CRITICAL FILMMAKING PEDAGOGIES:
THE COMPLEXITIES OF ADDRESSING SOCIAL JUSTICE ISSUES
WITH YOUTH IN NEW BRUNSWICK SCHOOLS

by

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Dedication

For Jenna
Abstract

In this dissertation, I explore the limits and possibilities of critical filmmaking pedagogies in generating action toward social change in the lives of youth. In the context of the What's up Doc? filmmaking program, which took place in a New Brunswick school district, I explore how teachers and students take up critical filmmaking pedagogies in three New Brunswick mainstream school settings. The purpose of the study is to examine the influence of various individual, social, and political contexts, and the associated institutional and discursive constraints on the potential of critical filmmaking pedagogies. Adopting a bricolage approach, I use a range of critical theories (e.g., critical pedagogy, and post-structuralist, neo-Marxist, feminist, dis/ability, and queer theories) to analyze how discursive and institutional forms of power operate in, on and through collaborative filmmaking projects. By critically analyzing multiple school sites, through a range of theoretical frameworks, the research highlights how broader cultural/discursive/structural facets of education shape the praxis.
Acknowledgments

I would like to begin by sharing my extreme gratitude and respect for my research supervisor, mentor, and friend, Dr. Linda Eyre. During my time at UNB Dr. Eyre’s guidance and support has taught me what it means to be an educator committed to social justice. I want to thank her for pushing me, disrupting my thinking, and creating the space for me to grow as a critical educator.

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And finally, I would like to thank all the students who have been involved in the *What's up Doc?* program. In 2014, the program is entering its 5th year. Since 2009, students have produced nearly 50 films on a range of social justice issues. I want to thank each and every student for sharing their voices and for their commitment to seeing this work through. My experiences working with all of them will have a lasting effect on my thinking as an educator and participatory researcher. For all of your hard work, I am so very grateful.
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Curriculum Vitae
Chapter One

Contextualizing the Study

In this study I adopt a critical bricolage approach (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004) to explore the implementation of critical filmmaking pedagogies used to address social justice issues with youth in five public school classrooms in New Brunswick, Canada. Specifically, I explore the complexities of taking up participatory critical filmmaking with high school students through an initiative called the What’s up Doc? program. Over the last five years the program has provided me with an opportunity to collaborate with students and teachers on classroom-based critical filmmaking pedagogies that draw on theories and methods from critical theories and pedagogies (Agger, 1998; Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1981, 2011; Kincheloe, 2008a, 2008b), arts-based inquiry (Barone & Eisner, 2012), and participatory video (Milne, Mitchell, & de Lange, 2012). In this dissertation, rather than using one critical lens to examine the program and pedagogies, I adopt a bricolage of critical theories (e.g., poststructuralist, neo-Marxist, feminist, dis/ability, and queer theories) to analyze how visual, discursive, and institutional forms of power operate in, on, and through this collaborative filmmaking project.

This work is a continuation of my Master’s research, Critical Filmmaking Pedagogies: A Disruptive Praxis? (Rogers, 2010), which investigated the potential of filmmaking to create spaces for dialogue and action on issues of violence in the lives of youth with students in alternative education settings. Following that initial project, the local school district Literacy Coordinator invited me to organize a larger participatory filmmaking initiative for Grade 11 youth in English 11-3 classrooms – a streamed literacy program for students who are deemed non-academic. The schools chosen are in
the same school district, and represent rural and urban New Brunswick contexts.

Although I have worked collaboratively with teachers and students in *What's up Doc?* since 2009, this dissertation is limited to an analysis of the events, responses, and films produced during the third year of the program. Specifically, my analysis is based on filmmaking projects in three schools with five teachers and over 125 students in the 2011-2012 school year. During the program, we collaborated on the planning and production of seven short films on a range of social justice issues, including intersecting dimensions of class, gender, dis/ability, and economic disparity.

While my Master's work focused on my pedagogical practices, this research looks at the influence of various individual, social, and political contexts on our collaborations. Through an analysis of the participatory films and interviews with the students and teachers, I explore the limits and potential of critical filmmaking pedagogies for raising conversations on social justice issues with youth and for inspiring forms of social action (Morris, 2002). Taking up a bricolage approach and drawing on a range of critical theories, I explore "institutional and discursive constraints" (Griffiths, 1998, p. 118) to decipher how broader cultural/discursive/structural facets of education shape, open possibilities, and constrain the potential of critical filmmaking pedagogies.

This study raises conversations about how structural aspects of education (e.g., dominant discourses, provincially-sanctioned curricula, school policies) can shape critical and participatory practices when implemented in schools (Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, & Henry, 1997). Furthermore, the work is specifically attentive to the way dominant Western discourses of gender, class, sexuality, and ability intersect with schooling practices. Through bricolage, I explore these socio-political influences on our collaborative experiences.
I also draw on a range of critical theories to analyze how power operates through the filmmaking projects and the films produced. These include: critical pedagogy (Freire, 2000a; Giroux, 1981), poststructuralist (Foucault & Gordon, 1980; Lather, 1991), neo-marxist (McLaren, 2009; McLaren, Martin, Farahmandpur, & Jaramillo, 2004), feminist (Gore, 1993), dis/ability (Albrecht, Seelman, & Bury, 2001), and queer (Butler, 1990) theories. A major focus of my analysis is centered on how power and social contexts influence the discourses, assumptions, and messages in the students’ films. This refracted approach allows me to connect critical filmmaking pedagogies to the multiple socio-political contexts in which they are constituted (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Analyzing my work in this way enables me to address Kachur and Harrison’s (1999) concern that, “A failure to recognize the broad political and economic contexts in which education is embedded frequently . . . renders debates about education narrow and unrewarding” (p. xv). With this contextualized approach, my work contributes to research on education for social justice (Clover & Stalker, 2007; Young, 2000), supports curriculum development and teaching/learning practices in critical arts-based pedagogies (Eisner, 1997; Kellner, 1998) and, most importantly, can contribute to knowledge about educational practices that have a potential to facilitate social change in the lives of youth (Gale & Densmore, 2007; Kellner, 2000).

**Rationale**

The popularity of websites like Youtube and Facebook show how social media can provide important spaces for young people to generate expressions about social issues (Sinner, Leggo, Irwin, Gouzouasis, & Grauer, 2006). The currency of new-media practices amongst young people, and the proliferation of inexpensive video-making technologies, has inspired many teachers, like myself, to consider integrating
filmmaking pedagogies in their classrooms (Klopfer, Osterweil, Groff, & Haas, 2009). However, while social media production has become recognized as important in youth cultures (Rheingold, 2007), and beyond, its implementation as a critical pedagogical tool for pursuing social justice with youth in schools has received little serious attention (Goodman, 2003), particularly in a Canadian context. As Quin (2003) explains, school-based media studies pedagogies and programs that do exist are often only intended to engage students who resist traditional teaching practices. Paradoxically, these programs seldom involve asking students to engage their world critically, as a way to challenge systems of disenfranchisement and oppression. This tension inspires my thinking in the *What's up Doc?* program. In particular, it has encouraged me to reflect on my practices when implementing critical filmmaking pedagogies with students in streamed programs deemed non-academic.

While the technical expertise to implement filmmaking pedagogies has received some attention, important questions about using filmmaking as a critical pedagogy are under-explored (Cooper, 2009). The tensions, complexities, and contradictions of filmmaking programs, especially those that address social justice issues, need more attention. A lack of critical analysis also means that the institutional power relations and discourses that can undermine educational initiatives for social justice are often taken for granted. Technologies of power (Foucault, 1995) impact youth agency in the context of such projects (Martin, lisahunter, & McLaren, 2006). However, attempts to navigate and challenge social and educational structures are often stymied in contemporary neoliberal educational contexts (Davies, 2003; Solomon, Singer, Campbell, Allen, & Portelli, 2011).

To address these tensions, this dissertation examines how dominant discourses,
social barriers, and institutional structures/practices shape the implementation of critical filmmaking pedagogies. Focusing on questions of power, this work problematizes the taken-for-granted assumptions that shape what it is possible to do, and even to say, in Canadian public school contexts. It is my hope that the work can contribute to pedagogical knowledge by aiding in the negotiation of critical filmmaking pedagogies in schools, and inform curriculum, policy, and practice.

Research Questions

To explore the limits, complexities, and possibilities of critical filmmaking pedagogies in New Brunswick schools I ask the following questions:

1. How do critical filmmaking pedagogies enable students and teachers to address questions of social justice in classroom settings?
2. How do critical filmmaking pedagogies enhance understandings of social justice issues with, and among, youth themselves, and generate critical reflection and action toward social change?
3. How do different institutional structures, dominant discourses, and learning contexts shape, constrain, and/or open possibilities for critical filmmaking pedagogies?
4. How can the responses to these questions inform curriculum, classroom practice, and education policy?

While these larger questions are the basis of my study, the following questions also inform my inquiry: How do students engage in critical analysis and social commentary through critical filmmaking pedagogies? How does the work re/enforce or challenge oppressive discourses, social practices, or institutional structures? How are filmmaking pedagogies experienced by students and teachers, and received in a larger public
context? How is power negotiated in classrooms engaged in a critical filmmaking praxis? How do the projects fulfill their promise as a critical pedagogy? How do they support/disrupt dominant educational discourses and practices? What are the limits and possibilities of furthering social change with critical filmmaking pedagogies? What ethical considerations are paramount when engaging in critical filmmaking pedagogies?

**Theoretical Context: Critical Pedagogy**

This work is situated in the field of critical pedagogy. Put concisely, critical pedagogy is the application of critical social theories through the practices, discourses, and structures of education (Agger, 1998). Adopting a critical pedagogy requires disrupting the taken-for-granted thinking that schools are neutral social entities (Giroux, 1981; McLaren, 2009). This means accepting that schools are implicated in perpetuating and challenging systems of oppression, including social inequities of, for example, class, gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, and ability (Giroux, 2007; Kincheloe, 2008a). As McLaren (2000) articulates:

> Critical pedagogy is a way of thinking about, negotiating, and transforming the relationship among classroom teaching, the production of knowledge, the institutional structures of the school, and the social and material relations of the wider community, society, and nation state. Developed by progressive teachers attempting to eliminate inequalities on the basis of social class, it has sparked a wide array of anti-sexist, anti-racist and anti-homophobic classroom-based curricula and policy initiatives. (p. 345)

Rather than simply seeing schools as sites of oppression, a critical pedagogy encourages practitioners to view schools as politically contested spaces. As Dei (2006) explains, schools “are not simply sites of domination and subordination . . . it would be a mistake
not to see schools as agents of change or sources of transformation” (p. 66). Critical educators, therefore, embrace the view that institutional choices regarding policies, practices, structures, discipline, curriculum outcomes, and pedagogical methods do not exist in a vacuum (Giroux, 1981; McLaren, 2009). These are all decisions that are negotiated politically based on broader social, economic, and cultural power structures.

Recognizing that schooling plays a role in the maintenance of dominant power structures, however, is not the only charge of critical pedagogy. Critical educators encourage students to reflect on, and scrutinize, prevailing social structures, trends, and discourses that privilege some groups while marginalizing others. In this way, their efforts are tied to political motivations to bring about socially just change. An important first step in this process is for educators, and students, to be aware of their own political prowess. In this way, classrooms stand a chance of becoming democratic sites where students can name and challenge social practices, structures, discourses, and values that maintain inequitable conditions. As Kincheloe (2008a) explains, “The power dimension [of schooling] must be brought to bear in a way that discerns and acts on correcting the ways particular students get hurt in the everyday life in schools” (p. 9).

For my Master's research (Rogers, 2010), I drew on critical pedagogy to build ideas about critical filmmaking pedagogies. By attempting to restructure power relations in the classroom through a critical participatory approach to filmmaking, I hoped to carve spaces for institutional and discursive critique and, thereby, further efforts for social and institutional change. I used the praxis to collaborate with students and teachers in unmasking how privilege, marginalization, and violence can be negotiated in everyday social interactions and institutional practices. These intentions carry through my application of critical filmmaking pedagogies in the What's up Doc? program. I
return to critical pedagogy, and its influence on my work, in Chapter Two.

**Personal Context**

As a privileged white male, I recognize that I benefit from systemic and discursive systems of oppression. A mostly unabated path has enabled me to go to university, pursue my passion for filmmaking, and develop a career as an educator. However, my personal experiences and familial contexts have, nonetheless, inspired my educational commitments to equity and social justice. I came to recognize the importance of social justice at a young age. When I was four, my younger sister, Jenna, was diagnosed with autism spectrum disorder. Now 29 years old, Jenna has never communicated verbally and has always required assistance to ensure her health and safety. As long as I can remember, I have played a role in Jenna’s care and personal development, and I have always recognized the importance of her influence on my life.

Before I attended public school, I have little recollection of encountering the idea that Jenna was different; for me, my family context was like anyone else’s. It was not until we both began school in the 1980s, when New Brunswick was beginning to implement inclusionary practices, that I developed an understanding of the construction of difference. Being exposed to the distinctive programming Jenna received and coming into contact with peers’ and teachers’ responses to Jenna, taught me that she, and my family, were different. In elementary school, Jenna seemed to me to be well supported by peers and adults. However, when we were older, and Jenna was in middle school, I remember hearing that she was sometimes teased, bullied, and degraded. Although she had friends who would support her or report harassment to adults, it saddened me when I could not be there for her in these instances. I now recognize how Jenna’s influence has ignited my passion for equity and social justice through education.
Later, as an undergraduate student, I studied History, English Literature, and Film, and subsequently enrolled in a Bachelor of Education (BEd) program. Whenever possible, I focused my studies on issues of social justice and human rights education. As a BEd student, I attended provincial workshops and conferences, and participated in the General Roméo Dallaire Genocide Institute for Educators at the University of Western Ontario. These experiences provided me with an opportunity to meet General Romeo Dallaire, as well as Holocaust and Rwandan genocide survivors. These connections further inspired me to focus my career as an educator, and passion for filmmaking, on social justice and human rights.

After graduating from university I was hired as a public school teacher in Bedford, Nova Scotia. I quickly looked for ways to integrate social issues and filmmaking into my pedagogy. In 2007, my Grade 3 class produced *Global Mess*, an animated short on social and environmental issues. I became inspired when the film won the 2008 Viewfinders International Film Festival People’s Choice Award. As a young educator, this experience helped me gain perspective on the potential of social commentary through filmmaking pedagogies. Further, it showed me how participatory, arts-based pedagogies have a potential to support students’ voices and agency, while also enhancing my awareness of the tensions and issues around these concepts.

With newfound spirit and drive, I enrolled in the Critical Studies in Education Master’s program at the University of New Brunswick, with critical feminist scholar, Dr. Linda Eyre, as my research supervisor. At the time, Dr. Eyre was involved in a participatory action research initiative entitled *Intersecting Sites of Violence in the Lives of Girls in New Brunswick*. As that research was coming to a close, she invited me to join an extension of the work which focused on arts-based inquiry. The extension was
entitled *Acting Out: Building Knowledge and Facilitating Action Against Violence in the Lives of Youth in New Brunswick* (Eyre, 2008, 2010). The project focused on the dissemination of findings from the *Intersecting Sites* study through artistic forms like drama, painting, photography, and filmmaking. The work was intended to encourage youth to engage in discussion about violence in the lives of youth with other youth, educators, and policy makers across the province. My involvement with the study enabled me to begin to explore formally the potential of participatory filmmaking as a critical pedagogy. Pairing this experience with the knowledge I developed through the Critical Studies program, I gained a deeper understanding of power relations and started to question the taken-for-granted aspects of my own privilege, assumptions, pedagogies, and practices. This gave a new direction to my studies, and culminated in my Master’s thesis (Rogers, 2010).

**Project Context: Intersecting Sites and Acting Out**

In the context of the *Acting Out* project, I began to develop my thinking about critical filmmaking pedagogies. In learning how to combine critical pedagogy with filmmaking, I worked with a group of students in an alternative education centre to address issues of violence in the lives of youth. During the project, I worked as a facilitator in collaborative activities and creative writing projects while each student created a fictional narrative and script on issues of violence. Collaboratively, I assisted the students in turning their ideas into a series of short vignettes which were combined

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1 The project was supported through funding from the Muriel McQueen Fergusson Centre for Family Violence Research and a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Joseph-Armand Bombardier Canada Graduate Scholarships Program Master’s Scholarship.
into the feature film *Candle in the Dark*. The project concluded when the students’ films were showcased at a local theatre to a large crowd made up of teachers, administrators, and district policy makers. Subsequently, the films were screened at a number of other educational venues, generating dialogue in the local school district.

My analysis of critical filmmaking pedagogies in the *Acting Out* project included an examination of the discourses (e.g., at-risk, therapeutic, individualizing) that circulated in, and through, *Candle in the Dark*. Specifically, I looked at how these discourses both challenged and reinforced systems of oppression and marginalization. In particular, I explored how the project disrupted or supported dominant discourses about youth, education, and violence. By examining the negotiation of discursive power within the project I began to recognize the possibilities of critical filmmaking pedagogies while acknowledging their inherit complexities.

For example, the discourses that circulated in the *Candle in the Dark* films can be critiqued because of their tendency to support individualistic assumptions. While all of the films addressed social or institutional practices, issues of violence were still understood to reside mainly within individuals rather than being influenced by dominant discourses and contextual material conditions. Individualizing discourses also surfaced in students’, teachers’, and viewers’ responses to the program. A therapeutic discourse eventually framed the project which indirectly contributed to marginalizing deficit constructions of the students, creating boundaries that undermined their agency and voices. The suggestion that the work had “helped” students implies that they had personal deficits that can be fixed by a school project. Not only is this thinking condescending, it affixes responsibility for deficits on individual students and ignores how dominant powers create unequal material conditions. In analyzing the project, it
became clear that the work did little to challenge those power relations that maintain inequitable social conditions for youth in the first place. This recognition also drew my attention to how our praxis was negotiated within powerful social and institutional constraints. This inspired my present inquiry, as I am keenly interested in developing awareness of how social and institutional structures of schooling have implications for critical filmmaking pedagogies and their potential to effect social change.

When re-conceptualizing critical filmmaking pedagogies for the *What's up Doc?* program, I took these considerations into account. With a recognition of discursive and institutional constraints, it was possible for me to ask more pointed questions of myself, students, and teachers. For example, my growing awareness of individualizing, therapeutic, and deficit discourses helped me to understand how to question and challenge them when they surfaced. This influenced many of my interactions with students during the *What's up Doc?* program. While I was committed to challenging my own assumptions and addressing these utterances with teachers and students that construct youth as Other – e.g., as socially deficient, “at-risk”, and/or helpless – as I show in Chapter Four, similarly oppressive discursive practices still surfaced in some of the films and dominant constructions of the *What's up Doc?* program.

My experiences with *Candle in the Dark* helped me to reflect on the discourses and binaries critical filmmaking pedagogies can re/enforce, the stereotypes and constructs they can perpetuate, and the oppressive practices they might support. The research also helped me understand how dominant discourses and oppressive ideologies influence the practices and structures of education and impact the potential of critical filmmaking pedagogies. This made me intent on pursuing new research to explore what can be done to renegotiate classroom practices to better support equity and social justice.
However, an important premise of critical pedagogical work is that power continues to operate through all educational practices, including this research. Drawing on Foucault, “To say that everything is political is to recognize [the] omnipresence of force” (as cited in McLaren, 2002, p. 65). By embracing this perspective, I recognize that no matter the intent of one’s research or pedagogical practices, power shapes what is possible. Furthermore, from my privileged positioning, I recognize that I may be unaware of the taken-for-granted forces of power that shape my work. With this recognition, I understand that critical filmmaking must not be romanticized as a tool for social justice.

**Conceptualizing Critical Filmmaking Pedagogies**

Whereas the term critical filmmaking pedagogies may be somewhat novel, filmmaking and critical film theories (Aaron, 2004; Fitzgerald, 2012; Giroux, 1991; Lapsley & Westlake, 2006; Thornham, 2009, Waugh, Baker, & Winton, 2012), and participatory video methods (Milne, Mitchell, & de Lange, 2012; Mitchell, 2008, 2011; Mitchell & de Lange, 2011; Mitchell, Stuart, De Lange, Moletsane, Buthelezi, Larkin, & Flicker, 2010; Shaw & Robertson, 1997; Warf & Grimes, 1997; Waugh, Baker, & Winton, 2010; White, 2003) have long been used to address social justice issues and mobilize interest in counter-hegemonic discourses.

My analysis of the *Acting Out* project, and my five years with the *What's up Doc?* program, have been integral to my conceptualization of critical filmmaking pedagogies. Drawing on critical pedagogical theories and my first-hand experiences, I can identify four elements I have found to be pivotal to critical filmmaking pedagogies. While concept building is ongoing, I thus far articulate my work as a critical pedagogy and arts-based participatory video praxis that:
embraces questions of power and its renegotiation or resistance;
• moves beyond individualizing discourses to incorporate discursive, institutional and/or structural analysis, critique and social action;
• incorporates an intersection of multiple forms of critical social analysis (e.g., Marxist, feminist, anti-racist, post-colonialist, dis/ability studies, and queer theories); and,
• addresses ethical complexities and intricacies through critical reflexivity.

These four elements all contribute to what I consider to be a critical educational praxis that creates space for societal critique, knowledge construction from young people’s perspectives, and critical conversations that encourage action toward social change. These elements are not meant to be exhaustive. However, they highlight the pedagogical thinking that guided my practice in the 2012 What’s up Doc? program and provide a helpful starting point for this dissertation. The following chapters explicate and elaborate on these four elements.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation has seven chapters. In this chapter, I have provided a context for my research and my research questions. I have also located the work in the field of critical pedagogy and shared a tentative conceptualization of critical filmmaking pedagogies. In Chapter Two, I show how my work is positioned in three fields of inquiry: critical pedagogy, arts-based inquiry, and participatory video. Here, I focus on the theoretical and pedagogical conversations of which this dissertation is a part. In Chapter Three, I discuss bricolage as a methodological approach and elaborate on the methods I used in shaping my research and my analysis. These first three chapters set the scene for exploring the limits and possibilities of using critical filmmaking
pedagogies with youth in mainstream school settings.

The remaining chapters draw attention to the possibilities, contradictions, tensions, constraints, and intricacies of taking up critical filmmaking pedagogies in mainstream classrooms. In Chapter Four, drawing on a range of texts and critical theories, I show how critical themes permeated the students’ films. However, I also show how, despite intentions to do otherwise, dominant discourses still operated in, and through, the work. In Chapter Five, continuing with the bricolage approach, I examine various institutional structures that shaped and constrained the What’s up Doc? program and this research. These structures include streaming practices, curriculum, assessment, funding, and school hierarchies. In Chapter Six, I address the tensions of taking on resistant pedagogies in a hierarchical school structure. Finally, Chapter Seven focuses on the potential implications of this study and raises questions for educators and researchers interested in using critical filmmaking pedagogies to address social justice issues with youth in schools.
Chapter Two

Locating the Research in Fields of Inquiry

In this chapter, I situate my work in the fields of critical pedagogy, arts-based inquiry, and participatory video. I identify the theoretical contours of these fields, their historical development, and some contentious issues. I also highlight important conversations about, and emerging knowledge related to, the use of participatory filmmaking as a critical pedagogy in school contexts. Here, I am responsive to Mitchell’s (2011) contention that:

What is sometimes missing from discussions about community-based video production (in all its various forms) is the area of ‘why video?’ and what video-making offers a research team and the community itself that might be lacking in other participatory visual approaches to qualitative research. (p. 72)

In addressing this concern, I begin with a discussion of the theoretical elements of the three fields of inquiry, showing how they inspire my work. Then, I examine six participatory video research initiatives that closely resemble my work with critical filmmaking pedagogies. I conclude the chapter by showing how my research contributes to emerging discussions in the research fields of critical pedagogy, arts-based inquiry, and participatory video. Specifically, I focus on how this work addresses gaps in knowledge about the use of participatory video as a critical pedagogy in classroom settings.

Critical Pedagogy as a Field of Inquiry

While critical pedagogy owes its heritage to various influences, it is generally accepted that it emerged from the post-WWII, neo-Marxist critical social theories of the German Institute for Social Research, more popularly known as the Frankfurt School
(Darder, Baltodano, & Torres, 2009). The works of Horkheimer (1972), Adorno (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1972), Marcuse (1964), and Habermas (1984) focused on reworking orthodox Marxist theories of economic determinism, exposing the oppressive power structure of modern capitalist societies, critiquing dominant ideologies, and challenging the preeminence of positivist logic as the epistemological foundation of Western cultures (Brookfield, 2005; Marcuse, Feenberg, & Leiss, 2007; Wiggershaus, 1994).

The Frankfurt School critical theorists argued that the duty of scholars and philosophers is not to describe the world, but to effect change. In this way, they followed Marx’s (1994) famous postulation, “Philosophers have hitherto only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it” (p. 101). Describing the Frankfurt School expression of critical theory, Brookfield (2001) states:

Not only does the theory criticize current society, it also envisages a fairer, less alienated, more democratic world. The critique undertaken of existing social, political, and economic conditions springs from, and depends on, the form of the alternative society envisioned. Unlike traditional theories that are empirically grounded in an attempt to generate increasingly accurate descriptions of the world as it exists, critical theory tries to generate a specific vision of the world as it might be. It springs from a distinct philosophical vision of what it means to live as a developed person, as a mature adult struggling to realize one’s humanity through the creation of a society that is just, fair, and compassionate. The vision of critical theory holds individual identity to be socially and culturally formed. Adult development is viewed as a collective process because one person’s humanity cannot be realized at the expense of others’ interests. (p. 12)
While Frankfurt School critical theorists did not focus exclusively on education, their works explored the complicity of institutions, and their embedded ideologies, in the maintenance of inequitable power relations.

The study of ideology stems from Marxist theories on capitalism and class oppression, especially the argument that oppression has material, structural, and economic antecedents (Marx & Engles, 1970). For Marx, inequities can only be addressed through the structural re-organization of economic systems. As Brookfield (2001) explains, speaking to the work of Horkheimer, a central argument of critical theory is that the “commodity exchange economy that dominates social relations must be reconfigured so that people can realize their humanity and freedom” (p. 10). However, Marx recognized that capitalist economic structures are supported and maintained by dominant institutions and ideologies and for this reason structural reorganization is not a simple process.

Human consciousness, thinking, values, and ideologies, according to Marx and Engels (1970), are shaped by material conditions. This means that not only is one’s life situation linked to the organizational structures of a society in a given historical context, but also the production of individual and collective ideologies are similarly affected. For Marx, the economic base of a society (i.e., means, rules, and ownership of production), at a given historical moment, gives rise to an economic superstructure made up of social institutions (e.g., school, family, religion, media). These institutions, structured in the image of the economic base, perpetuate the ideologies that also function to maintain and legitimate the dominance of the system. In this way, the ideologies embedded in the ideas, practices, and institutions of society work to ensure that dominant economic
structures are perpetuated and the interests of dominant classes are continued. This process has implications in relation to knowledge production, dominant values, and social power structures. As Marx and Engels (1970) explain:

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of its dominance. (p. 64)

This often-cited quotation suggests that economic structures create conditions that enable only dominant classes to own the means of knowledge production and dissemination. This exclusive ability allows capitalist ideologies to be mobilized through the shared ideas, practices, and institutions of society. The ruling authority of dominant classes is presupposed, and enforced tacitly, through the knowledge of social institutions.

Althusser (1972, 2011), a French Marxist contemporary, elaborates on the social and institutional mechanisms that structure the dominance of capitalist ideologies. He refers to these mechanisms as repressive state apparatuses and ideological state apparatuses. By repressive state apparatuses he points to those social institutions that use force, or the threat thereof, to maintain dominance (e.g., army, police, the legal system, the penal system). By ideological state apparatuses, he
means those institutions that tacitly coerce subjugated groups, through normative knowledge claims, to accept the ideas of ruling groups, status quo conditions, and taken-for-granted systems of oppression. Examples of ideological state apparatuses include religion, education, family, communication practices (e.g., print, radio, television) or other cultural institutions where meaning is shared. Drawing on Gramsci’s (1992) theories of hegemony, Althusser (2011) also points out how these mechanisms inculcate submission and the acceptance of dominance:

The reproduction of labour power requires not only a reproduction of its skills, but also, at the same time, a reproduction of its submission to the rules of the established order, i.e., a reproduction of submission to the ruling ideology for the workers, and a reproduction of the ability to manipulate the ruling ideology correctly for the agents of exploitation and repression, so that they, too, will provide for the domination of the ruling class ‘in words’.

(p. 206)

As social structures and ideologies are identified as mechanisms of power, structural and ideology critique became cornerstone practices for critical theorists. The Frankfurt School scholars adopted the Marxist view of ideology and developed ideology critique as a critical practice. In articulating the purpose of this form of analysis, Brookfield (2005) explains, “ideology critique describes the ways in which people learn to recognize how uncritically accepted and unjust dominant ideologies are embedded in everyday situations and practices” (p. 13). He states, “When we do ideology critique we try to penetrate the givens of everyday reality to reveal the inequities and oppression that lurk beneath” (Brookfield, 2010, p. 221). On one level, ideology critique offers insight into social realities; however, following Marxist
traditions, the approach is also a political tool for change. Elaborating on this, Brookfield (2005) explains:

As an educational activity, ideology critique focuses on helping people come to an awareness of how capitalism shapes social relations and imposes—often without our knowledge—belief systems and assumptions (that is, ideologies) that justify and maintain economic and political inequity... ideology critique contains within it the promise of social transformation. (p. 13)

While the practice involves naming the workings of ideology, it also represents an effort to undermine the dominance of oppressive ideologies and the realities they create.

Beyond the early influence of Marx and the Frankfurt School theorists, Paulo Freire has also been an important figure in the development of critical pedagogy. In his text *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, set in a South American context in the 1960s, Freire adopts a range of critical philosophical positions (Dale & Hyslop-Margison, 2010) to show how traditional education institutions and practices recreate dominant ideologies, social inequities, marginalization, and oppression. As a response, Freire embraces a political view of education and suggests that classroom spaces ought to be used to identify the workings of power in ideologies, practices, policies, and institutions.

In his critique of “banking” education, Freire challenges the notion that teachers should be considered proprietors of knowledge and students should only be encouraged to “receive, memorize, and repeat” (p. 58) the information they are presented. Freire describes banking as “an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositaries and the teacher is the depositor” (p. 72). For Freire, when a banking model is adopted:

(a) the teacher teaches and the students are taught;
(b) the teacher knows everything and the students know nothing;
(c) the teacher thinks and the students are thought about;
(d) the teacher talks and the students listen-meekly;
(e) the teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined;
(f) the teacher chooses and enforces his [sic] choice, and the students comply;
(g) the teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher;
(h) the teacher chooses the program content, and the students (who are not consulted) adapt to it;
(i) the teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his [sic] own professional authority, which he [sic] sets in opposition to the freedom of the students;
(j) the teacher is the Subject of the learning process, while the pupils are mere objects. (p. 73)

Freire argues that banking education does not respect the lived experience of students. It does not allow them to challenge, or think deeply about, the knowledge presented. Without the agency to raise questions or shape their education, Freire argues, students will be forced to accept the same practices, structures, and ideologies that maintain unfair distributions of power in society. Freire’s insights, therefore, highlight how dominant ideologies can be validated and perpetuated through the taken-for-granted practices of schooling.

Freire’s response to banking education was to create educational contexts where students are encouraged to question the knowledge, ideologies, and taken-for-granted assumptions presented through schooling. To work toward non-oppressive schooling practices, Freire believes that power relations should be renegotiated in educational
contexts, and students must be active, rather than passive, participants in educational processes. This requires that educators relinquish aspects of their authority. For Freire, participatory forms of education have the potential to be emancipatory, as they create spaces where political consciousness can be raised and human agency can be fostered. Freire deems the renegotiation of power and the raising of political consciousness especially important for marginalized groups as this can create spaces for more democratic forms of learning and social action.

As Freire argues, democratic participation creates spaces for conscientização. He views conscientização (i.e., critical conscientization) as a political process whereby marginalized people develop awareness of the social and political structures that maintain oppression, and engage in praxis to change them (Freire, 1970, 2001). In Freire’s (1985) words, “Conscientization refers to the process in which men [sic], not as recipients, but as knowing subjects achieve a deepening awareness both of the sociocultural reality that shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality” (p. 93). Conscientization, however, is not just about increased awareness, reflection or personal development; it is intended to chip away at the unquestioned stability of oppressive social structures and the ideological mechanisms that ensure their existence. For Freire (2000a), conscientização “does not stop at the level of mere subjective perception of a situation, but through action prepares men [sic] for the struggle against the obstacles to their humanization” (p. 119). In this way, pedagogy has the potential to be liberatory; an emancipatory pedagogy is the first step toward the development of a more equitable and just future. These principles have guided my thinking in conceptualizing critical filmmaking pedagogies.

It is also important for me to remember, however, that critical pedagogy is not a
unified theory that adheres to one specific doctrine. As Darder et al. (2009) state, "no
formula or homogeneous representation exists for the universal implementation of any
form of critical pedagogy" (p. 10). Monchinski (2011) elaborates:

Critical pedagogy is not a unified field or outlook on life. People and their
circumstances vary, hence the critical pedagogies that arise in different situations
-say among illiterate [sic] Brazilian peasants in the 1960s versus urban middle
school students in the inner city in the twenty-first century—reflect the disparity
of these situations. (p. 10)

Certainly, since Freire’s influential text there have been many insightful critiques of
critical pedagogical theories from scholars situated in various theoretical/political
contexts. Rather than attempting to undermine the field, scholars who issue these
critiques have tried to push critical pedagogy toward new, and vital, conversations about
the various societal locations of power, and how it might be resisted through education.

Anti-racist and post-colonial theorists, for example, who scrutinize the lasting
effects of colonization, racialization, and institutional racism (Dei, Karumanchery, &
Karumanchery-Luik, 2004), have shown how taken-for-granted white, middle-class bias
is embedded in all theories, even those claiming to be critical. Feminist scholars have
also mounted compelling critiques. They have troubled critical pedagogy’s lack of focus
on women’s experiences in patriarchal societies, ideologies, and discourses (Luke &
Gore, 1992; Weiler, 2001). Queer and dis/ability theorists have also drawn attention to
the lack of recognition of social inequities facing other marginalized communities in
traditional critical pedagogies. I elaborate further on these positions in Chapter Four.

In recent decades, poststructuralist social criticisms have also had an impact on
critical theory and critical pedagogy. For example, many poststructuralist feminist,
queer, and dis/ability theorists problematize the positivist and structuralist logic embedded in early critical theories. For those adopting poststructuralism, a focus on economic and structural antecedents to oppression is not, on its own, enough to confront the many forms of power and inequity in society. This means that the grand narratives of Marxism and early critical theorists, and the overly romantic emancipatory outlook of critical pedagogy, can neglect and even perpetuate other systems of privilege and oppression.

To adopt an approach that respects the multiple constituents of dominance, poststructuralist theorists have forwarded a nuanced and complex understanding of power. Scholars like Foucault (1995), Foucault and Gordon (1980), Derrida and Caputo (1997), and Lather (1991) argue that power does not only operate through economic and organizational structures of societies, but through discourse and the social construction of knowledge. In this way, poststructuralism marks a turn away from the structural and ideological focus of critical theory, toward a discursive shift that draws attention to what Foucault (Foucault & Gordon, 1980) cites as the knowledge/power relation. In supporting the discursive turn, Lather (1991), drawing on Smart (1983) states:

It is my argument that this decentering is post-Marxism, a decentering that is not anti-Marxist but a repositioning of Marxism as one among many, a no longer dominant discourse of opposition. Such a relational view of post-Marxism takes into account Smart’s (1983) argument that Marxism is not so much dead as limited within a context so changed from Marx’s day that it needs to be supplemented with other modes of analysis. (p. 26)

A reconfigured poststructuralist view of power has informed my view of critical pedagogy and critical filmmaking pedagogies. In particular, Foucault’s treatise on
knowledge/power (Foucault & Gordon, 1980), through his historical examination of
social practices (e.g., sexuality and deviance), and institutions (e.g., prisons, medicine),
has drawn my attention to the intersection between discourse, knowledge, and power in
institutional educational settings.

Foucault argues knowledge is imbued in the power relations of the context in
which it is constructed (Foucault & Gordon, 1980). This makes crafting distinctions
between knowledge, discourse, and ideology more difficult. For Foucault, the way
humans agree to talk about certain subjects in a society mediates truth claims in a given
historical context. This means discourse and knowledge are linked and politically
constituted. Truth is mediated by, and mediates, power relations. As Foucault explains:

Truth is a thing of this world . . . And it induces regular effects of power. Each
society has its regime of truth, its general politics of truth: that is, the types of
discourses which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and
instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by
which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the
acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts
as true. (Foucault & Gordon, 1980, p. 133)

For Foucault, truth does not exist to be discovered, it is negotiated, culturally, based on a
set of epistemological and discursive rules.

From this position, the rules that a society uses for distinguishing true or false
statements can be arbitrary (i.e., societies can adopt different truth-making practices).
Foucault (1970) calls the foundational socio-historical rules of knowledge production
the épistémè (i.e., the grammatological foundations of truth) of a given society. As he
explains, however, épistémès are not neutral; rather, they are negotiated politically,
being tied to the dominant power relations in an historical epoch. For Foucault, the épistémé of a society shapes which groups and institutions become sanctioned as the proprietors of knowledge. The rules for knowledge production in a given épistémé could include: who is permitted to be a knowledge producer (e.g., experts, scientists, the able-bodied, men); what methods must be followed to produce truth (e.g., scientific, quantitative, or qualitative); and/or, what institutions are authorized to be knowledge producers (e.g., church, governments, schools, business). For Foucault, powerful groups maintain their legitimacy by continuously undermining alternative knowledges. In this way, discursive rules lead to the exclusion of subjugated knowledges (i.e., knowledges of those who are not in positions of power) (Foucault, Bertani, Fontana, Ewald, & Macey, 2003). Power shapes and constrains knowledge—limiting what can be said, and thought, in a given context.

For Foucault, however, power is not, as traditionally conceived, an object consolidated; it is an effect of discourse. Foucault and Gordon (1980) state that power is:

not to be taken to be a phenomenon of one individual’s consolidated and homogeneous domination over others, or that of one group or class over others. What, by contrast, should always be kept in mind is that power . . . must be analyzed as something that circulates or as something that only functions in the form of a chain. It is never localized here or there, never in anybody’s hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed and exercised through a netlike organization. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power . . . In other words, individuals are the vehicles of power not its point of application. (p. 98)
Foucault argues that power is discursive, relational, and a necessary characteristic of social relations. The discursive location means that, to maintain dominance, power has to be constantly reasserted through social and institutional texts and utterances. This means that power, for Foucault, is not stable; it is not exclusively in the hands of institutions, or only tied to the structural organizations of a society. It is exerted through an omnipresent network of people with competing and correlating interests.

A Foucauldian view of power also suggests that its relational characteristics, and location in discourse, make it unstable and malleable. This means power but repressive, it is also a productive force. Mills (2003) elaborates on this perspective by explaining how Foucault tries to "... move thinking about power beyond [the] view of power as repression of the powerless by the powerful to an examination of the way that power operates within everyday relations between people and institutions" (p. 33). In expanding on Foucault's theories, McLaren (2001) reflects that, because power's sources are "innumerable" (p. 37) it has productive potential. She explains:

Foucault claims that power can be positive and productive. He urges us to have a more complex understanding of power... Foucault characterizes power as relational... Because it is relational it is omnipresent; it is constantly produced among and between persons, institutions, things, and groups of persons. Power is mobile, local, heterogeneous, and unstable. Power comes from everywhere; it is exercised from innumerable points. Foucault emphasizes the ubiquity of power; it comes from below, not solely from above. (p. 37)

As Pickett (1996) explains, Foucault's theories suggest that the aspiration of those striving for a more equitable and just future must try to renegotiate power in its multiplicity of locations. This means they must also capitalize on power's productive,
rather than restrictive, characteristics to effect change. He states:

Since power is spread throughout society and not localized in any particular place ... the struggle against power must also be diffuse ... modern power works under the injunction to maximize the productive forces of the subjects it works upon, while simultaneously decreasing their political or resistive forces. The view of power as productive and creative alters Foucault’s previous focus upon those who were marginalized or excluded. At its strongest, power does not work through such negative mechanisms. Instead it creates gestures, impulses, and even individuals. Consequently, the strategic knowledge of power necessary for effective resistance must be more concerned with this productive function of power than with the less important negative techniques. (p. 458)

Herein lies the optimism that is so often overlooked in Foucault’s work. As Ingram (2005) explains, while Foucault states “there is no such thing as communication unconditioned by the effects of power,” he also showed “that certain forms of power can be productive, positive, enabling, and empowering” (pp. 261 - 262).

This ubiquitous, productive, conceptualization of power has influenced my thinking about critical filmmaking pedagogies. In particular, student resistance through film exemplifies the Foucauldian perspective that power is omnipresent and has productive potential. As Burr (2003) explains, Foucault’s view of power does not bifurcate dominance and resistance; they are both an expression of power. For Burr, power is a necessary condition for resistance, and vice-versa, or “power and resistance are two sides of the same coin. The power implicit in one discourse is only apparent from the resistance implicit in another” (p. 69). Dominance and resistance are mutually formative. Resistance does not materialize without an exertion of power; and power is
not in operation unless its expression can be resisted. In conceptualizing critical filmmaking pedagogies, and planning the *What's up Doc?* program, Foucault’s work has helped me to respect how power shifts, and can be renegotiated or enacted in the service of resistance. As I show in Chapter Four, the students used their encounters with power, dominant discourses, and institutional structures as subjects of social commentary in their films. In this way, the work exemplifies Foucault’s view of power; their resistance marks an encounter with power and its exertion on their minds and bodies.

In recent decades, the growing appreciation of the connection between power, discourse, and knowledge has alerted critical educators to the importance of naming and challenging, with students, those discourses that maintain systems of oppression. While the early focus of critical theorists centered on class oppression, contemporary critical theorists have shown how ideologies operate in society through language to create conditions of dominance in other social spheres. For example, a focus on discourse is found in the works of many feminist, queer, and dis/ability theorists. Feminist poststructuralist theorists (e.g., Lather, 1991, 1998) have shown how patriarchal privilege operates through the discursive construction of gender. Additionally, queer theorists have shown how power operates through essentialized understandings of gender/sexuality and heterosexist/homophobic social constructs (Kirsch, 2000), including how heteronormative assumptions are embedded in many of the practices of education (Robinson, 2005). Critical dis/ability theorists focus their efforts on questioning deficit discourses of disability, showing how ability is a social construct, and disrupting the ability/disability binary (Albrecht, Seelman, & Bury, 2001; Goodley, 2010). Feminist poststructuralist scholars, such as Ellsworth (1992) and Lather (1991, 1992), have also drawn attention to the notion that emancipation and empowerment are
far more nuanced concepts than presented in much of the early scholarship of critical pedagogy. Drawing on Foucault’s theories of power, they argue that power is omnipresent and discursive and everyone, including critical educators, is implicated in power relations. Furthermore, they suggest that power does not cease to operate just because critical efforts have been implemented. Tensions, contradictions, and intricacies stemming from the complex and enduring character of power will always make emancipation an unfinished process. These critiques and developments in the field of critical pedagogy have pushed practitioners to consider multiple sites where power is exerted and groups experience oppression. I carry this recognition through this dissertation.

While poststructural theories have gained popularity, these perspectives have not been universally accepted. Compelling critiques of poststructuralism, issued mainly by Marxist-leaning scholars, call the discursive turn, and the focus on identity politics, into question. Apple and Whitty (2002), for example, contend a focus on language and discourse diverts attention away from the structural antecedents of oppression:

There are gritty realities out there, realities whose power is often grounded in the structural relations that are not simply social constructions created by the meanings given by the observer. Part of our task . . . is not to lose sight of these gritty realities in the economy, in the state, and cultural practices. (p. 72)

Similarly, McLaren and Farahmandpur (2002) view a focus on discourse, while offering insight, as stunting the political action needed to address social inequities:

Postmodern theory has made significant contributions to the education field by examining how schools participate in producing and reproducing asymmetrical relations of power, and how discourses, systems of intelligibility, and
representational practices continue to support gender inequality, racism, and class advantage. For the most part, however, postmodernism, has failed to develop alternative democratic social models. This is partly due to its failure to mount a sophisticated and coherent opposition politics against economic exploitation, political oppression, and cultural hegemony. (p. 245)

For McLaren and Farahmandpur, the poststructuralist view that truth is contextual also spurs a form of relativism that leads to a focus on only local and personal politics. For them, a focus on the local erodes a potential for the group solidarity needed to fight structural inequities: “the stress on local struggles and regional antagonisms—often subverts the anti-capitalist project necessary to bring about social democracy . . . local efforts fail to take advantage of reform at the level of the state” (p. 253).

I find these critiques of poststructuralism important and insightful in my consideration of the What’s up Doc? program. As this dissertation shows, poststructural insights are influential in my conceptualization of critical filmmaking pedagogies and my analysis of the factors that shape the What’s up Doc? program. The critiques remind me, however, that critical filmmaking pedagogies must not disregard the concrete structural changes needed to disrupt social inequities. This means, while efforts for discursive critique and change are important, they must act alongside efforts for structural reorganization that address societal inequities.

**Arts-based Research as a Field of Inquiry**

Generally speaking, arts-based research involves the use of artistic expression as a mode of inquiry (Barone & Einser, 2012; Irwin, Beer, Spriggay, Grauer, Xiong, & Bickel, 2006; Leavy, 2009). As Osei-Kofi (2013) explains, there are various nuanced expressions of arts-based research, including:
arts-informed inquiry, arts-inspired social research, art as inquiry, critical arts-based research, practice-based research, aesthetically based research, research based art, and a/r/tography. [arts-based research] encompasses a wide range of artistic approaches to collecting, analyzing, and presenting research—including but not limited to the use of readers’ theatre, collage, painting, music, photography, poetry, narrative writing, and dance—in inquiry. (p. 136)

While a lengthy discussion outlining all these variations is beyond the scope of this dissertation, below I present some commonly held assumptions in these divergent fields that are relevant to my study.

Many scholars advocating for the arts in social research suggest that positivist approaches are inadequate for all knowledge production pursuits. For Eisner (2008), the taking up of only positivist rationalities constrains possibilities for understanding the world. For him, art provides a vehicle for knowledge construction and dissemination that is unmatchable when only positivist, scientific, approaches are embraced in examining the social world. Mirroring this perspective, Kerry-Moran (2008) argues, “life is emotional, and art provides a means for communication and exploring emotions and emotive things” (p. 500). For Barone and Eisner (2012) arts-based research is “an effort to utilize the forms of thinking and forms of representation that the arts provide as means through which the world can be better understood” (p. xi). For advocates, arts-based research opens possibilities for engendering diverse ways of seeing, knowing and acting in the world. As Barone and Eisner (2012) explain, “arts-based research is an effort to extend beyond the limiting constraints of discursive communication in order to express meanings that otherwise would be ineffable” (p. 1).
Cole and Knowles (2008) argue, “the knowledge advanced in arts informed research is generative rather than propositional and based on assumptions that reflect the multidimensional, complex, dynamic, intersubjective, and contextual nature of human experience” (p. 67). Artistic forms of research, therefore, are not intended to discover “objective truths”; rather, the knowledge advanced asks audiences to make connections, spur reflections, or understand multiple perspectives/dimensions that they may not have appreciated otherwise. For Foster (2012), arts-based approaches “are more useful for exploring the nuances of lived experiences and promoting dialogue than for providing direct answers to questions” (p. 535). Stated in another way, arts-based works highlight multiple perspectives and the complexities of issues/problems rather than proposing the discovery of concrete truths, answers, or solutions. Similarly, as Barone and Eisner (2012) explain, “the major aim of arts-based research is not to have the correct answer to the question or the correct solution to a problem; it is to generate questions that stimulate problem formation” (p. 171). In explaining the post-positivist character of arts-based research, Osei-Kofi (2013), states:

These approaches, grounded contextually, both locally and globally, also reject the idea of knowledge creation as value-free, recognize the importance of the co-construction of knowledge with research participants, offer new ways to make meaning of the human condition, emphasize reflexivity, and embody great potential for consciousness raising and critical dialogue. (p. 137)

Arts-based works, therefore, can bring forward divergent perspectives and the complexities of issues/problems, rather than proposing the discovery of a truth. For Cole and Knowles (2008), “knowledge claims must be made with sufficient ambiguity and humility to allow for multiple interpretations and reader response” (p. 67).
While many examples exist, the research project *Revelations and Rage: Violence Against Women in the Work of Women Artists* (Knafo, 2000) illustrates how generative knowledge can be addressed through arts-based research. In this work, a group of women used painting to examine the multiple social (i.e., political, discursive, and institutional) foundations that perpetuate violence against women. Rather than assuming violence is a problem that can be solved through research, the project aimed to generate subjective reactions and spark critical conversations. In other words, the project used the arts evocatively, to generate questions, and to spur reflection, on the potential roots of violence against women. The work pushes audiences to reflect on the connection between broader social, structural, and ideological contexts and particular instances of violence. In this way, the project aligns with my view that using the arts in research offers an effective method for exploring social issues that are too complex for reductionist research methodologies.

