contribution to knowledge.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The purpose of this final chapter is to synthesize all of the research objectives by systematically reviewing the answers to each of their underlying questions, before advancing and discussing the overarching concluding argument of the study;[42] offer a final discussion about the study's broad theoretical implications and relate the findings back to the theoretical foundations of the study discussed in chapter two; and provide a subjective reflection detailing praxis and emergence from the perspective of the researcher.

7.1 Synthesis of the study

This study initially sought to demonstrate the viability of movie making as praxis in critical pedagogy. Indeed, the foundational assumption that producing movies is viable as praxis is what informed the entire development of the *Insider Windows* course, including the design of the first phase of fieldwork (educator training). The centrality of storytelling to conscientization demonstrated by the study is a reflection of the *particular suitability* that movie making has as praxis, which is, of course, the argument of this research project. The discussion in the chapter five focused on the narrative mechanisms that acted upon the participants, both as storytellers and as listeners. When combined with the case study data from chapter four, a clearer picture begins to take shape, which confirms, for a catalog of reasons both emic and etic, that movie making has this particular suitability. In the following subsections the initial motivations for research will be revisited and findings from the two design frameworks employed by the research project—case study and dialogical narrative analysis—will be synthesized in order to frame a discussion about the overall conclusions of the study. The findings will be presented systematically by addressing one research objective at a time, before discussing the final argument.

7.1.1 Motivations for research revisited

The introduction to this thesis began with a discussion comparing the writings of Andrew Carnegie and Oscar Wilde, and their differing notions of social change. Wilde's assertion that social change must be systemic in nature, and cannot be genuine if enacted within the logic of the current dominant ordering of society, speaks to the assumptions that form the bedrock of critical theory. This distinction is of the utmost importance, because it is one that the researcher and critical educator must continually strive to be faithful to across the

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[42] All data referenced in this section are drawn from earlier chapters of this thesis—no new data are being presented.

design and implementation of any action-based critical pedagogy project. Also, at the beginning of this thesis I stated that behind the motivations for this research exists a meta-question: *How are certain types of knowledge privileged, and other types of knowledge marginalized?* Although the goal of the study was not to answer that question explicitly— there is already an abundance of writing within the critical theory literature that focuses on addressing it—simply contemplating it has served as a reminder of the fundamental assumptions upon which the overall research paradigm is based.

If the formal and empirical research elements of this study were removed, what would remain would be a participatory action-research (PAR) project, and the two critical educators would be the participatory action-researchers. From the theoretical standpoint of PAR, knowledge is central to oppression, domination, and alienation (see Rahman, 1991). Rahman argues that domination of the oppressed is enacted not only through control over the material means of production, "but also [through control] over the means of knowledge production, including control over the social power to determine what is useful knowledge" (1991, p. 14). The first form of domination mentioned by Rahman represents the simple Marxist material dialectic. The second and third forms are typically enacted through formalized education (see Illich, 1970) and the Gramscian notion of hegemony (Kincheloe, 2008, p. 65), respectively—two concepts discussed in chapter two. Likewise, Foucault (1980) asserts that "low-ranking" local and popular epistemologies— understandings of knowledge that have been insufficiently articulated according to dominant scientific norms—have been "disqualified as inadequate" by the dominant powers (p. 82). Furthermore, he believes that true criticism "performs its work" through these disqualified bodies of knowledge (p. 82). The essence of these arguments about the dialectical relationship between knowledge and oppression will be visited in more depth in the next section, which returns to this research project's theoretical foundations. The purpose of introducing them here is because they are central to the assumptions underlying this study, and any synthesis of the study would be incomplete without acknowledging them at the outset. The validity of the argument made by this research project, and by extension, its contribution to knowledge, is scaffolded by these epistemological assumptions.

Denzin and Lincoln write, "Methodology focuses on the best means for acquiring knowledge about the world" (2005, p. 183). It is with that point in mind that the study was designed methodologically to employ two distinct research design frameworks: case study

and dialogical narrative analysis. This dual design approach toward gathering and analyzing data was necessary to address the complexities of the praxis, which engaged with both etic and emic issues.

As mentioned, this study initially sought to demonstrate the viability that movie making has as praxis, an objective that was anchored by a theoretical *a priori* understanding of critical pedagogy. As illustrated in the review of theoretical literature and discussion of practical examples in chapter two, critical pedagogical praxis has been well theorized and observed in context. The design of the movie-making praxis combined the theoretical insights of theorists such as Freire and Shor, and the practical experience of researchers, such as DeGennaro, and other select participatory video practitioners. The praxis was developed anew for this project, however, so the parameters of the process and the questions of *how* would only be understood through an *a posteriori* analysis.

The findings from this study have shown clearly that the praxis is not only viable, but that the use of cameras to create stories in the form of movies has a particular suitability as critical pedagogy. This suitability results from the power of narrative. As Remee, the educator in Kapan, stated, "When you make a film you always need a story." The use of cameras to make movies is simply a mechanism that enables the coproduction of stories and their repeated exhibition for group analysis. As mentioned in chapter five, participants who have begun to identify their objective-problematic situation (Freire, 1970a, p. 109) gain the ability to articulate the extent of their own emergence and identify subjectively the early stages of conscientization. If the participants can subjectively discuss their emergence, which was shown to have happened frequently in both field sites, then the argument of viability is thus demonstrated easily enough: yes, certainly, movie making is viable as praxis insofar as it adheres to the principles of critical pedagogy and results in conscientization.