Many artists/researchers/scholars/educators also embrace arts-based inquiry as a way to move beyond reflection toward social action. I agree with Barone and Eisner (2012), who write:

> If arts-based research serves to generate conversations about that which it represents, it may even, sometimes, serve as a catalyst for action . . . [artistic works can] motivate viewers . . . to replace parts of an unexamined value system with new appreciations, attitudes and even behaviours toward other people(s) who have previously been regarded as alien Others. (p. 167)

Finley’s (2012) arguments supporting arts-based research as a tool for social action go even further. In conceptualizing research on socio-ecological issues, she argues, “critical arts-based research can create the necessary momentum for profound and revolutionary
educational aesthetic that is transformative and productive . . . This is an arts-based research that is committed to democratic, ethical, and just problem solving” (p. 205). Furthermore, Finley describes arts-based approaches as “performative and political [engaging] in public criticism” (p. 205). She writes, “critical arts-based research holds promise for creating a powerful political voice within the context of a people’s pedagogy . . . [that] can be a catalyst for deep and meaningful social change” (p. 206).

One way arts-based research can contribute to action and change, for Finley, is through community development and critical dialogue. She argues, “Arts communicate by heightened senses and emotions. Arts-based research can bring together people in communities to explore differences and relationships; it can provide a space within which people can examine and refine the ethics of their shared existence” (p. 218). For Bochner and Ellis (2003), the critical, creative, and dialogical opportunities created through arts-based approaches provide an evocative dimension to research that can foster introspection and encourage action. For them, these elements can be useful in addressing critical, counter-hegemonic, and socially active ends. I found this work helpful in thinking through my work on critical filmmaking pedagogies.

These critical and political dimensions of arts-based inquiry are exemplified in Wishart-Leard and Lashua’s (2006) arts-based research projects with youth. Their work draws on participatory theatre and rap to disseminate inner city youths’ critical perspectives on schooling and engage in socio-political action. Not only does their work represent a bricolage of methods (drawing from narrative, arts-based, and performance practices), their approach “explore[s] ways youth, traditionally silenced, engaged with popular culture to voice experiences and challenge dominant narratives of public schools and daily lives” (p. 244).
As the examples I provide suggest, arts-based research practices often oppose modernist forms of inquiry that encourage researchers to remain neutral observers. Arts-based approaches can be helpful in undermining the discourses and structural basis on which inequitable social practices are perched (Kerry-Moran, 2008). These possibilities for social action are magnified when arts-based works are disseminated amongst wide, not necessarily academic, audiences. For Sinding, Gray, and Nisler (2008), arts-based approaches can encourage audiences to have “realizations that [they] . . . may not have had otherwise” (p. 463), and therefore engage in dialogues about social issues they may take for granted. Broad dissemination creates spaces for people of diverse backgrounds to reflect on theoretical, moral, and ethical grounds. For Leavy (2009), the accessibility of arts-based research can mitigate “some of the educational and social class biases that have traditionally dictated the beneficiaries of academic scholarship” (p. 255).

In considering how scholars/researchers outline the epistemological and political dimensions of arts-based research, it is evident that those who turn to the arts in research may do so for particular social ends. For Leavy (2009), however, recognizing this political dimension in the arts is nothing new:

Research conducted or presented via arts-based methods retains a transformational capability because of the oppositional potential of art as a medium. Historically, various art genres have been used as sites of resistance to social oppression. Grassroots movements, activist-artists, and many other individuals have drawn on the arts in social protest and resistance both publicly and privately. The resistive potential of art is now being harnessed by social researchers increasingly committed to dismantling stereotypes, accessing the voices of marginalized groups, and engaging in research that propels social
In these research contexts, the arts are employed to explore the complexity of social issues or problems (e.g., violence against women), and encourage activist forms of social transformation (e.g., discursive change). Finley (2008) reiterates this point:

Arts-based inquiry is uniquely positioned as a methodology for radical, ethical, and revolutionary research that is ... useful in addressing social inequities ... arts-based inquiry has the potential to facilitate critical race, indigenous, queer, feminist, and border theories and research methodologies. As a form of performance pedagogy, arts-based inquiry can be used to advance a subversive political agenda that addresses issues of social inequity. Such work exposes oppression, targets sites of resistance and outlines possibilities for transformative praxis. From this perspective, arts-based inquiry can explore multiple, new, and diverse ways of understanding and being in the world. (p. 71)

My work with critical filmmaking pedagogies is informed by perspectives similar to Finley’s view of arts-based inquiry and projects like Wishart-Leard and Lashua’s (2006) work with youth. I view critical filmmaking pedagogies as a disruptive, participatory arts-based praxis that can provide pathways for exploring social issues with youth. In planning What’s up Doc? I embraced critical arts-based approaches as a means of undermining discursive, structural, and institutional bases on which inequitable social practices are founded. My work assumes that these pedagogies can contribute to educational practices that can help students to: build and mobilize accessible knowledge from their perspectives; explore power relations between individuals, institutions, and societies; generate important societal and institutional critique; and, spur and mobilize reflection, dialogue, and informed social action. In the following section, I elaborate on
the theoretical foundations of a particular form of arts-based research that has the potential to address all of these dimensions—participatory video.

Participatory Video as a Field of Inquiry

The field of participatory video focuses on the use and exploration of collaborative, community-based, documentary films intended to address specific social/political issues (Milne, Mitchell, & De Lang, 2012; White, 2003). Participatory video can challenge traditional research practices by privileging a multiplicity of interpretive perspectives and validating the voices of research participants. For Yang (2012), drawing on Mitchell and de Lang (2012), participatory video differs from other forms of film inquiry. She explains, “In comparison to collaborative video, which is usually referred to as videos produced through the collaboration of researchers and participants, participatory video emphasizes that participants reconstruct their daily experiences with minimal instruction from researchers” (p. 103). Similarly, Sundar-Harris (2009) differentiates participatory video, theoretically, from other filmmaking research aimed to confront social issues:

Participatory media enables people to produce and distribute content according to their own needs instead of being reliant on professional producers. When a video professional goes into a community and makes a video about issues facing that community, it is not deemed to be a participatory video. If a video maker goes into a community and actively engages people in identifying issues facing their community and trains them in the process of content development and production, it is deemed to be a participatory video. (p. 542)

While varying degrees of participation can be involved, these practices encase a democratic spirit. As Kindon (2003) says, privileging multiple voices is an excellent
way to encourage more equitable political decisions, policy making, and practices.

Similarly, in the What’s up Doc? program, I embraced participatory video as a way to renegotiate classroom power relations so that students’ knowledges could become the force guiding the projects and films. I also viewed participatory video as an entry point into critical dialogues that address marginalizing aspects of social discourses, practices and policies.

Over the next few pages, I explore theoretical and historical contexts of participatory video and its linkages to the fields of arts-based research, participatory research, and critical pedagogy. I begin with a survey of the broader work of scholars, practitioners, and non-governmental organizations currently involved in participatory video research. This section also serves to highlight how participatory video works often encompass projects of social justice.

An early, and frequently cited, example of research practices similar to what is now known as participatory video was carried out by Memorial University researcher, Donald Snowden, and National Film Board of Canada (NFB) filmmaker, Colin Low (Lunch & Lunch 2006; Sundar Harris, 2009). Snowden and Low’s 1967 experimental filmmaking took place on the Fogo Islands—a rural fishing community off the East Coast of Newfoundland. The project was carried out in conjunction with a Canada-wide NFB venture, entitled Challenge for a Change. The broader project involved the use of film and video as an advocacy tool for underrepresented and marginalized populations (Waugh, Baker, & Winton, 2010). However, unlike other films produced through the series, Snowden and Low’s filmmaking took on a grass-roots participatory character which involved having Fogo Island residents participate directly in the writing, planning, and filmmaking processes (Snowden, 1984). Through what Snowden and Low named
the *Fogo Process* (Snowden, 1984), the group produced a series of documentary films on social and economic issues facing the Fogo Islands. For example, the films analyze how poverty, as well as a lack of communication technologies and local political representation, affected local residents, personally and collectively. In this way, the work spurred the kinds of generative knowledge I discussed previously in relation to arts-based research. Initially, the Fogo films were screened locally. This generated dialogue between those involved in the filmmaking process and other island residents. The screenings also enabled groups to rally around common causes. Eventually, the films were shared provincially with government officials, policy makers, and politicians. This sparked provincial controversy and, eventually, resulted in governmental response and actions (Crocker, 2008). For Hume-Cook, Curtis, Woods, Potaka, Wagner, and Kindon (2007) the historical roots of participatory video rest in Snowden and Low’s “pioneering interactive use of video as a tool for social change . . . [The project] was revolutionary in its desire to raise awareness and share information within and beyond the communities involved” (p. 161). Since the 1960s, participatory video approaches have slowly gained status within research communities.

Growing popularity for participatory video is related to the increasing stature of arts-based, participatory, and critical research in academia. Feminist researchers, in particular, have long embraced participatory approaches to challenge research power relations and democratize the research process. As Waite and Conn (2012) argue, participatory and feminist research methodologies share certain goals. In drawing on Cornwall and Jewkes (1995), they explain how there is “a strong link between feminist methodologies and the agenda of participatory research, which is concerned with empowerment and the knowledge and voices of the vulnerable in processes of social
change” (p. 86). Yang (2012) sees similar goals mirrored in participatory video research. She explains that “because participatory video places participants at the center of the process of filmmaking, it contributes to destabilizing the unequal power relationship between participants and researchers frequently exhibited in research settings” (p. 113). Plush (2012), drawing on Gaventa and Cornwall (2008), elaborates on the power relations in participatory video research. She points out:

[A] participatory action research framework shares many similarities with participatory video in that its role is “to enable people to empower themselves through the construction of their own knowledge, in a process of action and reflection, or ‘conscientisation’ to use Freire’s term” (p. 179). (pp. 68 - 69)

As the scholars suggest, participatory research and participatory video often draw on Freire’s (1970, 2000a) critical scholarship I discussed in the previous chapter.

More generally, the field of participatory research focuses on re/negotiating research power relations by involving participants in inquiry and knowledge-production activities. As Fine (2007) explains, participatory research embodies “a democratic commitment to break the monopoly on who holds knowledge and for whom social research should be taken” (p. 215). As Oliver, de Lange, Creswell, and Wood (2012) explain, participatory research is often connected to initiatives intended to support the agency of marginalized groups, “data is not produced about people, but with and for people . . . enabling their voices to be heard, facilitating reflection, and contributing to the emergence of personal agency” (p. 131).

For Bochner and Ellis (2003), combining participatory-inquiry practices, social commentary, and arts-based methods can lead to actions that influence issues of social justice, equity, and human rights. This means, on political and societal levels, arts-based
research can be used to alter opinions, societal practices, decision-making, and policy-making. Plush (2012) agrees, and in drawing on examples of participatory video projects on climate change, she suggests that participatory video can be useful in mobilizing grass-roots perspectives and advocacy campaigns. As she explains:

Community-led videos can also bridge knowledge gaps between marginalized groups and decision makers... For example, within the context of a changing climate, using participatory video as a tool for people centered advocacy and raising awareness can strengthen links between scientific climate change data and local knowledge for more meaningful adaptation debates. (p. 82)

In the same text she also argues that the agency and self-empowerment afforded through participatory video “can be especially valuable for marginalized groups that are often shut out of policy debates and decisions that affect their lives” (p. 79). The view that participatory video can be empowering was inspiring for me and formative in the What's up Doc? program. In particular, the practices we implemented in the classrooms were connected to the view that participatory approaches can facilitate a dismantling of structures and practices which subjugate youth knowledges and voices.

Embracing participatory approaches has enabled filmmakers, researchers, and educators to push the theorization of the Fogo Process. As Plush (2012) explains, “with its visual nature and ability to capture the voices of people from marginalized groups, participatory video holds the potential to educate, persuade, and advocate in ways that can bring positive change” (p. 68). For supporters, participatory video can encourage democratic dialogues. In theorizing these possibilities, Lunch and Lunch (2006) explain how participatory video can create opportunities for horizontal (i.e., dialogue amongst local communities) and vertical (i.e., dialogue with leaders and/or politicians)
communication. As they state:

The films that result from the PV process can also be used in community-to-community exchange to spread ideas, and to encourage and inspire. They may even be relevant to communities in other countries with similar conditions and problems. PV can thus enhance the capacity of people to share their local knowledge and innovations across distances and to stimulate locally-led development in other countries. 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 policy makers. (p. 13)

The Fogo Island project, mentioned earlier, illustrates horizontal and vertical forms of dialogue. Residents' perspectives were shared with others, moved into different communities, and presented to policy makers. Alternative communications effectively led to change in social policies that affected the area. Likewise, the What's up Doc? program focuses on generating these same modes of communication. On a horizontal level, the program focuses on generating dialogues amongst youth on the issues in the films, and on a vertical level, the films are a vehicle to share youth perspectives with teachers, administrators, educational policy makers, the public, and government officials.

This vertical and horizontal communicative potential has been echoed in other participatory works. For example, in a short participatory-video documentary, Sierra Leone: Using Participatory Video (Coley, 2008), the film's narrator explains:

[Participatory video is] a tool for marginalized people, because it shortens the distance between grass roots people, [the] voiceless, and policy makers. It gives the grass roots people opportunities to tell their own stories . . . When policy
makers hear directly, the voice of the suffering, then they will actually feel the pinch more than when somebody else comes and reports the matter. (n.p.)

Since the conclusion of Snowden and Low's inspirational work (Snowden, 1984), different scholars, researchers and non-governmental organizations have embraced participatory video and advanced its scholarship. In the United Kingdom, organizations Real Time Video and Insightshare are at the forefront of this effort. Since the early 1990s, Jackie Shaw and Clive Robertson have authored important texts on the practice. In 1997, Shaw and Robertson coined the term participatory video in their co-authored text *Participatory Video: A Practical Guide to Using Video Creatively in Group Development Work*. Brothers Nick and Chris Lunch, founders of Insightshare, have spent years developing technical and methodological knowledge about participatory video. Lunch and Lunch (2006) co-authored *Insights into Participatory Video: A Handbook for the Field*. Beyond Snowden's original research, both texts are frequently referenced in research and scholarship that integrates participatory video. As I show in the next chapter, I borrowed some of the participatory video practices developed by Insightshare when carrying-out critical filmmaking projects in the *What's up Doc?* program.

Drawing on various theoretical and methodological approaches, and unique methods, participatory video, and its variations, have been employed in novel ways all over the world to engage communities democratically in political activity and consciousness raising campaigns (Flower & McConville, 2009). A quick Internet search reveals participatory video projects on a number of different issues ranging from economic disparities to environmental issues. For example, in one project, members of the Permisan village, East Java, Indonesia, partnered with Insightshare to examine the
ramifications of an environmental disaster that seriously affected their community. The resulting venture was a short documentary film entitled, *Living on a Poisonous Stream* (Insightshare, 2010). In the film, audiences learn that, for decades, the Permisan village relied on fish harvesting for its subsistence and economy. In 2006, however, oil and gas drilling in the area caused an eruption of volcanic mudflow into the village’s rivers. Local fish populations were devastated, dismantling the village’s source of wealth and subsistence. The Permisan villagers’ film chronicles the stories of those directly affected by the ecological catastrophe. Interviewees explain how the contamination of the village’s waters devastated the community, its economy, and individuals’ lives. Building knowledge about the disaster from the community’s perspective not only raises awareness about the structural conditions that led to the disaster, but also stirs audiences to reflect and consider possible action. Like the Fogo project, *What’s up Doc?* is connected to socio-political knowledge intended for change.

Another participatory film, *Play Your Part* (Flower & McConville, 2009), and the accompanying article *Diary of a Participatory Advocacy Film Project: Transforming Communication Initiatives into Living Campaigns* (Flower & McConville, 2009), highlight the political elements of participatory video. In this work, researchers, working with grass-roots advocates, midwives, and rural community members, produced a participatory video that draws attention to the types of social, institutional, and political changes needed to address maternal deaths in Tanzania. Flower and McConville explain their overarching rationale for choosing participatory video was to “increase women’s visibility . . . [and to] privilege grassroots perspectives” (p. 934), as a way to draw political attention to the types of supports needed to combat maternal mortality. In many ways, the film evocatively disseminates the thesis that “everyone at every level has a
part to play in saving mothers’ lives” (p. 93). While the project adopts multiple voices to draw attention to the complexities of maternal mortality, its intent does not rest only at this level. Rather, the film works to build knowledge about maternal mortality and challenge the social, ideological, and political foundations that contribute to its prevalence. Not only does the participatory production of this advocacy film highlight the complexity of an issue, the film itself is an act of political protest.

My above discussion begins to highlight how participatory video is often used as a tool for politically motivated activist endeavors. Kindon (2003) accentuates this connection when she compares participatory video to research that has an “interest in, and commitment to, the destabilization of power relations between researcher/research subjects or observer/observed, as well as to the exploration of transformation and research that makes a difference” (p. 144). These interests show how participatory video aligns with the goals of critical arts-based research and critical pedagogy.

**Participatory video as a critical pedagogy in school and community contexts.**

To date, I have found few examples, especially in Canadian contexts, of research that explicitly focuses on the use of participatory video as a critical pedagogy in teachers’ classroom practice. I have found even fewer examples of research which seeks to analyze how forces of power operate when these approaches are implemented in classroom settings. Nevertheless, here, I outline the analysis and findings of six research projects that inform and support my work. While not all of the examples focus on participatory video in school contexts, they do involve filmmaking with youth as a form of social action. I then proceed to show how some of these examples point to concerns, related to empowerment discourses, in the broader field of participatory video research. The discussions that stem from these concerns are important as they are informative and
inspirational in my work. I conclude the chapter with a discussion of how this
dissertation addresses gaps in knowledge on the use of critical filmmaking pedagogies in
the context of schooling.

To begin, I draw on Cooper’s (2009) explorations of “critical documentary
making” in two Finnish schools. I begin here because Cooper’s work most closely
resembles my conceptualization of critical filmmaking pedagogies. Like the praxis we
developed through the *What’s up Doc?* program, Cooper conceptualizes critical
documentary making as an educational practice that combines participatory
documentary filmmaking with critical pedagogy as a way to engage youth in classroom
contexts. Her intention is to:

... develop educational practices which encourage young people to question
information, develop critical thinking skills, facilitate genuine voice, and support
empowerment. The educational practices developed, critical documentary
making activities, are also intended to provide transformative learning
experiences for pupils, add a contemporary dimension to classroom activities,
and contribute towards engaging pupils in active citizenship. (p. 35)

For Cooper “documentary making can be a classroom tool for critical pedagogy and . . .
offers multiple learning experiences for pupils and teachers” (p. 7).

In supporting her claim, Cooper addresses two research questions. The first is
“What are the key pedagogical principles of documentary making within a critical
pedagogy framework?” (p. 8). Responding to this question, she states that critical
documentary making is, “conscientizing, action-driven, and reflective” (p. 33), “pupil-centered” (p. 42), “collaborative” (p. 44), dialogical” (p. 45), “empowering” (p. 46),
“accessible” (p. 47), and integrated” (p. 48). In addressing her second question, “What
are pupils’ experiences from critical documentary making?” (p. 8), she identifies five
types of experiences she felt were common for the students involved. These include
“autonomous learning experiences; conscientizing, action-based, and reflective
experiences; collaborative learning experiences; dialogical experiences; and empowering
experiences” (p. 58). She argues that critical documentary making provides students
with positive experiences and important opportunities to engage in critical pedagogy
work: “the data indicated that the critical documentary making activities provided pupils
with a wealth of social, technological, and cognitive learning opportunities, and pupils
were extremely motivated to make documentaries” (p. 93). She also concludes that,
“critical documentary making is a classroom activity which provides a space for pupils
to explore social issues, and share their opinions and suggestions for improving society”
(p. 98). Cooper’s ten main findings are:

1. Critical documentary making is a pedagogically rich classroom activity.
2. Critical documentary making activities motivate pupils with special
   educational needs and mainstream pupils.
3. Collaborative learning and peer tutoring reduces ICT [Information and
   Communication Technologies] competence gaps, increases pupils’ self-esteem,
   and elevates the status of some pupils with peers.
4. Critical documentary making raises pupils’ awareness of societal inequities
   and shows potential to empower pupils to be active citizens.
5. Critical documentary making supports alternative learning styles and
   creativity.
6. Critical documentary making enables knowledge and skills gained outside the
   classroom to be accredited at school.
7. Critical documentary making creates a platform for pupils to articulate their views.

8. Critical documentary making facilitates meaning making and exploration of pupils’ identities.

9. Skills gained through critical documentary making are transferable.

10. Critical documentary making is accessible for many teachers and pupils and can be integrated with school curricula. (p. 94)

Cooper also issues warnings for educators. She reminds readers students will not all be equally engaged in such works. Further, she warns that overuse (like any pedagogical practice) can result in students’ disengagement, and “critical documentary making is not a quick-fix answer to deeprooted societal problems” (p. 93). In this way, she tempers elements of her advocacy. She also warns educators that these works can have negative consequences for students involved. She states:

Pupils who become interested, or more interested, in active citizenship may face resistance at home or amongst peer groups. A sudden interest in societal issues and utilisation of critical thinking skills may not always be greeted with positive reactions, so pupils need to be prepared for adverse reactions too. (p. 93)

I have found Cooper’s (2009) work unique in its explicit attention to the use of participatory video as a critical pedagogy in schools.

Although my search on the intersection of participatory video and critical pedagogy in Canadian school contexts yielded few results, I did come across a participatory video venture—Project Artemis—in an alternative education centre in Victoria, British Columbia. The project’s theoretical framework is not explicitly articulated as critical pedagogy; however, the project is similar to Cooper’s (2009)
critical documentary making, and it supports my thinking in conceptualizing critical filmmaking pedagogies. Loiselle (2007) describes *Project Artemis* as a “girl-centered participatory action research (PAR) project designed as part of an evaluation of a girls’ alternative education program called Artemis Place” (p. 4). She explains, however, that the purpose of the project reaches beyond mere institutional evaluation. Through the production of a documentary film, *The Artemis Effect: When Girls Talk Back*, the project encouraged young women to produce knowledge to effect change in the program and in their lives. The young women involved in the project engaged in a feminist analysis of how institutions and social practices contributed to “at-risk” discourses of girlhood and gendered social inequities based on the objectification of women. As Loiselle explains, the young women used participatory filmmaking to explore:

... girls’ schooling experiences more broadly and the intersecting structural inequities they negotiate across the multiple contexts of their lives . . . [The] research was rooted in a critical, participatory, collaborative framework, which aimed to investigate, problematize, and address (through social action) the complex forces shaping girls’ experiences of marginalization. (p. 4)

Like my focus in this dissertation, Loiselle critically examines the project by analyzing the resistant discourses that surfaced in the young women’s film work. In particular, she articulates how their expressions either challenge or perpetuate the institutional and social practices that contribute to “at-risk”, sexist, and heteronormative discourses. In this way, Loiselle avoids overly celebratory discourses. In her words, she examines how the girls “understand, negotiate, reproduce, and resist the categories of ‘risk’ and normative constructions of ‘girl’” (p. 9), and how “feminist subjectivities, analyses, and modes of resistance . . . emerge[d]” (p. 10) in the project. As she explains,
the goal of her study is “not to provide definitive conclusions or solutions” (p. 149) to social issues. Rather, her work, like mine, is premised on developing critical knowledge about what happens when these works are negotiated with young people. To this end, she troubles students’ resistant discourses and shows how the work tended to support, and, simultaneously, resist, feminist and queer critical perspectives.

Another Canadian school-based participatory video research project, coordinated by Stille (2011), explores the “possibilities and potentials of filmmaking as a participatory approach to scholarly inquiry that . . . engages with social activism” (p. 100). Specifically, Stille’s work looks at a participatory video project that took place in a culturally and linguistically diverse elementary school classroom setting. The film focused on food, agriculture, and sustainability issues in urban settings. It involved interviews with teachers and the parents, and culminated with the documentation of students creating a school garden. While Stille sees the creation of the garden as an important form of social action, she also argues that the documentation of the process is a form of societal critique. For her, it “makes visible the unique experiences of multilingual children and newcomer families” (p. 104). Stille is hopeful that this can trouble social inequities:

A representational, interpretive, or narrative account of the garden would make a wonderful and comfortable story of social change and improvement with the anticipated happy ending. However, this film aims to provoke a more dialogic understanding of the garden project, grounded in the audience’s social and socially situated reading of the experience. In a double(d) visibility (Lather, 2007), we might see not only the happy story of children making a school garden but also the unseen stories and sacrifices that underwrote the garden and its need
in the first place: Materializing as it does the global inequities manifest in this school and community. In the space between the audience and the film is an encounter that invites the opportunity to transform accepted ways of understanding these phenomena and circumstances. (p. 106)

While Stille (2011) focuses on the resistant possibilities of participatory video, much like my research, she also takes up critical perspectives to problematize her praxis and experiences. One critical insight she posits is that the output of participatory filmmaking projects (i.e., the finished film) hides the constructive processes and issues that arise when engaging in such works. She explains, “digital film invokes reality but also hides the construction of a story” (p. 105). For her, neglecting the constructed character of the text is problematic; it conceals how power shapes the work. For example, she offers a story of a parent who “was unsure of whether she could say what she wanted in the way that she wanted during a recorded interview” (p. 104). Further, Stille provides an example of a teacher who “preferred to write his voiceover narrations before recording them to ensure that he ‘got it right’” (p. 104). In this way, Stille highlights how the surveilling “gaze of the camera” (p. 104), can shape participants’ behaviours. As she argues, the filmmaking process masks how “the knowledge produced with and in a film is . . . tied to research relationships, and power, context, and histories of participation among the people involved in its production” (p. 104). In this way, Stille troubles the perception that participatory video can actually frame reality. For her, democratic filmmaking approaches, like other approaches, can only offer a tentative frame of reference:

Understandings and outcomes arising from a participatory approach to research are as provisional as understandings that emerge in other approaches to research:
Stille also shows how participatory methods can still contribute to inequities and the legacy of colonization. She problematizes emancipatory discourses when she states: Documentary filmmaking has traditionally been tied to making visible stories that are otherwise invisible to their intended audience. This tradition has generally focused on telling stories of “victims,” and publicly sharing the lives and circumstances of “the pathological, socially disadvantaged, politically disenfranchised and economically oppressed” (Ruby, 2001, p. 51).

Unproblematically accepting the intentions of the filmmaker to do good and make a difference does not call attention to the colonizing gaze of film and its tendency to reinscribe social and cultural difference. (p. 107)

In this dissertation, in particular in Chapters Four and Six, like Stille, I contribute to conversations that challenge celebratory and empowerment discourses.

Although my study of the What’s up Doc? program examines participatory filmmaking projects with students and teachers in Canadian school settings, the work of researchers and practitioners who engage in similar research projects with youth outside of Canadian classroom contexts is also important for me to consider. For example, the collaborative work of Mitchell (2008, 2011), Mitchell & de Lange, (2011), Mitchell, Stuart, De Lange, Moletsane, Buthelezi, Larkin, & Flicker (2010) on issues connected to HIV/AIDS with youth in rural South African school contexts, has much relevance for my work. Taken together, the collection explores the possibilities of participatory arts-based approaches to address social, institutional, and health-related issues associated with HIV/AIDS. As Mitchell and de Lange (2011) explain, the participatory approaches
they adopt have political aspirations: “the key purpose of community-based participatory video in our work is to engage the community in exploring and ‘making visible’ . . . issues which are ‘hidden’ and around which community action is required” (p. 179). While the research may relate specifically to HIV/AIDS in a South African context, it also provides valuable insights into how practices, like participatory video, intersect with issues of youth agency, empowerment, and social change.

One particular research article associated with the work, “Studying Southern African youth as knowledge producers within a new literacy of HIV and AIDS” (Mitchell et al., 2010), is especially relevant to my collaborations with youth. The article examines how participatory arts-based research practices can support youth as producers of knowledge intended for social action and change. The research is an analysis of participatory arts-based projects with youth in Khayelitsha and Atlantis, South Africa that involved “a number of workshops organized around various arts-based approaches to ‘getting the message out’ about HIV and AIDS” (p. 215). The project, and the research study on the initiative, explores how youth in and out of school contexts can play a “pivotal leadership role . . . in addressing health-related issues” (p. 215).

In the study, two research questions resonate with my work:

How do young people ‘give voice’ to their concerns, and how might we read their visual images within a framework of social change? How can arts-based methodologies be used with young people in rural schools to create a more youth-focused and learner-centered approach to knowledge production and behavior change in the context of HIV and AIDS? (p. 215)

Weaving between these lines of inquiry, the participatory arts-based approaches enabled
young people to produce knowledge about "issues of stigma, voluntary counseling and testing, gender violence and safe sex practices" (p. 215). For the researchers, the project provided opportunities for youth to become local producers of knowledge:

Critical awareness and "arguably" empowerment [can] result when media production [with youth is] encouraged. By producing their own media texts, whether through the medium of traditional print media such as newspapers [and] visual media such as photographs . . . young people could give voice to their own ideas and interact with those of people in ever widening social and cultural circles. (p. 220)

Furthermore, for the researchers, an important part of the project:

. . . was the involvement of the children, often the invisible stakeholders in schools and communities, as influential participants in social and political action . . . the fact that the children themselves produced documentary evidence made the stories authentic, and, we argue, more useful for conceptualizing, developing and implementing interventions that work. (p. 227)

Whereas the study identifies immediate social and political implications associated with the projects, a major element of the work also centers on the potential for long-standing social implications and change. Addressing a dearth of knowledge about the implications of participatory arts-based approaches, the researchers explore how "'the afterlife' of . . . participatory youth-focused arts-based projects [can] help to deepen an understanding of the impact of this kind of work" (p. 214). For example, referring to their own work with youth, they show how their "preliminary 'two-years later' individual and small group interviews revealed [that] the spark that had been lit in [the youths'] work as peer educators in local schools had not been extinguished" (p.
Commenting on the broader fields of knowledge of participatory arts-based approaches, and by reflecting on how the young people involved in their project maintained embers of a critical spirit, the scholars argue that there should be a concerted effort in the field to “develop systematic approaches to studying the long-term impact of ... visual and arts-based participatory work with youth” (p. 222). To initiate a conversation in this direction, the authors identify five potential criteria for evaluating participatory arts-based works. These include examining a project’s potential to contribute to “critical reflection, empathy, engagement, social activism and policy change” (p. 222).

While the scope of this doctoral dissertation may not allow me to delve into lasting residual implications of the collaborations in the What’s up Doc? program, Mitchell et al.’s focus on the importance of the ‘afterlife’ of participatory arts-based initiatives reminds me to reflect on factors that may hinder the work from having lasting effects on social, institutional and structural change. This focus is particularly important in my discussions in Chapters Five and Six which examine the institutional structures, discourses, and power relations that impacted our work.

My and teachers’ collaborations with youth in What’s up Doc? also share similarities with the projects in Khayelitsha and Atlantis. While the context and thematic focus is starkly different, the What’s up Doc? program is premised on an assumption that spaces can be created in schools for young people to engage in knowledge production activities to express, and cultivate capacities for, political agency. Furthermore, my work follows Mitchell and de Lange’s (2011) view that participatory works “can play a critical role in raising awareness of key social issues, and at the same time engaging communities in exploring solutions” (p. 183). I tend to agree with this
sentiment and, in collaborating with youth and teachers in the *What’s up Doc?* program, I hope to contribute to efforts that enable youth to create and disseminate knowledge to impact social change.

Sawhney’s (2009) youth-based participatory media initiative *Voices Beyond Walls* (VBW) is also relevant and informative for my work. Sawhney describes VBW as “a nonprofit participatory media initiative that supports creative expression and advocacy among Palestinian youth in refugee camps, through digital storytelling workshops, new media production, and global dissemination of their work” (p. 303). He states the program’s goal is to use participatory media as a way to raise awareness about the issues that youth face in refugee camps:

Weaving together original stories, drama, poetry, photography, music, and digital video these youth express their own perspectives on Palestinian history, culture and everyday life in the refugee camps, as well as their... aspirations... A key outcome of the program is showcasing the youth media shorts in screenings among the youth and their families in the respective refugee camps as well as at film festivals and universities everywhere. The goal is to improve wider awareness of the issues experienced by the youth and to amplify their voices within their own communities and audiences worldwide. (pp. 303-304)

Although Sawhney does not work in a formal classroom context, the pedagogical approaches adopted in the initiative mirror the process the teachers and I implemented in the *What’s up Doc?* program. For example, his five learning objectives include:

1. Conceptualizing personal narratives through storytelling in small groups;
2. Creating scripts, storyboards and production plans for digital media projects;
3. Developing greater media literacy and visual aesthetics for creative
4. Learning photography, sound, video editing and digital media production techniques;

5. Producing extended media projects in the field. (p. 304)

While the contexts are different, the process, and the drawing of attention to inequities through cinematic narratives, has been helpful in my work.

In particular, Sawhney’s research contributes to knowledge about the use of participatory visual methodologies with youth as tools for empowerment. He asks:

How does one tap into the latent creative potential of marginalized youth in ways that improves their fluency in expression through different forms of media?

What tools, techniques and process should be developed to support an environment of creative production, especially for collaborative development of digital media narratives? (p. 302)

His responses to these questions are articulated through “lessons learned” in his three years with the program. These lessons draw attention to theoretical, methodological, and ethical issues associated with participatory video with youth.

Based on his experiences and analysis, Sawhney argues there is a necessity for participatory media practitioners to have extensive knowledge of “media literacy, visual aesthetics, narrative structure, and group facilitation” (p. 304). He also states that it is important for youth involved to have opportunities to develop critical story-telling capabilities and critical knowledge of media. I agree with Sawhney when he says:

There is a need for a complementary media literacy program to allow youth to gain a stronger appreciation for the medium and aesthetics of film, while developing their own innovative techniques using dance, drama, photo and
sketched mixed-media works. Regularly screening and discussing good examples of films and youth media is essential for learning. (p. 304)

Other “lessons learned” relate to ethical considerations associated with youth-based participatory media projects. For example, Sawhney argues that, since these projects often deal with sensitive topics and involve youth who have experiences with marginalization, violence, and trauma, practitioners must be mindful of how these works could re-traumatize youth. Sawhney also raises questions about ownership and practitioner involvement. For him, a practitioner’s support must not come at the expense of the youth’s sense of ownership or agency. As he argues:

> While trainers are asked to work in collaboration with each youth group, there is a genuine concern about the extent to which they should influence the narrative and the emerging edited video shorts, to ensure authenticity and ownership while providing the necessary guidance and demanding high aesthetic and technical standards. (p. 305)

The questions and issues raised by Sawhney are all relevant for my work. As I discuss in more depth in the next section, this dissertation contributes to similar conversations.

Another project similar to my research, but outside of a classroom context, is Walsh’s (2012) work with young people in a settlement in Durban, South Africa. Here, Walsh worked with youth to produce *Bad Future*—a film on rape and sexual violence in the settlement and the lack of support for women who have been sexually assaulted. Walsh explains how the project grew out of the youths’ desires “to find new ways of working through the difficulties they saw around them” (p. 244).

Like my projects, Walsh articulates her work as an expression of a critical pedagogy. To carry out the project, Walsh “developed a six-week critical pedagogy
course including readings on the current situation in South Africa, video literacy and training, and a series of discussions and brainstorming sessions” (p. 244). For her, the critical pedagogy workshops were a “split between theory and practice” (p. 245), and focused on building the young filmmakers’ skills and critical consciousness. She explains, “central to this process were readings and discussions around the local history, structural inequality, black consciousness, and development of shack settlements beyond, and within, the Durban context” (pp. 244 - 245).

Walsh also raises important questions about ethical issues and power relations relevant to my work. Based on her scholarship on *Bad Future*, she concludes that participatory video practitioners must make every effort to support participants. She makes an important point when she argues:

Approaches to this work should include responsive strategies for dealing with difficult and sometimes traumatic experiences that may emerge in the process. We must not neglect the ways which issues like AIDS, rape, and gender-based violence become normalized in some contexts; thoughtful, inclusive strategies to help participants work through what emerges must be included within project planning. The ability to respond and adapt to sensitive issues must be part of an approach that allows participants to set the agenda in the direction they wish to explore, yet that does not abandon them in the process. (p. 243)

Walsh also troubles the taken-for-granted empowerment discourses that are often used to construct participatory video projects. She pays particular attention to the assumption that participation, conscientization, and empowerment are mutually conducive. In particular, she reminds readers that empowerment is not possible without dismantling structural antecedents of oppression:
Empowerment is surely not the central solution to the pressing issues that affect the settlement. This is not to say that critical pedagogy and "conscientization"... have no use. There’s a rich history of critical pedagogy used as a means to challenge domination and create contexts for political and social transformation. Critical pedagogy allows teachers and students to work together to tease out oppression in their daily lives and take steps toward a liberatory practice... through the process of conscientization, the oppressed can gain the means to liberate themselves and their oppressors. Conscientization in these contexts certainly does have a use, but its importance must not be romanticized. An understanding of, and active engagement with, the structural forces creating shack settlements is fundamental to change. (p. 244)

Following this argument, Walsh adds that participatory video methods, and efforts for conscientization, can only be considered as a small part of social justice initiatives:

A danger lies in seeing these tools as empowering themselves. In the end, they are tools, which have potential to create dynamic new community formations, mobilize resistance, teach, and disseminate knowledge. They should be seen as one aspect in a broad strategy for social change. Exercises in participatory video and other kinds of engaged pedagogy must be seen as part of a toolkit of tactics with which to challenge, deepen, and broaden our ability to tackle oppression. Freire is clear that conscientization without action... is not enough, and this cannot be understated. (p. 251)

While these six research projects are theorized and contextualized differently, they do offer important insights for my work. In their focus on critical applications of participatory video in classroom and community settings, and in their omissions, they...
accent the themes, concepts, and areas addressed, and those that deserve more attention. Some of the literature draws attention to problematic characteristics of empowerment discourses. In the next section, I explore these characteristics in more depth.

**Concern over celebratory empowerment discourses.**

Over the last few years, in the broader field of participatory video research, there has been a concerted effort to develop critically-informed approaches to participatory video methods and projects. As Low, Brushwood Rose, Salvio, and Palacios (2012) argue, the scholarly works associated with participatory video have been, until recently, “limited to [uncritical] project reports, technical handbooks, descriptive journal articles, and policy documents” (p. 50). While these texts have been vital in starting dialogues about a visual research/activist methodology, generally the field has suffered from a paucity of critical self-reflection. Responding to this oversight, Milne, Mitchell, and De Lange’s (2012) edited collection, *Handbook of Participatory Video*, marks a critical juncture in the scholarship on participatory video research. As the authors explain:

> The various chapters seek to relocate participatory video; to trace accounts of its use in research; to engage critically with it as a research methodology and method; and to interrogate assumptions about its emancipatory nature and potential for change. The book aims to enable practitioners and researchers to engage with content such as power, agency, process, and empowerment to provide a theoretical engagement with the method. (p. 2)

The work is a composite of articles that critique taken-for-granted assumptions, examine questions of power, entice reflexivity and inspire critically-innovative thinking. The text begins to identify complexities, contradictions, and nuances which often receive little attention in the scholarship connected to the field. In particular, there are growing
concerns about the impact of celebratory assumptions and empowerment discourses in the field of participatory video. Shaw (2012), for example, accents how personal empowerment is often glorified while important theoretical, methodological, and ethical intricacies are neglected. And, as Low et al. (2012) argue, scholarly works tend to embrace “celebratory” discourses (p. 50) and avoid critical insights. These discussions have been very influential in my work.

The critical trends emerging in the field of participatory video were also reflected at the Second ISA Forum of Sociology: Social Justice and Democratization, which took place in Buenos Aires, Argentina in August, 2012. The Thematic Group on Visual Sociology coordinated a presentation on critical perspectives on participatory video, and included a session entitled “Critiquing participatory video: Experiences from around the world.” I participated in the session and was introduced to important critiques related to power, voice, and representation in participatory video works. The experience helped draw my attention to complexities inherit in the What’s up Doc? program. In particular, the experience helped me understand and articulate school and social power relations that influenced discourse and representations, and limited student voice.

The emergence of critical scholarship in the field of participatory video has also drawn attention to the way practitioners and researchers have, historically, adopted competing rationales for taking up video practices in their work. While there may be agreement that participatory video is intended to bring about change, there is disagreement about the types of change practitioners aim to entice. Whereas, some practitioners and researchers have been using participatory video to help effect social, political, and structural change, others tend to frame works within personal empowerment discourses, i.e., “to promote self-transformation, self-empowerment, or
finding one’s voice” (Mookerjea, 2010, p. 204). I agree with Walsh (2012) who argues it is problematic to assume that individualized participation and conscientization necessarily result in emancipatory social change.

Examples of personal empowerment discourses surface in the literature of participatory video in different ways. For example, for Guidi (2003), the fundamental aim of participatory video is to encourage individual and group development. She states:

[The] most important outcome [of participatory video] is that of interaction of individuals and their own personal growth that comes about during the process of production. The results of their learning are evident in the video tapes produced, but the greatest value of their learning is the growing experience that has taken place during the process. (p. 263)

Similarly, Nemes, High, Shafer, and Goldsmith (2007) describe participatory video as “a tool for the facilitation of individual and group learning and communication, where participants use the creation of video materials to share and make sense of their experiences and relationships” (p. 1).

As Shaw and Robertson (1997) explain, video can act “as a mirror. Playing back the recorded material can promote reflection” (p. 21). This can be an important first step in bringing about social change. However, upon scrutiny, it becomes evident that the potential of this change is stifled if the practice only addresses individualized empowerment goals. I agree with Mookerjea (2010) who argues:

My point here is not that building self-confidence, raising self-esteem, or transforming oneself are unimportant and without any political value. They are, of course, crucial if a collective, political body is able to cooperate and self-organize itself . . . if we reorient the concept of empowerment “positively”
away from its connection to a militant struggle against oppression, not only does “empowerment” lose all meaning, but we also have admitted to ourselves only the vaguest conception of the social organization of oppression. (p. 206)

For Mookerjea, a focus on personal empowerment does little to address the socio-structural antecedents of oppression.

It is also important to recognize how personal empowerment discourses can also perpetuate oppressive conditions for participants. Through my work with the Acting Out project (Rogers, 2010), I learned that participatory video projects that are framed only in terms of growth/development/learning of the individuals involved can reinforce the marginalization of youth by assuming that problems and issues reside within individuals rather than the social, economic and/or political contexts of their lives. The assumption that participatory video projects can somehow “fix” personal traits constructed as individual deficits can amount to paternalism and blaming participants for their own marginalization. In other words, the dominance of individualistic discourses can amount to missed opportunities to bring about needed social change.

Understanding this contradiction is particularly important for my study. Adopting a view that my practices only encourage personal growth/change suggests that the students I work with have personal deficits. In their interrogation of at-risk educational discourses in the United States, Swadener and Lubeck (1995) problematize such deficit discourses:

Deficit model discourse typically gets framed as private and personal, often taking form of blaming the victim . . . Strikingly absent from discussions of risk factors and poverty is an interrogation of privilege and the possibility that a more equitable distribution of materials, resources, education, power, and self-
sufficiency may put stark discrepancies of privilege at risk. (p. 2)

I appreciate that assumptions of personal deficiency can overlook the contingency of context, inequities, and privilege. Individualized goals for participatory video excuse the power structures that disempower in the first place. This forces me to reflect on how participatory video projects can further marginalize already disempowered groups. Plush (2012) also see this potentiality and, in drawing on Gaventa and Cornwall (2008), argues that participatory video must move beyond a focus on the individual. She explains:

- Participatory video projects designed explicitly for social change need to go beyond the process of community members telling their stories through video mainly for an external audience, to one that addresses power issues through “more inclusive participation in order to address embedded social and economic inequalities” (p.172). (p. 68)

I agree with scholars who argue that it is problematic to only consider participatory video as a tool for personal empowerment. In moving beyond these discourses, I hope to contribute to discussions in the spirit of Milne, Mitchell, and de Lange (2012), who strive to “propel the development of participatory video into a space in which writing and practice become both critically reflexive and grounded in theoretical debates” (p. 13).

**Addressing Gaps and Contributing to Conversations**

To conclude this discussion I explicitly articulate the gaps in knowledge this dissertation aims to address. Whereas the works I have cited above offer invaluable insights, and have been important to my conceptualization of critical filmmaking pedagogies and my work as a critical educator, there is still a lack of critical dialogue about the use of participatory video as a tool for social justice in educational contexts.
While this dissertation can contribute to various conversations about using critical filmmaking pedagogies as a tool for social justice in schools, here I denote four as important: first, this work contributes to knowledge related to the limits and possibilities of classroom-based educational practices that combine critical pedagogy, arts-based inquiry and participatory video; second, the work contributes to conversations that push participatory video approaches toward more critical terrains by, for example, addressing tensions associated with empowerment discourses; third, it raises conversations about how broader contextual factors, like dominant discourses, institutional structures, social practices, and dominant knowledges, shape and constrain critical filmmaking approaches in school settings; and fourth, the work contributes to conversations with scholars like Cooper (2009) who are interested in using filmmaking pedagogies to address social justice issues with students in schools.

This dissertation is part of a larger discussion, recently initiated by scholars like Low et al. (2012), Mitchell (2011), Mookejea (2010), Shaw (2012), and Walsh (2012) who focus on the criticalization of participatory video approaches. The terrain of participatory video is still young and full of theoretical, methodological and ethical tensions, and knowledge gaps. Although, as I have shown, there has been a shift toward critical scholarship, further issues, and questions about power relations, still require attention. Texts I highlight above (e.g., Walsh, 2012; Sawheny, 2009; Stille, 2011), and certain chapters in the *Handbook of Participatory Video* begin to address this deficit. For example, in the *Handbook* Capstick (2012) addresses the implications of exclusionary, yet taken-for-granted, ableist assumptions in participatory video projects, and Milne (2012) raises questions about power in relation to participant resistance. It is clear that the editors of this text intended these discussions to be catalytic, rather than
definitive. For me, the text is a reminder that further critical conversations, specifically in relation to power, celebratory discourses, and ethics, must continue to take place.

This dissertation is not only an examination of the counter-hegemonic possibilities of critical filmmaking pedagogies, but it also adds to conversations about how power operates through participatory video when implemented in school settings as a critical pedagogy. While often celebrated for their potential to challenge marginalization, it is important to recognize how these works can tacitly perpetuate systems of oppression. Beyond the above mentioned conversations, I have yet to find research that explicitly takes-up a bricolage approach to explore participatory filmmaking practices in Canadian school settings. Furthermore, I have yet to find examples of research that uses a bricolage approach to analyze, and problematize, the content, discourses, and messages of participatory film projects. Bricolage can aid researchers and practitioners in exploring how the social discourses and institutional structures shape and constrain participatory video projects when they are implemented in a classroom context. This dissertation attends to this gap, and contributes to conversations on the complexities of school-based projects of social justice.