7.1.2 Research objective one

The first research objective was to *analyze the utility of movie making as a tool to operationalize conscientization.* This objective was achieved in part by addressing the two underlying research questions, the first of which was, *is producing movies a viable critical pedagogical praxis in the given context?* This is a framework-level question. Considering the outcomes of the praxis at both settings in the overall context of Nepal, the production of movies was clearly viable. Participants produced sixteen films and frequently engaged

openly with local community members during the process. There were very few dropouts from either of the courses, and the few who could not continue all had valid reasons and remained in contact with the participants, often acting in their films and attending screenings. Attaining the necessary technological competencies did not prove to be a challenge; indeed, based on my personal experience with the method of participatory video, it was not expected to be.

The question of context here then relates less specifically to Nepal, but more to village youth and inner-city youth in general. The finding of this study reflects the assertion in chapter two that attainment of technology is not a barrier to participation. The barrier is access to the technology, and this was discussed in the previous chapter, along with other limitations.

The second question underlying the first research objective was, *does the praxis result in initiatives or actions taken to transform social reality?* Both chapters three and four have shown that the answer is a resounding *yes*. Participants, as individuals, and in groups, took initiatives and actions that they believed would transform their social reality. This happened in a variety of ways. Individual participants stated that they had begun by changing their patterns of thoughts. Reflecting on conversations Pooja had with her participants, she stated, "They say that they have started thinking. It will make a change, even if a group of two or three people [begin thinking]. Maybe not all nine of them, but even if two or three of them think critically it will make a change, if not for all the people, then for her family, or for herself only." Likewise, Sajina, a participant, reflected, "Outwardly I haven't changed, but inwardly I notice the incidents related to the themes. Those themes are always on my mind, and because of that my consciousness is higher."

Others began to reflect on how they had changed their individual patterns of behavior. Manisha said, "I learned to speak confidently. [The course] helped me to be able to discuss with my friends better, to have better conversations… We have [also] seen changes in our behavior. Now when I buy candy I don't throw the wrapper on the street like I used to. I put it in my pocket. So these changes have influenced our behavior." Similarly Deepak stated, "After the video class I don't roam around like I used to, my way of speaking became more polite, and I believe my behavioral patterns changed a lot."

Changing individual thought and behavior began the trajectory toward initiatives to transform social reality, what Freire calls an intervention in the objective-problematic situation (1970a, p. 109). Not only were the higher-level generative themes from both settings indicative of this trajectory but also were certain actions initiated by groups of participants outside the sphere of the class. Examples of this include the neighborhood group Sujan formed with his friends to clean up garbage after the production of *Clean City is Healthy City* in Kapan, and the production and screening of the remarkable caste discrimination film, *Wedding of the Priest's Son*, in Godamchaur.

7.1.3 Research objective two

The second research objective was to *define the parameters of the movie-making process within a critical pedagogical praxis.* This was also achieved in part by addressing its two underlying research questions, the first of which was, *how does this differ from other models of participatory video?* This research objective, again, pointed to the etic issues uncovered by case study research. As discussed in chapter two, the practice of participatory video was influential in this study insofar as it provided a theorized and practice-based starting point for the practical considerations surrounding group-centered video-based investigation. This study did not seek to fill a gap in the literature of critical pedagogy so much as it sought to make a new contribution to the theory and practice of critical pedagogy through the design and testing of a novel praxis—a praxis centered on dialogical narrative analysis, both as participant-led coding/decoding and as an overarching research design framework. Where this study will fill some gaps, albeit indirectly, is in the participatory video literature. As discussed in chapter two, participatory video as a practice draws much from Freire and other critical pedagogy theorists, yet in many cases remains a product-driven enterprise (see Walker & Arrighi, 2013). While participatory video theorists and practitioners may be able to find some elements of an entirely generative-theme based praxis worthwhile, rarely do the structural realities of their working environments enable them to use generative themes because they are hamstrung by the realities of international development.

As discussed in depth in chapter four, the *Insider Windows* praxis did borrow elements from the participatory video method, especially in the first three classes. Looking back at the course in its entirety, it is clear that what began as video education evolved into something much more. As previously mentioned, movies were at once instruments in propelling the praxis forward and skillfully, creatively composed pieces of art and criticism

in their own right. Outwardly, the pattern of production, especially of the later films, resembled formal movie production much more than the *ad hoc* approach of participatory video.

The second question underlying the second research objective was, *what are the barriers and limitations in implementing this model?* This question, like the previous one, is also answered by examining the etic issues of the *Insider Windows* case. While chapters three and four discuss these barriers from the perspective of methodology leading up to the fieldwork, and the defining of the case as a whole (section 4.4), a simpler and more concise summary of barriers and limitations in implementing the *Insider Windows* model was discussed in section 6.1, *Impact of the study*.

7.1.4 Research objective three

The third and final research objective was to *understand how the praxis developed for this study, by creating movies to investigate generative themes, leads to conscientization*. This objective pointed toward the emic issues of case that emerged from the lives and experiences of the participants and marked a departure from the framework level issues. It was addressed in chapter five through a dialogical narrative analysis that was directed toward understanding *how* conscientization occurred as a result of the movie-making praxis. One might wonder why the objective was worded in such a way as to take the outcome of conscientization for granted. In fact, there was no practical guarantee at the beginning of this research project that the praxis would lead to conscientization. This objective was worded differently at the outset of the fieldwork and rephrased *ex post facto*, which is in line with what Stake (1995) calls the progressive focusing of research objectives and questions within case study research (p. 9). This is done because of the obstacles that *a priori* research question formulation can present to the case study researcher.

The third objective also had two underlying research questions, the first of which was, *what effects does the movie-making praxis have on the participants who produced the films, and how does this contribute to conscientization?* This question is aimed at the praxis itself. Critical pedagogical theory states that praxis can result in conscientization, and evidence from chapter four showed that it did so in the case of the *Insider Windows* praxis as well. This question asks *how*. Through the use of narrative devices, and the building of a typology of narratives, chapter five sought to address this challenging

question. Using shared narratives as a fabrication mechanism, and emplotment, the building of a coherent story from a succession of real-life events, participants began their collective passage to an emergence. The dominant narrative used by participants was called the *promise narrative*. Stories in this narrative type depicted characters, families, and the community as showing promise. Additionally, by depicting reality as the participants thought it *should be*, they revealed the promise of a possible future. Utilizing this narrative type, participants crafted stories that represented real problems in their communities identified dialogically in groups. The problems were solved using fictional solutions; real-life events drawn from their objective-problematic situation were resolved with plausible alternatives to the status quo. These alternative outcomes then served as examples for the participants on which to model their inner thoughts and/or outward behavior, and in interviews the participants acknowledged that this was part of their emergence. The process was summarized well by Sajata from Godamchaur: "We tried to show the effects caused by different problems in our society. While doing this, we got to learn about the problems deeply ourselves, and were able to discover the solutions too."

The second question underlying the final research objective was, *what effects do the stories participants tell through movies have on those who watch and discuss them, and how do they contribute to conscientization?* In order to achieve the final research objective it was essential to understand the two ways movie making acted upon the participants: first, through production (coding generative themes) and second, through screening and reflection (decoding generative themes). While emplotment was the primary narrative device used to analyze and understand the role of storytelling during the coding process, a different narrative device was employed for analysis during the decoding process. This was interpellation, which Frank (2010) defines as the "calling on a person to acknowledge and act on a particular identity" (p. 49). It occurred first through the in-class screenings and then through the *video reflection* process that followed. Emplotment and interpellation are the two narrative devices used to answer this research question.

Again, in the decoding process the role of the promise narrative was prominent. Because situations were problematized during the coding process after the generation of a theme, the depictions of those situations in a story reflected that problematization. In *Stories From the Water Tap* women are depicted fighting at the local water source. Participants in the story were interpellated by an event (the fight) drawn from their narrative habitus, or inner library (Frank, 2010, p. 49). They understood why the characters on screen acted

the way they did—they had, for the most part, experienced the same situation themselves. Resolving agents then effect the solution of the promise narrative. In this movie two young students arrive and convince the women to reconcile and share the water in an orderly fashion. Participants explained that this interpellation called out to them to be resolving agents themselves when they faced similar situations to the ones depicted in their films. "[The movie] is about a situation in our society and it has affected all the people who watch it," stated a participant. Interpellation is the way the film affected them. As mentioned in the previous chapter, participants later stated in interviews that when they witnessed a fight erupt at the water tap, they played the role of peacemaker, and they would wait for their turn to fill their water vessels patiently.

Because the participants were not watching actors or unknown people on screen, but themselves, the power of the interpellation was increased. The resolving agents were legitimate because participants wrote their actions and dialogue and participant-actors depicted them in the movies. Interpellation resulted in changes in individual thinking and individual behavior, and in some cases, like the example of participants actually stopping fights at the water tap, resulted in interventions. The stories participants told drove this trajectory from emergence to intervention, and the stories acted upon those who watched them primarily through emplotment and interpellation.

7.1.5 The final argument

The synthesis of a concluding argument based on the assertions discussed in detail in chapters four and five, and summarized in the paragraphs above, should therefore capture all of the research objectives at once. As mentioned, the initial argument that the study sought to validate was that movie making is viable, and has a particular suitability, as praxis in critical pedagogy. This argument can be made, however, without consideration of the emic issues of the case; it can be viewed instrumentally through the etic lens of the researcher. It does not necessarily need to include an analysis of *how* conscientization occurred, the discussion of which comprises a major contribution to this research project. Once the research objectives of this study are considered *a posteriori,* the role of emic issues cannot be ignored. Their inclusion, however, presents the critical researcher with the dilemma of finalization. Therefore a caveat must be acknowledged: any final analysis or conclusion is based within the boundaries of the case. The final analysis is not meant to be a finalization of the participants or their stories. As a narrative analyst, I claim no final word in that regard. Thus, the conclusion is that movie making is more than simply a

viable form of critical pedagogical praxis. *Movie making has a particular suitability as praxis in critical pedagogy because it creates the conditions for conscientization through the use of storytelling as the action-element of critical learning. It is a distinct form of praxis with its own parameters and limitations, yet it can be organized and expressed pedagogically in a way that remains faithful to principle and theory.*

This final argument was not synthesized theoretically, but through the rigorous field-testing of praxis with participatory action-researchers in different settings. The preceding chapters tell the story of a paradigmatic case and the dialogical analysis of stories in conversation with one another and with participants who propelled themselves, using the self-generated power of their own critical analysis, toward an emergence that only they would have the final ability to articulate as subjective beings. The practical contribution that this study makes to the field of critical pedagogy, as was discussed in an earlier section, is in the form of a template for praxis with relatively low barriers to entry. As the educators and I progressed through the praxis, we learned as we went, often revising the curriculum and our assumptions along the way. The knowledge we gained is a contribution to the field of critical pedagogy as both a blueprint for any narrative-based praxis, including a nonvisual design, and theoretical confirmation of the stated adaptability of the foundational pedagogical principles of Freire (Darder et al., 2009, p. 16).