Summary

In this chapter, I have situated my study in the theoretical contexts of critical pedagogy, arts-based inquiry, and participatory video. I have articulated theoretical elements of critical filmmaking pedagogies and drawn attention to the conversations of which this work is a part. In the next chapter, I provide a thorough discussion of how I adopt bricolage as the methodological approach to study critical filmmaking pedagogies.
Chapter Three

A Bricolage Methodological Approach

My interest in questions of power and how it is negotiated in critical filmmaking pedagogies has brought me to the bricolage approach as theorized by Denzin and Lincoln (2000), and later expanded critically by Kincheloe and Berry (2004). In this chapter, I elaborate on how bricolage informs my thinking of critical filmmaking pedagogies, my research methods, and my analysis in this dissertation. I begin by providing a historical frame of reference and discussing key theories underlying bricolage. I then discuss my rationale for choosing a critical bricolage approach and for my research design. I conclude with discussions on research reflexivity and ethical issues associated with this work.

Contextualizing Bricolage Research

Bricolage is a critical, multi-perspectival, multi-theoretical and multi-methodological approach to inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004). However, the theories that underlie bricolage make it far more complex than a simple eclectic approach. The etymological foundation of bricolage comes from a traditional French expression which denotes crafts-people who creatively use materials left over from other projects to construct new artifacts. Generally speaking, when the metaphor is used within the domain of qualitative research, it denotes methodological practices explicitly based on notions of eclecticism, emergent design, flexibility, and plurality. To fashion their bricolage projects, rather than using a strict set of procedures or specific methods, bricoleurs use only the tools and materials “at-hand” (Levi-Strauss, 1966). For Berry (2004a), bricolage enables researchers to embrace a multiplicity of epistemological and political dimensions. For Kellner (1999), adopting multiple
approaches in research not only provides unique possibilities for knowledge
construction, but also creates opportunities for informed political action. He writes, “the
more perspectives one can bring to their analysis and critique, the better grasp of the
phenomena one will have and the better one will be at developing alternative readings
and oppositional practices” (p. xii). However, while conceptual and concrete precedents
exist, bricolage has remained relatively underused in broader research communities
(Wibberly, 2012).

While my greatest attention in the following section is devoted to Denzin and
Lincoln’s discussion of bricolage as an eclectic and political approach to inquiry, and
Kincheloe’s and Berry’s articulation of bricolage as a critical research praxis, I begin by
explaining the origins of bricolage in the works of Levi-Strauss (1966). Like a bricolage,
this section mixes influential theoretical scholarship with concrete research examples.

**Claude Levi-Strauss: The metaphor of meaning making bricoleurs.**

Anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss’s use of the bricolage metaphor influenced
Denzin and Lincoln to conceptualize the concept as an eclectic approach to social
inquiry. However, while the latter evoke the metaphor in relation to research, Levi-
Strauss’s use of the metaphor refers to meaning making more generally. Furthermore,
while later scholars, like Kincheloe and Berry (2004) use the metaphor within a
poststructuralist frame, Levi-Strauss’s use was a part of the structuralist project (Lincoln,
structuralist practices focused on the configuration of language (i.e., the structural
foundational rules which govern the sharing of meaning through verbal and textual
communication). For example, linguist de Saussure (1974) employs structuralist
methods to explain how language is composed of various signs, and how the structural
foundations of all signs consist of both signifiers (e.g., words) and the signified (i.e., concepts to which the words refer). In the 1950s, however, structuralist practices moved beyond the borders of linguistics to be applied more broadly within the social sciences (Sturrock, 1979, 2003). When applied to human activity, structuralist practices focus on uncovering the underlying framework that govern phenomena like human culture, intelligence, and social interaction (e.g., Althusser, 2011; Piaget, 1970). It is this focus of structuralism that led Levi-Strauss (1966) to evoke the metaphor of bricolage.

In his work, The Savage Mind, Levi-Strauss employs the bricolage metaphor in his search for underlying structures that govern human meaning making. Specifically, he uses the metaphor in the context of his challenge to the then-dominant thinking which bifurcated mythical and scientific rationality. Disrupting the structuralist binary, he suggests that all forms of rationality stem from an innate structure of the mind that drives humans to seek understanding:

The thought we call primitive is founded on [the] demand for order. This is equally true of all thought but it is through the properties common to all thought that we can most easily begin to understand forms of thought which seem very strange to us. (p. 10)

For Levi-Strauss, in societies adopting mythical rationalities, meaning making processes mirror a bricolage process. Like an “intellectual bricolage” (p. 17), he explains, mythical-knowers piece together their life-history with artifacts (e.g., texts, discourses, social practices) of their given cultural context to construct meaning. In this way, mythical meaning making contrasts with a scientific meaning making process. Meaning making bricoleurs do not approach knowledge-production activities with concrete plans, methods, tools, or checklists of criterion. Rather, their processes are
much more flexible, fluid, and open-ended. For Levi-Strauss, mythical meaning making
bricoleurs combine their imagination with whatever knowledge tools they have in their
repertoire (e.g., ritual, observation, social practices) and with whatever artifacts are
available in their given context (i.e., discourses, institutions, and dominant knowledges)
to meet diverse knowledge-production tasks.

While Levi-Strauss’s use of the bricolage metaphor was part of a structuralist
project, his articulation has been influential beyond structuralist circles. In this new
context, bricolage becomes an approach to meaning making that challenges the basis of
structural rationality. Specifically, it challenges the epistemological and ontological
assumptions that the world has universal structures that exist independently of human
rationalities. In my discussions of this move, I pay close attention to how Levi-Stauss’s
use of the metaphor has been influential in his contemporaries’ use of bricolage as a
form of inquiry.

Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln: Qualitative researcher as bricoleur.

In the introductory chapter of the SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research,
Denzin and Lincoln (2001, 2005) borrow Levi-Strauss’s bricolage metaphor to describe
trends emerging in qualitative research. Using the metaphor they describe how post-
colonial (Smith, 1999), and post-positivist/postmodernist/poststructuralist (Butler, 1990;
I mentioned in Chapter Two, have driven researchers to develop eclectic, multi-
theoretical, and multi-methodological approaches to meaning making in research.

Denzin and Lincoln’s chapter has two goals: first, it defines qualitative research;
and, second, it sketches a timeline of historical moments that influenced researchers
throughout the 20th century. The bricolage metaphor surfaces in the latter of these two
tasks where, focused on North America, the scholars chronicle theoretical breaks in qualitative research from the 1900s until present day. Their record shows that, while traditional qualitative research was based on positivist rationalities, successive generations adopted more interpretive, post-positivist, postcolonial, postmodern, constructivist, and poststructuralist approaches. Denzin and Lincoln use the bricolage metaphor to articulate how researchers embraced flexibility and plurality by amalgamating multiple disciplines (e.g., humanities, social sciences), multiple methodologies (e.g., ethnography, discourse analysis, deconstruction, Foucauldian genealogy), and varying theoretical perspectives (e.g., feminism, Marxism, and postcolonialism) in their inquiry. They also denote the period as a time when “the boundaries between the social sciences and the humanities [were] . . . blurred. Social scientists were now turning to the humanities for models, theories, and methods of analysis (semiotics, hermeneutics). A form of genre diaspora was occurring” (p. 17 - 18). For Denzin and Lincoln, bricolage helped researchers respect the complexity of meaning making and contradictions of the lived world. As they state, “the combination of multiple methodological practices, and empirical materials, perspectives, and observers in a single study is best understood, as a strategy that adds rigor, breadth, complexity, richness, and depth to any inquiry” (p. 6). For Denzin and Lincoln there are five types of bricoleurs who embrace complexity: the interpretive bricoleur, the methodological bricoleur, the theoretical bricoleur, the political bricoleur, and the narrative bricoleur.

Adopting an interpretive bricolage approach, for Denzin and Lincoln (2005), means embracing the belief that “there is no one correct telling [of an] . . . event. Each telling, like light hitting a crystal, reflects a different perspective on [an] . . . incident” (p.
An interpretive bricoleur “understands that research is an interactive process, shaped by his or her own personal history, biography, gender, social class, race and ethnicity, and by those of the people in the setting” (p. 6). Adopting post-positivist epistemologies, interpretive bricoleurs recognize that knowledge is never free from subjective positioning or political interpretations.

For Denzin and Lincoln, interpretive bricoleurs are tasked to piece together their research reflexively (i.e., they not only examine an object of inquiry, but also scrutinize how their positioning affects their research processes). Citing Hertz (1997), Finlay (2002) suggests that qualitative researchers who engage in reflexive interpretation appreciate the complexity of the inquiry process. For Finlay,

Reflexivity can be defined as thoughtful, conscious self-awareness. Reflexive analysis in research encompasses continual evaluation of subjective responses, intersubjective dynamics, and the research process itself. It involves a shift in our understanding of data collection from something objective that is accomplished through detached scrutiny of “what I know and how I know it”, to recognizing how we actively construct our knowledge. (p. 532)

Reflexivity not only highlights how human positioning influences the research processes, it exposes how an object of inquiry can be interpreted from multiple vantage points. Reflexivity adds depth and plurality to the inquiry process. While a researcher’s positioning is embraced, a phenomenon’s intertextuality, interconnectedness, and relationships with other phenomena can be explored.

Pio’s (2005) research is one example of inquiry that takes up an interpretive bricolage approach. The work explores the influence of working conditions on “identity negotiations” for a group of Indian women migrants in New Zealand (p. 1279). Pio
describes her work as an interpretive bricolage when she explains how the “study emerges from the interpretive and post-positivist genres wherein the world is constructed through meaningful interpretations” (p. 1282). For her, this means that her inquiry must be attentive to the notion that all interpretations are positioned from specific vantage points, and it is important to consider how her positioning, as a woman “from the same ethnic minority community as the participants interviewed” (p. 1283) influences the work. Pio sees her positioning as a vital element of her inquiry; in a powerful way it influences her understanding and interpretations of the information gathered. For her, this positioning “facilitated an understanding of the roots of the women as well as the complex context within which Indian women operate in a new country” (p. 1283).

Denzin and Lincoln’s methodological bricoleur is a researcher who combines multiple research tools to accomplish a meaning making task, and engages in fluid, eclectic, and creative approaches to inquiry. The methodological bricolage is taken up, for example, by Wickens (2011), who draws on multiple analytical methods “to explore power networks and broad ideological perspectives” (p. 151), in a series of novels on lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, questioning (LGBTQ) themes. She explains how her methodological bricolage:

... draws upon multiple analytic frameworks based in three different disciplines... constant comparative analysis (Glaser and Strauss 1967), discursive textual analysis (Fairclough 2003), and traditional literary analysis (Vandergrift 1990) – to explore intersecting forms of power exhibited in written texts. (p. 151)

For Wickens, the combination of the three methods “allowed for a deep, rich, yet fluid analysis of and critical interpretive connections between textual excerpts within [the]
young adult novels and ongoing discourses around LGBTQ issues” (p. 159), and enables her to expose how power operates discursively within the texts.

However, for Denzin and Lincoln (2005), the methodological bricolage is more than just an eclectic approach. Rather, the methodological bricoleur respects complexity in meaning making processes by allowing contextual contingencies to dictate which data-gathering and analytical methods to use. Further, drawing on Becker (1998), Denzin and Lincoln (2000) explain, “the qualitative researcher as bricoleur, or maker of quilts, uses the aesthetic and material tools of his or her craft, developing whatever strategies, methods, and empirical materials are at hand” (p. 4). For example, a methodological bricoleur could be a researcher who begins an inquiry process with an action-research approach and then realizes that discourse analysis could help develop a more complex portrait of a phenomenon. However, the methodological bricoleur would not necessarily stop there. Denzin and Lincoln explain this by showing how bricolage is based on an emergent design:

The solution (bricolage) which is the result of the bricoleur’s method is based on an [emergent] construction (Weinstein and Weinstein, 1991, p. 161) that changes and takes new forms as the bricoleur adds different tools, methods, and techniques of representation and interpretation to the puzzle. (p. 4)

For Denzin and Lincoln, bricolage necessitates a “making do . . . [The] choices regarding which interpretive practice to employ are not necessarily made in advance” (p. 4). Methodological bricoleurs allow for dynamics and contexts to dictate which questions get asked, which methods to employ, and which interpretive perspectives to use. This means bricoleurs have an aptness for creativity—they know how to artistically combine theories, techniques, and methods. Furthermore, they are able to create their
own methodological tools when needed: “if a researcher needs to invent, or piece together new tools or techniques, he or she will do so” (p. 4).

Theoretical bricoleurs, for Denzin and Lincoln, work between multiple theoretical paradigms: “The theoretical bricoleur reads widely and is knowledgeable about the many interpretive paradigms (feminism, Marxism, cultural studies, constructivism, queer theory) that can be brought to any particular problem” (p. 8). From varied, sometimes conflicting, perspectives, theoretical bricoleurs perform multiple readings on an artifact, text, or phenomenon. This engenders awareness of different theoretical contexts in which an object can be interpreted—providing a multi-perspectival view, showing a plurality of complexities that influence phenomena.

For example, a theoretical bricoleur exploring workplace violence might begin with a liberal feminist reading of workplace “bullying,” examining how individual workers participate in workplace bullying, and then loop his/her interpretations through other theoretical frames. For example, s/he may examine how dominant discourses and patriarchal practices contribute to systems of power. A neo-Marxist analysis may also help this theoretical bricoleur consider how neoliberal capitalist contexts encourage ideals of competition in the workplace. Additionally, a theoretical bricoleur may notice heterosexist discourses operating within a given context, and therefore will draw from queer theory to examine how heteronormativity is embedded in workplace power relations. A multi-theoretical analysis, though not “more correct” than any one interpretation on its own, adds depth, rigour, and multiplicity to inquiry. The theoretical bricoleur, as Kincheloe and Berry (2004) explain, appreciates the complexity of the lived worlds, and responds to questions that don’t lend themselves to easy answers.

Political bricoleurs, for Denzin and Lincoln (2000), are researchers who are
aware of how knowledge and power are connected. They assert, "The political bricoleur
is aware that science is power, for all research findings have political implications. There
is no value free science" (p. 6). Like educators who adopt critical pedagogies, political
bricoleurs draw on various critical theories to develop counter-hegemonic forms of
inquiry that rally against oppressive social constructs and injustices. As their aim,
political bricoleurs are flexible in drawing on various methodological approaches to
produce knowledge that is intended to benefit those who are disenfranchised by, for
example, the workings of neoliberal, capitalist, white, patriarchal, and heterosexist social
structures. Later, I return to this discussion by connecting Denzin and Lincoln's political
bricoleur to Kincheloe's critical bricolage.

Narrative bricoleurs, for Denzin and Lincoln (2000), appreciate that inquiry is a
representation (i.e., a narrative). This means research texts can only represent specific
interpretations of a phenomenon. As such, research is always positioned from specific
contextual perspectives. As Denzin and Lincoln explain:

The gendered, narrative bricoleur also knows that researchers all tell stories
about the world they have studied. Thus the narratives, or stories, scientists tell
are accounts couched and framed within specific storytelling traditions, often
defined as paradigms (e.g., positivist, post-positivist, constructivism). (p. 6)

Narrative bricoleurs appreciate how ideologies and discourses shape how knowledge is
produced. Instead of taking these ideologies and discourses for granted, they seek to
understand their influence on research processes and texts.

Narrative bricoleurs, therefore, attempt to trouble and avoid univocal research
representations. This means that narrative bricoleurs draw their techniques from multiple
perspectives, voices, and sources. A narrative bricolage is exemplified in Markham's
(2005) study of the meaning and consequences of a sexist phrase that surfaced frequently in her university community. In her article, “Go Ugly Early: Fragmented Narrative and Bricolage as Interpretive Method” Markham explains how the phrase is understood as “a mission statement for a particular subculture of college life: Men who idealize the image of the stereo-typical American male whose primary goal in life is to have sex with as many women as possible, using whatever means available” (p. 2).

Rather than assuming a univocal positioning within her study, Markham uses a narrative bricolage approach to employ multiple fragmented voices to interpret (and disrupt) the function, socio-political dimensions, and violent ramifications of the use of the phrase in her broader university community. She explains that her complex narrative is “derived from research journals, field notes, actual transcripts of interviews and recorded conversations, fiction, and scholarly literature [to] present a bricolage of ideas and images” (p. 25). In this way, she uses multiple voices to show the demeaning and violent implications of the misogynist discourse. She also explains how “bricolage can function politically to encourage multiple perspectives” (p. 2). In this way, she may not only be a narrative bricoleur, but a political bricoleur as well.

Clearly, Denzin and Lincoln (2000) consider bricolage to be more than multi-methods research. They see it as an approach that enables researchers to respect the complexity of the meaning making and inquiry process. Further, rather than idolizing the perceived ability of detached neutrality, bricoleurs, like critical pedagogues, engage the political dimension of inquiry. It is, therefore, to a discussion of bricolage as a critical research praxis that I now turn.

Joe Kincheloe: The critical bricolage.

Kincheloe’s bricolage project, adopts and extends the five categories of
bricoleurs mentioned previously. For Kincheloe, the criticalization of inquiry includes:

• a move away from positivist and monological research approaches that reinforce oppressive, marginalizing, and violent social structures;
• research pursuits that appreciate the complexity of the lived world (this includes inquiry processes that do not study objects as detached "things-in-themselves," but rather as connected "objects-in-the-world");
• a move toward emancipatory research approaches based on critical theories, and interdisciplinary/postmodernist/poststructuralist epistemological rationalities. (Kincheloe, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c)

For Kincheloe (2004a), addressing these intentions involves a new kind of rigour in research. Bricolage entails efforts to: (a) connect phenomena to the "contexts in which [they] are embedded"; (b) explore "the relationship between researcher and that being researched"; (c) connect meaning making to human experiences; (d) make "use of textual forms of analysis"; and (e) connect these forms of understanding to "informed political action" (p. 83).

Kincheloe’s (2004a) and Berry’s (2004a), perspectives on critical bricolage have been formative in my design and analysis of the What’s up Doc? program. Although I draw on various works to articulate Kincheloe’s conceptualization of bricolage as a critical research praxis, in the following discussion, I also show how critical filmmaking pedagogies, the What’s up Doc? program, and my analysis are based on the conception of critical bricolage.

“Onto the next level.”

Whereas early use of the bricolage metaphor rests on structuralist foundations, Kincheloe’s critical bricolage is an attempt to push earlier challenges against the rigid
and strict procedures of positivist research “onto the next level” (Kincheloe, 2005b).

Embracing a poststructuralist frame, Kincheloe’s critical bricolage involves the holistic exploration of the role of context, discourse, and power in the shaping of phenomena. For Kincheloe, human knowledge construction does not lead to universal truths nor can it be considered a linear or tidy process.

Kincheloe’s critique also extends to what he calls monological methods of collecting information and observing the world. For Kincheloe, monologic approaches to knowledge production involve mono-disciplinary methods that refuse to account for alternative rationalities, multiple knowledges, or complexities inherent in the inquiry process. Kincheloe argues monological research is problematic for two reasons: first, it neglects the complexities of meaning making; and second, it limits what counts as knowledge and who can produce it—neglecting dynamics of power. He states that bricoleurs do not only seek to develop complex understandings of phenomena of power dynamics, they aim to disrupt oppression perpetrated through traditional meaning making practices.

*Appreciating the complexity of meaning making.*

Kincheloe (2005b) argues that meaning making is not as rigid as positivists presuppose, i.e., it is an active and fluid process. A bricolage approach, for him, helps researchers respect this fluidity. He explains “bricolage constructs a far more active role for humans in shaping reality and in creating the research process and narratives that represented it” (p. 325). Adopting this active/fluid approach has methodological implications. Kincheloe states:

... bricolage involve[s] the process of employing the methodological strategies as they are needed in the unfolding context of a research situation. ...
[bricoleurs] actively construct ... research methods from the tools at hand rather than passively receiving the "correct" universally applicable methodologies. 

(p. 324)

This means that bricolage has an elastic character, and that, "bricoleurs ... steer clear of pre-existing guidelines and checklists developed outside the specific demand of the inquiry at hand" (Kincheloe, 2004a, p. 2).

In education, contexts, relationships, and politics all play complex mediating roles. Kincheloe (2004c) explains, in education research "entities are often removed from the context that shaped them, the processes of which they are a part, the relationships and connections that structure their being in the world" (p. 74). While a holistic view of all the factors that constitute a phenomena is impossible, removing a phenomena from its context stymies recognition of how it has come to be shaped.

These methodological implications informed my work in the schools and my research design. Through my practices and methods, I have embraced Kincheloe's view that meaning making is fluid. I have done this by shaping my work with youth, and my research, on the notion of emergent design (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). In developing pedagogies, the teachers and I draw on methods of arts-based inquiry, participatory video and critical pedagogy. I also adopted a range of flexible methods for information gathering. For example, I used tools like video recording (e.g., behind the scenes footage, and the students' films), interviewing, anecdotal comments, student and teacher journaling, students' writing and scripting activities, and personal communications. And in Chapters Four and Five, I draw on a range of critical analyses, specifically, critical textual literacies, critical ethnography, and critical discourse analysis.
**Symbiotic hermeneutics.**

Beyond adopting a fluid approach, multiple methods and theoretical lenses, Kincheloe also suggests that bricoleurs engage in a process he called symbiotic hermeneutics. Respecting that all knowledge is a situated interpretation, symbiotic hermeneutics helps bricoleurs explore how contexts and relationships constitute phenomena; it “demands that relationships at all levels be respected and engaged in . . . [ways] that produce justice and new levels of understanding” (Kincheloe, 2004c, p. 69). In this way, symbiotic hermeneutics allows bricoleurs to examine phenomena not as detached “things-in-themselves,” but as connected “things-in-the-world” (Kincheloe, 2004c, p. 65). Bricoleurs, for Kincheloe, do not embrace symbiotic hermeneutics as a way to develop certainty about a phenomenon, nor do they do so to create a more accurate representation. For Kincheloe (2004a), “there is no final, transhistorical, non-ideological meaning that bricoleurs strive to achieve” (p. 5). Rather, a representation based on symbiotic analysis appreciates how a multiplicity of complex ontological and epistemological factors shape phenomena.

Hence, as Kincheloe (2004b) argues, bricoleurs seek out the ways that phenomena are interconnected with other phenomena, and socially constructed in a dialogue between culture, institutions, texts, and historical contexts. Using symbiotic hermeneutics, bricoleurs examine how socio-historical dynamics influence and shape an object of inquiry. Kincheloe (2005b) states that an “. . . object of inquiry is ontologically complex in that it cannot be described as an encapsulated entity . . . it is always a part of many contexts and processes, it is culturally inscribed and historically situated (p. 333). Epistemologically, bricoleurs explore how the foundations of knowledge in a given context shape an object of inquiry. For example, bricoleurs examine the texts,
discourses, and histories of thought that shape a phenomenon. Or, as Kincheloe (2004a) states, “the complex view of the object of inquiry accounts for the historical effort to interpret its meanings in the world and how such efforts continue to define its social, cultural, psychological, and educational effects” (p. 7). In this way, an epistemological analysis helps bricoleurs understand how dominant rationalities and discourses influence understandings of a phenomenon.

A helpful example of symbiotic hermeneutics is Kincheloe’s (2002) text *The Sign of the Burger: McDonald’s and the Culture of Power*. Employing a multi-theoretical and methodological framework, the work analyzes the McDonald’s corporation’s “sociocultural, political, and economic power” (p. 9). Employing ontological and epistemological analyses, Kincheloe shows how McDonald’s’ cultural, semiotic, and pedagogical power is symptomatic of much broader discursive contexts that make up Western societies. He describes his text as “employ[ing] a mutually informative, synergistic bricolage of research methods . . . [that includes] ethnography, content analysis, historiography, cultural studies analysis, rhetorical analysis, semiotics” (p. 11). Ontologically, he explores how free-market capitalism, social histories, and neoliberal ideologies contribute to the predominance of a capitalist world view which maintains corporate power. Epistemologically, he shows how dominant knowledges, ideas and discourses facilitate the corporation’s powerful place in the world. Further, he shows how the McDonald’s corporation capitalizes on discourse to maintain and increase its power. He provides an example of how McDonald’s has engaged in “corporate intrusion in the classroom” (p. 10), and explains the “educative or ‘cultural pedagogical’ aspect [of McDonald’s] involves its capacity to produce and transmit knowledge, shape values, influence identity, and construct consciousness” (p. 9).
In this study, symbiotic hermeneutics helps me explore how social and institutional knowledges, practices, and discourses shaped our critical filmmaking projects and understandings of the What's up Doc? program. Rather than examining projects and experiences as “encapsulated entities” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 319), my analysis explores how broader institutional and social contexts govern the students’ potential for critique and action. For example, my analysis in Chapter Five shows how discursive constructions of our collaborations shaped public responses to the program and students’ and teachers’ responses throughout. In addition, a major focus of my study is devoted to the analysis of how institutional discourses, structures, policies, and practices influence the program, our experiences, and our potential for social change. In short, my approach aligns with Kincheloe’s (2004a) view that “bricoleurs must struggle to specify the ways perspectives are shaped by social, cultural, political, ideological, discursive, and disciplinary forces” (p. 9).

**Critical hermeneutics.**

To guard against hegemonic forms of research, Kincheloe (2004a) also suggests that critical hermeneutics, knowledges from the margins, and political action be infused in all bricolage projects. Critical hermeneutics is an interpretive process used to explore how power tacitly forms phenomena, texts, knowledges, and subjects (Kincheloe, 2005b). As Kincheloe (2004a) explains, “critical hermeneutics is employed by bricoleurs to understand the historical and social ways that power operates to shape meaning and its lived consequences” (p. 11). For Kincheloe (2004a), moving beyond symbiotic hermeneutics to critical hermeneutics “alerts [bricoleurs] to the ways power [in a given contextual setting] helps construct the social, cultural, and economic conditions under which meaning is made” (p. 338). Like Denzin and Lincoln’s (2005)
interpretive bricoleur, Kincheloe’s critical bricoleur draws from a range of critical theories (e.g., feminism, Marxism, post-colonialism) to explore the taken-for-granted ways power shapes knowledge, texts, and objects of inquiry.

Through critical hermeneutics, Kincheloe argues, multiple textual forms of critical analysis can be used to examine phenomena and the social world. This calls for a theoretical bricolage (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) and is inspired by Derrida’s (1976) poststructuralist philosophy that all knowledge is rooted in the texts humans generate. Embracing Derrida’s position has two implications: first, a text can be analyzed, critiqued, deconstructed and reconstructed; and second, all texts require interpretation, so textual meaning is never secure (Derrida, 1978). Bricoleurs, for Kincheloe, embrace the multiplicity and slipperiness of texts by reading worldly texts from multiple interpretive perspectives. This means that a range of literary criticisms (e.g., deconstruction, feminist, Marxist, and queer theories) can be used by bricoleurs to explore phenomena. As Kincheloe (2004c) explains, the more perspectives explored, “the more dimensions and consequences of the text will be illuminated” (p. 52).

Kincheloe’s critical hermeneutic approach is exemplified in Watt’s (2008, 2011) investigations of the representations of Muslim women in Western media. Here, Watt employes multiple theoretical lenses (e.g., feminist, anti-racist) and various methodological tools (e.g., semiological analysis, discursive analysis) to engage in multiple readings of Muslim women’s representations in various news, magazine, and television texts. Each reading shows how dominant Western contexts (saturated with racism, xenophobia, and Islamophobia) shape Muslim women’s representations and lives. Watt’s analysis of how gender discrimination and racialization shape media texts shows how an object of inquiry can never be separated from relations of power.
In my research, I engage in critical hermeneutics by exploring, through multiple theoretical lenses, the ways power shapes the *What's up Doc?* program and the video texts created through our collaborations. To illustrate the many forms of power, I engage in multiple readings of the films, interview transcripts, and policy documents, using feminist, poststructuralist, neo-Marxist, queer, and dis/ability studies theories. I also treat institutional structures and our experiences in the *What's up Doc?* program as texts and make use of various forms of textual criticism in my analysis.

To do so, I draw on Berry's (2004a) "Point of Entry Texts" (POETs) and "feedback-looping" (p. 111). For Berry, a POET is the text a bricoleur chooses as his/her point of theoretical and interpretive departure; "the POET is the starting point. It acts as a point of origin through which all the different areas of the bricolage are threaded" (p. 111). Feedback-looping involves threading a text through multiple forms of analysis. In Chapters Four and Five I engage in feedback looping to thread a range of POETs (e.g., the program itself, the films, my reflexive journals, anecdotes, curricula, policy documents, school structures, encountered discourses) through multiple critical-theoretical lenses. I do so to show how, while the films were intended as institutional and social criticism, power always operates through these texts.

For Kincheloe, adopting critical hermeneutics also means bricoleurs are "dedicated to questioning and learning from the excluded" (Kincheloe, 2004b, p. 48). This means bricoleurs seek knowledges that are usually silenced in dominant research narratives. These actions relate to Foucault’s views on subjugated knowledges (Foucault, Bertani, Fontana, Ewald, & Macey, 2003). For Foucault, subjugated knowledges are the “series of knowledges that have been disqualified as nonconceptual knowledges, as insufficiently elaborated knowledges: naive knowledges, hierarchically
inferior knowledges, knowledges that are below the required level of erudation or scientificity" (p. 7). For example, the knowledges constructed by institutions like schools shape dominant knowledges, while the knowledges constructed by students constitute subjugated knowledges. From Foucault’s and Kincheloe’s perspectives, the culturally elite’s control over the means of knowledge production has meant that insights from the margins of societies have been subjugated.

As Kincheloe (2005b) argues, bricoleurs do not only seek to understand the links between power and knowledge, they also seek to affect change through knowledge production activities. For Kincheloe, critical bricoleurs are politically capable of disrupting the authoritative control over knowledge production by removing “... knowledge production and its benefits from the control of elite groups” (p. 344).

My work parallels this dimension of Kincheloe’s bricolage. The What’s up Doc? program is focused on fostering expressions of young people’s subjugated knowledges (Foucault et al., 2003). For Kincheloe (2005b), an embrace of subjugated knowledges is an important step in creating more democratic forms of knowledge production. For him, the “confrontation with difference, so basic to the concept of the bricolage, enables researchers to produce new forms of knowledge that inform policy decisions and political action in general” (p. 344). However, through my research on critical filmmaking pedagogies, I understand that these forms of inquiry still require careful analysis and scrutiny. Any claims that critical filmmaking pedagogies generate more democratic or empowering forms of inquiry must be tempered and troubled.

For some critical theorists, for example McLaren (2001), developing an awareness of power and embracing subjugated knowledges might not be enough for bricolage to be considered a political research praxis. He asks, if bricoleurs do not
disrupt the broader social structures, discourses, and institutions that are responsible for inequitable social conditions, then how can the process be considered political? In response, Kincheloe (2004a) argues “the criticality of the bricolage is dedicated to engaging political action” (p. 12).

An example of bricolage informed with political action is McLean’s (2008) study of the political implications of integrating critical literacies in a high school classroom in a rural New Brunswick community. For her project, McLean designed a high school critical literacies course, *Women, Media and Culture* (WMC), using a bricolage of critical theories (e.g., poststructural feminist, post-colonialist, neo-Marxist). The course was intended to develop students’ understanding of critical literacy and engage them in actions to disrupt local cultures of marginalization, oppression, and violence. Some of their actions included infiltrating a (longstanding and popular) local beauty pageant by speaking out against demeaning practices at a preliminary meeting of the pageant organizers. While these actions did not dismantle the pageant altogether, the students did disrupt the discourses that constructed the pageant as unproblematic. This was exemplified at the 2005 pageant,

... when a local town councilor addressed the audience about feminist concerns with female objectification and the ways in which pageants contribute to the practice ... she did urge people to recognize the concerns and keep attempting to change the focus of the pageant from the superficial celebration of beauty to a meaningful recognition of individual worth. (p. 198)

For McLean, the councilor’s speech signified a shift in discourses, “her speech represented a negotiation that might not have happened without the critical discursive examination initiated by the WMC critical literacies’ community” (p. 198).
The activist dimension of McLean’s work reminds novice bricoleurs that social change (grounded in critical theories) is a vital element of bricolage. Bricoleurs address change by engaging in, what Kincheloe (2005b) calls, the fictive element of bricolage. For Kincheloe, this dimension enables bricoleurs to imagine new possibilities, and new worlds where power relations are organized differently. He argues that embracing the fictive element of inquiry means bricoleurs may avoid paralysis by imagining “things that never were . . . [seeing] the world as it could be . . . [developing] alternatives to oppressive existing conditions . . . [and discerning] what is lacking in a way that promotes the will to act” (p. 346).

My work embraces these political dimensions. While the students’ films are based on symbiotic and critical hermeneutics (i.e., they connect social issues to context and power relations), they also embrace the fictive political elements of bricolage. In particular, Chapters Four and Five show how the films and the What’s up Doc? program act as conduits for social action. Each film, through an embrace of subjugated knowledges, imagines a divergent reality where social structures are altered and power is negotiated differently. A focus on subjugated knowledges resists dominant discursive rules structuring who has authority to construct and share knowledge in schools. But, in this process, political efforts of resistance and change are also encouraged. The students’ work (in addressing institutional and social powers), are political acts of protest. They have a potential to entice audiences, especially in school settings, to question dominant forms of power and engage in actions for social justice. In this way, the work draws on Berry’s (2004b) view that bricolage produces political knowledges that can inform socially-just action.

While Kincheloe’s articulations of bricolage are inspired by earlier works, his
ideas push the practice to new levels. His efforts to push the conceptualization of bricolage toward critical terrains have been influential in my work. I now turn to discuss what bricolage looked like in the What’s up Doc? program.

**Adopting a Bricolage Approach**

In the previous section, I discussed the theoretical underpinnings of bricolage and showed how these theories inform my thinking in this research. In this section, I share my research design, showing how the approach influenced the procedures the teachers and I carried out during the program and the methods I used for this research.

In this study, I view bricolage as more than an eclectic approach to inquiry. Bricolage helped me to decipher the multiple complexities that shape and constrain potential for classroom-based critical analysis through filmmaking. It allowed me to appreciate how multiple contingencies influenced our collaborations. The open-endedness and flexibility of bricolage afforded me this potential. I based my research on critical bricolage for two reasons. First, the What’s up Doc? program takes place in five mainstream school classrooms. Complex power dynamics shaped the potential of the praxis in each context. Students’ personal lives, relationships in the classroom, relationships between the students and the institutions, as well as the cultural dynamics of the school, the economic contexts of the community, the dynamics of history, and the political structures all shaped the What’s up Doc? program. An analysis of these complex power dynamics fits with Kincheloe’s (2004b) view that “the bricolage, with its multi-perspectival orientation, maintains that only a rigorous, diverse, discursively informed mode of research can deal with the messy dynamics of the Lebenswelt [life world], human experience, and the interpretation of phenomena” (pp. 42 - 43).

Second, I embraced bricolage for its critical and political potential. Adopting
Denzin and Lincoln’s (2005) articulation of the political bricoleur, and Kincheloe and Berry’s (2004), Steinberg’s (2011), and McLaren’s (2001) views on the critical bricolage, I see how the approach has potential for informed social action. The films produced in the program adopt elements of symbiotic and critical hermeneutics and give strength to knowledges that are usually subjugated. I chose a bricolage approach when designing this work to strengthen the program’s potential as a form of resistance to oppressive social and institutional conditions. The approach enabled us to look at social issues from multiple perspectives, and, in turn, explore multiple ways that issues might be addressed. Also, in drawing attention to the problematic, oppressive, elements of schooling, this study can entice critical reflection on social and institutional structures.

In the following sections I show how, while bricolage necessitates a making do with the “bricoles of the world” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 4), it does not mean that bricoleurs engage in an “anything goes” style of inquiry; quite the contrary. There are goals associated with bricolage work (e.g., connecting phenomena to context and engaging in political action). While I have adopted an emergent design, like a reflexive teacher, I developed a daily plan of procedures with teachers to engage students in filmmaking processes. How this plan transpired, however, depended on an infinite amount of contextual variables that were mostly out of our control (e.g., policies, administrators, snow days). In the following section, I outline my research design and raise ethical issues associated with this work.

**Research design.**

Respecting the complexities involved in crafting an “overview,” I attempt to explain what the *What’s up Doc?* program looked like in 2012. However, my narrative bricolage (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) here can only present a partial glimpse of what
occurred during my work with the program. The representation I offer cannot cover all of the pedagogical practices the teachers and I adopted in planning and implementing the film projects. My discussion is also limited because my time was shared between five classrooms. This meant that I could not be in every classroom daily to observe and participate. However, even if I had been in one location for the program’s entirety, I realize, drawing on poststructuralist insights, that my perspective and analysis remain limited by my positioning and the inherently marginalizing practices of academic research (Eyre, 2010).

During the 2012 What’s up Doc? program, I collaborated with five classroom teachers (three women and two men) in three schools to plan and implement a series of seven student filmmaking projects. While classrooms involved in the 2012 program reflect diverse populations, social contexts, and rural/urban settings, each was part of the same school district and, geographically, not that far apart. This means that the schools were all part of the same administrative body and operated under similar school district policies, program, structures, and administrative practices. Generally, over the five years of the program, the ages of students involved in the program ranged from 15-18. The program was conceptualized as an initiative for students in Grade 11 Level 3 programs. In 2012, the program involved four Grade 11 and one Grade 10 English Language Arts classes. Each school, and all of the teachers, volunteered to be involved in the What’s up Doc? program and my research. Initially, the School District Literacy Coordinator contacted a group of teachers whom he thought might like to be involved. Since then, some of the teachers have changed classroom assignments or moved on to new schools, and other teachers have joined. The five teachers who participated in the program volunteered to be a part of this study. They had varying degrees of knowledge and
experience with filmmaking, media studies, and critical theories, and two of the teachers were completing a Master’s of Education in Critical Studies degree at UNB.

Over a twelve-week period, I split my time between the five classrooms, collaborating with the teachers in facilitating the development of filmmaking pedagogies. I worked with the teachers and provided professional development sessions and workshops on the conventions of filmmaking. I also shared my understandings about critical filmmaking pedagogies. Through bricolage, and by engaging in a critical reflexive analysis throughout the process, the teachers and I engaged in frequent modifications of our filmmaking pedagogies. We continued this process until the What’s up Doc? film festival in May, 2012. In planning and developing the program, I was quite flexible in how we implemented the critical filmmaking projects in each setting, similar to Kincheloe’s (2004c) “elastic clause,” (p. 74), mentioned previously. Working with the teachers and students we constantly changed our plans and practices based on what was occurring, and what we learned, in each context.

Before the project began, I met with administrators and the teachers to co-develop classroom plans for implementation. Ongoing informal planning sessions occurred daily, before and after school, at lunchtime and via email correspondence. These planning sessions extended throughout the program; teachers and I discussed daily lesson plans, weekly objectives, and often co-reflected on the students’ productions. I also used this time to work with the teachers on participatory filmmaking conventions and critical approaches to social commentary. For example, we discussed how the students’ films could adopt different forms of social criticism (e.g., feminist, Marxist, queer, anti-racist, dis/ability). We also discussed films that focus on social critique and resistance. In some cases, upon the teachers’ requests, I also provided
materials and resources associated with critical theory/pedagogy and participatory video. I encouraged the teachers to use this information in implementing critical filmmaking pedagogies and structuring their classroom practices for the What's up Doc? program.

When the program began, I traveled to each school to meet the students. During these encounters, I discussed my experiences with the Candle in the Dark project and the What's up Doc? program. I also introduced the intended goals of the filmmaking projects and critical filmmaking pedagogies. To help elucidate these goals, I presented films from recent years in the program. The films provided opportunities for class discussions on how to express critical perspectives through film, engage in social commentary, and illustrate resistance to oppression. During these initial meetings, I also attempted to forge a collegial relationship with students. To do so, I initiated discussions about film and filmmaking more generally (e.g., their favorite genres, and personal experiences). I also provided an overview of the filmmaking process (i.e., an overview of writing, pre-production, production and post-production), and explained how, over twelve weeks, each group would be taking on each element of this process.

While, as I show below, the filmmaking procedures carried out during What's up Doc? were planned systematically, the approach the teachers and I used in introducing students to critical theories was far less structured. The decision to introduce critical theories more fluidly relates to an attempt to negotiate the participatory elements of the program. In adopting participatory approaches, students were in charge of choosing their themes for the films. Throughout, they also held their own discussions about how those themes were to be addressed in the films. The teachers and I used the participatory context as springboards into discussions about discourse, power, ideologies, and social structures. The most explicit discussions of critical theories came in class activities when
the teachers and I asked the students to analyze visual media texts. For example, in some
classes, we asked students to analyze media for gendered, racialized, and homophobic
representations. Critical themes, however, were mostly addressed on an ad hoc basis
with students during the writing, production, and post-production activities. For
instance, the students' scripts enabled us to pose questions related to issues of sexism,
racism, classism, ableism and homophobia. In raising critical theories in this way, we
hoped to encourage students to explore how the social issues they would be examining
in their films were connected to broader power relations and socio-political contexts.
Using media texts to spark dialogue, we hoped students would use their films to identify
power, and to think of ways conditions could be different. In Chapter Four I discuss how
the students' films take up critical themes and both challenge and reinscribe dominant
practices.

While the classroom writing and script development activities were chosen by
each teacher, the What's up Doc? program calls for all students to engage in some form
of script or documentary treatment writing. In the writing phase, activities included:
brainstorming for a theme, group discussions, generating ideas about visuals, and
thinking about who could be interviewed to build knowledge about the theme or topic.
As has been the precedent in the program for the past four years, and due to equipment
and time restraints (which I discuss in more depth in Chapter Five), not all ideas were
selected for production. However, decisions about which films were to be produced
were mostly left to students through voting and/or by reaching class consensus.

After students generated thematic ideas, they began research and writing
activities. The teachers generally organized the classes into groups to develop more
extensive plans, treatments, and scripts for their films. During this phase the teachers
and I provided guidance and support. For example, we offered mini-lessons on
conventions of script writing and provided one-on-one assistance during the writing
activities. This gave us an opportunity to speak with each student with respect to his/her
scripts, and posed questions to help spur critical analysis. To foster symbiotic/critical
hermeneutics and conscientization, we encouraged students to engage in social analysis
that moved beyond individualizing discourses. These classroom interactions also
provided us with a significant opportunity to explore textual criticisms that could be
implemented in the films. As I show in Chapter Four, these interactions fostered analysis
of institutional, social, and discursive issues.

Once film ideas were identified, each class made a short-list of films to be
carried through to production. Two classes each produced two films, and three classes
each produced one film. In the classes with two films, the students formed two groups.
In the classes that produced one film, the students organized into smaller groups to
develop specific scenes or sections of the larger film. In all of the classes, the students
decided which groups they joined; however, in some instances, the teachers helped
formulate the composition so that group numbers would be more equally balanced.

Once the groups were formed, the classes engaged in the writing and pre-
production phases. Scripts and treatments were finalized based on small-group and full-
class collaborations. In films that included dramatic components (i.e., short vignettes to
visually illustrate an idea in the film) the students made decisions about acting roles.
Next, they developed questions for interviews, contacted interviewees, crafted shooting
schedules, designed props, and rehearsed acting roles. During these activities, they
continued to develop their ideas and decide on how they would be addressing their themes visually, through cut-aways, b-roll\(^2\), and additional footage. These collaborative instances provided more opportunity for the teachers and me to raise critical questions with the students in regard to the content of the films. Before moving into the production phase, the students produced a final “working” version of documentary treatment and/or dramatic script. In some cases, they shared these versions with the whole class as a final chance to get input before beginning the production schedule.

In the production phase, students, teachers, and I worked together to turn the “working” scripts into short films. To initiate production, the teachers and I provided mini-lessons on the film equipment and filmmaking conventions. To help students become comfortable with the functionality of the equipment, we drew on some preliminary video-production games from the text *Insights into Participatory Video: A Handbook for the Field* (Lunch & Lunch, 2006). This process was quite involved and took some time. As we were using semi-professional equipment, adequate training to make the students and teachers feel comfortable was important.

We used three games to start the training process. The first two games, from the Lunch and Lunch (2006) text, are called the “Name game” and the “Disappearing game.”\(^3\) Both involve a practice of “each-one-teach-one” (Lunch & Lunch, 2006). This approach involves the non-hierarchal co-development of technical video and audio skills. The third game, called the “Superhero Game,” was created by one of the teachers

\(^2\) I am using the terms cut-aways and b-roll to refer to footage that is edited over interview or narrative texts. In film, this footage is used to accent the meaning expressed in interview or narrative texts, or for editing purposes to conceal problematic cuts or footage.

\(^3\) A description of these games is online at [http://insightshare.org/resources/pv-handbook](http://insightshare.org/resources/pv-handbook)
in the *What’s up Doc?* program. The handout for the activity can be found in Appendix A. Unlike the first two games, this game does not use the each-one-teach-one approach, but rather requires the students to work collaboratively, with little supervision, to produce a short vignette. The activity gives students an opportunity to use the cameras outside of the classroom to produce a short fictional scene.

For each of these games, the teachers and I adopted what Mitchell (2011) calls the No-Editing-Required (N-E-R) approach. N-E-R is distinguished from participatory video projects that rely on computer software which enables non-linear editing. In N-E-R activities all filming is done chronologically which means that any mistakes must be fixed exclusively with the camera. Mitchell (2011), in providing an overview of a three-hour N-E-R workshop, explains:

> In the N-E-R approach, there is no way of correcting a problem without going back. If a shot doesn’t work, someone begins to laugh, or external sound intervenes, it will be necessary to start from the beginning. Although dozens of small groups have operated with this limitation and one might expect that this is a serious challenge, I have never worked with a group that did not manage to come up with a product in the one hour. (p. 77)

Due to temporal and budgetary constraints, the N-E-R approach has been an important part of the *What’s up Doc?* program. We used N-E-R with students during all training and preliminary filmmaking games, and it enabled us to become comfortable with the equipment and learn about the fundamentals of storytelling through film.

While the games helped students develop technical skills and comfort with the equipment during the process, the screening of the footage from these activities served another instructional function. Reviewing the footage gave the teachers and me an
opportunity to introduce and ask the students to reflect on aesthetic filmmaking techniques. As expected, filmic conventions were absent, and the aesthetic of each video was lacking. Therefore, reviewing the videos with the students gave us an opportunity to draw attention to important issues associated with visual storytelling.

When reviewing the footage, I usually began by asking the students, “What do you notice about this video that is different than something you would see at the movie theatre?” In response, the students tended to discuss how they had trouble hearing dialogue (instigating conversations about audio recording techniques), how the light from the classroom windows created silhouettes (creating opportunities to talk about composition and lighting), and how the footage was shaky or involved confusing hard-cuts between shots (enabling important conversations about the use of tripods and montage editing techniques). In these instances I (or the teacher) would discuss how to align the work with some of the aesthetic conventions of filmmaking.

Following these initial activities, the teachers and I carried out additional mini-lessons focusing on basic filming, framing, lighting, and audio techniques. Using the skills they developed through the process, the students followed their own shooting schedules to carry out the interviews, film the dramatic vignettes, and capture their b-roll footage. While capturing the footage, we referred to conventions covered in earlier activities. In addition, the production phase, while usually hectic, did provide opportunities to reflect on the social issues addressed in the films. For example, after the interviews I often initiated discussions with students about how the tone in interviews aligned or opposed the political messages they intended for their films.

After all footage had been captured, the students began the post-production phase. During this time, students and teachers digitized the footage and edited the films.
Due to a limited number of computers, editing usually involved only a select group of computer-savvy students. I provided lessons on editing techniques and conventions while the students turned their footage into composite works. I also helped the students with individual questions about the software and editing styles and techniques.