While acknowledging the roots that this study has in education, it is also a theoretically rich and intricately designed practical contribution to the field of communication for social change as an activity. The cameras are simply instruments to facilitate horizontal participant communication through storytelling and analysis. Despite the fact that certain barriers do prevent generative-theme based activities from being completely embraced by the field of international development, which bears the majority of the responsibility for delivering communication for social change projects, there is still much that is of relevance (this was discussed in more depth in section 6.1). Other fields with a less articulated theoretical foundation, such as participatory video, may benefit from particular elements of this study and utilize them, most likely piecemeal, to fill gaps in both theory and practice.

7.2 Implications for theory

Horkheimer, one of critical theory's foundational thinkers, writes that the purpose of critical theory is not simply to add to existing bodies of knowledge; in fact, its goal is no less than human emancipation from enslavement (1972, p. 246). This enslavement is an abstract

one; the chains are not physical objects but are a one-dimensional logic and rationality that create in society a status quo that alienates, yet is ironically defended by the alienated. The sentiment is echoed by Marcuse, who writes, "Free election of masters does not abolish the masters or the slaves" (1964, p. 8). The oppressed classes in modern society, and even more so in today's era of neoliberalism, are accorded certain "benefits" such as hand-me-downs from the materials economy, and the "privilege" of being consumers, and by extension participants in society. If these are unattainable, at the very least there is the hope of one day "making it" in the system that exploits them. Neoliberal hegemony is reliant on the willing submission of the exploited; it is reliant on the *culture of silence* (Freire, 1970a, p. 30). With his typical polemical flair, Marcuse writes, "To say this class has much more to lose than its chains may be a vulgar statement but it is also correct" (1972, p. 6).

The purpose here is not to digress on a philosophical tangent. The perspectives of Horkheimer and Marcuse in the paragraph above are a reminder of the many themes discussed in chapter two. In essence, critical theory is an action-theory; it seeks not to *explain* the world, but to *change* it—in this way its Marxian origins are still recognizable. Freire and other critical pedagogues no doubt saw the power that critical theory had to *deconstruct* the oppressive ordering of society.[43] The question then is: how is the world to be *reconstructed*? How might society be reordered? These considerations were the starting point for theorists such as Freire, and later Giroux. Their answer was through *education*.

As mentioned, the *raison d'être* of critical pedagogy is to strive for justice within the human condition but, based on its positioning within the wider landscape of critical theory, there is an understanding that social justice is reliant on systemic change. Furthermore, because critical theory is not only a school of thought but also a "process of critique" (Giroux, 2009, p. 27), this allows for the uncovering of alternatives to constructions of society that hide behind taken-for-granted norms. These hidden constructions have been referred to as *blocked subjectivities* in previous chapters, and it is the purpose of praxis in critical pedagogy to unblock them. Returning to the Johari Window framework adopted in chapter two for understanding conscientization, unblocking subjectivities is accomplished by revealing some of what lies behind the blind spot. The findings from this study have

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[43] An ordering so ingrained that, according to Marcuse, "in the guise of affluence and liberty [it] extends to all spheres of private and public existence, integrates all authentic opposition, absorbs all alternatives" (1964, p. 18).

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shown that these blocked subjectivities can be revealed through the use of narrative: telling, listening to, and analyzing stories. As discussed in the previous chapter, this process begins with the *description* of the world, and progresses toward an identification of the objective-problematic situation that precedes an emergence from an immersion in that situation, and culminates finally in an intervention. Considering now the deconstructive orientation of critical theory and the reconstructive aim of critical pedagogy, intervention can be seen as a step toward this reconstruction of society; a reconstruction that is articulated by the oppressed based on an insider understanding of generative themes, which have passed through the filter of group consultation and analysis.

As discussed in chapter three, this study does not seek generalizability, but rather the transferability of findings back to theory (Flyvberg, 2011, p. 305). It is the level of understanding one has of the theoretical elements of this research project that will determine how well the findings of the study transfer to similar contexts and situations. A generalized application of only the practical elements of this research will amount to the partial replication of his principles that Freire warns against (1997, p. 238). Consider again the concluding argument of this study: *Movie making has a particular suitability as praxis in critical pedagogy because it creates the conditions for conscientization through the use of storytelling as the action-element of critical learning. It is a distinct form of praxis with its own parameters and limitations, yet it can be organized and expressed pedagogically in a way that remains faithful to principle and theory.* In the context of the above paragraphs on the theoretical foundations of this study, what can we transfer back to theory? The domination of the oppressed spoken of by Horkheimer and Marcuse is enacted through myriad forms of hegemony, yet foremost among those is the control over knowledge. As quoted in the first section of this chapter, and echoing the arguments put forth in chapter two, Rahman and Foucault are in agreement that oppression occurs through the selective legitimization and disqualification of knowledge and epistemologies by the oppressor.[44]

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[44] The oppressor, like Horkheimer's enslavement, is also abstract. Critical theorists and critical pedagogues both identify the apparatus of formal education as an example of the oppressor. Althusser, for example, writes, "The school teaches 'know-how', but in forms which ensure *subjection to the ruling ideology* or the master of its 'practice'" (1971, p. 133). Likewise, Illich states, "Inevitably, [the] hidden curriculum of schooling adds prejudice and guilt to the discrimination which a society practices against some of its members and compounds the privilege of others with a new title to condescend to the majority. Just as inevitably, this hidden curriculum serves as a ritual of initiation into a growth-oriented consumer society for rich and poor alike" (1970, p. 33). Here we arrive again at Marcuse's one-dimensional society, which has the power to integrate opposition and absorb alternatives (1964, p. 18).

Following this thread of logic, the question is then: did the *Insider Windows* praxis fabricate an authentic space where knowledge was produced, dialectically analyzed, and validated by participants as subjects? Based on the data presented in chapters four and five, the answer is unequivocally *yes*. Unlike formal education, no learning content or outside knowledge was brought by an expert to the group discussions, apart from the technical training related to the camera. As discussed in chapter four, this is what made their emergence a result of conscientization, rather than awareness raising, or another mechanism of learning. It can therefore be inferred that central to knowledge production is the generative theme. Without generative themes there can be no conscientization, and participants, or "knowledge producers" as Kincheloe (2008) calls them, will be unable to transcend positivist views of knowledge and recognize the ways the thoughts they possess have been impacted by history, culture, and ideology (p. 138). *Insider Windows* participants admitted that they were able to "step outside their normal lives and reflect." This was how they articulated their emergence.

Based on the themes they generated and the stories they told about them, participants in Kapan and Godamchaur produced new forms of understanding about their reality, and they began to act upon those understandings. Does this amount to a reconstruction of society? No, certainly not in terms of the scale of the impact, but it does conform to the theoretically predicted results envisioned by Freire and others when praxis is enacted correctly. After all, the purpose of *this study* was not to spark a reconstruction of society, but to show how movie making, and by extension storytelling, can contribute as a form of praxis. In this way, the findings of the study transfer suitably back to their theoretical origins.

7.3 A reflection on my emergence

From the perspective of my inquiry as a researcher, one final question remains at the conclusion of this study. It is not directly related to the viability of the praxis, nor does answering it inform any of the research objectives. The final question is about another emergence altogether—my own. After all, the theoretical position of critical pedagogy is that all "become jointly responsible for a process in which all grow" (Freire, 1970a, p. 80). This process involved the participants, the educators, and me—the lead researcher. The participants are the only ones who can offer a narrative of their emergence, and likewise, this discussion is entirely subjective. Through it I will revisit several themes from this research project and reflect upon my education, praxis, and emergence. *Did I, as the lead*

researcher and initiator of the project, experience conscientization? In order to answer this question I should start at the beginning and return to my initial motivations for research.

I embarked upon this study partly with a curiosity to explain a phenomenon that I had experienced personally in my years as a documentary filmmaker. During a ten-year career as a freelance documentarian, I worked on many films about diverse topics related, for the most part, to the human condition. Many individuals watched these films, and despite their keen interest, I recognized that none of them would gain an understanding of the issues depicted comparable to the breadth that my colleagues and I gained during our production and eventual telling of a story. It was the act of storytelling itself that was impactful, and it impacted the storyteller more than the listener. Not having yet read Freire and others, I had no language to articulate the transformation that I underwent when I worked on a film. Indeed, they were produced to raise awareness, and among our audiences they often did. Yet for the producers they did more than that because the content of the narratives came to us not through the act of consumption, but through self-initiated investigation.

The first indications that praxes based on movie making and centered on narrative creation through group coproduction could be successful in engendering subjective transformations became evident to me after my exposure to participatory video. It is a practice I am critical of, yet it was nevertheless influential on the refinement of my own praxis design. After much study, I embedded video within critical pedagogy, rather than applying the principles of critical pedagogy piecemeal to a video making activity—the approach I encountered in professional practice. This was a liberating departure from reliance on the structural morass of international development and entry into the atmosphere of Kincheloe's *critical planet*, "where we realize objects in the mirror may not be what they seem" (2008, p. 138).

Using scholarly research, I initially wanted to show that a praxis could be developed that allowed participants to experience what documentary filmmakers do—meaningful subjective learning by storytelling. As my study of critical pedagogy deepened, I realized that my initial assumptions were simplistic, and that the learning I experienced certainly was not conscientization—but I believed I was on to something. By amalgamating the theoretical and methodological building materials of critical education, movie making, and narrative analysis, I was able to construct a bricolage research project that I hoped would

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answer my question, not only the question of *if* this praxis was a viable method of operationalizing conscientization but also the question of *how* it happens. These considerations are at the core of this thesis, and the previous chapters have told the story of a paradigmatic case that was developed to reveal the answers.