During the editing phase, the teachers and I also engaged students in discussions about the representation of gender, class, and ability in the films. For example, I would often ask the students to consider what the footage and editing choices “say” to audiences. This gave us opportunities to go over language choice and how the films discursively framed issues. However, our time to engage in deep critical analysis of the footage was limited. While only a small group of students participated in editing activities, other students developed credits, posters and DVD cases for the films.

Each year after the films are compiled, the program concludes with a What's up Doc? film festival. In 2012, seven films were shown to an audience of over 300 people at a local theatre. We also showed a behind-the-scenes documentary I produced with students during the program. The festival began with an introduction by the festival host (a teacher from a local school), and a speech by the District Literacy Coordinator, and I delivered a short speech (see Appendix B) that outlined the purpose of the What's up Doc? program and the contributions of the various partners. Next we screened the students’ films: Millionaire Meals; That Girl: One Little Heartbeat; Courses: The Path to Our Future; Step Back Move Ahead; Family: A Series of Smart Films; and Living in the Shadows, and the documentary These Kids Aren’t Just Making Noise. The documentary highlights student and teacher responses to the program, and the collaborative efforts that went into the productions. After the screening, we held an awards ceremony for films deemed to be the “best” in the following categories: Social
Insight; Cinematography; Screenplay/Writing; Sound/Music; Acting; Supporting Acting; Originality; Direction; and Overall Best Documentary. Along with each of these awards, the teachers presented individual students with medals for their participation. During these presentations, the teachers also shared information about the experience and representatives from each class formed a panel to answer questions from the audience.

**Gathering and analyzing qualitative information.**

During the procedures discussed above, I gathered information for critical analysis. I sought student volunteers to be involved in focus group discussions and short, impromptu recorded conversations about the program. In each class, I invited all students to take part. However, I made it clear that participation in the interviews was not an expectation of the program. The focus groups took place in a classroom or a workspace during class-time in the last month of the *What's up Doc?* program, as students moved between production and post-production phases. There were four to six students in each focus group. I recorded seven discussions, each lasting between 45 and 60 minutes. I held at least one focus group with each class involved in the program. During these discussions, I asked students about the films, their responses to the program, their thinking about the pedagogical practices, and their collaborative experiences in the classroom. In instances when I noticed that one or two of the group members dominated conversations, I would ask more directed questions to other students in the groups. The informal, one-on-one, interviews with students also occurred during production and post-production phases. These interviews were more spontaneous, in that they took place when particular students approached me and volunteered to speak about specific issues associated with the program. I wanted to make this opportunity
available for students who may not have felt comfortable engaging in focus group discussions; however, only three students opted for this format. These discussions/interviews ranged from five to fifteen minutes, occurred during class time, and were also recorded. I also conducted semi-formal interviews with the five teachers involved in the program. These interviews were more structured, took place in the teachers' classrooms, and were recorded. They were held over lunch or after school and lasted 60 and 90 minutes. The focus of these interviews centered on their responses to the What's up Doc? program, their thinking about critical filmmaking pedagogies, and their experiences implementing the process in their classrooms.

I also maintained a reflexive journal about discussions and communications that transpired during my twelve weeks in the schools. In the journal, I paid particular attention to tensions that arose during the projects. Further, to add depth and scope for analysis, I collected a number of the students' and teachers' preparatory filmmaking texts. Because the teachers took on different pedagogical practices to meet the needs of the students in their context, the filmmaking texts I gathered were diverse. Most teachers had students take part in journaling, writing, and scripting activities. These texts helped me reflect on responses to the program and the various issues the students wanted to explore through their films. Throughout the process I also documented anecdotal reflections from teachers and personal communications that focused on preparation for the filmmaking project. I also examined footage from the behind-the-scenes documentary. Taking up a bricolage approach to explore these multiple texts helped me analyze the experiences in, and texts produced through, the What's up Doc? program, and enabled me to identify dynamics of power in our collaborations.

To provide an institutional context for my analysis, I drew examined a number of
provincial and school policy documents. Similar to Hennessey (2013) I conducted a critical discourse analysis of the *New Brunswick Education Act* (New Brunswick Government, 1997); the *New Brunswick English Language Arts Curriculum* (NB Department of Education, 1998); the *NB3-21C: Creating a 21st Century Learning Model for Public Education* (NB Department of Education, 2010a); and the *21st Century Standards of Practice for Beginning Teachers in New Brunswick* (NB Department of Education, 2010b). Scrutiny of the discourses embedded in these texts enabled me to show the institutional contexts shaping our experiences.

As a critical bricoleur, my analysis borrows heavily from Foucauldian perspectives on discourse and critical discourse analysis based on feminist, queer, neo-Marxist, and dis/ability critiques. Following a Foucauldian theory of discourse (Foucault & Gordon, 1980; Foucault, Bertani, Fontana, Ewald & Macey, 2003), critical discourse analysis is used to explore how language, social interactions, and texts play into, perpetuate, or undermine dominant power relations. As Van Dijk (1993) explains, critical discourse analysis focuses:

On the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance.

Dominance is defined here as the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups, that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality... critical discourse analysts want to know what structures, strategies or other properties of text, talk, verbal interaction or communicative events play a role in these modes of reproduction. (p. 250 - 251)

As such, critical discourse analysis explores traces of power and ideology in linguistic utterances and texts. Scrutinizing everyday discursive interactions provides insight into how social and institutional practices can be influenced by dominant constructs and/or
power relations. When traces are identified as oppressive, their problematic character can be made explicit (Rogers, 2004). In research contexts that aim to be socially transformative, the method is used so inequitable societal structures and practices can be contested and spaces for resistance can be opened (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000). With a focus on power, critical discourse analysis disrupts the tacit forces that operate through seemingly neutral words (Briscoe, Arriaza & Henze, 2009). In Chapter Four, I critically examine discourses in the films; in Chapter Five, I show how discourses, everyday social relations, and institutional structures shaped the What's up Doc? program.

**Reflexivity.**

Kincheloe’s (2005a) bricolage challenges the positivist belief that inquiry can be purely objective. For him, this means reflexivity in one’s inquiry is important:

Bricoleurs make the point that empirical research, all research for that matter, is arrived at every level by human beings. The assumptions and purposes of the researcher always find their way into the research act, and they always make a difference in what knowledge is produced. (p. 6)

For Kincheloe, bricoleurs must make an effort to be transparent and “document the specific influences of life history, lived context, race, class, gender and sexuality on research and the knowledge they produce” (p. 336).

Embracing this view, critical reflexivity informs my work with youth and my analysis in this dissertation. Reflexivity helps me see how my positioning, practices, assumptions, and inquiry are influenced by broader social practices of privilege and marginalization. Historic and contemporary social mechanisms of racism, classism, sexism, heterosexism, and ableism have afforded me taken-for-granted opportunities and privileges. Though I am aware that this privilege exists, it has shaped my life, and my
research pursuits, and in ways that I am not yet able to comprehend. My character, behaviours, knowledges, assumptions, and identity have been constructed based on my privileged experiences. This affects how I approach situations, relationships, and collaborations. Recognizing and disrupting this privilege remains difficult.

Further, my privileged positioning as an academic, who is doing “outreach” work with students and teachers in local schools, is important to consider and problematize. Although I was not a formal educator in any of the schools, when I collaborated with students and teachers through the program, I was often constructed in a position of authority. This adds a layer of complexity to the participatory research process I adopted and my analysis in this dissertation. In Chapter Five I elaborate on how institutional power relations influenced my interactions with students and teachers. Though I may have attempted to negotiate multiple roles in the program, our interactions, and the interviews I conducted with students and teachers were, no doubt, influenced by the relationship we established and the broader institutional power relations mediated by schools and universities. I still struggle with the negotiation of my positioning as a collaborator, researcher, and educator in the program.

During the What’s up Doc? program, the awareness that my positioning and privilege ought to be problematized obliged me to reflect constantly on my collaborations with students. While I have been encouraging students to address marginalization and oppression through their films, I must recognize that I am sheltered from many of the issues they address. Having this recognition, and adopting Denzin and Lincoln’s (2000) views on interpretive bricolage, encouraged me to draw attention to, and problematize, privilege with students and teachers. For example, in conversations about the films that focused on gender power relations, I sometimes discussed how male
and heterosexual privilege has meant that I have benefited from systems of patriarchy and heterosexism in my life. I raised conversations about how being able to avoid these systems of marginalization has meant that I have had opportunities that others may not have been afforded. It is important for me to carry this understanding through my analysis in this dissertation as well. In Chapter Five and Chapter Six, I provide some examples of how privilege has caused me to overlook some tensions and complexities associated with power in the context of the program. It was not until after the program concluded that I was able to recognize how I was implicated in perpetuating power relations and systems of marginalization. Though my analysis here does not undo the inequitable repercussions of my oversights, it does influence how I now approach critical filmmaking pedagogies in current and new projects.

Moreover, adopting Kincheloe’s respect of the relationship between researchers and research (Kincheloe, 2004d) I recognize that my subjectivities (e.g., life histories, assumptions, positioning) and my research processes are influenced by privilege and broader political contexts. As my research is based on an analysis of power, I must problematize my assumptions based on my taken-for-granted privilege. Critiquing my privileged positioning helps me trouble my gaze, the questions I ask/don’t ask and the actions I take/don’t take. Though I draw on multiple theories, methods, and voices to create what Denzin and Lincoln (2011) call a “crystallized” view of experience (p. 5), it is important that I recognize that this work is still an interpretation based on a partial and obstructed vantage point. This helps me to recognize the importance of not speaking “for” the students when presenting the work, in writing or in public presentations.

**Ethical considerations.**

As this research involved working with youth in the context of schooling and
having them produce films about contested social issues, ethical considerations were paramount. The project complied with the UNB Research Ethics Board (R.E.B.) and New Brunswick School District 18 ethical guidelines. As a teacher and researcher, I constantly amended my practices when needed to protect the safety of participants. While the *What’s up Doc?* program involved semi-mandatory classroom activities, students’ and teachers’ involvement in the research component was voluntary. Students, teachers, and parents (where applicable) were required to give informed, written consent to participate in interviews, focus groups, or anecdotal journaling, and they could remove themselves at anytime without penalty (see Appendix C).

For teachers and students, participation in my research was not a necessary condition for their involvement in the *What’s up Doc?* program. Though some of the teachers had been involved in the program for two years leading up to 2012, they were not required to participate in interviews or other research practices as a stipulation of their involvement. Though all five teachers had volunteered, I assured them that I would have still extended the same level of support to their classes if they decided not to participate in research components.

In this study, I also considered issues not addressed by the ethical guidelines of the university or the school district. It has been extremely important for me to remember that filmmaking presents a challenge in protecting the participants’ anonymity. When films focusing on sensitive topics are made public, participants can be left vulnerable to judgement with potentially harmful repercussions. Before beginning this project, I drew attention to these potential implications through informed consent letters and group discussions with students, teachers, administrators, and parents. When the films are shared outside of the school context, the names of the schools, students’ names, and
personal information are removed from the footage, and we have declined requests for
copies of films for public distribution. I address these tensions in depth in Chapter Six.

Turning What’s up Doc? into a research project creates also layers of ethical
complexity. Ethical issues associated with power, media representation, agency, and the
potential to perpetuate inequitable discourses have all become important elements of my
analyses in Chapters Four, Five, and Six. In those chapters, I consider ethical tensions
associated with introducing critical theories through a participatory approach. For
example, I raise questions about the appropriateness, and timing, of critical interventions
intended to disrupt discourse in participatory projects in schools. Further, in Chapters
Four and Five, I discuss how unforeseen conflicts and power relations have surfaced in
the films and in our collaborations. As a result, the teachers and I had to constantly make
ourselves aware of dilemmas, and collaborate with students to address difficulties.

Another ethical consideration influences this study; my career, as a researcher
and an academic, is bolstered by my involvement in this work. Only my name appears
on this dissertation when the voices, works, efforts, and lives of those who participated
adorn all the pages contained within. My unease stems from the potential for this work
to be exploitative. To satisfy UNB and school ethical regulations, I have agreed to
conceal the names of all who participated. While I hope these erasures protect safety, I
often contemplate how they could be exploitative, patronizing, condescending, and
disrespectful of students’ and teachers’ agency. With this erasure so goes the individual
acknowledgements and credits the students and teachers deserve for their work. My
encounters with this tension are based on an ethical issue discussed by Dei (2013). For
him, research is ethical only when it is relational and reciprocal. In other words, the
knowledge created through pursuits of inquiry, “cannot be ethical unless [they] . . .
create positive changes in the lives of research participants” (p. 29). This perspective obliges me to reflect on whether my work is exploitative, and if the erasure of individual contributions undermines any reciprocal possibilities. While my efforts to address this tension do not undo the implication of erasures, I hold an interest in producing work that is mutually beneficial and supportive for all participants. While attempting to avoid a paternalistic approach, I hope the knowledge constructed through this study is of reciprocal benefit to the communities of participants involved. My intent is that this work can be used in ways to better support teachers and students engaging in critical filmmaking pedagogies, and ventures like the What's up Doc? program, which seek to bolster social justice. My commitment to this effort involves my continued collaborations with students and teachers through the What's up Doc? program, and renewed searches for collaborative outreach ventures.

Summary

In this chapter I discussed the theoretical and methodological contexts of bricolage and have shown how this approach to inquiry informs the What's up Doc? program and my analysis in this dissertation. I discussed my rationale for choosing a critical bricolage approach. I also included information about the pedagogical and research methods I used during my research in the What's up Doc? program and addressed ethical issues associated with this work. In the following three chapters, through bricolage and feedback-looping, I draw on multiple texts and critical theories to analyze the students’ films, as well as the influence of various institutional structures on our experiences. As my discussions in the remaining chapters accent, navigating critical filmmaking pedagogies in mainstream schools is a complicated, nuanced, and complex endeavor.
Chapter Four

The Films: Challenging and Perpetuating Dominant Discourses and Practices

In this chapter, I explore how the students’ films in the 2012 What’s up Doc? program challenge dominant social and institutional discourses, structures, and practices. Whereas this chapter does accent the counter-hegemonic possibilities of films produced through critical filmmaking pedagogies, it also offers some critical perspectives on the films. In particular, this chapter explores how, at the same time that the films resist oppressive power relations, they do not escape from marginalizing constructs, discourses, and practices. The chapter is divided in two sections. To begin, I provide a brief synopsis of the films and incorporate voices of some of the students to illustrate the themes they wanted to present. In the second section, I delve into more complex issues related to questions of power to show how the films resist and perpetuate power relations along lines of gender, sexuality, ability, and class.

The What’s up Doc? Films

In 2012, students produced seven films: Challenging the Norm; Family: A Series of Smart Films; Course Selections: The Path to Our Future; Living in the Shadows; Step Back: Move Ahead; That Girl: One Little Heartbeat; and Millionaire Meals: An Exploration of Healthy Eating at a Cafeteria. Each film draws on diverse cinematic devices (e.g., title cards, b-roll footage, narration) to present social commentary.

Challenging the Norm.

Of all the films produced in the 2012 What’s up Doc? program, social and institutional critique is most explicit in Challenging. The film critiques sexist and heterosexist gender hierarchies and essentialist thinking, showing how discourses that circulate in schools can be marginalizing. As one student put it, the film challenges
thinking like “girls are not supposed to play sports or video games” or “guys are not supposed to be interested in fashion.” The film opens with a series of questions focusing on gender relations, continues with the four vignettes, and ends with questions for the audience. The first vignette involves a young man who applies for a position at a women’s clothing store; the second portrays a female hockey player who encounters sexist gendered assumptions; the third tells the story of a young woman who is ridiculed for her competence in online video games; and the last tells the story of a male football player whose peers degrade him for his interest in fashion. Each vignette ends with a “power statement” where students face the camera and express their feelings about gender conformity. As a student put it, the statements resist oppressive thinking and celebrate students who “challenge the norm.”

*Family: A Series of Smart Films.*

*Family* explores how young people can be intelligent in ways that tend not to be acknowledged in public education, or as a student said, “our film [shows] how people can be smart in different ways.” In this way, the film critiques deficit constructions of intelligence and school structures that marginalize students based on ability. In the film, the students use the adjective “smart” as a noun, e.g., “my smart is cooking” or “my smart is basketball.” They include a poem called “I am smart” and five vignettes that illustrate diverse “smarts” of young people.

The film begins in a school cafeteria where students, standing in small groups, hold signs with lines from a poem about diverse forms of intelligence. A recorded audio track of the poem, as read by the students, is also included in the scene. After the poem, the film includes five vignettes: *Artistic One, Broad Street, Inspiration, Above Par,* and *Destined Designer.* *Artistic One* tells the story of a young woman artist who has always
been made to feel unintelligent in school. To highlight her talents in artistry, the students filmed the young woman’s hands as she produces a series of drawings. *Broad Street* is about a young man who has a passion for hockey and hockey statistics. In an interview he says, “This smart is important to anyone who is interested in hockey, or anyone who wants to know a little more about hockey statistics.” He also mentions that, in the future, he wants to pursue a career in sports statistics. *Inspiration* features a young woman whose “smarts” include dance and playing basketball in the 2013 Special Olympics. The student narrates the documentary; interviews with her friends and a teacher are also included. *Above Par* highlights the “smarts” of a young man with Autism who talks about his “smarts” in swimming, public speaking, and golf. He says, “I have Autism, but that does not define who I am, and what I am able to do.” The final vignette, *Destined Designer* is a story about a student with entrepreneurial intelligence, who started her own jewelry and fashion business. After the final vignette, students hold signs depicting the final lines of the poem, “Smart is knowing to ignore the haters, and knowing what your strengths are / Smart is not what you think of me / Smart is me. I am smart.” In the final few seconds, the students gather and, in unison, yell out “We are all smart.”

*Course Selection: The Path to Our Future.*

In *Courses*, students explore the lack of curricular options for youth deemed “non-academic,” and the institutional factors that influence course options. They also critique school structures that limit course options in streams deemed non-academic. To address this theme, the students interview a school principal and two guidance counselors who explain how organizational factors influence course offerings.

The commentary in the film focuses on the lack of course opportunities in the trades and a call for increased emphasis on trades education. As a student explained, he
would like the film to be a catalyst for increased focus on trades in schools:

I think we really need to strike it into the teachers and the actual faculty that
we as students want to see these changes, and it's not that we are giving you the
idea, we are really trying to use these films to demand change.

In their commentary, the students also argued for youth agency in school decision-making practices, especially regarding the courses offered in Level 3 streams. Although the filmmakers acknowledge they have some course options, they felt this is an illusion of choice as they have no input into the development of the course selection lists. This leaves them to ask, “How much agency do we really have? What can be done to better the school system?” and “What will it take for students to be heard?”

*Living in the Shadows.*

Through *Living*, students challenge marginalizing constructs associated with mental illness. For the filmmakers, public discussions about mental health are lacking. A student told me that people in his school, teachers included, avoid the topic. He said, “Well, [mental illness] is bigger than everyone thinks. A lot of people don’t think it’s that big. It’s crazy the things that happen.” For another student the film raises important discussions about suicide: “I think that this film is going to be a good film, talking about [suicide], because it let’s everybody know that it is a super big issue and we do need to talk about it.” This feeling was also reiterated by the teacher who facilitated the project. For her “talking about that issue is in fact healthy.” To raise the conversation, the students draw on statistical data and interviews with young people who have faced mental health issues. The students also use the film to devote attention to the treatment of mental illness and challenge stereotypes that encapsulate mental illness.
Step Back: Move Ahead.

In Step Back, students explore issues of economic sustainability of rural communities in New Brunswick. The filmmakers explained that they chose this theme because they did not like how high gas prices increase the cost of living, especially for people living in rural areas. One student made this connection when he told me how his family and friends are forced to travel to a nearby urban centre for gas and groceries. He said: “I think this is actually a good topic . . . everyone is moving now, because of the gas, . . . and the groceries, they just can’t afford to live out here the way things are going.” Comments like this highlight how the filmmakers considered the issue to be symptomatic of broader economic conditions in rural communities.

The filmmakers introduce and conclude the film with a song they wrote called Riverbend—a fictional story about a man who has to deal with harsh economic conditions, and the metaphor of floating down a river highlights the character’s feelings of powerlessness in his situation. The lyrics are as follows:

It started off good, but then it got worse. I lost my money, my house it’s a curse.
You never really know where you are gonna end up,
from growing weeds to on the streets dragging cups.
They say that money ain’t everything, if that were only the case.
Floating down the river bend, I don’t know how I got to where I am, but
I’m floating down the river bend, the flood it went and pulled us all down in.
We’re floating down the river bend, in search for help for I’m too tired to swim.
Floating down the river bend, in search for shore to start all over again.

Along with the song, they use vignettes and interviews to advocate for a greater focus on local family farming. Three comedic vignettes address this theme. The first
follows two students whose budding relationship is thwarted by high gas prices. The second tells an absurd story about a teen who sells his truck, due to high gas prices, and buys a tricycle. The final comedic vignette is about a tyrannous land owner who capitalizes on the food needs of a nearby urban centre. To temper the absurdist and comedic elements of the vignettes, the students interview a university professor whose research involves rural social justice issues. The film concludes with examples of how people can take action to support rural sustainability. This theme is presented through the documentation of actions students took to support sustainability in their community.

*That Girl: One Little Heartbeat.*

*That Girl* addresses the potential personal, social, and economic implications of a lack of daycare services for teens in New Brunswick. Specifically, the film explores reasons for the closure of a local school daycare and advocates for reinstatement of these provisions. As a student explained, the film centers on “the struggle that teen parents go through,” and as a teacher involved pointed out, the work explores “what we’re saying as a society to those students when we aren’t supporting their efforts to stay in school.” Through interviews with a school official, former teen-parents, and daycare users, the filmmakers identify two reasons for the closure of the daycare in their school—economic issues and discourses around teen-parenting. In addressing these factors, the students use *That Girl* to advocate for teen-parents.

*Millionaire Meals: An Exploration of Healthy Eating at a [School] Cafeteria.*

*Millionaire Meals* explores social, institutional, and economic factors that influence dietary choices and why healthy eating in school cafeterias is so expensive. The filmmakers explained that, “As a group we were curious about why healthy food in our school cafeteria is more expensive than things like pizza and burgers. We decided to
interview some people who might know why.” The film includes an interview with a dietitian, a school administrator, and an employee of the cafeteria. The students use these texts to show how school cafeterias must follow the provincial school Healthy Eating Policy 711. They also show how the higher costs of providing only healthy foods are passed on to students, which means that students who do not have the means to afford these foods can be marginalized in school settings.

**Resisting/Perpetuating Institutional Structures, Practices, and Discourses**

While my discussions above provide a brief synopsis and thematic descriptions of the films, in this section I draw on symbiotic and critical hermeneutics, and critical discourse analysis, to elaborate on how students use the films to critique and resist power. However, I also show how power operates on, in, and through the films. Although the films implicitly draw on a range of critical social theories, taken-for-granted discourses are embedded in, and/or supported in the texts. My analysis shows how, while on some levels critical filmmaking pedagogies may help educators address social justice issues with youth, the tacit legitimization of dominant discourses and practices complicates these possibilities.

**Challenging gendered, sexist, and essentialist discourses.**

The films *Challenging* and *That Girl* show how gender constructs contribute to systems of oppression. Both films trouble determinist and essentialist perspectives which bifurcate men and women into rigid gender categories: *Challenging* focuses on how essentialist and hierarchical thinking validates rigid gender roles and sexism; *That Girl* examines how the stigmatization of teen-mothers is fueled by sexist and essentialist discourses. In this way, the films draw attention to how patriarchal and heteronormative gender constructs are valued in Western societies, while other gender configurations are
subjugated and marginalized. To counter, the films resist character dichotomies and show how hierarchal power relations, that stem from gender discourses, are confining, marginalizing, and lead to violent situations.

For example, Challenging takes up a critical tone by celebrating high school-aged youth whose expressions of gender resist dominant constructs. As I mentioned above, each vignette in the film includes a device the students called a “power statement.” These statements “break the fourth wall” (Auter & Davis, 1991), meaning that the characters look directly into the camera to address the audience. Through the statements, the students explicitly advocate for the acceptance of non-conformist gender configurations. These statements can be interpreted as acts of youth agency.

Challenging opens with a student writing two questions on a chalkboard, “How do stereotyped gender roles hurt us?” and “Where do we see discrimination?” The vignettes that follow involve four students. The first opens with a title card, “Who should be allowed to work in a women’s clothing store?” The story depicts a young man applying for part-time employment at a women’s store. It begins when the protagonist drops off his resume. After he leaves, two female clerks are shocked that he applied. One says, “You would think he understood why he couldn’t work here!” She then throws the application in the garbage. The vignette ends with the protagonist’s power statement, “Why should you treat me differently because I applied at a women’s clothing store?”

The next vignette opens with the text, “Do we assume gender stereotypes in sport?” The story starts in a hockey changing room with a lone young woman dressing to play. The story then turns to a three young men in the stands who cheer for the team captain, whom they all assume to be male. Sexist assumptions are illustrated in the lines:
Teen 1: This team would be playing like crap if it wasn’t for Number Two.
Teen 2: Yeah, look, he got another goal.
Teen 3: It’s the fourth one this game.

When the game ends, the young woman returns to the changing room. Walking down the hall, while still wearing her helmet, she is greeted by the three young men from the stands. They begin with celebratory remarks, but their demeanor quickly changes. Teen 1 states, “Hey Number Two, good game tonight.” When she removes her helmet, shocked expressions creep over their faces. As they walk away they say:

Teen 1: Man, there is no way a girl can make that many shots!
Teen 2: Yeah, she must be butch or something.
Teen 3: Man, she’s good, do you think you can do any better!

The vignette concludes with the young woman’s “power statement” proclaiming, “I am great at playing hockey!” A title card appears, “Gender doesn’t influence skill level, gaining confidence and skill doesn’t make you butch.” While here I use this vignette as an example of a critique of sexist gender constructs, later I return to this scene to discuss how it also may perpetuate heterosexist and homophobic discourses.

The next vignette begins with the title card, “X-box or makeup, which is more likely for a girl?” This narrative involves a young woman who plays a boxing video game at home. She wears a headset, implying she is playing online against other players. The story is about a particular conversation she has with a young male competitor (the male’s voice is audible, but he is not depicted). The male gamer taunts the protagonist saying, “Look at your score, you’re right the newb [i.e., someone new to gaming], you might as well leave now, you are going to lose anyways, man.” Calmly, the young women responds, “You jerk, I’m going to kick your butt.” The male gamer is
immediately shocked to learn that he is playing a young woman. He says, “Oh wait, you’re a girl, now I am definitely going to win.” She fires back, more aggressively, saying, “You jerk, I am going to finish you!” The story concludes with the “power statement”: “I’m skilled at playing video games!” A title card then reads, “Why aren’t girls allowed to be good at video games?”

The final vignette is about a young male high school football player who is teased for wearing a dress shirt. The vignette opens with the protagonist throwing a football with two of his friends. Later in the day the protagonist is depicted sitting with his girlfriend in the cafeteria. During their conversation she compliments his new shirt:

Female Teen: I like your new dress shirt, where did you get it?

Teen Protagonist: It’s from Gap, . . . I saw it and I just had to get it.

After hearing this the two male teenagers, from the previous scene, tease him for wearing a shirt they consider to be “stylish” and “fancy,” implying that he is effeminate for having bought a shirt from the Gap. After the two boys leave, the protagonist’s girlfriend offers moral support.

The next scene depicts the protagonist leaving school with his two friends:

Friend One: Where’s your sweater man, you didn’t want to get it dirty.

Friend Two: Who bought you that sweater anyway, your mom or your granny?

Teen Protagonist: I buy my own clothes man, what’s it matter to you anyways.

The title card appears, “Who says guys can’t be stylish?” The protagonist then delivers his power statement, “I can wear what I want.” The film concludes with title cards that read, “It’s okay to be who you are and not fit in to society’s role. Society shouldn’t dictate who we are or what our roles in society should be whether we’re male or female. Just be you.”
In conversations throughout the program, the young filmmakers reiterated that their intent in producing the film was to challenge social practices and discourses which rigidly construct essentialist or normative gender behaviours. During an interview one of the filmmakers explained, “the main idea of our film is to try and discourage stereotypes in society, like gender stereotyping in society.” During the same interview, one of the young female filmmakers added “like sexist roles.” She made it clear that they wanted their film to destabilize the confining and marginalizing effects of discourses that rigidly dichotomize males and females. Although the work doesn’t erase the binary, as this filmmaker comments, they wanted their film to argue that “girls can do what guys can do, and guys can do what girls can do.”

The theme relates to gender studies, and feminist and poststructural theories. The film identifies social mechanisms and discourses that reinscribe gender constructs and power relations. This relates to Connell’s (2009) perspective that dominant ideas about gender maintain prominence because they are in constant circulation in discourse: “Ideas about gender appropriate behavior are constantly being circulated, not only by legislators but also by priests, parents, teachers . . . retail mall owners, talk show hosts and disc jockeys” (p. 5). In a similar vein, Challenging identifies sites of gender construction, challenges oppressive gendered hierarchies, and celebrates ways students circumvent gendered expectations.

By challenging rigid gender binaries, and celebrating an array of expressions of gender, the film also relates to Butler’s (1990) view that gender is performative and involves constant negotiation. While gender is actively constructed based on the discourses available in a given context, performance implies a notion of agency in relation to how someone expresses a gender identity. As Butler (1990) explains:
acts, gestures, and desires produce the effect of an internal core or substance, but produce this on the surface of the body, through the play of signifying absences that suggest, but never reveal, the organizing principle of identity as a cause. Such acts, gestures, enactments, generally construed, are performative in the sense that the essence or identity that they otherwise purport to express are fabrications manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive means. (p. 185, emphasis in original)

Infused in this theory is the notion that subjects are not passive but active in the process of gender construction. In this way, gender is a verb and not an adjective (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Adopting this view leaves space for resistance and different kinds of gender performances (Siltanen & Doucet, 2008). Connell (2009) reiterates this point and adds that it is problematic to assume that individuals are non-agentic in gender construction and expression. She says, “bodies cannot be understood as just objects of social process, whether symbolic or disciplinary. They are active participants in social process. They participate through their capacities” (p. 57). To some degree, Challenging resists essentialism and points to the notion of agency. The “Power Statements” for example, suggest that young people have a say in shaping gendered expressions. As such, the film celebrates resistance and human agency.

While That Girl adopts a different theme—the closure of a school daycare program—it also engages in critiques of gender discourses and practices. In particular, the film shows how unquestioned gender constructs can lead to sexist social practices that marginalize teen-mothers. Specifically, the film looks to how gender hierarchies, and dominant discourses about femininity in particular, validate oppressive social practices that oppress teen-mothers. As the filmmakers explain, teen-mothers, and young
women who engage in sexual activity, are often constructed as “sluts” and “whores.” In an interview, a young female filmmaker referred to these discourses when she said, “There is going to always [be those who] put teen parents down and say that ‘Oh, they are sluts.’” In this way, the film shows how discourses of femininity and gender constructs function to mark teen-mothers as deviant. These constructs, they argue, legitimize the marginalization of teen-mothers.

The introduction, through interview footage, illustrates the oppressive effects of gender constructs. An interview participant, a teen-mother herself, describes the Othering she experienced when attending high school. She says, “you were automatically known as that girl, that girl that got pregnant at fifteen.” As Weis (1995) explains, Othering involves a “process which serves to mark and name those thought to be different from oneself” (p. 18). For her, this form of marginalization not only marks difference, but also suggests a hierarchal understanding where difference is pejorative and synonymous with deviance. As the comment shows, discourses that mark teen-mothers as deviant contribute to systems of gendered marginalization.

One vignette also highlights how teen-mothers can internalize Othering practices. The vignette shows a student meeting a principal to complete student withdrawal forms. When the principal tries to convince the teen to stay in school, she responds, “I don’t want people judging me, and staring at me, when I start showing.” To avoid an encounter, the teen would rather leave school altogether. The scene not only argues that teen-mothers are forced to deal with intolerant social contexts, it also shows the potential implications these discourses can have on their lives.

To highlight other implications, the film also shows how policies and discourses construct teen-mothers as undeserving of social support. For the filmmakers, sexist,
demonizing, blaming discourses legitimate value systems which presuppose that young women who engage in sexual activity are morally deviant, and the “problem” of teenaged pregnancy is constructed as residing in their ‘bad choices’. Framed this way, teen-parents can be deemed undeserving of support, public or otherwise, because it was their own moral failures that led them to their current situation, or as Kelly (1999) explains, “The prevailing policy discourse condemns teen mothers, particularly those on welfare, as lacking in personal ‘responsibility’” (p. 62).

In That Girl, the filmmakers problematize the construction of teen-mothers as social burdens. In an interview, one of the young filmmakers identified the discourse when he said, “Lots of people . . . think that having a daycare in school is promoting teen pregnancy and saying that it’s okay to be a teen parent.” The discursive assumption embedded in the argument is that young women who engage in sexual activity ought to be blamed and held accountable for “their transgressions,” and to offer support would be to condone the “bad behaviour” which would lead to social and economic burdens. While the argument is problematic in many ways (e.g., it takes no consideration of gendered power relations or socio-political contexts) the students take issue with it because it condones the inequitable treatment of teen-mothers, removing support for teen-parents, and exacerbating the barriers teen-mothers encounter in education.

Through interviews, the filmmakers show how the argument, and assumptions informing it, contribute to inequitable treatment. The film includes an interview with a parent whose children attended the daycare who argues the removal of support is a form of inequity. She says, “If [teen mothers] didn’t have that opportunity you are essentially telling them to drop out of high school and forcing them to live in the social programs that are offered by the government. You are not giving them . . . the same opportunity
that every other child has.”

To counter inequitable power relations, the filmmakers argue for increased support for students regardless of circumstance. Quoting Statistics Canada, the students explain that, “Teen mothers are less likely to complete high school or postsecondary education than adult mothers and thus are more likely to live in low-income areas.” On title cards audiences learn that from 1989 until 2000 the school daycare “helped 70 teen mothers complete school.” Anecdotal accounts show how school daycare programs help mediate stresses, fears, and uncertainties for teen-parents. For example, a former school daycare user explains, “The daycare . . . gave me an opportunity to continue my education where I wouldn’t have had the chance if the daycare wasn’t there. It was through the daycare that I learned how to take care of my children.” To extend their argument, the filmmakers use a remark from their interview with a feminist university professor. She says, “We have come along way, to encourage [young parents] to stay in school. But if we encourage young women to stay in school if they are pregnant then we do have to provide the supports for them.”

Beyond the film, classroom discussions leading up to the production and interviews also show how the students took up critical theories on gender. For example, in an interview, one of the male students explained how competing perspectives on gender and sexuality mean that opinions about teen-motherhood are multifaceted and complex. He discussed how gender and teen-pregnancy may be constructed differently in various social/cultural contexts. In challenging that there is a universal, ahistorical, and acontextual moral truth about gender and teen-parenting, he said, “That’s in North America too, because other places right now have children at 16, 17 years old, and it’s normal in their society.” Another young woman also talked about people having
different perspectives on teen-parenting:

Yeah, cause like if you’re a teen mother, I guess it depends on the age, and I
know somebody who was 13 when she got pregnant, but like if you’re a mature
17, 18, 19 year old, yeah, it’s not good because your life just started, like you
don’t have a career, you don’t have money, like whatever. But at the same time,
there’s people that would rather it that way because they can grow up with their
child. Because they can be 40 years old, and their kid be in school like,
whatever, getting their life on track and then can grow old with their kid. Like
with my mom. My mom’s not even 40 yet, and I’m graduating high school.
Like, she’s growing with me, and with my sister. She has three kids now, she
would’ve rather it the way it happened, as opposed to waiting, she said, so.

In expanding the teen-parenting debate, another student argued that institutions
should not try to establish a policy as if there is a universal set of values on the issue. He
told me that societies should not enforce a value that “teen pregnancy is bad,” because,

It could be for some people, and it could not be for other people, I mean, it
matters. Probably a good portion it wouldn’t be good. But some people might
want that, like, it’s just all about what they want. It’s not about what you want,
you know what I mean, like, you can’t just say teen pregnancy is bad.

Not only do these discussions accent a view that gender is constructed, they also
relate to critical feminist discourses connected to women’s reproductive rights. As Kelly
(1999) explains, “Feminists have long supported a woman’s right to choose when,
where, how, and with whom to give birth” (p. 60). While she concedes that competing
critical discourses exist in feminist scholarship (particularly in relation to how power
relations infringe women’s reproductive rights), she also explains:
I believe society should respect and support the right of young women to bear and raise their own children. To do otherwise compromises the reproductive rights agenda as a whole. Nearly 2/3 of births to teenagers are to women who are 18 or 19 years old (Wadhera and Millar 1997: 13); they are legal adults, entitled to vote as citizens . . . In this light, restrictive policies, although ostensibly aimed at teen mothers, can be seen ultimately to threaten the full reproductive rights of all but the most privileged. (p. 61)

Whereas students involved in *That Girl* may not have indulged the same level of societal critique as Kelly, their support of multiple realities and values shows their understanding of how social practices can limit women’s agency and reproductive rights.

**Perpetuating sexist gender hierarchies and heteronormativity.**

While the examples I highlight above show how the filmmakers engaged in critiques of sexist, hierarchal, and essentialist gender discourses and constructs, it is important to recognize how these films, and others in the series, can also play into oppressive gendering practices. The discussions in this section accent the complexity of critical filmmaking pedagogies. In particular, they show how gender hierarchies are perpetuated through the *What’s up Doc?* films. They also show how, in some cases, because the construction of gender is taken for granted and omitted from consideration, dominant power relations can be reaffirmed. Furthermore, essentialist gendering discourses in the films intersect with, and validate, heteronormativity, heterosexism, and homophobia. For practitioners involved in critical filmmaking projects, understanding this potential is vital.

As I mentioned, *Step Back* employs a series of comedic fictional vignettes to show how increases in the cost of living disproportionately affect people living in rural
communities. Whereas each of the vignettes is meant to satirize economic structures and classing practices, taken-for-granted elements can be read to validate patriarchal structures, essentialist thinking, gender hierarchies, and demeaning gender constructs. To begin, I consider the implications of character choices in the film and look at how power is negotiated between male and female characters.

*Step Back* positions male characters as powerful, intelligent, and rational, and females as irrational. Females serve as plot devices, objects for men, or altogether absent. The three vignettes lack female protagonists: the first features a young man who wants to borrow his father's car; the second, a young man who has to sell his truck; and the third, a rural male land-owner. Even the song written for the film, *Riverbend*, is a story of a man who faces hardship. Read critically, these decisions can be seen as a tacit acceptance of gendered hierarchies. In some ways, the positioning of men and women mirrors historic cinematic trends. As Smith (2009) explains, women have historically held a subjugated role in film:

> Women, in any fully human form, have almost completely been left out of film. This is not surprising, since women were also left out of literature. That is, from its very beginning they were present, but not in characterizations any self-respecting person could identify with. (p. 14)

While character choices in *Step Back* highlight patriarchy, representations of power between men and women in the vignettes also support gender hierarchies. For example, two vignettes in *Step Back* construct subordinate representations of women. One, mentioned above, is about two teens (one male and one female) who have their plans to go on a date thwarted by the young man's father. Two elements in the scene perpetuate representations of dominant power relations, the first is the initial exchange
between the teens. Whereas the young man who calls the young woman to ask her on a date is depicted as confident, collected, and calm, saying, "Hey babe, wanna go out with me tonight?" this demeanor is not mirrored in the young woman’s actions. She hangs up the phone and screams in excitement, "He’s coming at eight!"

While it is easy to take this exchange for granted, it is helpful to explore how the representation of gender in this scene mirrors patriarchal gender constructs often found in dominant media texts. In this discussion, the concept of “male gaze,” and how it relates to patriarchal assumptions inherent in dominant media, is especially useful in considering Step Back. For Mulvey (1975), dominant Western cinematic conventions are infused with patriarchal ideologies. On the screen, this translates into constructions of heterosexual men as active doers and constructions of women as objects for men’s pleasure. In theorizing Mulvey’s notions of the male gaze, in relation to reality television, Giannina and Campbell (2012), explain:

Mulvey (1975) first introduced the concept of the male gaze in her groundbreaking work that offered a feminist critique of Hollywood movies. Mulvey contends that film serves the political function of subjugating female bodies and experiences to the interpretation and control of a heterosexual male gaze. According to Mulvey, any viewers potential to experience visual and visceral pleasure from watching Hollywood movies is completely predicated upon acceptance of a patriarchal worldview in which men look and women are looked at; men act and women are acted upon. She further contends that this distinctly male-oriented perspective perpetuates sexual inequality by forcing the viewer, regardless of gender, to identify with and adopt a perspective that dehumanizes women (Gamman & Marshman, 1989). (p. 62)
In recent years, however, Mulvey and scholars have questioned some of the initial conceptualization of the male gaze. As Abbott, Wallace, and Tyler (2005) explain:

Mulvey (1981) herself has since expressed some reservations about the overly deterministic nature of [her original conceptualization of the male-gaze], and [the concept] has been criticized more generally for ignoring both how women may subvert or negotiate the male gaze, and how popular culture offers opportunities for women to gaze (at both men and women) as well. Moreover, such a deterministic approach has also been criticized for reducing all power relations to gender, and thus neglecting other aspects of power which affect patriarchal relations, such as class, race, disability and sexuality. (p. 320)

Unquestionably, the concept of the male gaze can be used in overly deterministic ways, supporting a view that audiences have no agency and are “forced” to accept patriarchal world views. Although I acknowledge the agency of the viewer, I remain troubled by oppressive gender constructs and power relations in dominant visual texts.

Reflecting on the vignette depicting the budding relationship between the two teens described above, informed with evolving perspectives on the concept of male gaze, helps me recognize how elements of Step Back can validate oppressive gender hierarchies. The positioning of the characters in the scene affirms a gendered power imbalance—the young man is in a position of authority, while the young woman is constructed as a passive sexual object for his consumption. The demeanor of the characters also plays into these representations. The boy is in control, while the girl is represented as emotional and excited at the prospect of the date. This excitement, of course, is not reciprocated. For Giannina and Campbell (2012) media texts are fashioned to entice males by constructing women as if they “appear to crave . . . [the male
protagonist’s] acknowledgment, as if they are empty vessels unless and/or until he notices them, fills them with his presence, and makes them the object of his gaze” (p. 62). This also reflects gendered representations identified by Kordjazi (2012). In her analysis of gender in English language learning software, she explains, “findings showed that females appeared as reactive, subordinate, intimate, objects of the gaze, and powerless; males as active, competent, dominant, and powerful” (p. 70). In the vignette in *Step Back*, the girl’s demeanour suggests that she is benefiting from the prospect of the relationship. The boy, on the other hand, exhibits behaviours that suggest the whole situation is insignificant to him. This positions the two characters in an imbalance of power. Because the young man is shown to be calm and confident, and the young woman to be irrational, emotional, and almost childlike, the film can leave the impression that women’s value is only relative to their relationships with men.

While this first exchange exemplifies how male gaze and gender constructs are taken for granted, the exchange between the boy and his father in the next scene is also problematic. While the scene is satirical and intended to provide an absurd comedic example of the consequences of economic conditions, taken-for-granted elements of the vignette include hints of sexist constructs. For example, degrading and objectifying discourses surface in the father’s stern reply to the boy’s request for the family vehicle. Like his son, the father’s demeanor, and his disregard for the young woman, supports patriarchal discourse when he says, “Why don’t you date a girl from Williamsburg?”—as if she is an object the boy can simply discard and replace with another girl who lives nearby. In this way, the father positions women as objects for men’s pleasure and validates patriarchy on a societal level (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). While it is easy to take these comments for granted, when interpersonal practices reflect these views, and
they are validated on social, cultural, and policy levels, women’s agency is constrained.

The final vignette in *Step Back* also plays into gender hierarchies through the staging, positioning, and representation of characters in the scene. As I mentioned, the final vignette is a narrative about a rural landowner capitalizing on food needs of an urban center. Visually, the staging of one scene positions men as dominant and women as insignificant. To analyze the power embedded in these visuals I draw on Schroeder and Borgerson (2011), who work with Goffman’s (1979) analysis of gendered hierarchies in visual elements of advertising and media texts. The scholars explain how the positioning of men and women, and camera angles at which they are represented, transmits meanings relative to their importance, dominance, and power. They write:

Women are consistently posed in deferential positions in ads—lying down or physically below men. Goffman focuses our attention on standard advertising poses that signal women’s vulnerability to men—a vulnerability magnified by disparities between the physical power of the sexes. Thus, men are portrayed as larger, more powerful, and dominant in relation to women as smaller, weaker, and submissive. (p. 175)

Visually, the third vignette in *Step Back* adopts similar gendered conventions. For example, the scene depicts a landowner shouting orders to his female employees while they squat on their hands and knees to farm his land. He yells at the workers, “Work harder!” The men are in dominant positions and women in subjugated roles. The male is presented as large, strong, and in control, whereas all the women are shrunk and subject to his will. While the vignette is meant to satirize capitalist labour relations, my sense is, based on discussions during production and with students afterwards, that the gendered positionings were not a matter of consideration and were taken for granted. I
am further led to this interpretation because the other vignettes in the film privilege male characters and reinscribe the sexist discourses I discussed above. As a facilitator, I now problematize the positioning of the characters in the film and ask myself how these representations could have been disrupted during our collaborations.

While *Step Back* accents how gender constructs can be perpetuated through verbal and visual representations, *Courses* can validate patriarchal thinking in its omissions of considerations of gender and young women’s perspectives in its critique of course selection practices. As a consequence, young men’s perspectives and voices are overrepresented and generalized to represent all young people—a practice that validates men “speaking for” women and contributes to women’s suppression of agency and voice (Reinharz & Davidman, 1992; Scheyvens & Leslie, 2000). In an attempt to critique hegemonic course selection practices, and associated classism, the film argues that students who do not see themselves as academic would benefit from greater attention to trades education. However, the film assumes a homogeneous student body whose interests are comparable, and any representation of young women’s perspectives on trades education is foregone. While I am not suggesting that young women would not be interested in greater support for trades education, for young men to generalize the assumption to all women, and all men, without the slightest inclusion of women’s voices is problematic. Although the film was produced by a group of young men, this does not excuse the absence of women’s voices. The taken-for-granted assumption that young men’s voice can be generalized, and the social practices that makes men feel valid in representing women is yet another example of oppressive patriarchal contexts. Whereas the absence of young women’s perspective may have been connected to dominant discursive assumptions that often suggest that only men work in the trades, the tacit
acceptance of this discourse ought to be questioned.

Beyond representations, or lack thereof, of women, another way gender hierarchies are supported in the films is through the tacit acceptance of heteronormative, heterosexist, and homophobic discourse. While feminist scholarship has long critiqued compulsory heterosexuality (Rich, 1980), more recently feminist, poststructuralist, and queer scholars have also shown how reified views of gender contribute to heteronormativity, heterosexism, and homophobia (Connell, 1987, 2005, 2009; Eyre, 1993; Neisen, 1990; Payne, 2010). Similarly, for Schilt and Westbrook (2009) essentialist views not only validate sexist gender hierarchies but they also contribute to the dominance of homophobic and heterosexist social practices:

Heterosexuality—like masculinity and femininity—is taken for granted as a natural occurrence derived from biological sex. Heterosexual expectations are embedded in social institutions, “guarantee [ing] that some people will have more class status, power, and privilege than others” (Ingraham 1994, 212). The hierarchical gender system that privileges masculinity also privileges heterosexuality. Its maintenance rests on the cultural devaluation of femininity and homosexuality . . . The gender system must be conceived of as heterosexist, as power is allocated via positioning in gender and sexual hierarchies. (p. 443)

For these scholars, the tacit privileging of heterosexuality contributes to the oppression, marginalization and abuse of those who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered or questioning (LGBTQ), or anyone who does not fit constructed gender dichotomies.