Throughout the course my role was that of an observer, operating at the periphery of the praxis. I did offer expertise, but only indirectly through the critical educators, who were in truth, participatory action-researchers. I agreed with Frank's (2010) argument that any dialogical research encounter must be based on "the premise that the *participant is the expert* from whom the researcher hopes to learn" (p. 99). I call this triangle between the participant, the participatory action-researcher, and the outside observer, a *dialectical exchange*. We all had our interdependent roles and were in a negotiated state of mutuality, which, over time, resulted in the waning of my influence, followed by the expansion, and then inevitable waning of the critical educators' influence, and finally concluding in the emergence of the participants as owners of their own praxis. In truth, I was nothing more than a peripheral character to the participants. The critical educators established and taught the courses at both settings, and conducted all of the interviews. Beyond the initial curiosity directed at the research assistant and me, we were virtually invisible. This, in part, is what made the praxis successful. The critical educators initially depended on me, but they quickly learned the ropes and understood their roles as sensitized agents. To use the example of the Johari Window framework, after they mastered the cameras, recognized the directionality of the praxis, and learned the art of problem posing, my hidden knowledge had become open knowledge, and my value as a knowledge custodian rapidly diminished. Likewise, after the participants mastered the cameras, and the subject matter of their discourse centered on their own generative themes, the knowledge and guidance of the critical educators lost its value. The participants were now firmly established on the *critical planet*. There was not much support that Remee or Pooja could offer the participants when they were making their final films. Take the example of *Wedding of the Priest's Son* in Godamchaur, made after the conclusion of the course. The participants needed Pooja only to facilitate a loan of the camera equipment. The young women who made the film did everything else, from the production to organizing a village screening. I played no part in that stage and they rightly saw no reason to invite me to the final exhibition. The praxis had become entirely their own and the participants were masters of their own thinking—the most important outcome of critical pedagogy (Freire, 1970a, p. 124). Therefore, I can claim no final responsibility

for their emergence. I merely provided them with *some of the tools for their own bricolage*: they used what was available to them to subjectively guide their own inquiry, and tell their own stories.

Now I arrive back at the question I posed at the beginning of this section. *Did I, as the lead researcher and initiator of the project, experience conscientization?* The answer is *no*, not in the way the participants and critical educators subjectively experienced it. I was not submerged in their objective-problematic situation. As an empirical observer, I maintained a critical distance. No matter how much I felt solidarity with the participants and their struggles, I was not one of them and I did not subjectively experience them. The critical pedagogy upon which this praxis is modeled is, after all, a *pedagogy of the oppressed*, and I cannot count myself among their ranks, nor can I claim to share in their conscientization. Freire gives no substantive account of a passive observer. The dialectical relationship that generates an emergence is between the teacher-student and the students-teachers (1970a, p. 80).

An emergence did occur, however. My objective-problematic situation did reveal itself in the form of a recognition of my own privilege. The ability to traverse the distance between formalized doctoral research and participatory action-research is a clear indicator of that privilege. Whereas among the oppressed, the identification of an objective-problematic situation follows an emergence from submersion and results in an intervention (Freire, 1970a, p. 109), in my case what intervention was I prepared to make considering my recognition of my own privilege? Perhaps this is the distinction that separates the beneficiaries of the dominant order from the objects of it, and is the reason pedagogy "must be forged *with*, not *for*, the oppressed (whether individuals or peoples) in the incessant struggle to regain their humanity" (Freire, 1970a, p. 48). The paradox I must accept is that my final contribution is in the form of expert research. Kincheloe warns, "When critical scholars establish an exclusive 'critical elite,' they have fallen prey to the same power inequalities that motivated the founding of critical pedagogy in the first place" (2008, p. 127). This is a warning I intend to remember.

In this thesis I have attempted to eschew the reductive generalizations of positivist research. I have sought to remain faithful to the spirit of narrative analysis and avoid finalizations. As a storyteller myself, invariably I have the urge to manufacture a fitting denouement to three and a half years of work on a single project, but there is no ending.

This is how it was at that time, and I do not know how it is now. Frank (2010) writes, "Avoidance of finalization does not mean giving up the unity of an account" (p. 98). My final hope is that the reader has recognized a unity in this account.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Sample certificate of completion

THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND
AUSTRALIA

The Centre for
COMMUNICATION & SOCIAL CHANGE

Certificate of Completion

This certifies that

NAME OF PARTICIPANT

has successfully completed a twelve week course in basic video production in June and July, 2014.

This course was sponsored by a research team from the Centre for Communication and Social Change at the University of Queensland, Australia.

GRADY WALKER
RESEARCHER

RISHI ROBERTSON
RESEARCHER

POOJA FYUBA
EDUCATOR

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Appendix 2a: Participant consent form (English)

THE UNIVERSITY
OF QUEENSLAND
AUSTRALIA

Participant Consent Form

Project Title: A Window to Insider Knowledge: Video Production as Praxis in Critical Pedagogy (Nepal)

Researcher

Grady Walker, School of Journalism and Communication, The University of Queensland, Australia

This form verifies that the research participant/s identified on this form have read, or have been explained, the content of the project information sheet in a language they clearly understand. The participant/s have been introduced to the researcher (Grady Walker) who will act on their behalf to protect their privacy and confidentiality in the course of the research. This person has signed the form below. The participants have been given a clear course of action to follow in order to ask questions about the research, or to withdraw from the research if they choose to do so. Participants can withdraw from the research at any time if they so wish. Relevant contact information of the researcher has been provided and left in writing. Copies of the information sheet have also been left with participants. The participant/s signify by either their signed consent below, or by their continuing participation in the activity, that they have understood the project information and give informed consent to their involvement

I/we, consent to be involved in the above research project as a research participant. I have read the Research Project Information Sheet (or it has been sufficiently explained, where literacy is a problem) and understand the nature of the research and my role in it.