In some ways, all of the films produced through What’s up Doc? perpetuate heteronormative and heterosexist discourses. Although, in recent years, discourses that decry homophobic violence have become more prevalent in schools, in the years leading
up to 2012, when I was working with students and teachers through critical filmmaking projects, we never discussed LGBTQ themes explicitly. Furthermore, no characters in any of the films were ever presented as openly gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgendered, or questioning. These omissions could suggest that the program tacitly accepts the position that themes regarding what it means to be LGBTQ have no place in What's up Doc? specifically, or in schools generally. I recognize my complicity in perpetuating these discursive omissions. As I have mentioned, I have experienced tensions around my attempts to maintain a participatory pedagogical approach. As a guiding principle, I have tried to ensure the themes of the films come from the students directly and ensure that students' voices are privileged. From this reflective space, however, I realize that there are ways I could have been more explicit in attempts to raise conversations on homophobia and heteronormativity with students and teachers. Perhaps these discussions would have addressed our discursive omissions.

While the absence of LGBTQ themes can be interpreted as implicit heterosexism and heteronormativity, elements in some of the films also support these power relations more explicitly. While critiquing gendered discourses, Challenging still validates gender hierarchies, heterosexism, and homophobia. For example, the vignette that tells the story of a male football player who is teased for wearing a shirt from the clothing store, Gap, can be critically interpreted along these lines. Two boys insult the protagonist by suggesting that he is effeminate for having shopped at the store, saying "I got it at Gap," elongating their emphasis on the letter "a" and kinking their hands at the wrist. Their language signifies that they deem his clothing choice inappropriate for a heterosexual male, and is therefore deserving of ridicule. In so doing, they mock, and therefore assign pejorative understandings to, characteristics they consider feminine and homosexual.
Their actions exemplify sexist, heterosexist, and homophobic discourses. Although the presentation of homophobic discourse in the scene provides an opportunity for critical and counter-hegemonic discourses to surface, this opportunity is never seized. After the two boys hurl the insults and leave the frame, the protagonist’s girlfriend offers him support, saying, “Don’t listen to him, he’s stupid. You are more of a man than he will ever be.” Her words are intended to challenge the stereotype that the clothes he is wearing signify that he is gay, but, rather than challenging the pejorative discourse, the comment confirms the homophobic views the two boys previously espoused. Her affirmation that being a ‘man’ (i.e., conforming to hegemonic heterosexuality) is a good thing, while to not be a ‘man’ is bad has heterosexist, as well as sexist, implications by reaffirming the gender hierarchy suggested by the two boys.

While the final commentary, provided from the girlfriend, can be read as an example of a challenge of heteronormative discourses, my sense is that the message the students wanted to express was that men and women should be allowed to dress how they want without having their sexuality questioned. Read this way, the young woman’s comment does not challenge homophobia, but rather the idea that wearing particular clothing is a signifier of homosexuality. While challenging the clothing stereotype is warranted, the characters’ acceptance of homophobic discourses is never troubled. Because the film closes only with a challenge of the stereotype, it can be read to accept and extend a pejorative heteronormative discourse associated with homosexuality.

A similar situation arises in another vignette in Challenging. The filmmakers’ main focus in the story about the female hockey player is to challenge sexist stereotypes about women in sport and to challenge stereotypes that assume all women athletes are lesbian. However, the title card reads, “Gender doesn’t influence skill level, gaining
confident and skill doesn’t make you butch.” The suggestion that success in sport “doesn’t make you butch” means that the film tacitly accepts a pejorative association. This point is reiterated in the film. For example, the opening scene depicts the protagonist applying makeup and lipstick (the film generalizes that lipstick is a signifier of heterosexual femininity) while dressing in hockey gear. Because the vignette arrests analysis at the level of challenging a stereotype (i.e., that all athletic women are lesbian) the film seems to accept that to be “butch” is bad, but to be a female with idealized feminine characteristics is good. This means that the film takes for granted an assumption that women should only exhibit characteristics that align with “emphasized femininity” (Connell, 2005). As with the previous vignette, this story presents instances when heterosexist discourse could be challenged. For example, comments that the female hockey player “must be butch or something,” and the title card “being good at sports doesn’t make you butch” present an opportunity to challenge heteronormativity. Unfortunately, the opportunity was missed.

In hindsight, I see how, as facilitators, we could have encouraged discussions to disrupt taken-for-granted patriarchal ideologies, sexism, homophobia, and heterosexism. With students, we could have pursued the following questions: Why do these characters consider it negative for young men to be effeminate or for young women to be athletic? How are males and females represented? Whose voices dominate? How might these representations contribute to privilege or marginalization? Whereas these questions do not ensure that problematic discourses would be undermined in the films, they can create opportunities for conversations that can catalyze counter-hegemonic momentum.

**Challenging deficit and disability discourses.**

Some of the 2012 *What's Up Doc?* films implicitly challenge deficit discourses
by suggesting that perceived normative standards and baselines of ability, which
dominate in education, are socially constructed based on powerful groups’ abilities and
values. The film *Family*, for example, draws attention to practices and structures of
education that perpetuate marginalization based on ability. Addressing issues of power,
the film focuses on discourses that enforce which kinds of intelligence are privileged and
celebrated in schools and the marginalizing and confining impact of deficit
constructions. As the filmmakers explained to me, their motivation for producing the
film was to challenge ideas that construct students who do not meet standards of
educational success, as deficient and unintelligent. Countering rigid binary
understandings of intelligence and deficiencies, the film argues that all people have
“smarts.” In this way, *Family* draws on critical social theories to name institutional
discourses, structures, and practices that perpetuate such deficit discourses.

I identify deficit discourses as utterances that presuppose that there are essential
normative standards of being, cognition, and ability. These discourses assume that there
is a marked set of characteristics and abilities to which all humans *should* maintain or
aspire. Although critical scholars do not deny the range of human differences and
abilities, they do draw attention to how these differences are constructed socially. In
particular, they show how deficit and disability constructions carry social and personal
implications (Renooy, 2000). As Roche and Tucker (2000) explain, deficit discourses
circulate when a range of human differences get constructed as inadequacies. Relating
this perspective to young people in schools, Roche and Tucker state, “At the heart of
‘deficiency’ discourses lies the idea that compensatory activity is required to bring this
group of young people ‘up to the mark’” (p. 31). In education, deficiency discourses
often inform conceptualizations of ability and disability. These discourses shape
practices when a student’s perceived academic failures are pathologized and/or treated as an impairment or sickness.

In recent years, critical dis/ability scholars, drawing on poststructuralist theories, have suggested that standards of ability are discursively constructed and imbued with power relations (Albrecht, Seelman, & Bury, 2001). As Gordon and Rosenblum (2001) explain, historically, deficit constructions of people marked as disabled have gained prominence because the privileged and able-bodied maintained positions that enabled them to shape cultural understandings of cognitive and ability excesses, standards, and deficits. Questions of ability and cognition have been determined by the medical establishment and medical experts have been in charge of naming, defining, and treating disability (Goering, 2002). In citing Silvers (1998), Goering explains the medical model “holds that disability is internal, a problem with the person’s physical or mental self, and is a state that deserves medical attention and/or curative treatment whenever possible” (p. 374). As such, differences have sometimes been marked as sicknesses or conditions that can be treated, and those dichotomized as disabled or deficient have had little control over defining their experiences, abilities, and/or conditions (Brzuzy, 1997; Donoghue, 2003). The dominance of the medical model has meant that objectifying and dehumanizing actions have been socially sanctioned against those perceived as exhibiting some form of deficiency. Acting with assumed best-intentions, various professions have gone to great lengths to help with, and/or “fix”, perceived deficits (Christensen & Rizvi, 1996; Fleiger, 2005, 2012).

The students behind *Family* recognize that young people are seen as a problem to be fixed if they do not live up to a standardized notion of ability or intelligence. The film argues that young people are not the root of the problem, the problem is that only certain
kinds of abilities are valued and assessed in schools. In this way, they suggest that perceived intelligence deficiencies do not exist in young people themselves, but are attached to them by the institution. On some levels, the students argue that perceived deficits are discursive, ideological, and political, and not physical, mental, and/or pathological. Family warns audiences, especially young people, to avoid internalizing deficit discourses. Two lines in the poem, “Smart is not how people define you, it’s how you define yourself . . . Smart is being who you want to be, and not what others want you to be,” draw attention to the power of deficit discourses. Hence, the film shows how deficit discourses about ability have power at the level of identity formation. This relates to Campbell’s (2008) view that deficit understandings, based on ableist discourses, can be internalized.

Beyond this warning, the filmmakers also show how school structures intersect with deficit discourses. For example, a line in the poem is “Smart is not the level I’m in.” Here, the filmmakers refer to the streaming system instituted in Grade Eleven and Twelve English and mathematics courses in New Brunswick. Generally speaking, Level 1 and 2 courses are considered advanced and academic streams, respectively, while Level 3 courses are considered non-academic and are designed for students deemed to struggle academically. As I discuss in greater detail in Chapter Five, the What’s up Doc? program is situated in Level 3 English courses (i.e., educational programming deemed “non-academic”). Being located there, the students have first hand knowledge of the deficit discourses that circulate around young people streamed into Level 3 courses. The line, “Smart is not the level I’m in” can therefore be read as a challenge to discourses and structures that contribute to constructions of students in streams deemed non-academic as deficient, unintelligent, or incapable.
Beyond the poem, all five vignettes in the film challenge deficit discourses. For example, each highlights how students, who are constructed as deficient or disabled, have unique abilities and/or intelligences. Though implicit, all of the segments suggest that social, discursive, and institutional change should occur, so that various types of intelligence be valued in schools. One particular story, however, is explicit in its criticism of deficit discourses. The *Artistic One* illustrates the potentially negative and harmful social and physical implications of deficit discourses. It tells the story of a young woman who was constructed as unintelligent and bullied growing up. She explains, “When I was little I was bullied all the time . . . [I was called] dumb or dense, probably everyday . . . I made a cocoon for myself . . . each barb prick only strengthened my resolve to disappear.” Her words highlight how, because only certain kinds of “smart” were valued in school, she was marginalized and made to feel deficient and worthless. The imagery in the vignette can also be read to challenge these discourses. In one scene, the young woman writes the words, “stupid,” “dumb,” “dense,” “idiot,” and “slow” on a piece of paper, and then crumples it up and throws it into a trash can. For me, the imagery directly challenges deficit discourses, and the realities they create for young people. Visually, she is discarding those discourses.

Where *Family* addresses deficit discourses connected to ability, *Living* raises awareness about mental health and challenges the deficit stigmatization young people marked as mentally ill encounter in schools. For the students, discursive practices further marginalize students who already deal with social anxieties and bigger issues. The film, therefore, resists normal/abnormal and proficient/deficient binaries. In behind the scenes footage, one young filmmaker makes this point:

We’re trying to show people that, just because you have a mental illness it
doesn’t mean that you are a freak or you are different, like you are a normal person too, you just have different coping skills than other people.

During production, another filmmaker suggested that the film encourages audiences to look at mental health differently. She explained, “When we show the film, or when people see the film, they are going to see these issues in different light, not just oh depression, like bipolar, whatever.” For me, this comment highlights an intent to challenge discursive practices that predicate understanding of mental illness as a deficit.

*Living* also addresses the deficit discourses embedded in pejorative language associated with mental illness. The students address this language in different ways. In one scene, students are depicted holding the following signs with single words printed in large bold font in the middle of the page: “lonely,” “insane,” “difficult,” and “suffering.” The viewer is left to interpret the scene as an attempt to identify words which perpetuate deficit understandings of people dealing with mental health issues. Beyond this scene, the film shows audiences how deficit discourses influence school life for some young people. The film includes a short vignette that begins with a long shot of a student sitting alone in a cafeteria. Other young people are shown at a different table, pointing and laughing at the student. A voiceover narrates, “suffering from a mental illness makes you feel like you are completely alone. It’s like you are living in the shadows.” Next, the film suggests that marginalization also occurs because the stigma attached to mental illness causes some young people to remain silent about depression and mental health. The filmmakers see this as problematic; those who may need support may never seek help. This theme is also highlighted in an interview in the film with a teacher who talks about experiences with mental illness in her family. She explains, “We never talked about it. People never spoke about mental illness when I was growing up. And if you
had it in your family it was a sign of weakness.”

The filmmakers also question the medicalization of mental health. For them, mental health must be considered in relation to situational and material contexts. For example, the film includes interview footage with a young woman student who explains how her schooling contexts contributed negatively to her mental health. She explains:

When I started getting into Grade Five . . . I was getting bullied a lot and I didn’t know what I was going to do with myself. I didn’t know if I was going to commit suicide or what was going to happen . . . some days I would go and just be fine, and some days I would just be up in my room screaming all the time.

The inclusion of this footage shows a recognition, on the part of the interviewee and the filmmakers, that institutional contexts contribute to mental health.

Perpetuating deficit and disability discourses.

While *Family* and *Challenging* draw on critical perspectives to challenge deficit discourses that marginalize individuals marked as dis/abled or mentally ill, both films also tacitly embrace oppressive social practices. As Barnes and Mercer (2001) explain, media representations of people marked as physically and/or cognitively disabled most often fall into three pre-defined scripts as a “personal tragedy,” a “burden, surrounded by devoted caregivers,” or a “courageous battler” (p. 254). While the first two of these representations are challenged by *Family*, the student who participated in the Special Olympics, featured in *The Inspiration*, is constructed with the “courageous battler” archetype. Christensen and Rizvi (1996), citing Gartner and Lipsky (1987), explain that the “courageous” script is still predicated on individual deficits (p. 64). For them, “courageous” scripts celebrate the narratives of individuals, with perceived deficiencies, whose story is not tragic, but triumphant. What some find problematic about this script
is that it presupposes that the individual has somehow “overcome” a disability. In this way, the script plays into a common plot evident in many Hollywood films: an individual who struggles in the face of adversity, eventually becoming triumphant and meeting a desired goal (Marks, 2007). Ultimately, when this plot line focuses on people with different abilities, it embraces the idea that these individuals have personal deficits they need to overcome. A “courageous battler” script does not support diversity, but rather enforcement of a standard of human ability toward which all people should strive.

Similarly, other scenes in The Inspiration embrace this courageous battler script. For example, deficit assumptions of ability/disability make up the subtext of discussions in two interviews. The first interview involves three students: One student, who is the subject of the film, is an athlete and dancer with Down Syndrome; the other two students are her friends. In the interview, the friends are seated on either side of the student, while she remains silent. They discuss her involvement in dance and how she “can always make them laugh and smile.” They conclude by saying that “she’s taught [them] lots of things.” The next interview involves a discussion with a teacher who works with the student through a school production. The teacher discusses the student’s improvement in dance over the years, “She is attentive, she jokes around, she’s funny. You know she’s interested because she’s watching, and seems keen and she’s participating.” She goes on to explain the student’s success in production: “[She] is consistent . . . her improvement has come over the three years . . . [she] doesn’t need a lot of improvement she is already there.” These clips are not only patronizing, they also construct the student as someone who has overcome personal deficits, thus embracing a “courageous battler” script. The vignette implies that the student has faced adversity (i.e., disability), and succeeded beyond her “potential” to develop proficiency with certain abilities. In this way, the
vignette celebrates ‘triumph’ rather than the student’s abilities and validates deficit discourses that stymie acceptance of human diversity.

There is the key difference between this vignette and the vignettes in *Family*—in the other vignettes the subjects of the films celebrate their own abilities and intelligences. Although *The Inspiration* begins with the student telling the story of her success with the Special Olympics, the reliance on interview footage with others may still contribute to the “courageous battler” script and deficit discourses. Had the film been narrated entirely by the student, rather than others who discuss her situation, this marginalizing “courageous battler” script may not have been so prominent.

Like *Family*, *Living* contradictorily critiques and conserves deficit discourses. While *Living* problematizes deficit constructions in some ways, its focus on treatment and therapy presupposes that mental illness marks a deficiency, or sickness, in people’s bodies (Walker, 2006). The following filmmaker’s comment illustrates how advocacy for treatment can support deficit discourses related to mental illness:

There could be someone that doesn’t talk about their illness . . . if you need help, like, you can’t have a mental illness and then not get help for it because it just destroys you inside . . . the film is trying to get people to see about mental illness and see it, and know about it, and the people that have it, to get help.

In a similar way, in a different discussion, the filmmaker said, “I think that we just need to talk about it and let people know that there is help out there.” Both instances illustrate deficit discourses by suggesting that all those “suffering” from mental illness require help, diagnosis, or treatment. Similarly, the teen interviewed in the film, who explains how bullying contributed to her thoughts of suicide, draws on a deficit discourse when she suggests that treatment and medication are important:
For some teenagers, they think that medication is the end of the world, but honestly it helps so much, and this is coming from me, someone who never wanted to do it. I feel like now I am not letting down my family as much. . . . at least I'm trying to make an effort to be better.

In this instance, the young woman appears to have internalized deficit discourses, as she explains that she is trying to “get better.” By only focusing on personal treatment and medication, the film misses an opportunity to raise conversations about schooling practices and structures that intensified this young woman’s depression. It also misses an opportunity to critique issues that may have contributed to her thoughts of suicide.

Deficit discourses are also evident in the final sequence of Living. The segment shows students holding signs with short, positive statements; for example, “strong,” “ambition,” “getting better,” and “hopeful” appear in text. The audio track is drawn from an interview with a school guidance counselor who advocates for treatment. My read of the scene is that the students are highlighting the importance of therapy and medical treatment, and its positive impact. Similarly, the words displayed on cards, mentioned above, are accompanied by somber music creating a bleak tone. However, when the topic of treatment is raised, the music and words become more hopeful. This contrast implies advocacy for treatment, and, therefore, an implicit embrace of deficit discourses.

Focusing the conclusion on “fixing” individual deficits, the film misses an opportunity to address the kinds of social changes needed to challenge the contributory institutional factors, the stigmatization of mental illness, and the marginalization of people living with mental health issues. Though the students show earlier in the film, that external factors (e.g., schooling, social practices, social stigmatization) can cause or exacerbate mental illness, this recognition is undermined in the conclusion. This
awareness is replaced with deficit discourses, which suggest that mental illness is a sickness to be treated.

My criticisms here should not be interpreted to suggest that I consider mental health to be only influenced by external factors or that I think individuals should avoid treatment or help with mental health issues. However, in putting emphasis on treatment, Living becomes about individual change, rather than social change. The embrace of deficit discourses has undermined other goals in the film (e.g., challenging the demeaning and marginalizing constructions of people with mental health issues). The consequence is that the film does not give audiences a chance to reflect on the types of social dynamics that exacerbate mental issues, or the institutional changes needed to better support mental health. From a critical perspective, for comprehensive discussions of mental health to occur, individual and broader contextual factors (e.g., economics, institutions, inequities, material conditions) must be considered. Without this focus, the collective actions required are neglected.

No doubt, as facilitators, we could have done more to encourage the students to engage in critical explorations of deficit discourses. For example, we could have asked questions such as: What might be the consequence of treating differences like they are something we need to “fix” or medicate? What other factors are we missing when we only consider ability and mental health on an individual level? Whose voices dominate in these discussions, and who gets to define things like ability and disability? Why are some abilities deemed more important than others, and who gets to construct this hierarchy?

**Challenging classing practices and discourses.**

Whereas my discussions above serve to highlight how gendered, heterosexist,
and deficit discourses are resisted and/or supported in the *What’s up Doc?* films, in this section I focus on how discourses associated with classing practices are similarly challenged and/or perpetuated. In this section, I identify how individualizing and victim blaming classing discourses are resisted in the films, then I show how these same discourses may have been perpetuated in different ways. Before elaborating on how one particular film takes up a this form of critique, I briefly identify the meanings, and critical theory perspectives, I attach to individualistic classing discourses.

When individualistic discourses dominate, contextual factors and social inequalities are left unaccounted for and individual agency is considered the only factor that determines one’s situation, conditions, or position in society (Zebroski, 2006). For example, individualistic classing discourses are in operation when poverty is deemed to be rooted in personal failures and the accumulation of material wealth is considered only as the outcome of an individual’s merit and hard work. As Gorski (2010) states:

> It becomes easier, then, to train the mass consciousness to pathologize disenfranchised communities—to, in effect, blame them for their own disenfranchisement. Once that scornful gaze down the power hierarchy is in place, so is established the justification for maintaining existing social, political, and economic conditions, such as gross inequities in access to healthcare or educational opportunity, or the waning of social programs and supports for disenfranchised communities. After all, if poor communities are to blame for their own poverty, they are more easily painted as being unworthy or undeserving of a fair shake. (p. 5)

When individualizing classing discourses are institutionalized through systems of meritocracy (Ullicci, 2007), the role of class privilege and systems of marginalization
are left unconsidered. Opposing these classing practices are discourses based on critical consciousness (Freire, 2000b) which aim to elucidate the ways that contextual material conditions and social practices contribute to, and mitigate, social situations and realities.

Implicitly, the 2012 What's up Doc? films all resist individualistic discourses by exploring questions of how institutions, discourses, and practices mediate social conditions and power relations. However, Step Back, in particular, resists individualistic classing discourses by showing how class inequities, associated with rurality, are ultimately tied to the corporatization of farming and global economic markets. In challenging individualistic assumptions about poverty, the film argues that rural poverty, and a community’s sustainability, is contingent on global economic trends.

Drawing on critical perspectives, Step Back raises conversation on the ways free-market practices impact local economic conditions. Rather than blaming rural poverty on individuals and communities, Step Back argues that, in general, globalization practices are problematic for rural communities. This relates to Buckland’s (2004) critical view that policies since the 1980s have marked a move away from government regulation of farming, and a move toward neoliberal free-market, globalization practices.

More generally, the consequence has been the decline of small family and/or independent farming (Alston, 2004). Commenting on these issues, the students who produced Step Back raise conversations about how globalization and massification practices have had implications and repercussions in their rural community. They argue that individual and family-farming are no longer viable and sustainable economic options for independent farmers. Commenting on this theme, a student involved in Step Back said he would like to see a return to local commerce in his community: 

I hope to see more local, like rebuilding of local structures, like, grocery stores,
and simple amenities like that, gas stations... And a grocery store would really help out. If you wanted to buy, let’s say a bag of potatoes...there is all these little resellers, that are farmers, and they’ll sell off the back of their trucks. What if you want something else? There’s nothing else really around, you have to travel to town, and even then you might not get the best quality produce, because it’s been brought from who knows where.

For the filmmakers, rural communities can combat the shift toward corporate farming with a communal focus on self-sustainability and a return to local farming. Whereas I have already problematized the vignette about the tyrannous male land-owner along lines of gender, in the film the sequence is used to suggest that rural communities have land that can be used to support local food needs and the local economy. This theme is reiterated in an interview with a university professor whose research relates to rural social justice. On a title card, the film asks “Should we focus on family farms or business farms?” The professor responds:

I think it is going to be a necessity. What’s wonderful is that rural New Brunswick still continues to have land which makes it possible to farm. Unfortunately, we don’t have the most productive land... we certainly still have land and it can be turned into family farming and into food production, and I think in the long-term, not just in the long-term, but short-term as well, there is a push to do that, and in the long-term it will be a necessity.

Combined, these texts not only advocate for a return to small family farming and a critique of large-scale commercialized farming, but they also show an awareness that rural poverty is symptomatic of economic structures and neoliberal practices. Resisting individualistic blaming discourses, the film shows an awareness that addressing this
issue depends on social, institutional and economic reorganization.

Similarly, *Millionaire Meals* takes issue with the New Brunswick Department of Education Healthy Eating Policy 711 which mandates that only healthy foods can be sold in local school cafeterias. As these foods are more expensive, the policy has translated into higher costs for students. The film points out that requiring students to buy healthy foods means that only affluent students will be able to afford food in the cafeteria. This argument is illustrated through vignettes which show how students are forced to eat cheaper, less nutritious food when they can’t afford items on the cafeteria menu. The film also shows how those students are blamed and ostracized for not making healthy food choices. In this way, the film identifies and takes up critical perspectives to challenge individualistic discourses. The students illustrate the marginalizing effect of these discourses dramatically, when two teachers are depicted shaking their heads in disapproval as students return to school with fast-food—a cue to their acceptance of blaming discourses. For the filmmakers, the implementation of a mandatory healthy eating policy, without considering the economic ramifications of the policy and its marginalizing effects based on socio-economic status, is problematic.

The students challenge these marginalizing discourses by drawing on interview footage with the school cafeteria worker, the school vice-principal, and the healthy eating coordinator. They use the footage to argue that the intersection of the school policy and the high cost of healthy foods, not individual weaknesses, leads to unhealthy eating practices. To conclude, the filmmakers suggest that it is not sufficient for schools to implement healthy eating policies without financial subsidies. The students conclude their argument with interview footage with the school health nurse, who explains, “Ideally, it would be wonderful if there were free health foods for people.” However, she
also points to economic factors when she says, “It’s the money piece right?” This leaves audiences with questions for reflection. If healthy eating is important, then why is it not supported with higher subsidies for school cafeterias?

**Perpetuating classing practices and discourses.**

*Millionaire Meals*, while explicitly critiquing the blaming discourses that result from Policy 711, contradictorily also appears to condone the notion that healthy eating is only an individual’s responsibility. For example, the film includes an interview with a dietician who promotes the idea that individuals should “make healthy choices” and an individual’s unhealthy eating practices “burden” the Canadian healthcare system. She says, “We talk about healthy food being more expensive, but if you look down the road, how expensive is it to be unhealthy? It’s really expensive. Our healthcare . . . is spending billions of dollars a year . . . on treating obesity.” On some levels, these comments suggest that if only people can be educated to make healthy food choices, they would not be a burden on society. In this way, the interview explicitly condones victim blaming. While other facets of the film are more critical, this footage fixes a gaze only on the individual, rather than the context of which they are a part. Unfortunately, the students, teachers, and I missed an opportunity to trouble these blaming discourses.

The conclusion of the film *Step Back* also perpetuates individualistic assumptions. In advocating for a return to family farming, the final segment documents students constructing a series of pallet gardens for the community. While the initiative accents the students’ collective advocacy for family farming, the film suggests that rural inequities can be addressed through local action alone, thereby neglecting broader scale social reorganization. While efforts to support the local community are important, the film can leave audiences with a suggestion that these individual acts of resistance are
enough to dismantle global economic policies and practices that structure inequity.

While local action is important, more needs to be done to challenge government policies and practices that privilege corporate farming practices over independent or family farms.

In both Millionaire Meals and Step Back, alternative editorial choices could have helped the films challenge, rather than rest at or perpetuate, individualizing discourses. In Millionaire Meals, for example, the dietician’s comments could have been challenged or re-framed with discussions connecting healthy eating choices to broader social structures. As facilitators we could have encouraged the students to pursue lines of inquiry around the following questions: Why is healthy eating more expensive? Why are unhealthier foods more accessible? How does desire factor in? What responsibilities should schools have to provide affordable healthy eating options? How does profit factor into this issue? Should school cafeterias be privatized?

With Step Back, along with creating pallet gardens, the film could have identified specific policies or practices that need to change in order to support rural sustainability. As facilitators, we could have encouraged the students to make these political messages more explicit in the film, for example, through title cards, narration, or by providing information about specific government policies that support corporate farming practices over local farming. We could have also tasked the students to reflect on, and address, the following questions: What are the implications of government policies that privilege corporate farming practices over local family farms? What institutional structures or policies need to change? What proposals or suggestions would you make to policy makers? How could these suggestions be made more explicit in the film?
Summary

In this chapter, I shared a synopsis of each film and have shown how the films intersect with critical theories to challenge constructs of gender, sexuality, disability, and classing practices. I also problematized the work with similar critical theories to show how the films can also perpetuate oppressive and marginalizing discourses. By exploring these contradictions, I illustrated the complex terrain of critical filmmaking pedagogies. This analysis is intended to remind practitioners, like myself, and student filmmakers, to proceed reflexively when engaging in critical filmmaking practices. Whereas my focus in this chapter centered on the films, in the next chapter I turn my gaze to the contexts in which our collaborations were situated. I continue the process of problematization through a critical exploration of the institutional structures and discursive practices that shaped critical filmmaking pedagogies in the 2012 What's up Doc? program.
Chapter Five

The Impact of Institutional Structures and Contexts

In this chapter, I explore how institutional structures and contexts shaped and constrained the potential of critical filmmaking pedagogies and the 2012 *What's up Doc?* program. While various organizational structures impacted the program, here I focus on curriculum, academic streaming, assessment, funding, and school hierarchies. My focus on these themes relates to pedagogical concerns raised by students and teachers and my reflections on how they intersected with issues of power. As institutional structures can shape what is possible, these discussions can inform how critical filmmaking pedagogies may be negotiated, and spoken of differently, in the future.

**Curriculum**

Neoliberal and critical discourses operating in the *Atlantic Canada English Language Arts Curriculum* (NB Department of Education, 1998) both opened possibilities and constrained our implementation of critical filmmaking pedagogies in the *What's up Doc?* program. The curriculum specifies what can be covered in high school literacy programs, and teachers are expected to address specific curriculum outcomes with students. This expectation is stipulated in the New Brunswick Education Act, Article 27(1): “The duties of a teacher employed in a school include (a) implementing the prescribed curriculum” (New Brunswick Government, 1997, p. 20). The New Brunswick English Language Arts curriculum is organized into three strands and standardized across grade levels and streams: speaking and listening; reading and viewing; and writing and representation. Each year, classes involved in *What's up Doc?* worked with the same provincial document and engaged in activities to address the three
strands of the curriculum.

Often ignored in dominant discourses regarding curriculum is a recognition that these documents reflect ideological, discursive, and political frameworks. As Apple (1990) explains, “The curriculum in schools responds to and represents ideological and cultural resources that come from somewhere” (p. 46). Nevertheless, the role that curriculum plays in perpetuating social inequities remains mostly omitted in public and policy discussions. Beyer and Apple (1988) argue:

We need to think about education relationally. We need to see it as integrally connected to the cultural, political and economic institutions of the larger society, institutions that may be strikingly unequal by race, gender, and class. Schools embody and reproduce many of these inequities. They may alleviate some of them [however] . . . schools unfortunately may recreate others. (pp. 4-5)

Similarly, a teacher involved in What’s up Doc? explained how politics permeate the curriculum. He said, “We’re all working in this same enclosed maze of the ideologies that have nurtured us and influenced us often in ways that we don’t recognize. So it’s constant work, not only on the students’ part but on my own to recognize every day.”

Neoliberal discourses.

Although the Atlantic Canada English Language Arts Curriculum (NB Department of Education, 1998) is presented as an ideological neutral document, with scrutiny, it is possible to see “a maze of ideologies,” especially neoliberal influences. Neoliberalism extends the logic of free-market capitalism into all spheres of personal and social life as a way to eliminate the government’s influence in private business (Leistyna, 2007). As Harvey (2006) explains, neoliberalism is:

a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can
best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices. . . . [The state] must also set up those military, defense, police, and legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and to guarantee, by force if need be, the proper function of the markets. (p. 3)

Supporters of neoliberalism often presuppose that free-market practices, devoid of supposedly cumbersome government interference, are the best way to support all citizens' freedom and prosperity (Oladi, 2013). Beyond schooling, neoliberal trends are marked by decreases in government economic regulations (Chomsky, 1999), free-trade (Jessop, 2002), the corporatization and privatization of industries and institutions that have traditionally been public entities (Brown, 2006; Smith, 2004), and the support of individualism over collectivism (Bélard, 2007). Neoliberalism permeates social and institutional, discourses, policies, structures, and practices.

Public education in the West serves as a powerful example of an institution that inculcates, and is shaped by, neoliberal discourse. As Hursh (2001) states, “Since the reign of Reagan, education in the U.S. has been increasingly transformed to meet the competitive needs of corporations within globalized markets” (par. 1). In neoliberal contexts, educational practices focus on training youth to adopt free-market ideologies (Hyslop-Margison & Sears, 2006) where the value of education is seen as instrumental and premised on human capital learning:

Human capital learning views students as self-interested entrepreneurs seeking to maximize fiscal return on their investment. From this perspective, a “quality”
education provides students with the necessary skills and knowledge for economic success within the prevailing labour market. Educational goals are determined by labour market conditions and, as part of the naturalizing thrust of neo-liberal ideology, critical reflection on structural issues is correspondingly eliminated. Social criticism is viewed as categorically counterproductive to the economic efficiency objectives consistent with market economy logic. (p. 3)

In the contemporary educational context, neoliberal discourses and ideologies are often the basis of policies, practices, and governing documents. The Atlantic Canada English Language Arts Curriculum (NB Department of Education, 1998), with its taken-for-granted instrumental rationality for literacy education, serves as one such example. Embedded in the document is an assumption that literacy programs, especially Level 3 programs, offered at the high school level, are intended to prepare young people for the workforce. For example, the introduction draws a connection between literacy and career education through an emphasis on technology. The document states:

Pervasive, ongoing changes in society—for example, rapidly expanding use of technologies—require a corresponding shift in learning opportunities for students to develop relevant knowledge, skills, strategies, processes, and attitudes that will enable them to function well as individuals, citizens, workers, and learners. To function productively and participate fully in our increasingly sophisticated technological, information-based society, citizens will need broad literacy abilities. (p. 1)

This statement connects literacy programming to students' ability to be "productive" (i.e., employed) members of society. The document does not address the development of knowledge for its own sake, or for the strengthening of equity and social justice.
While instrumental neoliberal discourses influence different parts of the curriculum document, they become most apparent in sections outlining expectations for Level 3 high school programs (i.e., programs designed for students deemed “non-academic”). In these sections, the document embraces a career education rationale by linking literacy programs to skills training and job readiness for contemporary labour markets. For example, a section entitled *Focus of Experiences* states that students will engage in “writing (especially practical writing) and other ways of representing” (p. 130). Here, instrumentalism is accented by the word “practical,” which can be interpreted as synonymous with “workplace.” This instrumental focus is further developed in other sections describing Level 3 programming. For example, in a section entitled *Increased Emphasis*, the document dictates that students will engage in “oral and written communication related to the world of work and real-life situations” (p. 30). The difference between this and the Level 2 curriculum (i.e., for students deemed “academic”), is that “practical writing” is omitted.

The instrumentalism inherit in the Level 3 curriculum shaped how teachers, students, parents, administrators, and I approached the experience. Although *What's up Doc?* is intended to address social justice issues, instrumentality influenced our collaborative practices, as well as our perceptions of the program.

Instrumentalism often surfaced when students described and reflected on the experience. For example, one student saw the program as focused on introducing young people to skills that may eventually lead to the pursuit of filmmaking through education or as a career later in life:

It definitely gives you something like, our school has a lot of things like shop, so you can go, and you can learn to see if you like it, I guess, like with filmmaking
is that if you never have done it before obviously and you start in high school, maybe, in English or something, then you know if you like it or not. Maybe it was something you never knew you liked before, and then, “Oh I love doing the camera,” and “Oh I love doing lighting” for some reason, or “Oh I love doing, you know editing” . . . Standing there and holding the boom, like something like you like, you wouldn’t have never known, and like maybe you couldn’t have done it after high school or something like that.

Another student reflected on skills development in relation to future educational and career opportunities: “It opens up opportunities for students later on, whether it be for next year, Grade 12 or moving on to college or university . . . it may interest them further . . . Whether it be interviews, or journalism, any aspect of those things.”

Instrumentalist discourses also surfaced when teachers and students explained how the program related to technical skills development. As one teacher explained, “It really goes well with English because they can practice and get better at a lot of skills that are involved in being a better writer, speaker and listener.” A technically-oriented discourse was also repeated when a student said:

It teaches us new techniques I guess, things that we wouldn’t learn in a regular English class, like we learned how to use the camera and how to film, and how to set up the sound and how to edit.

Instrumental discourses also surfaced when teachers talked about the kinds of skills they hoped their students would develop through the program. As one teacher put it, he would like to see his students develop teamwork skills:

What I would like for my students to get out of the program has changed every year, that I’ve implemented the program in the classroom. I sort of add onto it
every year. There’s more things that I want them to get out of it every year. To
begin I want them to gain some team-working skills and some skills in
cooperating with other learners and working with teammates.

For me, the term “team,” while somewhat connoted with community, elicits commonly
used workplace slogans. The concept of “team-building,” as Agostinone-Wilson (2006)
explains, comes from a corporate, workplace mindset. As she says, “promoting
classroom management as a way to ‘team build’ or steering students toward ‘self-
regulation,’ . . . all work together to ultimately shape attitudes and dispositions toward a
capitalist ethos, embodied in the modern corporation” (n.p).

Beyond the teachers and students involved, instrumental discourses surfaced
frequently when the work was presented publicly. For example, after the 2012 What’s up
Doc? film festival screenings, we held a panel discussion to allow the filmmakers to
address questions from the audience—made up of teachers, administrators, friends,
family, and local policy makers. A pre-service teacher shared a comment and posed the
question, “You all look so interested in filmmaking. Will any of you pursue filmmaking
as a career?” Unspoken is an assumption that the program is only valuable if it helps
provide students with skills they could use in the workforce. When the question was
posed, only one student, on the panel of twelve, said he wanted to pursue filmmaking as
a career. This left me, and hopefully the audience, with an impression that the purpose of
the program was not employability. While I have no problem with students pursuing a
career in film, what I do find troubling is that this discourse often outweighed the critical
goals of the program. In particular, if the program is celebrated only for its potential to
prepare students for the workforce then efforts for social justice become delegitimized.
Furthermore, if jobs do not materialize, the program is deemed to have failed.
The instrumentalist influence in the curriculum, and education more generally, also contributed to deficit discourses in, and around, the *What's up Doc?* program. These discourses often circulated when the program was described as helping students “progress” toward skills and academic proficiency standards as specified in the curriculum. An unspoken suggestion was that students “developed” through the program. For example, in the following comment, a deficit discourse surfaces when a teacher speaks to the potential of developing skills in inquiry through the program:

[I hope] that all students are involved in some type of research leading up to the filming, so that they feel like they have some kind of background knowledge leading into the filming . . . I think that the goals of the *What's up Doc?* program are that students become engaged in research and writing, to develop a story.

Here, the discourse focuses on generating changes in students, rather than focusing on the kinds of institutional changes students asked for through their films—arising from their life experiences. Similar deficit framing was also evident in the following comment on the academic and personal skills students develop through the program:

There have been at least six students that have surprised me this year. One student who, in the first semester was hit and miss in the class, he is totally on board. He is somebody that I can trust, someone I can trust with the equipment and somebody whose opinion I value. I’m positive this program has helped him. Two students who are kind of, non-readers, male students who couldn’t get into some of the reading work, the writing work, I think that once they saw where their reading and writing was going with this process, they got into that a little more as well. There are more students who got on board with this.

A view that the work fosters growth assumes students to be deficient in the first place.
Even comments about the students’ efforts to address social justice issues, tended to be framed through developmental discourses. For example, when a teacher spoke about themes in the films, she said that students developed interpersonal skills and became “more open minded about certain topics that maybe they were less open minded about before. Just hearing their peers and what they’ve had to say and I think that’s a good thing.” Students were also framed as having deficits of knowledge of the themes they explored in the films. For example, this discourse surfaces in the comment:

I think it’s really important for kids to be exposed to that. Especially at their age group. It’s really important, sometimes, because don’t really talk about those things. Because it’s safer. I think it’s really important to break those boundaries and to talk about those things because that’s life.

Similarly, another teacher took up deficit discourses when she said, “the What’s up Doc? program . . . allows students to explore social issues and to . . . come to an understanding of those issues through films.” Similarly, another teacher, in reflecting on the film Challenging the Norm, said, “It’s a pretty big learning experience for them too. When they tackled this big subject about stereotypes and gender roles.” This discourse also surfaced when another teacher explained that the What’s up Doc? is explicitly about teaching students about social issues. He said:

In essence, the What’s up Doc? program is a program that helps students take the idea of how they fit into a social space a little bit more seriously and it presents a story about that . . . I think the program has been successful in having students think about social issues . . . it seems like they’re getting into some more deeper conversation about the issue that we’re studying.

A focus on what students “learn,” however, assumes that students have not
already experienced inequity and injustices. This constructs them as “not knowing” and dismisses their knowledge and life experiences. It also skews perceptions about what teachers, parents, administrators, and policy makers can learn from students. Because the program is constructed with a purpose of individual change, the social, structural, discursive, and ideological changes the students call for can be missed, or dismissed.

While instrumental elements of the curriculum influenced the circulation of these discourses amongst teachers, students also took up discourses that constructed the focus of the program as personal development rather than social change. One student described the work as a personal “learning experience” when she said, “I learned how many different types of stereotypes there are, and how harsh people can be to each other about them.” Another reflected that the program provided unique ways to learn about social issues. She explained, “It’s an easier way to learn about it too. Like, adding film to talking about these issues, like we are also learning about these issues too, as we go.” Likewise, another student reiterated:

It’s definitely an easier way to learn how to do it, instead of sitting in a class and trying to learn about something, sit there for an hour, the teacher talks, talks, talks. You can only get so much in one day, I mean, by the end of it, it’s just in one ear and out the other, but if you at least get your hands on stuff, and you are you know, you’re getting into I mean there is stuff that I know about mental illness in my head now that I would have ever read it in a book, there’s no way.

I am not suggesting “learning experiences” related to social justice issues are problematic. This learning is integral to the notion of critical consciousness. However, discourses about the program must not plateau at the level of the individual. While this learning can be personally transformative, critical knowledge is of little consequence
unless it is used in the service of informed political action for social justice (Walsh, 2012). From this view, constructing *What's up Doc?* as a program focused only on individual “learning” means overlooking the political elements of the films. Focusing on what individuals “learned” constrains them in condescending subjugated positions. To develop a complex understanding of power in the *What's up Doc?* program it is important to consider the consequences of framing the program about individual change rather than individual, social, and institutional change.

**Critical discourses.**

While neoliberal discourses shape the curriculum, critical discourses, while subtle and insufficiently nourished, are also highlighted in a number of curricular goals. For example, The *Atlantic Canada English Language Arts Curriculum* (NB Department of Education, 1998) recommends that literacy programs aid students in “moving toward a more critical examination of meaning . . . toward developing their own style, a personal response to other points of view and voices . . . [and] exploring social, political, ethical, cultural, and economic issues in the wider community” (p. 130). While the document does not define its meaning of the term “critical,” a focus on an analysis of social and political issues highlights a connection to critical social theories. This connection is also accented in the *Unifying Ideas* section of the text. Here, the document highlights how literacy programming is intended to encourage students to “explore, respond to, and appreciate the power of language, literature, and other texts, and the contexts in which language is used” (p. 134). In this way, the document draws on concepts of power and the social implications of language. Critical perspectives are also highlighted when the document tasks teachers to have students “respond critically to complex print and media texts” by exploring “the diverse ways in which texts reveal and
produce ideologies, identities, and positions” (p. 30). Further, the document suggests that students should engage in activities designed to encourage them to reflect on their own “responses to print and media texts, considering their own and others’ social and cultural contexts” (p. 90). While explicit references to critical social theories are omitted from the document, a focus on questions of power, bias, and equality is evident. This connection becomes especially apparent in the expectations listed in the Reading and Viewing category, where media literacy is directed toward an examination of power. The document states, “Students will be expected to respond critically to a range of texts” (p. 16), examine “stereotyping and sexism in popular music” (p. 219), and “sexism in advertising images” (p. 220).

For the teachers involved with the What’s up Doc? program, the English Language Arts curriculum was not limiting, rather it made their expressions of critical filmmaking pedagogies possible. As I explained in the previous chapter, the themes and topics of the films relate to all of the critical aims outlined above. Through the program one teacher not only asked students to explore the organization of social realities, she also asked them to imagine how things could be different. When asked about engaging students with critical themes, this teacher said:

I don’t use a lot of the vocabulary, or I change it up a little bit but I think I’m just getting them to question, question, “Ok, this is the way things are, why is this the way things are? Does this have to be the way things are?” Specifically, the teen pregnancy issue. OK. There’s no daycare at [our school], we’re angry about that. But there used to be a daycare at [our school], what happened to it? Why was the decision made to abolish the daycare? Why was it important?”

This teacher critically and creatively asked students to imagine a new world where
equity may be better realized and power may be negotiated.

For another teacher, the critical elements of the curriculum enabled her to engage in mild forms of social action with her students. She explained:

I can connect [What's up Doc?] to other work that I've done or do in my classes when I look at the social activism part of it, but I feel as though, that we can talk about other issues but there's no exploring or there's no action whereas this allows me to take it those one or two steps further.

Elements in the curriculum that draw on critical theories created opportunities for the teachers to engage in critical praxis. These opportunities, paired with the critical and participatory ethos of critical filmmaking pedagogies, created space for students to take up oppositional discourses in their films.

As might be expected, the development and implementation of critical praxis happened gradually. In early phases of the program, critical discourses tended to surface in discussions of classroom power relations. When students and teachers reflected on renegotiating power relations in the classroom, our collaborations were constructed as an attempt to resist traditional student/teacher dichotomies. In taking up this critical construction, a student said, “It’s definitely true that the students have more control with what goes on with projects like this.” As mentioned earlier, the word “more” alludes to how the program resists the traditional hierarchal school structures.

The films and the students’ comments highlight how critical discourses surfaced when hierarchal school structures were considered and analyzed. One student reflected:

I know before this project, I’ve never done anything like this, where it’s like . . . your choices, your film, your movie, if you want it good you make it good, if you don’t want it good, it’s not going to end up good . . . I think that it’s that you
have a say in what you do. And I think with high school students, a lot of people
don't like to be told what to do. So when they are allowed to make their own
choices they like to jump in and do it more.

Here, the student critiques institutional structures by drawing attention to how power
relations can leave young people marginalized and alienated in schools. By suggesting
that students “don’t like to be told what to do,” he also resists the taken-for-granted
structures of schooling that limit young people’s agency. Similarly, another student
viewed the participatory elements of the program as a form of resistance:

We get to voice our own . . . opinions, whereas, if we were just in like regular
class, we wouldn’t have the opportunity to . . . [say] “I don’t like the way this
thing is being done” . . . in this we actually get to say what we don’t like and do
like, and we get to like do something about it.

The comment embraces resistance by suggesting that power relations in “regular”
classes hinder students’ choices and voices. A correspondingly critical discourse was
evident when a student expressed a need to “be heard.” He said:

The thing about our documentary is like, we want it to be heard, like we want our
voice to be heard . . . The most important part of a project . . . [is to] state our
opinions . . . Yeah, basically saying, “This is our video saying we don’t like
this,” and this is a visual protest that is getting out to these 400 and some people
by saying, “Hey guys, listen, this is what we think. Hey watch this.” Instead of
going and holding up signs.

By suggesting the work is a form of “visual protest” the student embraces resistant
discourses. Arguing that students “want to be heard” implies they currently do not
experience conditions where “being heard” is common. In this way, the students are
challenging power structures that contribute to silencing.

While the above discourses focus on power relations in schools, eventually, resistant discourses moved beyond the classroom, to focus on other oppressive social structures, practices, and discourses. These critical discourses circulated when the students discussed the program’s potential to entice structural and institutional change.

The space in curriculum, and the critical elements of the program, created opportunities for students and teachers to critically analyze and challenge societal and institutional structures that marginalize and oppress. This discursive influence was most visible when students discussed the goals of their films. For example, a student explained how Millionaire Meals calls for structural changes that respect all students’ interests and agency: “It’s really sticking it to the school board and the higher level of the government, saying you guys aren’t doing it right, we’d like to change it.” Another student explained how Courses, similarly, focuses on resisting educational structures:

I want to see a change in this, and I want to see our documentary actually have an effect on people and have an effect on the school board and stuff, and, I guess the main thing is that, we want this thing to change, we want there to be more options for courses and we want certain things to change.

Another student linked Courses to a demand for more equitable decisions related to funding allotments: “We are really saying to the school system, people who are making the decisions on the provincial and . . . national level, [we] are saying, ‘Oh, we need to change all these things,’ make budget cuts or give more money to this section.”

While, on one level, critical discourses surfaced to entice structural change, the films also show an interest in resisting oppressive discourses. For example, in a discussion about Challenging, a student expressed a hope that the film could “change
thoughts,” another hoped that it could “change perspectives.” These intentions were not unique; others also hoped their films would encourage critical reflection, dialogue, and change amongst audiences. Three students, in particular, discussed how their film, *That Girl*, provides opportunities for audiences to reflect on deeply-held assumptions about teen-parenting. As one student put it, the film provides an opportunity for audiences to “see these issues in a different light.” For them, the resistant function of the film is not to “tell people what to think” but to entice critical reflection on oppressive discourses that construct teen mothers as morally deficient. As they discussed:

Student 1: Getting people to think about like different things it could like, I don’t know broaden their mind. Some people are so close-minded about things, like, they don’t, they have like one way of thinking pretty much and that’s about it, but like if you can do something, like what we’re doing and make them think about then there is that possibility that they could be open-minded, and not close-minded.

Student 2: I’m pretty close-minded, really, I guess it makes you think, and it’s nice, because it doesn’t tell you how to think, but, oh, you know, it’s like you take all the information and you make what you want of it.

Student 3: I mean if you are not telling someone what to do... if you are giving a chance for somebody to think about something, that’s totally different.

Student 2: I think more than anything it just, it doesn’t really, this ten minute film, it doesn’t really change anyone’s mind, it just, you know, it makes you think, it just puts it out there so that you see, because it is not talked about a lot.

Student 1: It gets them talking.

Student 2: Yeah, so they think and make their own opinions about it.
Student 3: I’m more, it’s not more a change, it’s not more of changing someone’s mind, it’s more making them think about it.

Student 2: We are not influencing people to think our way ... we are just, saying hey, here are the facts, do what you want with them.

Resistant discourses also surfaced when teachers discussed students’ intentions to generate critical reflection, dialogue, and social change. A teacher explained:

It makes the audience think for themselves, right? ... From seeing what you see, you start to question certain things or maybe you wonder why you didn’t question certain things. It’s like piecing a puzzle together. When you watch any movie, and something big happens, and you think to yourself, “Oh, wow. I never thought about that,” or you change your mind.

In a similar way, another teacher described dialogue as important:

I hope that [audiences] can see the power of it. I don’t want them to think that [students’] films sit there on a shelf and then they’re shown one night at the festival and that’s it. I think the power is in the discussions that take place.

Every year this gets a little bigger and more people are listening to these voices.

While the teacher suggests that this intention can be overlooked, he constructs the program, and the films, within a discursive frame of resistance.

As these examples highlight, the critical spaces opened in the curriculum, and the disruptive elements of critical filmmaking pedagogies, contributed to constructions of the pedagogy of resistance (Giroux, 1983). In some cases, resistance was directed at classroom power relations; in others, it surfaced in the films’ challenges to societal structures, practices, discourses, and ideologies. Resistant discourses influenced how the program was understood by other teachers, students, and administrators in the school.
These discourses positioned the work outside the supposedly neutral ethos of public education (Kincheloe, 2008b). The program also, however, had an impact beyond the classroom. The circulation of discourses, related to change, showed how the program was openly political, in that the work advocated for societal changes which could be contentious. As I explain in Chapter Six, for teachers and students, there are potential dangers and consequences associated with being openly political in schools. This has meant that whereas the curriculum opened spaces for critical and resistant discourses, the spectre of institutional and social repercussions also shaped and constrained the program, dictating what was, and was not, possible to critique.

**Streaming**

Beyond the discursive and ideological leanings discussed above, structurally, the *Atlantic Canada English Language Arts Curriculum* (NB Department of Education, 1998) sorts student programming into “advanced” (Level 1), “academic” (Level 2), and “non-academic” (Level 3) streams. Although, as mentioned above, whereas all students are expected to work toward the same general outcomes (speaking and listening; reading and viewing; and writing and representation), the streams differ in terms of their pace, thematic emphasis, and pedagogical activities. As outlined in the curriculum, Level 1 and 2 streams, “are intended for students whose goals include post-secondary academic study” (p. 128). In contrast, Level 3 streams are reserved for students “whose goals include school success and entry-level employment in private or public sectors” (p. 128). Differences in pedagogical approaches are also evident. For example, English Level 1 and 2 streams tend to draw on more traditional academic activities intended to prepare students for university programs; Level 3 courses engage students in work-related activities that are “practical and interesting learning experiences closely related to their
lives and to the world they will experience as adults” (p. 128). Level 3 courses are also
designed to be “flexible . . . and provide support to meet . . . individual and diverse
learning needs” (p. 128). Notably, all of the schools involved in the 2012 What’s up
Doc? program, except for the rural school, sorted students into separate classes. I was
told that the population of the rural school was not large enough to have multiple
English Language Arts classes at each grade level. Consequently, the students completed
various levels of programming in the same classroom. While the class composition of
streamed programs may have differed in the rural and urban schools, the discourses
constructing students in leveled programs in all locations were comparable. These
discourses, and their consequences, are the focus of my discussions.

The streaming of programs is not universally supported. As McInerney (2006)
states, streaming contributes to inequities on a societal level:

For their part, schools are more inclined to engage in sorting and streaming
practices in order to identify academic and/or talented students and to implement
compensatory programs to cater for ‘at-risk’ students – those who do not fit into
the mainstream. Although this may be guided by good intentions, it can be a
recipe for a pedagogy of poverty (Haberman, 1991), as already struggling
students have their options further reduced. (p. 25)

Likewise, in New Brunswick, the leveling of programming can privilege some students
while marginalizing others. It can support a valuation system that suggests students in
Level 1 are “proficient,” Level 2 are “baseline,” and Level 3 are “deficient.” As I
mentioned in Chapter Four, streaming is critiqued in some of the students’ films,
especially Courses and Family. However, discourses connected to streaming also
contributed to tensions in the program. Here, I elaborate on, and critique, discourses that
surrounded leveled programs in the three New Brunswick schools. I begin by discussing the thinking that influenced the decision to direct the *What's up Doc?* program toward Level 3 programs. I then show how locating the program in this way has contributed to tensions in the schools, and may have contributed to discourses that construct Level 3 students as weak, incapable, and deficient.

The School District 18 Literacy Coordinator conceptualized *What's up Doc?* as an effort to address a gap in local schools. In his view, there were disproportionate curricular and extracurricular programming options designed for Level 1/2 streams as opposed to Level 3. Each year, he said, there are oratory and writing competitions for students in academic streams, while no such opportunities exist for Level 3 classes. Believing these classes to be underserved, he wanted *What’s up Doc?* to provide comparable opportunities for students in streams considered non-academic. A teacher reflected on this gap in programing, and the intent of the program:

The whole leveling system of English has meant that the Eleven-3’s were not focused upon and this was an exciting change. This was something that was meant only for the Eleven-3’s . . . I don’t like leveling students at all. I think that’s a terrible way to set-up an educational system, but, in that we have to work within those levels, I think this is important because for once, these students are given equipment that is valuable and a project that is something that is being viewed and heard and having an impact outside of the school environment. They are being treated like the valuable members of society that they are in terms of having a voice. For many of them, for the first time in their schooling careers where their voices are being allowed and a night is being set-up for them. Awards are being given to them and people are clapping for them. Our
department head was in tears the first year. It hit her when she saw the students
going up to the podium to get their medals. For many of them, this was the first
time that they were given that kind of recognition.

For this teacher, locating What's up Doc? in Level 3 programs has the potential to
disrupt some aspects of institutionalized marginalization.

However, for other teachers, directing the work toward Level 3 programs created
institutional tensions. In my journal, I noted that some teachers, particularly those who
were teaching English Language Arts course at multiple levels, felt pressured to offer
similar activities to students in their Level 2 classes. As one teacher said, “I feel badly
that the Level 2’s don’t get to do the same kind of project. I think across the board it
would be good in any class.” Another teacher reflected, “It’s a valuable experience for
students. I think that, sometimes I feel bad because . . . it’s something I wish we could
offer to all of our English Language Arts classes, and I’m unable to offer that to
everybody.”

Based on comments from teachers I also noted a sense of student animosity
toward students who participated in the What’s up Doc? program. Based on my analysis,
I felt that these tensions were more evident in schools that separated streamed programs
into separate classes. In the rural, non-course-sorted school, students working through
multiple level programming collaborated together on different aspects of the film. As
such, I didn’t come into contact with the same sense of animosity that I encountered in
the schools in the city. In course-sorted classrooms, the animosity usually arose from
students in Level 2 programs, and took form in questions such as, “Why do they get this
program and we do not?” and “Those students don’t deserve this because they are
stoners and slackers.” A teacher commented:
I’ve had my students in Level 2 class see the equipment and ask, “Why do they get to do that, and we don’t?” The Level 2 kids think that “We’re smarter than them” and “Why should they get to do this project” and “Why do they get to?” Not only do comments like these highlight tensions for teachers, they also accent how power is wielded discursively in schools through deficit constructions of students in streams deemed non-academic. Moreover, the decision to direct What’s up Doc? toward students deemed “non-academic” inadvertently fostered marginalizing constructions of the students who participated in the program.

Whereas derogatory comments marginalized students in Level 3 streams, even comments meant to celebrate What’s up Doc? validated deficit constructs. We often encountered instances when students’ efforts were not recognized in-and-of-themselves, but because the Level 3 students succeeded in the face of personal shortcomings. A teacher pointed out this concern when she said, “[celebration] is, in a way, playing to the stereotype. ‘You’re doing well for a Level 3.’ ‘Oh, look at what the Level 3’s can produce.’” While celebratory, the patronizing tone positions students in Level 3 classes as deficient, abnormal, and lacking. This shows that, on one hand, the program challenged marginalization. However, it also fueled problematic assumptions. In response, some teachers resisted deficit constructions of students. One teacher said, “I don’t even call it Level 3, once we start this program . . . I’ll title it What’s up Doc? or I’ll call it period four.”

While some teachers were quick to condemn deficit discourses, some comments did not escape from marginalizing constructs. While attention to difference is important, some of the discourses that circulated in the program supported a notion that Level 3 students have deficits that require corrective interventions. For example, in the following
comment, deficit assumptions are embedded in the notion that some students are lacking in comparison to normative school standards:

I think it’s great that this project is geared towards students that are in a Level 3 class, or who are not geared towards something traditionally deemed academic. I think for me that the Level 3 program is a different way of teaching. For me, it’s a hands-on way of teaching and the students need to be active. This type of project allows us to hit the curriculum outcomes and to teach with those strategies. I struggle. I teach Eleven-3 History and English and I struggle, trying to keep those kids active and moving around and using their hands to learn about the things we’re supposed to teach them. I think that this project is great for that.

A similar discourse surfaced when another teacher suggested that Level 3 students have essential differences that require alternative types of instruction:

I think we often foster special planning for Level 3’s... It’s more practical and more hands on in some aspects but this is super practical and creative with lots of technology that they haven’t gotten their hands on before. I like that part of it and I think the kids have benefitted with that.

Discourses that constructed What’s up Doc? in this way also circulated when another teacher stated that the program “fits” the students in her class, “It fit very well with the students that I have in there and the kind of movement that they want to have in the classroom.” While these discourses are subtle, they nonetheless situate the students in marginal positions (Quin, 2003). Embedded in these comments are discourses that equate difference with deficit; this constructs the notion of alternative pedagogical approaches as reparative. This raises the questions: Why are students who want to be active and work through hands-on exercises deemed deficient? and Why must education
be fashioned in a standardized way?

I was first confronted with the objectifying impact of locating the program exclusively in Level 3 classes after the first What's up Doc? film festival in 2009. At the end of the night I sought feedback from teachers. One teacher mentioned a question a student had raised. The student asked her, “Why do they always have to call us Level 3 students?” The comment referred to the presenters who spoke to the crowd through the evening. They expressed comments such as, “What a good project for Level 3 students”; “This is such great work for Level 3”; and, “I am very surprised with what these Level 3 students were able to produce.” From this discussion, I began to recognize the implications of designing a program, based on alternative pedagogical approaches, for students who are already constructed as non-academic. The structure, and our decision to locate the program exclusively in Eleven-3, was not influenced by broader deficit discourses, but played into demeaning constructs. These discourses did not permit the students, or the teachers and me, to challenge relations of power and deficit constructions of students in Eleven-3 classrooms. This makes me wonder: What language might be used if students in Level 1 and 2 streams were involved—“ambitious,” “brilliant,” “thoughtful,” “insightful?”

Alternative pedagogies or “not real education”: “Isn’t that a project for the dumb kids?”

Dominant discourses about Level 3 classes, and our adoption of critical, participatory, and disruptive approaches in streamed programs, had other discursive implications. This intersection fostered what I describe as an “alternative education” discourse, which perpetuated the assumption that What’s up Doc? is an expression of fringe and experimental pedagogies. In many ways, What’s up Doc? is an example of
alternative pedagogies. Although this description can be productive, responses based on alternative assumptions sometimes constructed the program pejoratively, as “not real education.” In this section, I problematize the “alternative education” discourses and show how they influenced responses to the work. My efforts here seek to disrupt the discourses that construct alternative pedagogies pejoratively. In this way, I trouble the equation of difference and/or alternative with deficiency. I begin with a discussion highlighting discourses which construct What’s up Doc? as alternative, then I move to trouble elements of these discourses that are marginalizing.

Discursive reminders that participation in What’s up Doc? was alternative and “something different” surfaced in all contexts in similar ways. For example, a student took up this discourse by saying, “It’s definitely true that the students have more control with what goes on with projects like this.” With the word, “more,” the comment suggests that the program is different compared to traditional classroom power relations. Another student’s comment also draws on similar assumptions:

> Normally, learning is the teacher stands in front of you and talks and you write notes and you do a project but this type of learning is hands on, and it like, lets the students get involved in different ways and do different types of jobs, as opposed to doing the same thing every single day which gets boring.

The comment constructs What’s up Doc? as different and implies that the program resists traditional educational power structures. The student continued:

> You pick the . . . type of movie that you are doing. Like in the beginning we all wrote our separate scripts . . . and then we all voted on those scripts, like the class chose the topics that we are doing. It’s not like the teacher is like, “We are going to do this and this, and that’s what we are doing.” The students themselves
chose what we are doing, we are the ones in charge, like it’s not the teacher, the teacher doesn’t do anything, she talks to us for like ten minutes in the morning, and that’s it. But the rest of the time, it’s us doing it.

While I am confident that the teachers involved would take issue with the notion presented at the end of this student’s comment, they also echoed the sentiment that dominates the comment. A teacher took up an alternative education discourse in saying:

This is much more student driven and student led. The students take the initiative in deciding the topic that we are going to explore and the films shape themselves through that. In a traditional classroom, it’s normally lead by the books that are chosen, which are normally chosen by the teacher, or it’s structured around the poetry that’s chosen or the style of writing that the teacher decides to teach. In those cases there is the opportunity for student choice; however, it tends to begin with the teacher, and I think this allows for more student input and more student action in their learning.

The word, “more,” again, implies that the work differs from traditional teaching. For this teacher, traditional activities are less “student driven and student led.”

Constructing What’s up Doc? as an expression of alternative pedagogies is important, especially in relation to the potential to renegotiate school power relations. One teacher took up this discourse when saying that there were shifts in power relations:

I would suggest that they [teachers] take a deep breath and let go of a lot of their traditional notions of what a traditional, productive, classroom learning environment looks like. I would suggest that they not be scared to give things over to their students. You do need some kind of structure and the students do need to understand that they [are working in] . . . a school. The students can
do amazing things. Every year they surprise me in good ways. I’d ask the
teachers to be ready for that. Be ready to guide, and to . . . encourage, and to
nurture and in the end advise. But take a step back and see what they can do.
I am not troubled by the circulation of “alternative” discourses. However, what concerns
me is how these discourses sometimes constructed the work as less valuable than
traditional pedagogies. I have come to worry about the absence of critique (and I am
implicated in this absence) that troubles the equation of alternative to “not real
education.” A teacher identified the “not real education” discourse when she said:

The types of discourses that devalue this type of work, are what I could call it,
academic discourses. So looking at teaching English Language Arts through the
canon and that, only books are valued and that, that type of reading, writing,
that’s where, those types of learning are often given more value than other types
within the school, and things are changing . . . I’ve had comments made from
other English teachers that students are just running around with cameras and
they’re not actually doing anything and “What kind of English are they actually
learning?” I think that, that is a roadblock as well.

This teacher’s concern regarding discourses that construct the What’s up Doc? program
as “not-real” English Language Arts can be linked to an assumption that the purpose of
filmmaking is “edutainment” (Rodney, 2007). While some of the students and teachers
found discourses that trivialized the experience to be demeaning, their comments did not
escape these assumptions. For example, this discourse surfaced when a student said:

I first thought, “oh this is going to be really fun,” when I heard that we were
going to make a documentary or a movie and I figured it was going to be a break
from all the regular reading and writing and we also got to work as a group so I
figured that would be very cool.

Another student took up a similar discourse when explaining that the program was an interruption from “real” education:

I am not worried about taking a break from regular English activities, because I think once we do this project and go back we’ll be more interested, because we have taken a long break from it so it will be not as boring when we go back to it and we will be more engaged than ever.

While most students reflected positively on what they viewed as an “interruption” from “regular” English class, some students found the disruption inconvenient. One student took up this discourse when he explained that he does not consider the program a “true” learning experience:

I don’t really like the idea of doing movies in class . . . it takes away from our [learning] . . . Learning about the subject and researching is something we could have done in a paper, so I don’t really view it as a learning experience.

Beyond the renegotiation of traditional teacher/student power relations, the program was also constructed as distinct because of a pedagogical shift toward artistic and technological integration to meet curriculum outcomes. A teacher hinted at this shift when she said, “It allows me to teach the curriculum outcomes which, essentially, are reading and viewing, speaking and listening, and writing and representing . . . in a different way than I normally would.” Elaborating on a similar point, another teacher explained the focus on visual communication:

The What’s up Doc? program is kind-of a non-traditional classroom, I guess, where the Eleven-3 students make, they go through the process of making a film. So it’s not the normal text-based English curriculum that they would want . . .
there is text in there, and it surprises them a lot more than I would traditionally say, “Here is the book, here is the work that you have to do. Now answer it.”

At a different point, when this teacher reflected on his reason for joining the program, he, again, emphasized that the strength of the What's up Doc? program is its adoption of “non-traditional” artistic and technological practices:

I also like the fact that it [is] something non-traditional. It wasn’t something I normally do in an English class. I knew I had a couple of Eleven-3 classes coming and I knew I do like teaching that level. But I knew it would be different and that it would be interesting, for me and the students. I knew it was going to be different. I kind of like to be a part of that.

The construction of What's up Doc? as non-traditional was also fueled by discourses about students in courses deemed “non-academic” having a propensity toward “hands-on” learning activities. These discourses operated not only on the exterior of the program, but also amongst the students and teachers involved. For example, some of the students involved in Courses reflected that the focus on practical activities made the program different from traditional English classes. As one student explained, “I think it’s a good idea for the students who have a more hands-on approach to learning. It’s a lot different than just sitting in a classroom doing bookwork and I think it’s a good idea.” Another student also made this point when he said how the differences in this program can be beneficial for students who may have always been accustomed to one kind of pedagogy in schools. He said, “a lot of people don’t get the opportunity to do the hands on, they don’t even know that they like learning that way.”

While constructing What's up Doc? as non-traditional is apt, and can raise conversations about the importance of critical and alternative pedagogies, certain
discourses that circulated perpetuated deficit assumptions about young people in Level 3 programs deemed to be "non-academic." For example, the suggestion that the program is beneficial for students who don't like English positions the program in a marginal way. These constructions contribute to deficit assumptions about the students involved, and suggests that the work focuses on superficial engagement over academic rigor.

When explaining how students get constructed in relation to these discourses, one teacher reflected, "Filmmaking is not our main pedagogy, it is seen as Other. And because it's seen as Other, it's seen as less-than. And then it's given to Eleven-3 students and I think it automatically puts them in that position." Another teacher reflected similarly:

I think the fact that the program is geared towards Level 3 students plays into the stereotypes that these students are somewhat lacking in other abilities which isn't necessarily the case. Just because these students are taking Level 3 courses does not mean that they are not smart. It doesn't mean that they don't like school. I think because what's valued as academic, traditional reading and writing, isn't used in this project. I think the filming is seen as "less than"... It perpetuates the stereotype that Level 3 is less than Level 2 and Level 1.

Another teacher involved was aware of the contradictory implications of constructing *What's up Doc?* as a program for students in Level 3. She issued this concern when she reflected that the program could perpetuate demeaning stereotypes about the students:

Film pedagogy isn't mainstream, it is seen as not intelligent, not as smart as what you would see in a Level 1 class... Giving these students the opportunity to go to the film festival makes them, it makes the students buy into that, like "Oh, we're in Level 3, we have to do this film because we can't do anything else."
The implications of constructing *What's up Doc?* as a program for students deemed to be lacking academically were highlighted for me when I first introduced the program to a group of students in 2012. On my first time meeting the class, a student said to me, "*What's up Doc?*, isn’t that a project for the dumb kids?" The comment, as well as others identified above, show how the program intersected with deficit discourses. This exemplifies Quin’s (2003) view that media studies programs often hold a “marginal position” in schools, where they are typically seen as programs for students who are deemed lacking academically.

The construction of the work as “alternative,” i.e., as frivolous or not “real” education, has another consequence. If students’ work is devalued, the messages in their films can be discounted and this, if left unchecked, has the capability to diminish the critical and transformative potential of critical filmmaking pedagogies.

**Assessment**

Connected to curriculum and streaming, assessment practices also impacted the *What's up Doc?* program. As Keesing-Styles (2003) argues, institutional requirements, related to issues like assessment, have meant that critical pedagogies have “not always found a comfortable home” (p. 1) in public schools. This sentiment rang true during the *What's up Doc?* program. As outlined in Article 27(1) of the New Brunswick Education Act (1997), beyond “delivering” prescribed curricula, the duties of provincially employed teachers include “identifying and implementing learning and evaluation strategies that foster a positive learning environment aimed at helping each pupil achieve prescribed learning outcomes” (p. 20). This job description is not unique; it is a long taken-for-granted assumption that assessment of pupils is a cornerstone of teaching. It is, however, important to recognize the power implications of these practices.
As Heron (as cited in Reynolds & Trehan, 2000) states, “Assessment is the most political of all educational processes; it is where issues of power are most at stake” (p. 268). For Reynold and Trehan (2000), assessment’s role in creating a “basis for granting or withholding qualifications makes it a primary location for power relations” (p. 268):

More than any other aspect of education, assessment embodies power relations between the institution and its students, with tutors as custodians of the institution’s rules and practices. The effects of judgements made on individuals’ careers, as well as the evaluation of their worth by themselves or by others, ensures that assessment is experienced by students as being of considerable significance. (p. 268)

In short, it is vital to recognize how assessment requirements can constrain efforts toward addressing social justice issues with students.

In many ways, assessment is a technology of power (Jardine, 2005) aimed to control students (Madaus & Horn, 2000). In schools, assessment compels students to engage in work assigned and holds them accountable if they resist. Beyond school, assessments rank and segregate people into classed constructs. The power of assessment relates to Foucault’s (1995) perspective on the disciplinary role of institutions in society. Assessment, from a Foucauldian perspective, is a form of “disciplinary gaze” (p. 174) that delimits and shapes behaviours in a corrective way. Drawing on this perspective, my discussions here focus on how assessment requirements influenced motivations in the What's up Doc? program. Our expressions of critical filmmaking pedagogies were certainly influenced by the legal requirement for teachers to assess students’ work and to assign a final grade to film projects. While the influence of assessment can easily be overlooked, these requirements eroded the participatory and critical potential of the
program. This raises ethical questions about requiring students to talk about social
issues, and penalizing them through grades if they resist or do not wish to participate.

For some students and teachers, and myself, assessment was a secondary
consideration to more personal, political, and critical motivations. Although one teacher
said that he feels obliged to structure his classroom around assessment, his priority for
assessment is secondary:

As a teacher, I probably should feel that I’m shaping this towards being based on
marks. But, I’ll be honest in that, in its inception, that I don’t know if I was one
of the chosen few for this . . . But I was told, essentially, that because it is what it
is, that, it’s gotten support from all the types of people that need to give it
support . . . Let’s get this project working for the reasons that it’s supposed to be
working . . . And we’ll figure out how to mark. I mean, I’m not going to say that
I’m throwing scripts down the stairs and giving them A’s, but I have to give
some thought to it and I have to fulfill that part of my job. I don’t, honestly feel
pressure. If the project was not working . . . I think that I would feel more
pressure to justify it with a mark. And you know, “I don’t feel that you’re doing
your part in the film so you get a 50%”. And, you know, I don’t think that I could
defend that. So, I don’t feel a whole lot of pressure to support it with marks. I
think that kids are getting what they are supposed to be getting out of it.

When I asked the teacher about what he wanted students to get out of the program, he
talked about his hope that students would develop a sense of ownership:

I hope kids in this program get a couple things. Primarily, I want them to have . . .
a positive feeling for getting something from an English class. You know,
because you know it’s still going to say, English Eleven-3, mark. And you know,
I want them to look at that 85 or 90 or that 78 by making this great film. It wasn’t a selection of five paragraph essays followed by some fill-in the blanks. You know. Like, look at what we did. It’s a well earned mark, no matter what the mark is. I want them to have that feeling of accomplishment.

At a different point in our discussion, the teacher elaborated on the intersection of assessment and student motivation. In particular, he expressed a belief that student motivation in the program was different than in traditional classes. He also suggested that students put little thought into assessment during the program:

As far as motivation, you know, as far as marks versus, doing it for something other than marks you know, or for the project itself . . . in the three years that I’ve done this program, I cannot honestly think of more than two or three times that somebody would have asked for, you know, “What’s a mark? What’s my mark, in this right now? “How’s my mark changed?” . . . I think for a lot of them, a lot of students, that it’s not even a consideration. In a good way.

Students reiterated that motivation did not relate to marks. As one student said:

In this project it’s not really marks that I want to be in this for, it’s more because I’m actually interested in it . . . the marks are more just like a bonus. I mean, I would still do this even if I wasn’t being marked, just because it’s fun and I enjoy doing it, and I get to miss my period three.

This sentiment was also echoed in an exchange between two other students:

Student 1: At the beginning it was about a grade, but as we progressed along it was more like we wanted to do it.

Student 2: Rather than the grade matters.

Student 1: . . . we have had so much fun with it, it’s just become something that
we enjoy so it doesn’t feel like schoolwork anymore so we are not as concerned about a grade anymore. Because it doesn’t matter at the moment.

While these comments suggest that student motivation did not relate to marks, some elaborated on how their motivation related to engagement on personal, critical, and counter hegemonic levels. In the following exchange, three students explain how their motivation relates to personal pride in the work, rather than marks:

Student 1: You are working toward the end product of the film and not working for a mark too. Which I think makes a difference.

Student 2: I find that the motivation in this project is more personal.

Student 1: You want to do your job, and you want to do it good so that other people do it good, so you have a good film. You produce something that is, you know, you watch and you think, I had a part in that.

A teacher remarked that students seemed to be most motivated when they developed a sense of ownership and considered themselves to be stakeholders:

When students have engagement in the script or a stake in the script they have a huge interest in the process, the filming process. When a student sees that their ideas are going to be brought to life, through film, it’s very motivating for them and you can just see it. It creates great energy in the classroom or in the film.

Whereas the comments above suggest that marks did not influence the project, other conversations show the coercive power of assessment. For example, when I asked one student about her motivations in the project, she responded, “I would love to have a good mark in this project.” When I asked another student “What do you hope to get out of this project?” he replied, laughingly, “I hope I get a good mark in Language Arts.” In another instance, a student was concerned that his mark would be affected negatively by
others in the class. When I asked if he enjoyed the project, he replied, “I guess it just depends on ... whether everyone is going to do the work or not ... I would love for this to be a good project, but if people are going to drag me down then I don’t like that.”

While some teachers suggested that assessment was a secondary consideration, other teachers spoke about how institutional requirements impacted their practices and responses to the program. For one teacher, assessment requirements created tensions:

I worry sometimes about having enough marks and having enough written expression in my classroom. Students normally will do quite a bit of writing. We’ve done the writing part ... now we’re out of the writing part and into the videotaping part and the editing part and there’s less writing going on. As an English teacher, I think I should be marking more writing. But, I have to let that go and I know I have a few days after we’ve done this where we can kind of go back to some of those things.

Another teacher reflected, “There are days where I’m like, ‘I’ve got to get marks for them.’ Because, you know that’s part of my job. I’ve got to say, they’ve got an 85 coming in for the report card.” As the examples show, various perspectives on, and responses and approaches to, assessment circulated through the program.

No matter how they handled assessment, all teachers had to negotiate grading in a participatory context that was not conducive to traditional assessment formats. Because of this tension, some of the teachers sought out alternative assessment practices. As one teacher explained:

We have to have evaluations. I have to make certain things, worth certain amounts to please the parents the administration and to give some sort of feedback to the students. I try to make that multifaceted too. I do journal entries,
participation, attendance, script writing, effort, and other marks . . . I try to make this marking system pretty fair. All the types of activities given are all given equal weight and they're all different.

In noting the institutional pressure, the teacher highlights how she engages in multiple, alternative practices to support equity in forms of assessment. This sentiment was shared by other teachers who also explained how they approached assessment differently when engaging with critical filmmaking pedagogies.

The coercive power of assessment also raises ethical questions. Encouraging participation through assessment, when engaging in social justice issues with youth, is problematic. It is quite likely that some students may feel uncomfortable participating in large group discussions about social justice issues. Public expressions could appear to be overly personal, contentious, and even dangerous (Ellsworth, 1992; Roman & Eyre, 1997). Therefore, the resistance expressed through non-participation is important to consider (Milne, 2012). And assigning a grade based on participation puts the onus on the student to participate without, perhaps, fully recognizing the potential repercussions of their participation.

Nevertheless, teachers in the What's up Doc? program found unique ways to negotiate assessment requirements. To avoid the use of marks as leverage, for example, they assessed students’ participation without requiring them to share personal information or viewpoints in large groups. Instead, they encouraged student involvement with technical elements, or the ideas they contributed to the films. However, as a classroom project, students were still required to participate in the program and were evaluated accordingly. In this way, assessment works as a disciplinary structure that impacts the potential of critical and participatory works in schools.
School Funding

Funding practices also influenced the implementation of critical filmmaking pedagogies and the What's up Doc? program. While securing funding created possibilities, it also contributed to tensions in our collaborations. In my discussion here, I show the opportunities, as well as the problematic issues and constraints, that our funding structures created.

Funds for the program and equipment were made available through The Muriel McQueen Fergusson Centre for Family Violence Research and the New Brunswick Innovative Learning Fund. The program also received yearly support for professional development for teachers and the What's up Doc? film festival. Once equipment was purchased, however, no additional funds were available for program sustainability.

In 2009 we purchased four kits that included semiprofessional video, audio, and editing equipment. This enabled us to produce films of professional quality, and gave an air of validity and seriousness to the work. As one student put it:

It’s good that we have the money to do this, because without you and everyone else this wouldn’t have happened and it would, you know, it just wouldn’t have happened, all the stuff, lights and everything, I mean, it costs a lot of money.

A teacher expressed a similar sentiment:

What’s up Doc? is a program that uses almost state of the art equipment and inspires students to work with some social issues when they are using this equipment . . . when we open up a big black box that contains a Mac suite with an HD camera, a boom mic, and that gets students a little bit more serious.

Another teacher said the equipment influenced how students approached the work:

It’s the fact that we’ve got the equipment that we have, cause I mean we tell
them that we’re going to make a movie and they immediately conjure up ideas about iPod videos or the cameras that we would have in the school library which is fine, but, they’ve kind of got to get that idea out of their head. We’ve got professional quality equipment and now they’ve got all of these extra kind of jobs and they’re not just like, “OK, go”. They have to go and set everything up and they have to do all those little jobs they wouldn’t normally have to do. So, I kind of have to get their minds set that way as well.

As the above comments suggest, the professional capabilities of the equipment encouraged students to develop ownership over their films. As a student stated, “What I really like about the filmmaking process is that it feels really professional and I feel like I am actually doing something rather than sitting in a class.” Another student’s comment showed a sense of ownership:

You know, this isn’t stupid, we’re actually going to come out with something that is decent . . . [They don’t] think we are just in high school and it’s going to be some stupid ten minute film, and it looks like we made it in our back yard. I think we can actually make something that brings people in to do the work.

Similarly, another student felt a sense of ownership and pride:

You get so much done, and then you stop, and you look at it, and you really don’t see it coming, and then, by the time you are like at the end, it hits ya, and it’s like wait, “I did all that, that’s pretty good”.

While the comments above highlight how funding created possibilities, it is also important to analyze how funding decisions constrained and shaped experiences and power relations. For example, the decision to pursue higher-end equipment meant that we depleted our budget quickly; we only had a few cameras, a limited pool of audio
equipment, and four computers for five classrooms with many students.

Budget limitations and decisions, as well as space and time constraints in the schools, meant only a few films could be produced each year. In classes of upwards of 25 students, usually only two or three films would move beyond proposal, script, or treatment phases. Whereas having professional equipment may have impacted the engagement of students whose films were produced, our funding decisions may have also limited the engagement and sense of ownership of students whose film ideas were not pursued further.

In my field notes, I often remarked that students who did not have a connection to the film seemed disengaged at times. This tension surfaced in a discussion I had with a group of students:

Student 1: I think if we would have had more cameras and stuff . . . more, I guess of all the stuff we need. We would of, probably everybody would have participated.

Student 3: And that comes into our topic of funding.

Student 2: . . . I personally have to say it. But it comes down, always, to funding. Because these cameras, I just know that they are not the best.

Student 3: It’s not the cameras, it’s the lack of more of them, that is a problem. It’s the lack of cameras, like we have two, but one is being used for each group, when really, we should probably have like at least two for each group so we could do the double shots I guess. But I guess you can get by, with just one, it’s just harder, but then, even if we did have more, then it could be like you have an idea, and you have an idea with this, and you do and you do, well why don’t just split you into four, and you can join.
As these comments illustrate, with more equipment more ideas could have been turned into films; and more students may have felt connected to the program.

In addition, financial and equipment limitations also meant that, in the run of a day, the equipment was shared between different classrooms. As a result, tensions often surfaced amongst teachers. Equipment maintenance and replacement was also a concern for the teachers. As one teacher put it:

The structure of the school definitely closes opportunities for a project like this. . . . the school sets up road blocks . . . with funding, so if any of the equipment breaks we would have trouble funding for more . . . we would have trouble replacing it, because we would not necessarily have the funding for it.

Here, the teacher accents a concern that often influenced actions during the project. In some instances, because of the rushed context, the filmmaking kits were not always put away neatly. For some teachers this created significant tensions and anxieties, which sometimes translated into authoritative approaches. As one teacher explained:

I had some anxieties about losing some control. In the first year, and that’s why we probably didn’t get our film in [to the festival]. I was hesitant to allow students to take control of the camera if I wasn’t within five feet of them . . . In the past, I wouldn’t really let them unpack anything or pack it up. This year I’ve been letting them do a little more of everything and I’ve kept the kit in pretty good shape, but I’m still nervous.

In this instance, the teacher felt a sense of accountability to ensure the safety of the equipment at the expense of the participatory intent of the project. With the contemporary onslaught of neoliberal discourses which call for teacher accountability (Soloman & Singer, 2011b), it is understandable that those involved responded in this
way. However, the tensions that ensued had a role in shaping our potential to renegotiate teacher/student power relations.

In addition to classroom power dynamics, the teachers and I were sometimes forced to take up protectionist attitudes with the equipment. For the teachers, this led to tensions with colleagues. On different occasions, I heard about requests to share the equipment with teachers who were not involved in the *What's up Doc?* program. The teachers have also told me how, over the last four years, colleagues have confronted them for refusing to share the equipment. Similarly, I have been approached by a few teachers in the district asking to borrow the equipment for a limited period. Each time, sadly, I have had to disappoint them.

While these protectionist actions can be considered on a personal level, it is important to consider how they are symptomatic of the funding structures of schools, and the financial decisions we made in organizing the program. In recent years, for example, extreme measures have been taken (i.e., spending freezes, district restructuring) to curtail expenses in New Brunswick’s education system. One year, I was told that the only way *What’s up Doc?* could continue would be if there was no cost to the school district. This raises questions for me about the importance given to students in Level 3 programs and, as discussed earlier, what gets constructed pejoratively as “not real education.” Potentially, shifting the discourses that circulate around critical filmmaking pedagogies could lead to contexts where alternative practices receive greater financial, structural, and pedagogical support.

**School Hierarchies**

The New Brunswick Education Act institutionalizes the hierarchical structure of schooling. Sections 27 (2) and 28 (1) highlight an administrative chain of command: a
teacher employed in a school is governed by the principal, who is governed by the district superintendent, who is governed by the Department, and Minister, of Education. While students are not mentioned in these sections, other elements of the document make them accountable to classroom teachers. Positioning students, teachers, and administrators in this way reflects what Solomon and Singer (2011a) identify as neoliberal shifts in education. In particular, they identify how moving administrators into almost business-like managerial positions, and teachers into employee and technician roles, has created a power schism:

Principals were removed from the unions of their teacher colleagues, which created a schism in collegial relations. In the past, principals were viewed as curriculum leaders whereas now they are perceived as business managers. Since this change, the average time a principal spends in the classroom (prior to becoming a principal) has diminished dramatically. (p. 7)

There were two ways that the administrative hierarchy of schools influenced our expressions of critical filmmaking pedagogies and the What's up Doc? program: first, the power embedded in these structures became the focus of some films, and second, the students' and teachers' levels of confidence, and their willingness to take on the project, was determined by the support of the school and district administrators.

As Chapter Four highlights, school hierarchal power structures were the focus of some of the films. Courses, for example, explicitly examined how students' voices and interests are marginalized through the structures of schooling. One of the filmmakers suggested that schooling practices are generally undemocratic:

The only time I really think that we are able to voice our opinions is when a teacher asks us or we are doing something like this . . . any other time, they are
like, okay, keep your noses out of it and we’ll just do what we are going to do.

Here the student not only highlights the oppressive practices of schooling, he also accents how the film work can be an opportunity to disrupt hierarchical power relations.

Students also resisted hierarchal structures in other ways. For instance, with Courses, the students invited their school principal, the District Superintendent, and the Minister of Education to participate in their film. In this way, they shared their critiques vertically (Lunch & Lunch, 2006) and, in directing the film, had an opportunity to give adults directions. The following excerpt, from the students’ invitation letter to the Superintendent, shows how the students sought to disrupt the school hierarchy. In the letter, the filmmakers explained how their film focuses on generating democratic institutional change:

We are students . . . participating in the “What’s Up Doc?” film festival . . . The purpose of our documentary is to explore the educational programing and hopefully make a positive impact on it. It will be an interview-based documentary, and we would like to interview you, with your permission. The interview will be based on how decisions are made in District 18. If you would prefer we could email you some examples of questions that would be asked.

Thank you for your time, we hope to hear from you soon.

The Superintendent agreed to the interview and the students prepared ten questions:

1) Why are we appointed classes that we won’t use when we are done school?
2) What do you think about having a dedicated course in the morning or afternoon that will lead you into your career such as shop classes or sciences or English?
3) When do students usually get a choice in their course selection, and why is it
structured this way?

4) Who makes up the courses and decides who takes certain ones?

5) How many students are needed to maintain a class?

6) What is the maximum class size?

7) Do you think curricula in certain courses could be re-arranged to accommodate and better support all students and their interests?

8) Do you think some teachers try too hard to be involved in the curriculum, rather than teaching?

9) How do you feel about students having a choice of whether they want to take just academic, industrial or business courses along with math & English like our parents had the choice of?

10) How about having to pick just 1 science to cover [a] grade as mandatory?

Clearly embedded in some of the questions are the students’ views that current practices and policies are problematic and in need of change. Moreover, posing questions to a high-ranking official can be interpreted as an attempt to disrupt power structures.

The same filmmakers also attempted to generate a counter-hegemonic dialogue by inviting the New Brunswick Minister of Education to become a member of the jury panel associated with the What’s up Doc? film festival. In a letter, the students invited him to the screening of their film on the night of the event. Unfortunately, the Minister was unable to screen the students’ film or attend the festival. However, he did acknowledge the receipt of the students’ letter, and sent his regrets. As is clear in the letter, the filmmakers hoped to share their institutional critiques with the Minister. In the following excerpt, they outlined their call for changes that allow students to enjoy greater levels of agency around course selection:
Dear [Minister of Education]:

We are the students of . . . [a] Grade 11 Language Arts class at [a local] High School. We are participating in the . . . What’s up Doc? film project. Our film is about what courses that are offered, and why, including a discussion on the amount of say that students have in what classes we are allowed to take. We are hoping that our film will provide schools with a student perspective about course selections.

For the past three months we have been steadily working on collecting research by interviewing various teachers, students, . . . [school district] personnel, and a professor . . . As well, we have been learning about different film techniques; for example, camera shots, lighting, sound and editing.

The films will be judged by a panel of community representatives and we would like you to be a member of that panel . . . We would also like to take this time to invite you to the viewing of our film at 7pm on Thursday, May 31 . . . It would be an honor . . . if you could attend the viewing.

In some ways, by interviewing administrators, representatives from the school district, and university professors, the film tacitly supports experteism, and therefore solidifies a hierarchy related to who is legitimated to speak about certain subjects. However, the students’ actions also demonstrate student and teacher resistance. Though perhaps only momentary, the disruption of the hierarchy meant that the students became the leaders and decision makers. Furthermore, in sanctioning her students in this letter writing campaign, the teacher also resisted the hierarchal power structure of schooling.

In this way, What’s up Doc?, and the critical and participatory video methods we employed, exemplify Foucault’s theories of power. For Foucault, power is not
"consolidated" (Foucault & Gordon, 1980, p. 98), rather it is dispersed and is an effect of discourse. Power is a necessary condition for resistance. In *What's up Doc?*, power wielded through school hierarchies was the necessary condition for the students’ resistance. In this light, it is possible to consider that *What's up Doc?*, albeit briefly, provided spaces to challenge hierarchal power structures by renegotiating power relations between teachers, administrators, and students.

However, with consideration of some of the discourses that circulated in the program, it is also possible to see how the program did not fully challenge or escape the traditional administrative power relations that govern schools, teachers, and students. Discourses sometimes surfaced which validated and reinscribed institutional power structures. For example, some utterances assumed that the success of the program relied on the support of administrators and policy makers who were willing to renegotiate power relations. This discourse surfaced when one of the teachers discussed how the involvement of the administration opened possibilities for the program:

We haven’t had anything close down in what we’ve tried to do. In some of the videos, I know we’ve had vice principals involved and some other teachers who have had some parts and their roles. They’ve been willing to do it. They’re excited about this as a program for the kids and how they’re engaged. The issues are going to be there, all the time, whether they are addressed or not is another matter. Having the kids see that there is a willingness is good.

A similar discourse surfaced when another teacher said, “They’ve opened their doors for interviews. They’ve never been opposed to taking the students outside, to having all kinds of visitors come in for interviews. We’ve never been admonished or shut down. We’ve been encouraged all the way.” These discourses assume that administrative
validation was integral to the success of the program. In taking up this discourse another teacher commented:

Luckily, at [our school], we have a supportive administration, who will keep the project running, for us. At our school, doors are definitely open for us because we have a supportive group of administrators who support the project. They see the value that students are getting out of the project, so in a sense they open doors for us, because they will do what they can to break down any roadblocks that we come across. . . . We had an administrator who had the reputation of being quite strict. When she opened her office up to us and said, “Go for it”, and then left the office as a site for filming, I couldn’t wipe the smile off of my face. We had made it. This is such encouragement, not just for me, but for the students themselves, to know that not just the other teachers are saying, “Yeah, this is a good idea”. They are walking the walk saying, “Take over my space, I trust you, I want to see good things happen for you.” This was empowering for all of us.

It was clear to me that the teachers found administrative support to be important.

Whereas these discourses can be taken for granted and read as favorable, it is important to note how they somewhat reaffirm the power “schism” (Solomon & Singer, 2011a, p. 7) that separates teachers and principals in contemporary neoliberal educational contexts. For example, discourses embedded in the comments construct school administrators in managerial positions of power. Comments such as, “They allowed us to do it” and “They didn’t shut us down,” reinscribe power by constructing principals in positions over teachers and students. In this way, these discourses also point to the notion of governmentality (Foucault, Burchell, Gordon, & Miller, 1991).

Governmentality for Foucault (as cited in Davidson, 2005) is “the government of
the self by the self in its articulation with relations to others” (p. 127). Governmentality, refers to a mechanism of control focused on inculcating self-government (Foucault, Burchell, Gordon, & Miller, 1991); it is how a state maintains control in a modern democratic society. Force or exertion is unnecessary when taken-for-granted knowledge, dominant ideologies, and discourses tacitly support a state’s interests (Dean, 1999).

In deferring the success of the What’s up Doc? program to administrators, the discourses I discussed above show how the work did not escape from traditional power structures. Contrarily (as an example of governmentality), these discourses reinscribe institutional power relations. Although teachers and students were challenging power structures in some ways, discourses that put the success of the program in the hands of administrative powers are symptomatic of the hierarchal structures in which ventures like the What’s up Doc? program must operate. What is also troubling is that discourses that attribute the success of the program to administrators undermines students’ and teachers’ contributions. Not only is this condescending for the students, it undermines their efforts to question and challenge the inequitable institutional structures through the process and in their films. While it is noteworthy that administrators saw value in this particular social justice project, praise for any of the program’s success should rest with the students and teachers involved.

Summary

This chapter explored how institutional structures supported and/or constrained expressions of critical filmmaking pedagogies, the What’s up Doc? program, and our potential to address social justice issues. Academic streaming, curriculum, assessment, funding, and school hierarchies shaped what was possible for us to do in the context of schooling. I have drawn attention to complexities and tensions that operated in the
What's up Doc? program, not to dissuade teachers from the praxis, but to find ways it can better support broader programs of social justice in educational contexts. In the next chapter, I continue with conversations about the institutional context of the What's up Doc? program. In particular, I explore some of the complexities associated with taking up disruptive critical pedagogies in school contexts.
Chapter Six

"It’s Absolutely Disruptive!": Space, Time, and Celebratory Discourses

In this chapter, I discuss social, political, discursive, and collegial implications of adopting critical filmmaking pedagogies in mainstream school settings. First, I explore how critical filmmaking pedagogies required some disruption of the normative ordering of school space and time and the implications of these disruptions. Although conversations about school space and time can easily be connected to themes in Chapter Five focused on institutional structures and policies, in this chapter my attention is more focused on the social politics and consequences (e.g., collegial, discursive, and institutional responses) associated with disrupting the order of schooling. Next, I examine how implementing critical filmmaking pedagogies contributed to celebratory student engagement discourses related to technology and empowerment. Whereas these discourses are affirming, I problematize their normalization in school contexts. In both discussions, I draw on student and teacher reflections, as well as field notes and behind the scenes footage to explore how power was negotiated in the context of the program.

Critical filmmaking pedagogies are intended to disrupt ideologies, discourses, and social practices that contribute to oppressive conditions and power relations. The participatory element of the What’s up Doc? program also disrupts power relations by fostering student agency and voice—an aim that can conflict with institutional practices, structures, and authorities. Although one teacher described the program as “absolutely disruptive,” navigating critical pedagogies was more complex. As Solomon, Singer, Campbell, Allen, and Portelli (2011) state, “Equity-based curricula that integrate issues of diversity and social justice are forced into a contradictory and tumultuous relationship with standards-based, test-driven, and prepackaged curriculum” (p. 1). Furthermore, as
McLean (2008) states, there are consequences associated with implementing disruptive critical pedagogies in school contexts. In appreciating how critical filmmaking pedagogies can be navigated in schools, the consequences of “being disruptive” must be considered. I begin with the politics of space and time.