Signature of Research Participant/s………………………..………… Date……………20…….
(Or list of names)   Signatures

Researcher to Complete

I, …………………………………………,certify that I have explained the purpose of the research project to the person/s listed above and I judge that they understand their role in it and have consented to be involved.

Signature of Researcher/Interviewer…………………..…………………… Date……………20…….

Appendix 2b: Participant consent form (Nepalese)

सहभागी अनुमति (स्वीकृति) फारम

प्रायोजनाको शीर्षक:

अ उइन्डो टु इनसाइडर नलेज: भिडियो प्रोडक्शन एज प्राक्सिस इन क्रिटिकल पेडागाजी (नेपाल)

अनुसन्धानकर्ता:

ग्रेडी वाकर, पीएचडी उम्मेदवार, स्कूल अफ जर्नालिजम एण्ड कम्युनिकेशन, युनिर्भसिटि अफ क्वीन्सल्याण्ड, अस्ट्रेलिया

यो फारमले प्रमाणित गर्दछ कि यस शोधकार्य (अनुसन्धान) मा संलग्न तलका सहभागी/हरुले प्रायोजना जानकारी पत्रमा उल्लेख गरिएका विषयवस्तुहरु आफूले प्रस्ट बुझ्ने भाषमा स्वयंले अध्ययन गरेकाछन् वा उनीहरुलाई यसबारे विस्तृतरुपमा वर्णन गरिएकोछ । सहभागीहरु अनुसन्धानकर्ता (ग्रेडी वाकर) सँग परिचित छन्, जस्ले शोधकार्यको अवधिभर उनीहरुको गोपनीयता र विश्वसनीयतालाई सुरक्षित राख्नेछन् । उक्त अनुसन्धानकर्ता वा अन्तरवार्ता लिने व्यक्तिले फारमको तल्लो भागमा हस्ताक्षर पनि गरेकाछन् । सहभागीहरुलाई शोधकार्यबारे सोधपुछ गर्न वा चाहेमा यसबाट आफ्नो संलग्नता हटाउनको लागि के गर्नुपर्छ त्यसको स्पष्ट जानकारी दिइएकोछ । उनीहरुले चाहेमा कुनै समयमा पनि यो शोधकार्यबाट आफ्नो सहभागिता हटाउन सक्नेछन् । अनुसन्धानकर्ताको आवश्यक संपर्क विवरणहरु लिखितरुपमा उपलब्ध गराइएकोछ । सहभागीहरुलाई जानकारी पत्रको प्रतिलिपी पनि वितरण गरिएकोछ । सहभागीहरुले प्रायोजनाबारे यथेष्ट जानकारी प्राप्त गरेकाछन् र यसमा आफ्नो सहभागिताको लागि सचेत अनुमति दिएकाछन् भन्ने कुरा तलको उनीहरुका हस्ताक्षर वा शोधकार्यका क्रियाकलापहरुमा उनीहरुको निरन्तर सहभागिताले जनाउँछ ।

मेरो/हाम्रो माथि उल्लेख गरिएको शोधकार्यमा सहभागीको रुपमा संलग्न हुन मन्जुरी छ । मैले शोधकार्य जानकारी पत्र पढेकोछु वा निरक्षरताको कारण मलाई यसबारे प्रस्ट जानकारी दिइएकोछ र मैले यो शोधकार्य कस्तो हो र यसमा मेरो के काम हुन्छ भन्ने कुरा राम्ररी बुझेकोछु ।

सहभागीको हस्ताक्षर: .... मितिः ....
(वा सहभागीहरुको नाम) हस्ताक्षर

अनुसन्धानकर्ताले भर्नुपर्ने:

म, ..., यो प्रमाणित गर्दछु कि मैले माथि उल्लेख भएका व्यक्ति/हरुलाई यो अनुसन्धान प्रायोजनाको उद्देश्यबारे स्पष्ट जानकारी दिएकोछु र उनीहरुले यसमा भाग लिएर आफूले के गर्नुपर्छ भन्ने कुरा बुझ्नुको साथसाथै यसमा आफ्नो सहभागिताको लागि सचेत अनुमति दिएकाछन् भन्ने ठान्दछु ।

अनुसन्धानकर्ता/अन्तरवार्ता लिने व्यक्तिको हस्ताक्षर: ....
मिति ....

100 YEARS AHEAD

Appendix 3a: Participant information sheet, page one (English)

Participant Information Sheet

Project Title:
A Window to Insider Knowledge: Video Production as Praxis in Critical Pedagogy (Nepal)

Researcher:
Grady Walker, PhD Candidate, School of Journalism and Communication, University of Queensland, Australia

Supervisors:
Dr Elske van de Fliert
Dr Kitty van Vuuren

Study Purpose
This project aims to research the viability of video making as an educational exercise within a framework of critical education, which involves the questioning of widely accepted norms and the investigation and analysis of everyday experience.

A facilitator will train participants in the technical and aesthetic aspects of video making, and with their peers they will have the opportunity to make short movies on themes they select together as a group. They will analyse these movies together following a process that will be provided to them in writing with other materials at the beginning of the course.

Participation in the course is free and will require weekly meetings lasting approximately two hours for a period of three months. The schedule of these meetings will be negotiated with the group facilitator. Upon completion of the course, participants will receive a certificate.

Videos and interviews may be edited and shared, but only with the consent of the participants. The purpose of these videos is to propel the educational program forward and generate themes for discussion, analysis, and reflection.