Space

The governance of space in schools maintains hierarchical power relations. In all schools, rules governing students’ bodies and the spaces they must populate are based on safety concerns, and the maintenance of particular forms of structure and order. School rules restrict students from certain areas (e.g., offices), and they are required, through fear of punishment, to be in certain spaces at certain times (e.g., classroom, gymnasium, cafeteria). Teachers are similarly implicated in the politics of school space. Teachers are allotted somewhat autonomous control, be it limited or temporal, over certain spaces in schools. Teachers and students often refer to these spaces in terms of ownership, through comments like, “my classroom” or “Mr. Rogers’ office.” Other spaces in schools are shared, and are usually constructed as more communal. All of these spaces, however, have stipulations as to who has access at certain times. The enforcement of these restrictions is monitored by teachers and administrators, or video surveillance. Beyond the regulation of students’ and teachers’ bodies, spaces are also populated by a plethora of people with different interests and, therefore, can become contentious.

The governance of bodies in school spaces can be connected to contemporary neoliberal educational reforms intended to standardize educational systems in the interest of instrumental, market-driven, pedagogical goals. Maintaining a standardized system requires practices, rules, and regulations aimed to control school spaces. As Soloman and Singer (2011b) explain:
The current wave of [neoliberal] reform is . . . based on a fundamental shift in how some educators and policy makers view the purpose of education. The shifting perspective, influenced by neo-liberal and neo-conservative ideologies as well as business interests . . . sees the function of education as preparation for the workplace and the generation of capital. Central to the current reform movement is the desire to equip newly graduated teachers and their students with the necessary skills and technological know-how to become more competitive within a market-driven international economy. To do this, an attempt to standardize the knowledge that students receive across all the provinces and territories has been undertaken. National standardization reflects a belief that everyone should receive an identical education and be subject to the same assessment procedures. (p. 70)

Ensuring that all students receive an identical education requires “predictable,” “standards-driven,” and “measurable” (p. 70) practices intended to support free-market capitalism. Educational experiences can be more predictable, standards-driven, and measurable if they occur in standard spaces like classrooms, computer labs, and libraries. Learning outside of these spaces makes the homogenization and measurement of performance, practice, and outcomes more difficult. Standardization becomes less complicated if students and teachers are regulated to use specific classroom spaces.

For Soloman and Singer, students’, teachers’, and administrators’ agency has been eroded through restrictive education policies. For them, the neoliberal standardization of education reflects an aim “to re-centralize and redistribute many key aspects of control over education to locations and people external to the daily machinations of schools” (p. 70). For teachers interested in pedagogies based on social
justice, “standardization adversely impacts the equity teacher’s ability to engage in sustainable social justice work” (p. 83). In the following discussions, I address these concerns and show how principles of standardization and the politics of school space impacted the *What’s up Doc?* program, the films produced, and the power relations that materialized when implementing critical filmmaking pedagogies. Responses to the disruption of school spaces, rules governing students and teachers, the sense of spatial ownership, and competing interests all had bearing on what it was possible to accomplish through critical filmmaking pedagogies.

On one level, the collegial and institutional politics of space, decisions, regulations, and principles of standardization regarding space impacted the aesthetic of the students’ films. For example, while exceptions were made, school rules prohibited us from leaving school grounds during class time. This meant the majority of footage was captured in or around the students’ schools. This limited how the students could visually tell their stories. Getting permission for students to shoot “on location” in the community was arduous and, in most cases, almost impossible. In 2012, there were only two instances when we had permission to film off school grounds. Both scheduled film shoots were at local hockey arenas; and, in one case, the arena was next to the school. While some teachers found ways to negotiate “on location” filming, other teachers, especially those with large classes, found these restrictions constraining. As a teacher in one of these larger classes reflected:

I think sometimes the need or the wish to do filming ... off property has come up. Whether kids want to leave property to do a shoot ... of course I understand [the rule] and the rationale behind that, but that does make it a challenge. The politics of space, however, certainly encouraged creativity. Since the programs
inception, the requirement to be on school grounds necessitated unique staging activities. One teacher, whose students staged a classroom to look like a house, commented on how the regulation encouraged her students to be creative:

We have been limited . . . we wanted to show students breaking into a house. . . . We couldn't leave school property to go to [break into] somebody's house. We had to create a set at the school and then trick the eye with different camera shots. So that would be a policy we've come up against, because students are supposed to be on student property during school hours.

Whereas aesthetic issues can easily be taken for granted, the rules governing school space, and the embedded assumption that all education must happen within the context of a particular classroom, shaped practices and power relations. In the above case, the staging created a complimentary aesthetic for the students' film. However, in other instances, spatial requirements diminished aesthetic credibility. In some cases, audience responses were less than desirable when staging was not believable or appeared exaggerated and tawdry, leading to the marginalization and bullying of students involved. Sadly, I became aware of this potential at the 2012 What's up Doc? festival when a group of students in the audience, who were not a part of the program, were belittling the work, and the student filmmakers, based on aesthetic issues. However, even if responses do not amount to negative comments directed at the youth, if audience's attention is plateaued at the value of production, the political messaging in the film can be missed or misunderstood. My position here is somewhat aligned with Cole and Knowles' (2008) view that aesthetics are a valid concern in arts-informed research. As they explain in relation to aesthetic quality:

The central purpose of arts-informed research is knowledge advancement
through research, not the production of fine art works. Art is a medium . . . The quality of artistic elements of an arts-informed research project is defined by how well the artistic process and form serve research goals. Attention to the aesthetics of a particular genre are, therefore, important; aesthetics of form are integrally tied to communication. (p. 66)

Likewise, for the What's up Doc? program, aesthetic quality had an impact on the political potential of the films.

Beyond creativity, spatial constraints also had implications for institutional power relations. When students tried to find locations in their schools to tell their stories visually, they were often confronted by teachers and staff for being in spaces “where they shouldn’t be.” There were even occasions when students were told to stop filming and leave a space in the middle of production. These confrontations show how assumptions about where learning should occur influenced what the students could and could not do with their films. For one teacher, objections to the students’ use of space stemmed from a standardized assumption that learning occurs in classrooms only:

I guess a traditional type of learning happens in the classroom with a kid sitting in a chair, looking at the teacher. I think that [teachers] see any other type of learning as not that, is not a valuable type of learning.

Another teacher articulated how the notion of ownership over space created tensions with other staff. She explained, “We also get problems where we will try to set-up in a staff area and a teacher will be there on a break or an educational assistant will be there on a break and they’ll ask us to leave because we are in their space.” Consequently, some teachers had to constantly negotiate space with colleagues. Reflecting on these negotiations, one teacher said, “Because a project like this, where we can’t always leave
the school grounds to take video or anything. We almost have to work a lot with the staff within the school.” Another teacher explained how he must contend with other space-holders in his school:

I think that working in a public school... you’re going to run into that... I have to respect the politics of space because I’m 1 in 103 space holders. For the most part, it’s gone alright and I know we’ve wrecked shots due to slammed doors and teachers coming out and saying, “What’s going on?” I have to understand that, and you know, I make my apologies and that’s part of it. The same as anybody doing something a little left, than what you would put in four walls.

The teacher’s comments draw attention to school power relations. The “slammed doors” and “ruined shots” are a symptom of a perceived deviation from spatial ordering. These instances reflect of Soloman et al’s. (2011) research on critical educators’ experiences in schools. It highlights how it is common for teachers who are engaging in disruptive, equity-based practices to be met with resistance from colleagues.

Perhaps, had we challenged the standardized view of ownership of educational spaces or if spatial power and politics were organized differently in schools, institutional responses to students’ occupation of spaces outside the classroom might have been deemed acceptable. Whereas space can be taken for granted, the politics associated with its governance can influence the potential of engaging in critical filmmaking pedagogies. In our case, space dictated what stories the students could tell, how they could tell them, and the audience’s responses to the work. Beyond these implications, our encounters with the politics of space also reinforced the power relations that marginalize students and teachers in the hierarchical order of schooling.
Time

Like space, the politics of time and decisions associated with how we ordered time had a bearing on what was and was not possible to accomplish in the *What's up Doc?* program. The politics of time have become increasingly affected by neoliberal reforms which assume education to be a commodity with instrumental value (Hyslop-Margison & Sears, 2006). Students’ and teachers’ time is highly regulated and decisions about how time is organized are based on political and ideological priorities (Soloman et al., 2011). Rose and Whitty (2010) make a similar point about the “tyranny of time” in early childhood education. They write:

> The clock in its multiple analog and digital forms calls people to work, to work efficiently, to work faster, and to work more productively. It calls us to standardize work with time, with our bodies and with others’ bodies—sometimes propelling us at speeds that feel beyond our control. . . . This invasive standardization of people, work, and time is prevalent in the school system.

(p. 260)

Though taken for granted, the ringing of the school bells to start and end the day and shift between classes is another reminder of the control of school time. In classrooms, teachers are forced to structure time to ensure that they allot the required attention to all elements of prescribed curricular goals. Expectations to address the ever-increasing amount of outcomes can instill a sense of urgency and unease. In commenting on early-childhood educators’ experiences of “clock-bound” working conditions, Rose and Whitty (2010) state that early childhood educators are pressured to have:

> Children [move] through time and space as efficiently and as uniformly as possible. . . . The efficient movement of children and educators became the
overriding priority: the more activities the better for the children, and more also contributed to a perceived successful measure of educators’ performance. Their clock-bound work created stress and in the worse cases, a kind of frenzy: a running to be on time. (p. 264)

Similarly, as Soloman and Singer (2011b) explain, grade school teachers are increasingly being judged based on their abilities to cover curricular content. For them, teachers are “forced to ‘teach to the curriculum’ so that they would not have to endure the pressure of being perceived as the weak link in the so-called chain of excellence” (p. 78). Not only can temporal demands engender a constant state of frenzied anxiety that pushes educators to cover specific materials in an allotted time, as Soloman and Singer also explain, “teachers must constantly prioritize what is indicated as important within the curriculum and eliminate almost everything that is not” (p. 78). When curriculum is steeped in neoliberal goals, and important critical themes are not made explicit in documents, social justice is deemed less of a priority in classroom activities.

In the What’s up Doc? program, decisions, regulations, tensions, and the politics associated with time shaped our practices and what was possible. Each day, teachers and students were allotted a one-hour block for their work. Based on social and institutional decisions that carve out disciplinary boundaries (Giroux, 2004; Kaufman, Moss, & Osborn, 2003), once the bell rings at the end of the class, students and teachers are expected to cease their attention to English Language Arts and move on to their next course—devoting their full attention to another subject. In the What’s up Doc? program, this ordering, as well as the pressures associated with having a deadline for submission to the film festival, created tensions for teachers and students. When pressed for time, teachers often disrupted class schedules and negotiated extra time for students with other
teachers. Lunch-time and after school meetings also occurred. Institutional and pedagogical decisions about the allotment of time also shaped the project in another important way: our ability to engage critically and deeply with social justice issues was compromised. When stretched for time, students, teachers, and I would turn our attention to technical production activities, overlooking important critical discussions.

In addition, temporal demands influenced how the students responded to the experience. Students were often surprised about the time needed to implement the program. A student said, "It takes a lot more time than we thought it would," to which another replied, "We thought it would only take a couple weeks, and we'd be done. But no, we were wrong." In the following exchange a group of students explained how they wanted recognition for the time they devoted to the work. When I asked the group, "What do you hope that the audience gets out of watching your film," they replied:

Student 1: That we worked our ass off.
Student 2: Yeah.
Student 1: That we worked as hard as we could...
Student 2: That we went in for more than one period a day most of us, we went in, took time off our other classes, it took a lot of work.
Student 3: Yeah, I'd say a lot of work.

Reflection on institutional decisions about how school time is scheduled sometimes translated into discussions about restructuring school timetables. The following exchange highlights how some students wanted more time for their work:

Student 1: I wish we would have had more than one hour of class.
Student 2: Yeah
Student 1: Like a two-hour class would have been perfect.
Student 2: We could have gotten done so much.

Time was not only a consideration for students. The teachers also expressed that there were tensions associated with temporal constraints and deadlines. A teacher discussed her concerns about what was required for the project. For her, the program:

... required almost a complete acceptance that this is the only thing we are going to do, until it is done. I've had to put other things on the side burners. It takes a lot longer to do things than I thought it would. Writing the script took longer.

Doing the shots. To get 10-15 seconds on film might take us two hours. It's a lot of commitment to stick with it.

Another teacher expressed similar sentiments when she said, “You reach a certain point where you think, ‘Are we going to get this done or not?’ Deadlines worry me sometimes.” Responding to temporal tensions, another teacher described how everyday school procedures impact the work: “The structure of the school day certainly sets-up a roadblock. We are confined to a one-hour time limit, and within that one hour there are a number of interruptions, announcements, fire drills, noises from other classes.”

The tensions expressed here also can also be interpreted as connected to broader neoliberal educational contexts which instill a sense of urgency in teachers to address prescribed curricular outcomes in the time allotted. As Soloman and Singer (2011b) explain, teachers who take the time to focus on particular themes, and do not rush to cover all prescribed materials, can be constructed as incapable and “deficient if they do indeed spend the time necessary to discuss important issues in depth” (p. 82). Reflecting on the teachers’ comments above, it is likely that they felt similarly pressured when classroom activities in the What's up Doc? program took longer than expected. No doubt, the decision to have a public film festival at the end of the program added to
tensions experienced by the teachers. The festival itself, with its focus on competition and accolades for individual students or groups, has neoliberal undertones which may also have contributed to tensions discussed above.

In addition, while the teachers’ renegotiation of school schedules with colleagues can be taken for granted, it is important to note that these changes can have implications in terms of institutional power relations. Reflecting on decisions about how we allotted time to activities throughout the program, a teacher explained how she negotiated extra time with students outside of the school day:

The timing of the classes makes it so difficult. When you only have an hour to set-up, interview, edit, load-up onto the computers . . . towards the end of the project, we’re staying there all hours of the night. We’re coming in on Saturdays because the constraints of the system. The bell system that is in place does not jive well with this kind of project.

When more time was needed, this teacher also explained how she took students “out of other classes.” While not all teachers would disrupt schedules in this way, this teacher’s colleagues were willing to make exceptions:

I find that there’s a lot of flexibility amongst teachers. Teachers are often happy to see these same students who are not as engaged in the standard curriculum. They say, “You have a student who wants to leave home room or a student who wants to leave math class to edit? OK.” Because maybe, in math class, they’re not as excited. The students understand and they still need to get caught up on the other stuff. We work around the bell system and other constraints.

While flexibility can be constructed as beneficial, it is also important to note how it can also be connected to the deficit discourses I discussed in Chapter Five, where flexibility
is based on pejorative assumptions about “these students.” The consent to schedule disruptions hinged on “deficient” students “finally” showing an interest in school.

Whereas some teachers felt comfortable with their colleagues’ flexibility, other teachers had reservations about taking time away from other courses. For these teachers, asking students to stay longer in their filmmaking classes was tantamount to suggesting that other classes were less valuable. This can create tense situations when considering that all teachers are under the same temporal pressures to address prescribed curricular outcomes. A teacher articulated the tension associated with the renegotiation of schedules when she said:

If we want to move beyond the hour we have to do things at lunch hour or on student break time, or I’m forced to ask permission for students to be missing time from other classes. So in a sense that is devaluing what they’re doing in other classes, and I don’t like to do that.

The above comment highlights how critical filmmaking pedagogies must be negotiated with considerations for collegial politics. However, the time needed to reflect on these considerations and to meet with other teachers to negotiate a sharing of time was difficult to find. With a rushed schedule, along with students’ willingness to miss other classes for film work, the teachers and I were enthusiastic about trying to accommodate the sharing of time. Students often volunteered to stay with me beyond the class time to finish shooting a scene. While I was pleased that they showed an interest, on almost all occasions, I declined. However, there was one instance when, somewhat mistakenly, students and I continued shooting into the next period. We were filming in the cafeteria and didn’t hear the bell, and the teacher from the next class came looking for the students. Luckily, she was understanding when I explained our mistake. In a
sense, our oversight showed a lack of concern for this teacher, her time, the pressures that impact her “clock-bound” working conditions (Rose & Whitty, 2010), her interests/priorities, and the subject matter of her course. The experience made me more sensitive to the collegial politics associated with scheduling, and encouraged me to consider the implications of disrupting other teachers’ time. If schedules were more flexible, less clock-bound, and schools were open to interdisciplinary programs, perhaps these politics would be quite different. As Rose and Whitty explain, “when people are valued more than the clock, more than the scheduled curriculum, our individual and collective desires to understand, be inspired, and be in community are enlivened and affirmed” (p. 270). Their point that renegotiating temporal politics can be constructive is well taken.

Collegial politics, competing interests, program priorities, disciplinary boundaries, neoliberal views of education, and the bell system also shaped the potential to engage in deep critical reflection with students. The rushed context often, especially during production and editing phases, forced critical discussions to be, at best, superficial, and at worst, totally incapacitated.

Some critical teachable moments (Feigenbaum, 2007), or opportunities to disrupt oppressive and marginalizing discourses, were missed. While discussions focusing on critical analysis and perspectives were a major priority during the early months of the What’s up Doc? program, when deadlines loomed, priorities often shifted more toward completing a finished, aesthetically pleasing, final product for the festival. The decision to shift priorities, therefore, influenced our potential for critical analysis. Concluding the program with a formal public event means that there will be many eyes on these classroom projects. This adds a layer of pressure, for students and teachers, to ensure
that production and aesthetic quality are at the forefront of considerations.

A blurring of disciplinary boundaries, schools that are less clock-bound, and not having such a formal event at the conclusion of the program may create more sustained opportunities to deconstruct visual representations as they were being captured. With *Step Back*, for example, had the experience been less rushed, or if students had been able to discuss the film in other classroom contexts, they could have engaged in discussions about representations of gender in the film during production, rather than after it was complete. The time for the critical reflection needed to address these issues was difficult to find. In a program focused on social justice, not devoting time to engage in critical reflections in sustained ways is problematic. Perhaps, had we made efforts to coordinate opportunities for interdisciplinary collaboration, critical discussions initiated through the *What's up Doc?* program could have continued with other teachers in different classrooms.

The consequence of only superficial engagement with social justice issues was presented to me, bluntly, when one of the high school’s Gay Straight Alliance organized a day of silence. The teacher and I took part in the event to show solidarity for LGBTQ rights. While still trying to facilitate the filming we did not speak to students or each other. Most of our messages were communicated through facial expressions and head nods. On occasion, I used the notepad application on my phone to type short messages. Near the end of class, a group of students were in the process of packing up the equipment, when, in the distance two adult males entered our line of sight. The two men stopped, talked for a moment, and before continuing to walk in separate directions, kissed. Immediately, three boys expressed homophobic sentiments. One of them said, “I can’t believe I just saw that,” another said, “Gross,” and the third student said, “Oh my
god, did I really just see that?” Had it been a heterosexual couple, the response would likely have been different. While the day of silence was meant to raise awareness of gay rights, obviously it had little effect on the boys’ homophobic responses.

After their comments, I pulled out my phone and began typing, “What do you think this day is about?” Initially, they didn’t reply. I interpreted their silence as an indication that they knew I was challenging their homophobic comments. I started typing again. I lifted my phone to show, “Not to make fun of things like that.” Now defensive, one boy replied, “We weren’t making fun of them, I just think it’s weird,” and another exclaimed, “It’s okay to say it’s weird, but that doesn’t mean we are making fun of it.” I started typing. At this point another boy from the class also challenged the boys’ homophobia. I lifted my cellphone again, “Thinking it is ‘weird’ is part of the issue.” One of them laughed awkwardly, while the others again defended their comments.

Unfortunately, the bell rang, and the students started walking away. Our conversation, albeit heating up inaudibly, was over.

For me, the situation highlights two important concerns. First, although on the surface, many of the students in the class expressed their support for the LGBTQ social justice initiative, when directly confronted with homosexuality the students remained homophobic. Second, this situation showed how the politics of time significantly shaped our potential to address social justice issues with youth. As one teacher reflected, “There isn’t always a chance to turn that into a teachable moment.” My reflection on this instance reflects Soloman and Singer’s (2011b) view that:

When time considerations become paramount to the learning project, it becomes exceedingly difficult to do justice to any type of learning that involves deep and critical engagement, but especially to learning that involves issues of equity and
social justice... As teachers attempt to balance the demands of the curriculum with other teaching obligations, they simultaneously struggle to honor the impulse to teach in ways consistent with their anti-oppressive stance and that benefit the students with whom they are entrusted. (pp. 79 - 82)

Navigating the politics of disruption.

Critical filmmaking pedagogies can be noisy, they can infringe on people’s space and they can disrupt the operation of smooth class schedules. This kind of disruption can be warranted, especially in situations where noises rally against inequitable conditions, oppression, marginalization, and violence. However, as the discussions above show, adopting disruptive pedagogies in schools requires careful navigation. Even with concessions and negotiation, social and institutional politics can shape and constrain what is possible in the context of a critical and participatory school program. For some teachers, the politics associated with disruption amounted to “roadblocks,” while others considered the negotiation of these politics a reality they must struggle with in public schools. As a teacher explained, disrupting the normative ordering of his school required that he constantly arbitrate his relationships with other teachers. When class productions spilled into the hallways, his colleagues were sometimes disapproving:

It would seem that they’re [students] making a whole bunch of noise... you see a teacher, that maybe you didn’t know really well, with a bunch of cameras and 17 year olds giving a bunch of orders and then all of a sudden, here comes the volume, and doors get slammed and emails get sent. . . . I think there’s been a challenge in a few cases . . . it’s been a good neighbor policy . . . if I’m taking 22 kids out into the school. In one case we were going to film a rap battle. Rap battles get loud during science classes, and I guess that’s another one of my
jobs, the go between to say, “You know, these kids aren’t just making a lot of noise.”

While the comment does not focus on the disruption of inequitable conditions, it does imply that the “noise” the students create is purposeful. The teacher also accented how disruption can be productive:

It’s absolutely disruptive! And I think there’s a celebration in that sometimes. I guess it would depend on who you were disrupting and how much forethought I could have . . . sometimes the end justifies the means. And maybe I shouldn’t say that as a professional, but I’m going to.

In these comments, this teacher highlights the productive elements of disrupting the taken-for-granted, everyday ordering and operation of schooling. The comment shows how “noise” should not always be equated with meaningless distraction. While this teacher takes up discourses that celebrate the empowering potential of disruption, in the following section I explore the implications of celebratory discourses in more depth.

**Celebratory Discourses of Student Engagement: Technology and Empowerment**

Much like the celebratory discourses associated with participatory video, identified by Shaw (2012), Walsh (2012), and Mookerjea (2010), as discussed in Chapter Two, similar celebratory discourses surfaced in and around the *What’s up Doc?* program. In this section I focus on the celebratory assumptions that were often connected to student engagement discourses associated with technology and empowerment. These discourses surfaced in much of the talk in the classrooms, the schools, and the local educational community. For example, a teacher explained how many parents took up student engagement discourses in showing support for the program:
Many [parents] support the project. A lot of parents will comment on the changes that they have seen in the level of engagement that their student has, suddenly in English Language Arts, they are wondering why, why they are so suddenly interested in school.

For the remainder of this chapter, I attempt to disrupt the taken-for-grantedness of celebratory discourses. To do so, I show how these discourses operated and problematize them by showing how they can contribute to inequitable constructs and power relations.

**Technology discourses.**

Discourses of student engagement in *What’s up Doc?* tended to assume that the program was successful because students were engaged by filmmaking technologies. While these discourses accent productive elements of the program, they should not be taken for granted. Constructing the overall purpose of critical filmmaking pedagogies as focused on engagement with technology can have problematic implications.

No doubt, the circulation of engagement and technology discourses accent students’ and teachers’ positive responses to the program. Students often took up these discourses in reflecting on the experience, as is evident in the following exchange:

Student 1: I am not going to lie, a lot of people are told to read something out of a textbook or something and they’ll just be like “Yeah, I read,” and they won’t, but with this, they want to do it.

Student 2: You get engaged and you actually want, instead of saying you read the book and you actually didn’t.

Student 3: Yeah, because it can hike an interest in just about anybody . . .

Student 1: The technology is impressive, people like technology these days.
Student 2: It was something we looked forward to. Like during the day. You want to come to class.

Student 1: Yeah, you want to come. Like I don’t go to half my classes but this was like, yeah, OK. Let’s go to English today. Almost everyday.

Similarly, teachers linked the success of the program to engagement with technology. This discourse surfaced when one teacher explained that the strongest levels of engagement in the program related to students’ work with the film equipment:

Easily, the most engagement I saw in this whole process, would have been the filming. I mean that goes without saying, that it would be that way in any classroom. There’s one thing to sit and write and to practice and to get things fine-tuned. But, once you get the equipment out and you see the kid over there getting the boom-mic out of the way of his head and a couple of kids, standing guard and telling a teacher, “No they can’t come this way, because we’re filming.” I think that’s pretty, cool. A sixty-five minute period for a lot of them, and for me some days, is a little bit hard to stare down and it feels like it goes down in a third of the time. Easily, that’s the most engagement, followed closely by the engagement in watching film. Because you know, they get to see, “Wow, we are really loud there”, or “There’s Joe, and he sneezed”, or something and, “We’ve got to do that shot again.”

Another teacher stated that engagement hinged on new technologies: “The part of the project that most students are interested in has got to be the actual filming process. That’s what I’ve seen over the past little while. Actually using the equipment, filming their scenes.” And another teacher explained, “I was very excited about it because as an Eleven-3 teacher I found that we have not had a lot of technology introduced into our
curriculum and we have not had a lot of new innovations into the curriculum.”

Whereas discourses about technology and student engagement are affirming and should not be dismissed, it is important to understand their implications. Technology discourses tended to suggest the technical aspects of *What’s up Doc?* increased students’ positive responses to school and engagement in classroom activities. For Hennessey (2013), these kinds of assumptions are influenced by the dominance of “21st Century Learning” discourses that currently shape much of the thinking, policies, and practices of education in Western school systems. In her study of the New Brunswick education system, for example, Hennessey shows how 21st century technology discourses are taken up in two influential provincial documents: *NB3-21C: Creating a 21st Century Learning Model for Public Education* (NB Department of Education, 2010a) and *21st Century Standards of Practice for Beginning Teachers in New Brunswick* (NB Department of Education, 2010b). Both documents embrace technology integration and call for new teachers to adopt ICT pedagogies.

As Hennessey points out, a key assumption informing, and perpetuated by, these documents is that schools and pedagogies must change (i.e., through technology) in order to respect the ways that “today’s digital youth” (NB Department of Education, 2010, p. 3, Prensky, 2001) learn in the 21st century. For Hennessey, “today’s digital youth,” refers to an assumed generalization that technology engages all young people—an assumption that overlooks questions of context, privilege, and marginalization.

In the *What’s up Doc?* program, the dominance of technology discourses not only overlooked these issues, they also meant that technical procedures were seen to be
the focus of the program. This instrumental focus meant that the socio-political goals of
the work sometimes became constructed (by audiences, teachers, and students) as far
less important. In focusing on students’ technological skills, the program seemed to be
more about training, than enhancing understandings about equity and social justice. In
short, skill development was taken to be more important than generating social change.

It is also important for me to recognize that I, as the coordinator of the program,
am also implicated in the circulation of these discourses. In many ways, my role in the
program was constructed as a technical expert. Although my efforts varied between this
and introducing discussions based on critical social theories, I did little to openly and
publicly question this construction with students, teachers, parents, and administrators.
Because this construction was not challenged, and students, teachers, and parents mostly
only saw me working on technical production elements with students, my presence
could have contributed to discourses that this program was about technical learning and
engagement through technology. Furthermore, I often took technology discourses that
circulated through and around the program for granted; doing little to raise conversations
about their implications with students and teachers.

One way that I could have problematized these discourses with students,
teachers, parents, and administrators would have been to show that their generalization
must be called into question. I could have drawn on examples to show that some
students resisted the program through non-participation, inattention, and other forms of
disruption. Indeed, many students were not engaged by the technology we used: some
students refrained from group or class discussions, other students did not complete
assigned tasks, while others attended infrequently. It is also problematic to assume that
those who were engaged by the technology transferred this level of enthusiasm to other
classroom activities. As one teacher explained, some students in her class never became engaged in generating ideas and script writing:

> The writing process was the tough part. It was like pulling teeth . . . we had trouble coming up with topic ideas. Students weren’t so engaged in that part of process and I had them initially working together in groups and small pairs but that was not working as well. Attendance wasn’t so good. I’d have maybe six kids one day, maybe twelve the next . . . there was never any continuity going . . . [I said] “OK, we’re going to finish writing this together.”

Another teacher explained how the writing process was especially challenging:

> The challenge has been the actual writing. Often, many of my students, historically, for them, writing has not been their favorite part of any curriculum. So to say, to everybody, “I need a script from everybody.” It has been a challenge for me. So I’ve adapted that. This year I said, “Ok, if you have an idea and you have the same idea with a few other group members, you can together create a script. So there’s a little less pressure on the student to create a script.

> The writing is the challenge. But the story is not.

> The assumption that all students were enthusiastic about technology, and this enthusiasm transferred into other activities, was not questioned or troubled. Forms of student resistance should be considered as they disrupt the generalizability of the 21st Century technology discourse. Students, in some cases, resisted the program because of limits on time and equipment. Many film ideas were not produced. While most students accepted this limitation, some became oppositional when their film was not chosen for production. For example, in one class, a student completely retreated from the program after the class decided to go with a different film. Before retreating, she remarked, “If
you don’t want to listen to my ideas, then I’m not going to say anything else.” The
comment shows how uniformly constructing the program as engaging, just because of
opportunities to engage in collaborative activities with technology, deserves question.
No doubt, I am implicated in this oversight as well. Though I may not have explicitly
taken up the discourse, I did little to problematize its circulation in the program.

**Empowerment discourses.**

Similar critiques can also be extended to celebratory discourses that often
circulated which assumed that students were engaged in the *What's up Doc?* program
because of the opportunities it provided for empowerment. Empowerment discourses, on
their own, are affirming and accent productive elements of critical filmmaking
pedagogies. When these discourses surfaced, it was assumed that the participatory
elements of the program supported social justice by helping students learn how to
express their perspectives and become empowered (i.e., gain voice, develop agency, feel
confident to participate in democratic processes) in school contexts. In many ways,
empowerment discourses eventually constructed the institutional and public imagination
of the *What's up Doc?* program. In this section, I accent how empowerment discourses
circulated and highlight their affirming and productive implications. However, to disrupt
the taken-for-grantedness of these discourses, I also show how they can overlook the
power that operated through social and institutional surveillance in the program and can
neglect the inequitable power relations that existed in the classrooms.

There are a few ways that, during the program, teachers and students took up
empowerment discourses in productive ways. For example, some teachers drew on
empowerment discourses when resisting the technology and 21st century discourses
discussed above. In these instances, they tended to suggest that engagement in the
What's up Doc? program had more to do with the potential for student voice than technology. As a teacher said:

I think in the beginning of the project the students are most engaged with the fact that they get to play with technology and they get to “make a movie.” I think near the end of it they become, they start to feel passionate about the topic that they are exploring and I think that near the end of the project they are engaged with their mission their thesis statement of their film.

Primarily, however, empowerment discourse circulated when students and teachers discussed how engagement in the program was connected to the potential for youth to express their voices and perspectives on issues they deem important. For example, this discourse surfaced when one teacher explained how students were most engaged when they became passionate about the theme of their film:

I think that it’s only when students have a good story board and a good script that they’re actually bringing that to life that you see the most enjoyment out of it, the most engagement out of it. Last year, a particular student was really excited every time that she had her script and she was the director for that scene . . .

When students have engagement in the script or a stake in the script they have a huge interest in the process, the filming process. When a student sees that their ideas are going to be brought to life, through film, it’s very motivating for them and you can just see it. It creates great energy in the classroom or in the film. For students to be intrinsically motivated, they need to have a part in the process, and feel like a legitimate part in the process. Students who . . . generate ideas for the story and see that play out in the filming process [were most engaged].

Another teacher discussed how a parent took up similar discourses when talking about
how his son responded to the program:

I had a parent this year whose son was completely disengaged from school. In fact had quit school, last year . . . I had asked him to take on a role, initially as quite an important participant in the program. I did this on purpose because I knew first of all, I knew he needed a bit of a challenge, and I wanted him to know that I trusted him, which I did. He rose to the challenge and had a smile on his face every day and his father emailed several times and he came to the film festival and said he was so happy to see his son involved and feeling as though his voice mattered and feeling as though coming to school was worth while.

As well as resisting the instrumentalist assumptions about technology, these comments also highlight how students’ responses to the work seemed to change when they felt a connection with the themes being discussed. Another teacher agreed, telling me that a student became most engaged when he reflected on the possibilities of “making a difference.” She said:

Well, I had one student where we had a conversation this week, he said, “You know I’m really enjoying this,” and he will often stay after class and we will often talk about the issues that they are bringing up in their film and the different problems that they are now learning about. They are learning that their issue is much bigger than what they originally had anticipated and I guess he made a comment this week, he said, “Yeah, I’m so excited” and “You know at the beginning I didn’t want to do this project, I thought it was stupid,” and he said “Now, I feel like I'm doing something that means something to me, and I want to see it through and I want to come to class.”

Whereas the above examples show how the program may have been productive,
rewarding, and affirming for some students, not everyone was as excited to be involved or share their views on camera.

For example, as the following exchange shows, some students felt uncomfortable sharing their work publicly:

Matt: What do you think about sharing your work at the theatre?
Student 1: Well that’s, that’s, I think that’s awesome, I find that’s cool.
Student 2: I find it a little weird,
Student 1: I would love it, I don’t really.
Matt: Why do you find it weird?
Student 2: It would make me feel awkward that everyone is looking at what I did.
Matt: Is that something that would make you stop doing something like this?
Student 2: No, but awkward.
Matt: Where does that come from? What makes it awkward?
Student 3: Probably just like, what if they don’t like it. Like you’re all sitting there, and they know you are the one that made it, so if they don’t like it.
Student 1: And you worked really hard on it, so if they don’t like it, it’s not fun, you basically wasted a couple months.

As their comments suggest, sharing the work publicly can leave students vulnerable. The potential for this work to go viral, and to be used as fodder for bullying, loomed. In some cases this meant that students were apprehensive about being on camera.

For some students, the above mentioned fears also intersected with apprehensiveness about sharing critical perspectives through the films. As an educator taking up critical filmmaking pedagogies, it is important to recognize how these fears
can influence the kinds of films students choose to produce, and, ultimately, the social justice themes they address in the context of a classroom. As a student explained, young people are sometimes “scared to voice their opinion[s], and they are probably [afraid] about what people are going to think of them.” As another student reflected, when asked about expressing critical view with peers, “I wouldn’t say it is safe, but nothing is really safe.” This reflects Roman and Eyre’s (1997) view that talking about critical themes in school can be dangerous.

As some students in What’s up Doc? explained, the thought of peer and familial reprisal limited what was possible to say, and do, in their critical filmmaking projects. In these instances, students whose voices were stymied through fears of social, familial, and institutional reprisals may not have felt empowered. This was clear when I asked students about producing films on LGBTQ issues. One student remarked, “It would be a good thing to do, but I don’t think, I just don’t know what our results would be if we did that, is all, because, like, I don’t know if we’ll be getting like a high-five for it, or a punch in the face.” To the same question, another student told me the uncertainty of how a film might be perceived stops some topics from being covered:

It’s one of those things that could go one way or another. Because you don’t really know if we are going to get a bad reaction from it, or a good one, or if we are going to get it in the middle, from both sides, you don’t really know.

Another student worried the work might cause peers to react differently toward him, and the films might shape “what someone might think of [him].” This shows that, while some students may develop a greater sense of empowerment through critical filmmaking pedagogies, others may not. This undermines the generalizability of empowerment discourses and compels me to ask the following questions: Who gets to develop a sense
of empowerment through critical filmmaking pedagogies? What circumstance and
conditions contribute to this discrepancy? And why is the process not more inclusive?

These questions have also helped me recognize that fear of institutional reprisal also influences the messages, themes, and topics that were addressed in the What's up Doc? films. As one student put it, “Some people might be scared because, it’s the whole thing of, you are attacking the school system.” This statement highlights a mechanism of power that can be easily overlooked. It draws attention to how power structures in schools can negate certain kinds of expressions before they are even spoken.

In May, after the 2012 film festival, I became aware of how fear of institutional repercussions might factor into a student’s willingness to speak freely in the program. A conversation with one student showed me how fears connected to repercussions can surface even around simple comments. At the festival, I shared the behind the scenes documentary These Kids Aren’t Just Making Noise. In the film, a student says, jokingly, that she usually skips classes, but attended regularly during the What’s up Doc? program. After the festival she told me she was concerned that her comment appeared in the documentary. She told me that her vice-principal was in attendance and, when he heard the comment, he shook his head disapprovingly at her. I shared the student’s concern with teachers, who seemed to think that his head-shaking was more a joke, than a threat of repercussions. While there is no way for me to know his intention, I did notice the student’s anxious demeanor. Even while the situation may not have resulted in reprisal, it did accent her fear of consequences, and may have encouraged her to be more guarded in her responses or avoid participation in future video projects. This relates to Stille’s (2011) comments, discussed in Chapter Two, about the effect of the “surveilling gaze of the camera” (p. 104) in participatory video projects with youth.
This experience also acccents Foucault’s (1980, 1995) theory that power operates through technologies of surveillance. The effect of surveillance, as Foucault explains, is that those who are surveilled internalize the will and interests of those who surveil them; constant surveillance is not needed, but only the threat of the gaze is required. In the *What’s up Doc?* program, students, recognizing that they are surveilled, monitored their actions and comments in order to align their actions with the perceived will of their peers and the institution. One student explicitly expressed this, when he said that the fear of reprisal encouraged self-surveillance: “I think that it takes a lot of discipline and self, like, watching yourself and censoring yourself, to not step on other people’s toes and sort of violate them in a way to talk about such edgy topics.” Internalized surveillance encouraged students to avoid themes that could create controversy. For one student, sexuality and religion were “off limits . . . I wouldn’t talk about those two.” For another student, “. . . there is always the topics that are kind of edgy and make people uncomfortable, there’s religion, there’s sex, and sometimes drugs make people uncomfortable.”

As a teacher reflected, the students were aware that they would have to deal with repercussions when they shared their films with public audiences:

I think, even if it was in any class, doesn’t matter what class, you’re always going to think about those things, it’s how we function in society, right? We have to be careful about what we say because we know how society reacts to that. I think that’s a conscious effort that everyone makes.

For this teacher, the gaze of the public and the fear of generating controversy factored into how social justice issues could be addressed in the classroom and, ultimately, shared at the festival. This motivates me to ask the question: If students and teachers harbor
anxieties about student voice and agency, should assumptions about the empowering
characteristics of critical filmmaking pedagogies be tempered?

Whereas, to this point, I have shown how surveillance stymied notions of
empowerment, it is important to remember that, each year, contentious films are
produced in the *What's up Doc?* program. For example, *Courses* and *Millionaire Meals*
critique school policies and challenge the authority of people who are in hierarchical
positions of power in schools. *That Girl* presents a resistant discourse about teen-
pregnancy, one that has the potential to offend those in the community who believe that
teens’ sexuality should be suppressed. This, then, makes me ask: What are the
circumstances that enabled some students to express their voices on these issues, and
why were these issues addressed over others?

Beyond the power of social and institutional surveillance, the dominance of
empowerment discourses should also be problematized because it had implications in
terms of power relations in the classrooms. As mentioned previously, institutional
decisions and constraints (time, space, budget) meant that only a small number of films
could be produced which meant that some students’ voices would be silenced.
Consequently, some students did not feel a connection to the themes being addressed,
and this contributed to their level of participation. For example, while the majority of the
class involved in *Step Back* rallied behind the economic theme of the film, others felt
this was of little concern to young people. The following exchange accents this lack of
connection. The comments are a response to the question, “How would the program be
different if you chose a different theme?”:

Student 1: I think they would be more interested in it because, the gas thing isn’t
really a big deal for us. I think if there was a focus on us, it would have been a
lot better; it would have been more interesting.

Student 2: I guess I wish that it would have been a little more um, like so it kind of hit, like our demographic more so [rather] than older generations demographic, so its more what we’re concerned about right now. We don’t really think in terms of five years from now. Now maybe we should?

These comments show that students were not automatically engaged by the program simply because there was an opportunity to share an opinion. In this experience, because only certain topics were chosen for production, students who felt disconnected from the themes expressed low levels of enthusiasm.

In some cases, the construction of the program as empowering also created a divide between students in the classroom. This divide surfaced when students who were passionate about the films belittled students who resisted participation. In these instances, the dominance of empowerment discourses contributed to situations where students who did not exhibit high levels of enthusiasm were marginalized and Othered.

Conflict sometimes arose around attendance when some students commented on other students’ levels of commitment to the program. As one student put it, “We had to work like a watch, if one person didn’t do what they were supposed to do, the entire thing started to fall apart.” As another student explained when I asked about tensions around attendance, “It was hard when like you’d give someone a job and they wouldn’t do their job properly, or like wouldn’t even show up to class when they were supposed to.” Similarly, when a teacher discussed the importance of group commitment, he reflected on the problems created by students missing class:

[Some students] really see the value in team-work and that really sounds cliché. They see that, if we have a job set-up for three people, then three people better
be there. Like, “we can't have one, two and a third guy that lets himself get suspended.”

Another teacher commented on students’ commitment to the program:

The biggest struggle is attendance because a project like this requires a large part of responsibility on part of the students. If students aren't there then it causes problems in terms of not having the same people that were there the day before. Reiterating things that were said, having actors present, having enough people to go and do shots, if you're doing the field trip, so there a lot of things to consider. So I think that’s probably the thing we had the most trouble with.

The program’s focus on collaboration meant the students were expected to cooperate with each other. Sometimes, this made negotiating issues around attendance rather tense. A teacher, commenting on attendance, accents some of the discourses that circulated in her classes:

It's important to be here. It’s not just important to me, it’s important to your group members. If you’re on camera on that day and you know what you’re doing and how things are set-up, you need to be there. And maybe the same students who didn’t care so much about coming or at all during other units, they’re showing me notes . . . They’re learning to understand what it’s like to be a part of a team that their attendance is not just important for a checkmark, they’re carrying the weight of how that story is going to be told.

Examples of classroom tensions and power relations, related to attendance, surfaced when students expressed that some of their peers “let them down” when they were not committed or did not show up for class. When this sentiment was expressed in classes they surfaced amongst students who tried to encourage other students to attend.
This became problematic when some students, who attended regularly, used guilt and public shaming of their peers. In these instances, it was common for students to construct those who did not attend as “lazy,” “worthless,” “slackers,” or “potheads.” These individualizing deficit discourses were used to discredit and attempt to shape the behaviours of others.

As the examples I provide below show, when certain, sometimes more privileged, students took ownership over the film productions, students who did not participate were Othered. For the privileged students, certain members of the group “got in the way” of creating a meaningful film. In the following discussion, a group of students took up individualizing and deficit discourses to explain why they felt some people in their class were disengaged. In response to my question, “What do you think maybe makes people uninterested?” they replied:

Student 1: Probably years of laziness.

Student 2: It is probably how they are brought up too.

Student 3: But no, like I really do have an interest and I think that a lot of the people in our group of people, but there’s obviously a couple they really... don’t care.

Student 2: There’s only ten people in our group.

Student 3: Yeah, I’d say there’s only about five people on board with it...

Student 1: Cuz, which to be honest it would be ... people who came up with the original concept for our topic are very interested in it. And it just seems like, others may kind of be like, “Oh yeah, it's a good topic. I just don't give a shit. I don't care about it.”

The comments highlight tensions and relations of power. Here, students directed their
animosity at individuals and/or the value system of their parents. This neglects an understanding that students' level of engagement is contingent on many factors (e.g., historical, institutional, privilege, marginalization, gender, class).

These discourses became especially compounded when certain students adopted leadership roles and delegated tasks to others in the class. In response to a question I asked about attendance and group collaborations, a group of students took up deficit discourses to describe some of their peers:

Student 1: A lot of people, and then there are like the stoner and they don’t want to do anything, anything in life, it doesn't matter.
Student 2: It’s stupid, you just ask them to do something and they just complain. Well it’s like if you don’t want to be there leave, like honestly, just leave.
Student 3: Or constantly saying that you don’t care.
Student 1: I think all of us at one point or another just told someone, like leave, get out.
Student 3: Yeah, I’ve mouthed off at three or four of the students in our class.
Student 1: Just leave. It’s like annoying, it’s like OK don’t be here then. Like I don’t understand. Like you know what you are getting into, you don’t have to come.

These comments show how power dynamics in this particular classroom operated. The harsh dynamic may have encouraged some students to not attend. The following is another example of when one student took up marginalizing blaming discourses to construct students who did not participate:

People that just like don’t listen, and you ask them to do something and they all say “No.” Well, why are you even here, why do you bother showing up if you
are just going to sit there acting like an idiot? Like, one day I needed an
interviewer, I needed somebody to ask questions, you are not on camera, your
voice isn’t going to be in it in the end, what’s the issue? Not one person in the
class would do it, and I was like, are you serious, like what are you guys doing
that is so important? Nothing, you are on your phones playing Angry Birds.
Here, non-participation is attributed to the “lazy” and “disinterested” attitudes of
individuals, while issues that could contribute to disengagement are left unconsidered.

These examples show the kind of inequitable power dynamics that can still be
created in a participatory project in a school setting. The enforcement of attendance was
no longer only an institutional responsibility; students in the “community” took it upon
themselves to wield power, through degradation, to encourage others to attend and
participate; or, in some cases to remain silent and “stay out of their way.” Little attention
was devoted to the circumstances or reasons why students may choose non-participation.

While teachers must protect the privacy of students who are absent, I have noticed how
the context of a participatory project encourages some students to inquire into why their
peers are absent, and to confront them directly about their attendance. This can create
tense situations in a classroom, and can be very damaging for some students. This
reflection has helped me understand the importance of having conversations about
compassion for students’ situations. Policing that involves degradation and humiliation
must be disrupted.

Undoubtedly, efforts to meet the festival submission deadline also contributed to
tensions around collaboration and attendance. In this light, it is important to recognize
how the context, and the parameters we established for the program and festival, also
contributed to tensions and power relations in the classrooms. Whereas the discursive
examples I provide above show how these discourses circulated throughout the program, in hindsight, it is easy for me to reflect on how power operates through the discourse. However, recognizing and problematizing these discourses in the context of a critical filmmaking project is far more difficult. It was not until group interviews with students near the end of the program that I recognized how discourses of attendance were linked to demeaning practices and deficit assumptions. I now recognize how I came into contact with fragments of the discourse in classroom discussions, but it was not until the discourse was compounded for me through the interview process that I recognized its seriousness and the need for its disruption.

In hindsight, I also recognize how I contributed to the circulation of empowerment discourses which may have supported these problematic power dynamics. In initial meetings with students and teachers, I would often draw on concepts of empowerment, student voice, agency, and social change. Throughout the program I often tried to create enthusiasm by talking to students about the potential of expressing their voices through the films. Furthermore, my speech at the *What's up Doc?* film festival is explicit in its support of empowerment discourses (see Appendix B). No doubt, framing the program in this way contributed to the circulation of celebratory, engagement, and empowerment discourses in and around the program.

This reminds me of the importance of remaining vigilant in efforts to recognize all forms of power in critical filmmaking projects. Even though empowerment discourses dominated, oppressive power relations continued to operate in the classroom. This reflects the poststructuralist perspective on power as dispersed, discursively located, and omniscient (Foucault & Gordon, 1980). Furthermore, it accentuates Ellsworth's (1992) view that power does not cease to operate just because critical and
emancipatory projects are implemented. Beyond these problematic aspects of empowerment discourses, constructing What's up Doc? in this way also suggests that schools, and critical and participatory interventions, are necessary conditions for youth empowerment. This assumption overlooks the role that schooling has historically played in the subjugation of students’ voices in the first place. Locating the problem of disempowerment in the students themselves does not recognize the social and structural antecedents that maintain disenfranchisement.