Participation in the study
I would like you to participate in this study. Your participation in this study is voluntary and you can leave at any time. Participation in the study may involve interviews that are recorded by video, audio, note taking, or collaboratively producing a short video. These videos may later be used during reflection exercises.

I will be respectful of your privacy and confidentiality. Even if you consent to being interviewed, your identity will only be used with your permission. Any information obtained from you will be handled appropriately based on the University of Queensland human ethical clearance guidelines. Your private information will be assigned a code and saved on a password-protected hard drive. Upon request, you will be given copies of all interview footage, or videos you collaboratively produced. You have the right to request to screen any footage in which you appear before you grant permission for it to be shared.

Please contact me at any time on my telephone or e-mail below if you have questions or concerns about your involvement.

Appendix 3b: Participant information sheet, page one (Nepalese)

सहभागी जानकारी पत्र

प्रायोजनाको शीर्षकः
अ उइन्डो टु इनसाइडर नलेज: भिडियो प्रोडक्शन एज प्राक्सिस इन क्रिटिकल पेडागाजी (नेपाल)

अनुसन्धानकर्ताः
ग्रेडी वाकर, पीएचडी उम्मेदवार, स्कूल अफ जर्नालिजम एण्ड कम्युनिकेशन, युनिर्भसिटि अफ क्वीन्सल्याण्ड, अस्ट्रेलिया

सुपरिवेक्षकहरूः
डा. एल्स्का भान डे फ्लियर्ट
डा. किटी भान भूरेन

शोधकार्य (अनुसन्धान) को उद्देश्यः
यो अनुसन्धानले समालोचनात्मक शिक्षाको खाका भित्र रही शैक्षिक अभ्यासको रुपमा वृत्तचित्र (भिडियो) निर्माणको संभाव्यतालाई अध्ययन गर्ने लक्ष्य राखेकोछ । यसमा सर्वत्र स्वीकार गरिएका मान्यताहरु मथि प्रश्न र दैनिक जीवनका अनुभवहरुको अन्वेषण र विश्लेषण समावेश हुन्छन् ।

सहजकर्ताले सहभागीहरुलाई वृत्तचित्र निर्माणका प्राविधिक र कलात्मक पक्षहरुको तालिम दिने छन् । साथै सहभागीहरुले कक्षाका अरु साथीहरुसँग मिली आफैले छानेको विषयवस्तुको बारेमा छोटो वृत्तचित्रहरु बनाउने अवसर प्राप्त गर्नेछन् । कक्षाको शुरुमा अन्य सामग्रीहरु सहित लिखित रुपमा उपलब्ध गराइएको एक प्रक्रिया अनुसार उनीहरुले यी वृत्तचित्रहरुको विश्लेषण गर्नेछन् ।

कक्षामा भाग लिन पैसा लाग्दैन । तर सहभागीहरुले हप्ताको एकपटक लगभग दुई घण्टाको दरले तीन महिनासम्म कक्षामा भाग लिनुपर्दछ । यस्तो भेलाको समय तालिका समूहको सहजकर्तासँग छलफल गरी तय गरिन्छ । तालिम पूरा गरेमा सहभागीहरुले प्रमाण पत्र प्राप्त गर्नेछन् ।

सहभागीहरुको अनुमति लिएर मात्रै वृत्तचित्र र अन्तरवार्ताहरु संपादन गरी वितरण गरिनेछ । यी वृत्तचित्रहरुको उद्देश्य शैक्षिक कार्यक्रमलाई अगाडि बढाउनु र सृजनात्मक विषयवस्तुहरुको छलफल, विश्लेषण र समीक्षा गर्नु हो ।

शोधकार्यमा सहभागिताः
म तपाईंहरु यो शोधकार्यमा सहभागी हुनुहोस् भन्ने चाहान्छु । यसमा तपाईंहरुको सहभागिता स्वेच्छाकारी हुन्छ र तपाईंहरु यसबाट कुनै समयमा पनि हट्न सक्नुहुन्छ । यो शोधकार्यमा भाग लिनु भनेको अन्तरवार्ताहरु दिनु हो जुन वृत्तचित्र, श्रव्य, लिखित वा सामुहिक रुपबाट तयार पारिएको एक छोटो वृत्तचित्रको माध्यमबाट संकल गरिएको हुन्छ । यसरी तयार पारिएका वृत्तचित्रहरु पछि समीक्षा गर्ने अभ्यासहरुमा प्रयोग गर्न सकिन्छ ।

म तपाईंहरुको गोपनीयता र विश्वसनीयताको कदर गर्दछु । तपाईंहरुले आफूसँग अन्तरवार्ता लिने अनुमति दिएतापनि तपाईंहरुको स्वीकृति लिएर मात्र तपाईंको पहिचान प्रयोगमा ल्याइनेछ । तपाईंबाट प्राप्त गरिएका कुनैपनि जानकारीहरु क्वीन्सल्याण्ड विश्वविद्यालयको नैतिक मापदण्ड अनुसार प्रयोग गरिनेछ । तपाईंका व्यक्तिगत जानकारीहरुलाई सांकेतिक रुपबाट कम्प्यूटरको पासवर्ड सुरक्षित हार्डड्राइभमा राखिनेछ । तपाईंहरुलाई चाहेमा अन्तरवार्ता र सामुहिक रुपबाट तयार पारिएका

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