I often encountered discourses premised on the assumption that What’s up Doc? “gave students a voice.” These kinds of assumptions forget that students have voices, and schools systematically disqualify student agency. Suggesting that the program is empowering and “gives voice” misses the point that emancipation can only occur when the social structures, discourses, and practices that contribute to systems of oppression are addressed and dismantled (Shaw, 2012). Furthermore, the assumption neglects that some voices become privileged and some become excluded in such a process.

Suggesting that What’s up Doc? “gives voice” also glosses over the complexity of introducing critical theory perspectives in schools through participatory approaches. The unquestioned romanticization of student voice and empowerment neglects that the content of the messages in participatory films can contribute to harmful power relations and social inequities. The celebration of personal empowerment and voice depoliticizes the students’ films by overshadowing political messaging. It is important to recognize that participatory processes can still perpetuate privilege and inequity, and contribute to conditions that validate systems of oppression and violence. This reminds me, as a practitioner, it is important to recognize how power operates through all pedagogies. Although critical filmmaking pedagogies adopt a resistant spirit, contradictions and
nuances make the praxis, and its implementation, inherently complex.

Through my analysis I now recognize that constructing the program with generalized empowerment discourses overlooks how power operates through critical filmmaking pedagogies. My discussions here represent my growing awareness of the importance of reflecting on how to negotiate efforts to entice enthusiasm and support for critical filmmaking pedagogies while respecting the implications of overly celebratory empowerment discourses.

Summary

In this chapter, I discussed some of the implications associated with implementing critical filmmaking pedagogies in mainstream schools. In particular, I have shown how power operated through institutional politics associated with disruption of school space and time and celebratory technology and empowerment discourses which constructed *What's up Doc?* as inherently engaging. I have also shown how these power dynamics and discourses were at the same time enabling and constraining. Nevertheless, I maintain a hopeful and positive disposition. It seems extremely promising to me that students and teachers were able to engage with critical filmmaking pedagogies despite the social and institutional complexities we had to navigate. My discussions on the limits and possibilities of critical filmmaking pedagogies continue in the next chapter where I revisit my research questions, provide a discussion about the implications of my critical analysis, and make some suggestions for theory, future research, pedagogical practice, and policy.
Chapter Seven

Moving Forward

In this dissertation, I have explored critical filmmaking pedagogies as a way to address issues of social justice with youth in New Brunswick classrooms settings. As I have shown, there are social, discursive, and institutional complexities associated with praxis. Although these structures open possibilities, they also shape, constrain, and complicate how teachers and students address questions of social justice through filmmaking practices. To understand how power shapes critical filmmaking pedagogies, and the *What’s up Doc?* program, I took up a bricolage approach to address the following four research questions:

1. How do critical filmmaking pedagogies enable teachers to address questions of social justice in classroom settings?

2. How do critical filmmaking pedagogies enhance understanding of social justice issues with, and among, youth themselves and generate critical reflection and action toward social change?

3. How do different institutional structures, dominant discourses, and learning contexts shape, constrain, and/or open possibilities for critical filmmaking pedagogies?

4. How can the responses to these questions inform curriculum, classroom practice, and education policy?

In this chapter, I respond to these questions by relating this research back to the fields of inquiry of critical pedagogy, arts-based inquiry, and participatory video. I also discuss how this study can have implications in terms of the bricolage approach and future research. I conclude with questions for educators, administrators, and policy makers.
Implications for Critical Pedagogy and Social Justice Education

This work draws attention to the potential, constraints, and complexities of using critical filmmaking pedagogies to address social justice issues with youth in school contexts. In many ways the study supports Mitchell et al.’s (2010) view that “critical awareness and (arguably) empowerment [can] result when media production [with youth is] encouraged” (p. 220). My analysis highlights how critical filmmaking pedagogies can provide a space for critical dialogue that names and disrupts power relations and encourages social and institutional action.

The films produced in the 2012 What’s up Doc? program, for example, provide an opportunity to address social justice issues in school contexts. Through a participatory approach, critical filmmaking pedagogies opened collaborative spaces for teachers, students, and me to explore how power operates through discourse, institutional structures, and social practices. The praxis created opportunities for us to draw on symbiotic hermeneutics (Kinchenloe & Berry, 2004), and move beyond individualizing discourses to develop a critical consciousness (Darder et al. 2009; Freire, 2000b). In Freire’s (1985) words, critical consciousness involves “a deepening awareness . . . of the sociocultural reality that shapes [our] lives” (p. 93). As my discussions in earlier chapters show, What’s up Doc? provided a chance for us to explore, collaboratively, how the issues the students addressed in their films are connected to historical contexts and relations of power. This also supports Cooper’s (2009) conclusion that critical documentary filmmaking has the potential to provide “collaborative” (p. 44), “dialogical” (p. 45), and “conscientizing, action-driven, and reflective” (p. 33) opportunities for students and teachers. In this way, the work also reflects Mitchell et al.’s (2010) view that youth can play “pivitol leadership roles” (p.
215) as "knowledge producers" (p. 215) to affect social and institutional dialogue and change.

While knowledge of social justice themes is important, conscientization is not limited to understanding how social conditions are connected to context and power; it also entails fostering a "capacity to transform that reality" (Freire, 1985, p. 93). This political ideal was evident in the *What's up Doc?* program. The students' films not only show how knowledge about social justice issues can be fostered through critical pedagogies, but they also accent how spaces can be created for youth and teachers to critique dominant discourses, practices, and structures, and openly challenge these technologies of power (Foucault, 1995). This confirms Cooper's (2009) view that, "documentary making can be a classroom tool for critical pedagogy" (p. 7) and can provide "a space for pupils to explore social issues, and share their opinions and suggestions for improving society" (p. 98).

This study also shows how the students, teachers, and I had opportunities to become "political bricoleurs" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 6) and adopt practices that mirror a critical hermeneutical approach (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004). Critical filmmaking pedagogies created spaces for us to translate critical analysis in the classrooms into resistant media texts and actions toward social change. In different ways, all of the films show discontent with status quo conditions and the contemporary social practices that create them. In this way, beyond critiquing discourses, the films also reflect McLaren and Farahmandpur's (2002) view that fostering social justice involves generating structural and institutional change.

One way that the students sought to address action and change through their films was to leave audiences with open-ended questions to entice reflection on
oppressive discourses, assumptions, practices, and structures. In this way, the students’ films reflect efforts to foster generative forms of knowledge (Cole & Knowles, 2008). As one student said: “[It’s] not so much about changing people’s minds, it’s about getting them to think about [the theme]. It’s nice because it doesn’t tell you what to think, it just puts it out there and says, do what you want with it.” This reflection accents Foster’s (2012) view that the potential of arts-based inquiry is to highlight multiple perspectives and the complexities of issues/problems rather than proposing the discovery of concrete truths, answers, or solutions.

The action-oriented, and generative, intent of the students’ work is also evident in their efforts to entice dialogue on “vertical” and “horizontal” levels (Lunch & Lunch, 2006). For advocates of participatory video, critical and political dialogue with peers, and with people in positions of institutional power, can be the roots of political action and social change. These efforts reflect Plush’s (2012) view that mobilizing grass-roots perspectives through participatory video can affect policy and practice by bridging “knowledge gaps between marginalized groups and decision makers” (p. 82). As I have shown, the What’s up Doc? program facilitated dialogue with other students, teachers, administrators, and policy makers as an avenue to effect change around the themes raised in the films.

However, as this analysis also shows, power does not cease to operate simply because critical pedagogies have been implemented (Ellsworth, 1992). Whereas the films do draw on counter-hegemonic discourses, they also play into and reproduce oppressive gender constructs, classing-practices, heterosexism, homophobia, and heteronormativity, as well as deficit constructions of youth and bodies marked as disabled. In exploring these contradictions, this dissertation shows the complexity of
implementing critical filmmaking pedagogies in school contexts. It also affirms Ellsworth's (1992) and Lather's (1991, 1992) contention that power operates through all pedagogical practices, even those claiming to be critical.

The circulation of marginalizing discourses in the 2012 *What's up Doc?* films affirms Loiselle's (2007) view that video work with youth can foster counter-hegemonic discourses while, at the same time, reinscribe oppressive power relations. This contradiction reminds critical practitioners, like myself, to proceed reflexively when engaging with this praxis. In addition, it highlights the importance of developing new strategies designed to enable students and teachers explore how social conditions, issues, and perceived realities are connected to power structures.

**Implications for Critical Educators**

As a bricolage that takes-up symbiotic and critical hermeneutics (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004), this study provides examples of how institutional and discursive contexts can shape and constrain initiatives like the *What's up Doc?* program and the implementation of critical filmmaking pedagogies in schools. This work disrupts taken-for-granted institutional discourses, thinking, and practices and shows how collaborations have to be navigated between powerful institutional structures of streaming, curriculum, assessment, funding practices, and school hierarchies. In so doing, this work shows how critical filmmaking pedagogies are tacitly shaped by dominant discourses and power relations; it highlights how institutional discourses of engagement, technology, and empowerment, and the standardization of school space and time, shape possibilities. Recognizing how social, discursive, and institutional powers influenced *What's up Doc?* alerts critical educators to what can happen when critical and participatory pedagogies are taken up in public school settings. For example, this work
points to the various structures and policies that require careful navigation and highlights the discourses and power relations one may encounter when taking up critical filmmaking pedagogies. While the work stops short of offering concrete suggestions, it can provide some opportunities for reflection on how these power relations might be navigated in different school contexts.

As my critical analysis has shown, the tensions that influenced the *What's up Doc?* program were connected to the neoliberal context of schooling and institutional and social power relations. Neoliberal discourses shaped the thinking and actions of those involved, and those on the periphery of the *What's up Doc?* program. For example, powerful neoliberal assumptions and discourses framed the program as serving an instrumental function and intersected with deficit, classing, and individualizing discourses. These discourses suggested that the only reason we were doing “this kind of work” (i.e., media education, “not real English”), with “this kind of student” (i.e., Level 3), was to address individual learning deficits. These comments exemplify Quin’s (2003) view that discourses that circulate in schools often construct media studies/production programs as beneficial only for students who are deemed lacking academically. I would add that these discourses draw attention away from the political messages in the students’ films, and can have condescending and marginalizing consequences. As I discussed in Chapter Five, for example, the focus on instrumentalism undermined the potential for the films to entice social action and change that would support student agency. For educators interested in critical filmmaking pedagogies, this dissertation highlights the importance of understanding, navigating, and challenging these discourses when they surface in, and around, critical and participatory projects.

Beyond neoliberal discourses, critical filmmaking pedagogies were also
influenced by social and institutional power relations. For some students in the *What's up Doc?* program, tensions were connected to the potential of undesirable social, familial, and/or institutional responses. Though we maintained safeguards, these videos could “go viral,” with possible harmful effects. Understanding this, some students were apprehensive about sharing critical perspectives on film as this could leave them vulnerable to criticism, marginalization, or institutional reprisal. This apprehensiveness reflects Foucault’s (1980, 1995) theory that power operates through technologies like surveillance and self-surveillance. It also affirm Stille’s (2011) view that a fear of the surveilling “gaze of the camera” (p. 104) can be connected to social and institutional power relations. This power limits what it is possible to say, and do, in critical filmmaking projects, especially when fears are based on institutional repercussions. No doubt, in the *What's up Doc?* program, power relations and school structures shaped the possibilities of the program by negating certain kinds of expressions before they were even spoken. This affirms Mitchell and de Lange’s (2011) view that “the very process of stepping outside of the everyday life to produce the videos can create feelings of uneasiness and vulnerability to some participants” (p. 179). Further, it supports Cooper’s (2009) view that participants may not always be greeted with favorable results when engaging with critical perspectives.

Reflecting on these dynamics shows the importance of recognizing and negotiating this power when taking up critical pedagogies in schools. In initiatives like the *What's up Doc?* program, neglecting the power of social and institutional surveillance means that some voices will continue to be marginalized. Raising critical conversations about this power may create opportunities to problematize the social and institutional discourses and structures that cultivate silence.
Whereas social and institutional power structures influenced students’ responses to the *What’s up Doc?* program, they also created tensions for educators. As I discussed in Chapter Six, teachers face mounting pressure to cover large amounts of curricula in an allotted amount of time, and to do so in particular school spaces. While it may be easy to consider the structuring of schooling a question of efficiency, this analysis highlights the importance of viewing the rules and regulations that govern space and time in schools as political. As Solomon et al. (2011) argue, structures and school politics are connected to broader neoliberal contexts that have pushed education toward practices of standardization. Decisions regarding the use and policies of school spaces, and the allotment of instructional time, are not neutral; they are connected to priorities influenced by ideology and discourse. With a focus on instrumentalism and standardization, curricula is seldom prioritized to give adequate attention to issues of equity and social justice (Soloman et al., 2011).

Tensions associated with these priorities were reflected in the *What’s up Doc?* program. Teachers, like students, fall under a similar surveilling gaze (Foucault, 1980, 1995). With mounting pressure to cover a standardized curricula in an allotted amount of time, and in particular spaces, it is no wonder that teachers and I struggled to give appropriate focus to critical themes in the program. In the classroom, institutional pressures often translated into technically oriented classroom practices that mirrored hierarchal power relationships. No doubt, we missed important opportunities to challenge systems of oppression and inequitable discourses and practices.

Awareness of how social, discursive, and institutional powers shaped *What’s up Doc?* also draws attention to the complexity of implementing participatory pedagogies in school contexts. While a participatory, democratic ethos may have shaped the
program, implementing the work in a classroom is rife with complexities and contradictions. For the teachers, and for me, pressure to maintain authority was symptomatic of our positions in a school system; to suggest we completely disrupted this control is fictitious. As this analysis shows, the institutional structures of streaming, curriculum, assessment, funding practices, school hierarchies, and the politics associated with the organization of school space and time complicates participation in classroom contexts. As such, this work accents the importance of recognizing how social and institutional powers operate regardless of the intentions of students, teachers, and/or critical/participatory researchers.

Whereas this research shows how social and institutional contexts may have influenced the limits and possibilities of our application of critical filmmaking pedagogies, I remain hopeful. The What's up Doc? program did enable students and teachers to engage in critical pedagogies to “[correct] the ways particular students get hurt in the everyday life in schools” (Kincheleoe, 2008a, p. 9). This accents the students’ and teachers’ expressions of political agency that occurred when critical filmmaking pedagogies were taken up. Drawing on Foucauldian theories of power (Foucault, 1980, 1995; Foucault & Gordon, 1980), I have come to recognize how critical filmmaking pedagogies created opportunities for students to resist oppressive practices, social and institutional hierarchies, and deficit discourses. In other words, the exertion of power in schools, through discourses and institutional structures, provided a space for resistance through filmmaking. As Foucault (1995) argues, discourse “can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy” (p. 101). Adopting a view that power and resistance are the two sides of “the same coin” (Burr, 2003, p. 69), I have shown how
power can be a productive force (Foucault, 1980). While navigating educational structures, critical filmmaking pedagogies did afford teachers and students space to explore criticality and participatory social action.

**Implications for Classroom Practice, Curriculum, and Institutional Policies**

While there may be many ways that this analysis can inform practice, and curriculum, and policy, here I identify a few important implications. First, this analysis solidifies the importance for educators to be constantly vigilant in challenging marginalizing discourses that may surface in the context of critical pedagogy initiatives. Second, it shows the importance of being attentive to how critical initiatives, like the *What's up Doc?* program, may contribute to the marginalization of students involved. Third, it shows the need for increased emphasis placed on critical literacies and social justice education in the curriculum. And fourth, it draws attention to structural elements of education, (e.g., curriculum, assessment, streaming) that can be renegotiated to better support critical filmmaking pedagogies and broader projects of social justice.

This dissertation is a reminder to all of us who implement critical pedagogies to remain diligent in identifying and challenging problematic discourses and representations that surface in classrooms, participatory projects, and video work. The critical analysis of the *What's up Doc?* program highlights how all texts, even those intended for counter-hegemonic purposes, can perpetuate systems of marginalization and oppression. As educators committed to social justice, we must reflect on why and how this happens. We also must find ways to renegotiate our practices so as to challenge problematic assumptions and representations without having to rely on authoritarian approaches.

When implementing critical filmmaking pedagogies, I have come to realize the
importance of problematizing all texts produced. In projects like *What’s up Doc?* script writing activities and group screenings of footage can present opportunities to discuss questions such as: What gender constructs are supported? How might this text perpetuate homophobia? How does this interview support the idea that the only purpose of school and education is to get a job? Even when projects are finished, we still have opportunities to challenge discourses embedded in the texts; we can ask what problematic ideas are perpetuated, and what could have been done differently. These questions can provide additional opportunities for critical dialogue.

Beyond challenging marginalizing discourses, this study also draws attention to the importance of recognizing how discourses that frame critical and participatory projects can contribute to marginalizing constructions of participants. Educational streaming discourses that circulated around the *What’s up Doc?* program positioned students involved as deficient. These discourses also constructed the purpose of the program as instrumental to the personal development and empowerment of participants. If a goal of critical filmmaking pedagogies is to support social justice, it is problematic to suggest that its purposes have only to do with personal development. In this way, I agree with Mookerjea (2010) who argues that efforts to support the empowerment of marginalized groups must always have a “connection to a militant struggle against [the social structures that maintain] oppression” (p. 206). For her, practitioners who embrace goals beyond personal development/empowerment understand that possibilities for growth and emancipation are tied to socio-structural, political, and contextual power dynamics. This also accents Walsh’s (2012) view that, unless broader elements that structure disempowerment are addressed, personal growth and empowerment may only ever be superficial. Unchallenged, the social conditions that perpetuate social disparities
maintain prominence. Following this argument, I agree with Walsh when she adds that participatory video, and efforts for conscientization, are only a small part of social justice initiatives. For her, practices like critical filmmaking pedagogies “must be seen as part of a toolkit of tactics with which to challenge, deepen, and broaden our ability to tackle oppression” (p. 251).

This dissertation also adds to scholarship that calls for the continued criticalization of participatory video approaches. In recent years, burgeoning critical work has enticed important reflection on the implications of overly romantic and celebratory tones that often encase critical and participatory video methods and other practices that focus on empowerment (Ellsworth, 1992; Lather, 1991; Milne, Mitchell, & De Lang). In the spirit of Low et al. (2012) and Shaw (2012), I have come to understand how individualistic, empowerment, and celebratory discourses shift focus away from the power relations operating in, on, and through practices like critical filmmaking pedagogies. This has affirmed my belief that critical filmmaking pedagogies should go beyond individualized and developmental goals as a primary focus. In many ways, my critique in this research disrupts some of the emancipatory assumptions present in much of the scholarship in the fields of participatory video research (Cooper, 2009; Guidi, 2003; Lunch & Lunch, 2006; White, 2001). By problematizing the discourses evident in our collaborative filmmaking in the What’s up Doc? program and the discourses and structures that shaped our collaborations, this work questions how critical filmmaking pedagogies can both contribute to, and/or hinder, student agency and broader projects of social justice.

I have come to realize that, to support social justice, educators like myself must maintain a continued resolve to draw attention to the more political and critical goals in
the students’ work. Efforts to resist individualizing discourses must not only be addressed with students. In the What’s up Doc? program, teachers, administrators, parents, and the broader public drew on individualized assumptions to construct the program and experience. To address the marginalizing implications of these constructions requires a willingness to question and challenge discourses that construct the work in individualistic ways with colleagues, administrators, and parents.

Challenging discourses on an institutional and collegial level show an educator’s respect for, and solidarity with, his/her students.

Critical analysis of the What’s up Doc? program also shows the importance of adopting more explicit attention to education for social justice through critical media literacy and critical media production in the New Brunswick English Language Arts curriculum. While fissures in the curriculum can allow educators to engage students with critical questions, the support and resources to help teachers take on this kind of work, in a sustained way, are lacking. Making social justice more explicit in curriculum documents may also enable teachers to shift priorities, disrupt standardization practices, and negotiate their clock-bound working conditions (Rose & Whitty, 2010; Solomon & Singer, 2011b). As I have identified in this study, a focus on instrumentalism in the Level 3 curriculum limits and shapes possibilities for the implementation of critical filmmaking pedagogies. To address the confining implications of instrumentalism, and to better support teachers engaging with critical media literacy and critical filmmaking pedagogies, additional attention to critical theories, pedagogies, and literacies would be useful. While these additions may do little to remove instrumentalist assumptions, with more emphasis, they could support perspectives that education also serves to bolster societal goals of equity, social justice, and democracy.
My analysis, and particularly elements showing how marginalizing discourses and representations circulated through the media texts, also shows the relevance of Sawheny’s (2009) suggestion that participatory video practices with youth must run in tandem with broader educational projects for critical media literacy. The tendency for the media texts from *What’s up Doc?* to reproduce oppressive discourses shows the importance of including greater attention to critical media literacy and social justice themes in New Brunswick curricula and schools beyond the English Language Arts curriculum. It would be helpful if critical perspectives were integrated throughout the school curriculum, with more explicit attention to what it means to do critical literacies, pedagogies, and social justice work. I imagine new curricula texts that would focus on critical media literacy and production. Curriculum documents and resources could also articulate how critical practices fit into broader projects for social justice and democratic education. I also imagine that curricular texts would include suggested activities that could be used to support teachers who take on critical media activities in their classrooms. These documents can support goals of agency, voice, and social engagement amongst students. A sustained text devoted explicitly to these elements would accent the importance of critical media awareness, the potential for students’ voices to effect change, and the importance of social justice education.

Beyond curriculum, this dissertation, and the students’ films, have other implications in terms of educational policy. The analysis and the films show how neoliberal assumptions and institutional power relations were negotiated through institutional structures. These texts alert educators, administrators, and policy makers to ways that student agency, and the voices of particular students, can be institutionally suppressed in school contexts. In highlighting policies that maintain inequitable
distributions of power, this work points to the importance of continued discussions about the oppressive implications of neoliberal educational practices and structures. It also accents the importance of creating less alienating and oppressive school structures and policies focused on technology discourses, instrumentalism, and standardization. The work also raises conversations about the need for school hierarchies to be disrupted, made more flexible, and democratic. Further, it presents arguments why taken-for-granted policies around school space and time should be reconsidered. The work also points to the structure of streaming and the effect it has in terms of educational opportunity. Regardless, the work highlights how school structures can play into, and perpetuate, dominant social power relations, and reinforce social stratification. For educators and administrators, this accents the importance of recognizing how these structures undermine participatory and critical initiatives like the *What's up Doc?* program by reinforcing deficit and individualizing discourses around young people, especially those located in streamed classrooms.

In many ways this research affirms the critical pedagogical view that schooling is political and that institutional policies, practices, structures, discipline, curriculum outcomes, and pedagogical methods are connected to discursive and ideological contexts (Giroux, 1981; McLaren, 2009). However, this research also affirms Dei’s (2006) view that schools can be “agents of change or sources of transformation” (p. 66). In the *What’s up Doc?* program, critical filmmaking pedagogies provided opportunities for students, teachers, and me to question district administrative policies, engage in critical dialogue with administrators, and encourage discursive and social change. The students’ efforts to raise dialogue and generate change through critical filmmaking pedagogies reflects Barone and Eisner’s (2012) view that taking on critical, participatory, and arts-
based approaches in schools can "serve as a catalyst for action" (p. 167). In this way, this study shows how critical filmmaking pedagogies, while complicated, can be an educational tool for understanding, and enticing action to support social justice issues with youth in school contexts.

Implications for Bricolage Research, and Future Research

In my search of various fields of literature, I have found few examples of research articulated as critical bricolage, and no examples of bricolage that explore participatory filmmaking practices with youth in schools. Considering this dearth, this dissertation can also have implications in the field of bricolage research. There are two particular conversations to which this work can make contributions: first, it provides insight into how bricolage can be used in fashioning critical, participatory, and action-oriented inquiry practices with youth; and, second; it provides examples of how bricolage can be used to explore the multiple forms of power that can operate in, on, and through critical pedagogies when taken up in educational contexts.

In "crystalizing" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 5) understandings of the What's up Doc? program through various critical theoretical lenses, this study provides an example of how a bricolage approach can be used with young people to develop knowledge about social justice issues. The students' films explore social practices, discourses, institutional structures, and power through multiple critical theoretical lenses. The discussions, social commentary, and films from What's up Doc? were strengthened by drawing on a bricolage of insights from feminist, neo-Marxist, poststructural, dis/ability studies, and queer critical social theories.

While bricolage supported the development of social justice knowledge, this study also affirms that bricolage can be used in developing action-oriented inquiry
practices with youth in schools. As I discussed in Chapter Three, Kincheloe (2004a) argues, “the criticality of the bricolage is dedicated to engaging political action” (p. 12); bricoleurs are “dedicated to questioning and learning from the excluded” (Kincheloe, 2004b, p. 48). This means bricoleurs seek knowledges that are usually silenced in dominant research narratives, or, as Foucault (Foucault, Bertani, Fontana, Ewald, & Macey, 2003) calls them, “subjugated knowledges . . . that have been [systematically] disqualified” (p. 7). Through a bricolage of young people’s perspectives, critical filmmaking pedagogies resist dominant discursive rules structuring who has authority to construct and share knowledge. In this study a bricolage approach contributed to the potential for the students’ participatory filmmaking to resist dominant structures of education that subjugate knowledges. The example of the What’s up Doc? program shows how critical bricolage inquiry with youth can create spaces to imagine a divergent reality where social structures are altered and power is negotiated differently. As a form of activism, the students’ films have a potential to entice audiences, especially in school settings, to question dominant forms of power and engage in actions for social justice. In this way, this study provides examples of student and teacher activism that reflects Denzin and Lincoln’s (2005) articulation of the political bricolage, and Kincheloe and Berry’s (2004) critical bricolage.

Beyond my work with students, this study also shows how a bricolage approach can support efforts to explore and complicate the multiple forms of power that operate in, on, and through, educational practices intended to be counter-hegemonic. In this study, bricolage helped me incorporate multiple methodological approaches and critical theoretical lenses to explore the complexities of critical filmmaking pedagogies. In this way, I embraced a plurality of research approaches to seek out the various social,
discursive, and institutional forces that shaped critical filmmaking pedagogies. This study shows how researchers, educators, and students can become “methodological bricoleurs” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 4) and engage in research, teaching, and filmmaking that adopts an emergent design with an “elastic clause” (Kincheloe, 2004c, p. 74). This study provides some examples of how I, as a novice bricoleur, was able to use the approach to gather multiple forms of information (e.g., interviews, anecdotal accounts, field notes, correspondences, classroom writing activities, student journals, and behind the scenes footage) as a way to reach multiple vantage points from which to read the complex experiences. As a critical and “theoretical bricolage” this study also provides examples of how participatory video texts, and the discourses that surround their production, can be interpreted through a bricolage of critical theoretical lenses. This research also shows how Berry’s (2004b) notion of “feedback looping” can be used to engage in multiple readings of the films and interview transcripts, using feminist, poststructuralist, neo-Marxist, queer, and dis/ability studies theories. I found this an effective strategy to explore how power was being negotiated through discourses and visual representations in the films. The bricolage approach helped me accent the multiple forms of discursive and institutional powers that shape critical and participatory programs. In short, this study provides an example of how multiple methodological tools and theoretical lenses can coalesce to accent the various ways power operates when critical pedagogy is implemented in school contexts.

This work also shows how bricolage is more than an “anything goes,” eclectic, approach to inquiry. Bricolage helped me to recognize and reflect on the multiple complexities that shaped and constrained critical filmmaking pedagogies. Much like the students’ films, my bricolage is action-oriented. In drawing attention to the oppressive
and marginalizing elements of discourse and institutional structures, this study may also entice critical reflection and add to conversations aimed at disrupting oppressive social and institutional discourses, practices, and structures.

In all these ways, this work adds to conversations about how bricolage can be used in school and research contexts to explore, and disrupt, power. My sense is that the approach offers important spaces for educators and researchers to deal with complexity. My feelings on bricolage align with Kincheloe’s (2004b) view that “the bricolage, with its multi-perspectival orientation, maintains that only a rigorous, diverse, discursively informed mode of research can deal with the messy dynamics of the Lebenswelt [life world], human experience, and the interpretation of phenomena” (pp. 42-43). In allowing for complexity and contingency, I have found bricolage to be helpful in coming to understand the multiple forms of power that shaped the What’s up Doc? program.

My aspiration in taking up a critical bricolage approach in this study is to contribute to conversations that push classroom-based participatory filmmaking practices toward more critical terrains. A number of critical questions raised but still underdeveloped can act as catalysts for future work. For example, future research on critical filmmaking pedagogies could include more in-depth focus on the influence of neoliberal school structures/discourses on critical filmmaking pedagogies. Further, an exploration of the outcomes of critical filmmaking projects in non-streamed schools, and/or streamed classrooms deemed academic would be helpful. A longitudinal study of “afterlife” (Mitchell & de Lange, 2011, p. 214)—the social and institutional implications that might occur as a result of student resistance through critical filmmaking projects—might help the knowledge in the field as well. Exploration could also be devoted to how different teachers interpret the praxis, and how they implement it in
different institutional contexts under different conditions. Attention can also be devoted
to the continued problematization of the praxis, and to identify the many ways that it can
contribute to power relations. Additional social, institutional and discursive factors that
limit participation and critical pedagogies in schools can also be examined. Further
interrogation of the role of, and supports needed for, practitioners is also needed. In
particular, research can be directed toward the New Brunswick English Language Arts
curricula, to include a focus on critical media literacy, participatory approaches, and
social justice education. This may contribute to greater discussions of how critical
approaches can become more commonplace in schools without losing the resistant and
participatory spirit.

**Reflexive Questions for Myself as a Critical Educator and Researcher**

While this study has provided me with many learning opportunities about the
limits and possibilities of critical filmmaking pedagogies, it has also encouraged me to
continue to reflect on a number of issues as a critical educator, filmmaker, and
researcher. In particular, it is important to ask myself the following questions related to
critical pedagogy and social justice education:

- When oppressive discourses surface, what are the consequences of doing
  nothing?
- As an educator and researcher, what role does my privilege play in how
  social justice themes are addressed in the context of classroom-based critical
  filmmaking pedagogies?
- What actions and discourses can be encouraged to disrupt privilege?
- What important social justice themes are being omitted, and why?
• What can I do to encourage more conversations based on social justice themes related to sexism, classism, ableism, heterosexism, racism, and other forms of oppression?
• What are my responsibilities, as a practitioner, to intervene to ensure that films do not perpetuate oppressive discourses, ideologies, or stereotypes?
• What can be done so that my interventions do not undermine a participatory spirit?

This research also entices me to reflect on questions related to taking on critical pedagogies as an educator in a public institutional setting:

• How can a balance be struck between education, agency, and social action?
• How can politics of space, time, and resistance be negotiated differently?
• How can the critical intent of these works be maintained while negotiating institutional responsibilities?
• How can structures be renegotiated to better support student and teacher agency?

The themes raised through this study also encourage me to reflect on questions related to ethics and critical filmmaking pedagogies:

• When is it appropriate for me, as a researcher and/or an educator, to intervene in participatory video projects to protect participants?
• What responsibilities do I have to participants involved in projects?
• What happens when these films are screened publicly, and what issues/concerns might arise if these films “go viral?”
• How might this work objectify the students involved?
• How can I avoid authoritarian approaches and still navigate ethical tensions while respecting a participatory spirit?

Although I have found promise in a critical bricolage approach to inquiry, my experiences with this study also encourage me to reflect on questions related to bricolage research and how it is to be taken up in academic pursuits or in participatory action-oriented research with youth:

• How does the eclecticism of bricolage support or hinder deep reflective analysis?

• What elements of inquiry are sacrificed when taking up a bricolage approach?

• What are the limits, possibilities, and complexities of the bricolage approach?

• Whose interests are served, and how does power operate through bricolage?

• How does my own privilege intersect and shape my symbiotic and critical hermeneutical interpretations through bricolage?

Through my own journey of becoming a critical educator and researcher, I have learned that asking these questions will not undermine the possibilities of my research or educational pursuits. On the contrary, asking these questions of myself and my work adds rigour which will only expand and fortify possibilities for my work to support education and research for social justice.

To be Continued

In this dissertation, I explored the possibilities of critical filmmaking pedagogies in terms of youth agency, critical pedagogy, and social/institutional action and change. As my experiences and research show, participatory arts-based practices like critical
filmmaking pedagogies can be a productive tool in educational projects of social justice. However, following Low et al. (2012), Mookerjea (2010), and Shaw (2012), this work has also troubled romantic and celebratory constructions of the praxis. In this study, I adopted a bricolage approach to explore nuances, name how power operates in the students' films, and problematize our collaborative efforts. Further, I have shown how institutional structures constrained our potential to contribute to broader projects of social justice. In this way, this study illustrates the potential of critical filmmaking pedagogies while also appreciating the influence of institutional and social structures and power relations.

As an instrument for critical pedagogy, critical filmmaking pedagogies have the potential to disrupt, challenge, and tease out complexities. However, it is vital that scholarship continues to explore the praxis so that this potential is not overlooked or trivialized by under-theorization. This dissertation also addressed some knowledge gaps by exploring how power operates in, on, and through participatory, arts-based, critical pedagogies with youth in mainstream school settings. I hope this study can be a catalyst that initiates other important conversations about using filmmaking as a way for pursuing social justice in school contexts. In the future, I will continue to develop critical filmmaking pedagogies as a praxis that moves beyond intentions of personal empowerment discourses. I agree with Plush (2012), who argues that participatory video, on its own, will not bring about empowerment; these possibilities will only be maximized if the praxis is part of broader projects of social justice.

Critical filmmaking pedagogies are complex, ethically intricate, implicated in school power relations, and can sometimes create tense situations. Nevertheless, after eight years of working with young people through participatory filmmaking, I remain
resolute, encouraged, and optimistic. In 2014, *What’s up Doc?* will be entering its fifth year. Since 2009, nearly 40 films have been produced through students’ collaborative pursuits, critical reflections, and classroom efforts. These productions create spaces for discussions of equity and social justice, and spark dialogue about how education intersects with politics. In this way, they create opportunities for students, and teachers, to speak back to power.
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http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR17/wibberley.pdf


Appendix A: "Superhero Game"

Camera work

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1. ELS = Extreme Long Shot
2. LS = Long Shot
3. MLS = Medium Long Shot
4. MS = Medium Shot
5. MCU = Medium Close Up
6. CU = Close Up
7. ECU = Extreme Close Up

Your job — Using the outline below and the shot chart above, create a storyboard for your film. You must choose FOUR of the indicated camera shots and use them in your storyboard as well as in the film.

**The problem** — Our School needs a superhero.
**The conflict** — Student in distress.
One friend changes to alter ego (insert interesting superhero name)!

**Resolution** — Superhero saves the day in an interesting way.
Appendix B: Speech for 2012 What's up Doc? Film Festival

Four years ago, I stood in front an audience, not unlike this one. I delivered the opening remarks for a film festival that highlighted the work of 10 students from a local alternative education centre.

Before that festival, I collaborated with those students to produce a series of short films, based on social commentary, on issues of violence in the lives of youth. My work through the project was part of a bigger project called Acting Out, organized by the UNB Faculty of Education (Critical Studies Department) and the Muriel McQueen Fergusson Centre for Family Violence Research. The project was coordinated by Dr. Linda Eyre—my research supervisor, and was supported, financed and championed by then District 18 literacy coordinator, Philip Sexsmith.

The intent of the project was threefold: first, to use filmmaking activities with young people to start conversations with young people about how they experience, understand, and respond to violence in their lives; second, to inform social policy responses from the points of view of young people themselves; and third, to provide space for young people to become empowered to address social issues. As a filmmaker and the project coordinator I helped the students turn their ideas into a series of short fictional films. Each student came up with a narrative on different issues of violence and turned it into a script. Collaboratively, we engaged in all aspects of film production and to create a series of seven vignettes, collectively titled Candle in the Dark.

The original project concluded when the students’ films were showcased to a large crowd, much like this one. We all sat in an audience while the students expressed their perspectives in their films:

Their peers listened.
Their parents listened
Their teachers listened
Their principals listened
Also, University Professors listened,
Public Service Providers listened, and
Educational policy makers listened.

The project left an impression. An impression that was the inspiration that eventually lead to the What’s up Doc? film festival. Like those films, the films we will screen tonight focus on social issues that have an impact in the lives of youth.

I was invited, in 2009, to act as a coordinator for the What’s up Doc? program. In this context, this group of teachers adopted the practices I used in the Candle in the Dark project to engage students in their classes with filmmaking on social issues. For the past three years, I have collaborated with these teachers and the students in their classes. I am very proud to say that, after tonight, nearly 30 films have been produced and shown to large audiences at the annual What’s up Doc film festivals.
This year, the festival will showcase a series of seven short documentary films which were written, directed and produced through collaborative efforts by students who attend Leo Hayes High, Fredericton High and Stanley High schools. The films tackle a range of social issues including stigmatization of mental illnesses, educational issues impacting teen-parents, the cost of healthy eating in schools, student choice in their course selections, gender discrimination, challenging the traditional idea of “smart”, and economic issues facing rural communities. After the screenings, we will also be sharing the behind-the-scenes documentary “These Kids Aren’t Just Making Noise”. This documentary highlights the students’ efforts throughout the project, and their reflections on the experience.

This program would not be possible without the support and hard work of many key individuals and organizations. First, I would like to thank the people and groups who make this whole program a possibility. Dr. Linda Eyre, and the UNB Faculty of Education (Critical Studies Department), Philip Sexsmith, who made everything possible at the school district and school levels, Rina Arseneault and MMFC who supported the project and purchased a good deal of the equipment, and Susan Young, the current Literacy Learning Specialist who has championed and supported the project since becoming involved. Secondly, I would like to thank all the people who volunteered to help make this evening possible. A special thanks to Michelle Rogers, who made the posters and the programs, Aaron for his cinematography work this evening and Avery and Kristin with carrying out the event. Next, I would like to thank the jury members who all agreed to volunteer their time for the festival. Also, thank you to our sponsors, with a special thanks to Robert Gray, and the UNB Departments of English and Media and Cultures Studies, who donated the grand prize for this evening. I would also like to take the time to thank each of the teachers for their devotion to the What’s up Doc program. They especially deserve our gratitude for their patience, hard work and commitment to the program over the past three years.

I would also like to thank the audience for coming to listen, to think about and discuss the themes in the film tonight.

And Finally, and most importantly, I would like to thank all of the students who have been involved in the What’s up Doc? program. Without their willingness to participate and engage in this process none of this would be possible. These young filmmakers have invested their time, devotion, and lives into this work—just for the opportunity to share their knowledge with any who would watch, listen, and care—and judging by the size of the audience tonight, it is apparent that there are many who will.

Often, within education, teachers and policy makers assume that 21st century technology is the strongest motivator for today’s students. While the success of this project does rely on student engagement, this project must not be measured by how we, as educators, were able to engage students with filmmaking technologies. Success, here, means something different. Successful engagement in this project, has more to do with students’ motivations to address social issues and to make a change.

This project has been a success because students were
engaged to have a voice,
engaged to challenge us to think differently,
engaged to make a difference,
and engaged to make their world a better place.

At this time I would like to ask all the students and teachers who were involved in the *What's up Doc?* program to stand.

Four years ago, I stood in front an audience not unlike this one. During that speech I told the students why I thought their project had been a success. Like their work, the projects this year have been successful for the same reasons. So I will borrow from the speech.

You should all know that this project is already a success. Not because of the professional equipment we’ve got to use, not because you were engaged by technology, not even because the work is being shown here on the big screen to this audience.

The project is a success because of the hard work you’ve put into it.
It is a success because of the dedication you’ve all shown.
It is a success because you engaged in an issue you were passionate about
It is a success because of your abilities to share your knowledge, ideas, and experiences with each other.
A success because you were able to listen and help each other.
It is a success because of you—and it is a success that is immeasurable.

Thank you for allowing me to come and work with you, laugh with you and learn from you.
And you should know that every clap, every cheer, every smile and every conversation tonight is for you, and because of you.

So enjoy each and everyone of them. But remember that just because your film is being showcased here tonight, the work is far from over. Thank you all, and enjoy the show.
Appendix C: Informed Consent Letters

Dear Parents/Guardians,

As part of their Grade 11 English course, your son/daughter will be taking part in the 2012 What's Up Doc documentary filmmaking program. The program is designed to encourage critical thinking through student-led filmmaking projects. I am inviting them to participate in a research project that explores the integration of filmmaking activities in the classroom. While they will already be involved in the filmmaking project as part of their course, I am looking for volunteers to participate in interviews and informal discussions regarding these classroom activities. This aspect of the project is entirely voluntary, and their participation will not impact the filmmaking activities or course grades. The interviews will take about an hour. With your permission and that of your child, the interviews may be video-recorded and transcribed. I will not be asking any personal questions, and they will have the right to refuse to answer any questions I ask. As well, I will be videotaping students while they are engaged in some phases of their own film-making. Before any use is made of the material collected your child will be given the opportunity to review any media created through the project, and have any portion of their video image or audio recordings withdrawn and erased.

At the end of the project, I will share what I have learned about filmmaking in schools with teachers and students. The information will appear in my university research reports and in future publications and presentations. The names of all participating students will be removed from the research materials and kept entirely confidential in these reports, as will all identifying information about the students. However, my research reports will contain images which may show the faces of participating students, if they have agreed to allow their images to be used in this way. As noted, images and opinions of students who have consented and received permission for interviews may be publicized in my dissertation, through scholarly reports, and public presentations.

At the end of the program, I will also be producing a short documentary about the project. Again, only those who have permission will be included in the documentary. Contact information, students' names, and the name of their school will not be included in the documentary. By signing this form, you are agreeing that your son/daughter has received permission for their images to be displayed in this documentary which will be shown publicly within the context of the What's Up Doc program, and in my research reports, presentations, and publications.
By signing this form, you are consenting (1) to allow your son/daughter to participate in this research project; (2) to allow the material collected to be used in the ways described above; and (3) to allow anonymous images of your son/daughter that have been approved by your child to appear publicly in reports based on this research and in the planned documentary. Your consent is required for your child's participation. If you are prepared to give your consent, please sign the form below and give it to your son or daughter to return to the teacher.

There are no known dangers related to their participation in this research. All audio and video recordings (excluding the What's up Doc films) will be destroyed at the end of the research. They will not be used for any purpose outside this study except with students' permission.

Should you have any questions and concerns please do not hesitate to contact me, or your son/daughter's teacher about this process. My email address is matt.rogers@unb.ca.

This project has been reviewed by the Research Ethics Board of the University of New Brunswick and is on file as REB #2012-016. The project has been approved by your child's teacher and school principal, and by District 18.

Matthew Rogers, Ph.D. Candidate, Faculty of Education, UNB; matt.rogers@unb.ca

__________________________________________ Date: __________

Should you have concerns about the project, please contact:
Dr. Linda Eyre, Faculty of Education, UNB, 506-453-5161; leyre@unb.ca

__________________________________________ Date: __________

Dr. Dave Wagner, Associate Dean of Graduate Studies, Faculty of Education, UNB, 506-447-3294; dwagner@unb.ca

__________________________________________ Date: __________
I have read and understood the letter of information describing the research project. I understand that students must keep the identities and opinions of other students and teachers involved in this project confidential. I also understand that students can change their mind and choose not to participate in the research without affecting their grades in the English 113 course.

To give permission to involved in this research as describe above, please check one or both of the following statements and sign below.

☐ By checking this box, I am agreeing that has received permission to participate in this research project and, based on the guarantees of confidentiality outlined above, have the information and opinions he/she provides used in the ways indicated.

☐ By checking this box, I am agreeing that has received permission for their images to be displayed in the ways listed in the above letter. Though identifiable materials will not be publicized, I understand that this means that’s opinions and image may appear in scholarly reports, documentary footage and public presentations.

_________________________________________  ________________________
Signature of Parent/Guardian                  Date
Dear Student,

As part of your Grade 11 English course, you will be taking part in the 2012 What's up Doc documentary filmmaking program. The program is designed to encourage critical thinking through student-led filmmaking projects. I am inviting you to participate in a research project that explores the integration of filmmaking activities in the classroom. While you will already be involved in the filmmaking project as part of your course, I am looking for volunteers to participate in interviews and informal discussions regarding these classroom activities. This aspect of the project is entirely voluntary, and your participation will not impact the filmmaking activities or course grades.

The interviews will take about an hour. With your permission, the interviews may be video-recorded and transcribed. I will not be asking any personal questions, and you will have the right to refuse to answer any questions I ask. As well, I will be videotaping students while they are engaged in some phases of their own film-making. You will have the right to review any media created through the project, and have any portion of your video image or audio recordings withdrawn and erased. At the end of the project, I will share what I have learned about filmmaking in schools with teachers and students. The information will appear in my university research reports and in future publications and presentations. Though your name will be removed from published materials, this means that images and opinions of those who have consented and received permission for interviews may be publicized in my dissertation, through scholarly reports, and in public presentations. By signing this form, you are agreeing to have your images and opinions displayed in the previously listed ways.

At the end of the program, I will also be producing a short documentary about the project. Again, only those who have consented and have permission will be included in the documentary. Contact information, students' names, and the name of their school will not be included in the documentary. By signing this form, you are agreeing to have your images and opinions displayed in this documentary which will be shown publicly within the context of the project and my research.

There are no known dangers related to your participation in this research. All audio and video recordings (excluding the What's up Doc films) will be destroyed at the end of the research. They will not be used for any purpose outside this study except with your permission.
Should you have any questions and concerns please do not hesitate to contact me, or your teacher about this process. My email address is matt.rogers@unb.ca.

This project has been reviewed by the Research Ethics Board of the University of New Brunswick and is on file as REB #2012-016.

Matthew Rogers, Ph.D. Candidate, Faculty of Education, UNB; matt.rogers@unb.ca

Should you have concerns about the project, please contact:

Dr. Linda Eyre, Faculty of Education, UNB, 506-453-5161; leyre@unb.ca

Dr. Dave Wagner, Associate Dean of Graduate Studies, Faculty of Education, UNB, 506-447-3294; dwagner@unb.ca

The research project described above has been explained to me and I have had an opportunity to ask questions. I understand that I must keep the identities and opinions of other students and teachers involved in this project confidential. I also understand that I can change my mind and choose not to participate in the research without affecting my grades in the English 113 course.

If you wish to be involved in this research as described above, please check and sign one or both of the following statements.

☐ I, __________________ voluntarily consent to participate in this research project and, based on the guarantees of confidentiality outlined above, have the information and opinions I provide used in the ways indicated.

☐ I, __________________ voluntarily consent to have video-images made of me during this research shown publicly in the ways described above. I understand that this means that my opinions and image may appear in scholarly reports, documentary footage and public presentations. I also understand that the images will be shown without my name or other identifying information, and that prior to their use I will have the right to have any images I select withdrawn and erased.

Signature of Student: __________________ Date: ________________
Dear Teacher,

As part of your English course, you will be taking part in the 2012 What's up Doc documentary filmmaking program. The program is designed to encourage critical thinking through student-led film projects.

I am inviting you to participate in a research project that is part of my Ph.D. in Education Studies degree. I am seeking to evaluate the outcomes of the integration of filmmaking activities into the classroom. While you will already be involved in the filmmaking project, now I am seeking your permission to participate in interviews and informal discussions regarding these classroom activities. I am interested in your thoughts on the outcomes of the incorporation of filmmaking activities into your literacy program.

If you agree to take part in an interview, the process will take about an hour to complete. The interviews may be filmed or audio taped and transcribed. I will not be seeking any personal information and you have the right to decline to answer any questions posed. You will also have the right to review any media created through the project, and have any portion of your video image or audio recordings withdrawn and erased. Once my analysis is finalized, I will relay my learning about educational filmmaking practices back to teachers and students in the classrooms. The information will appear in my Doctoral dissertation and in future scholarly publications, presentations and reports.

At the end of the project, I will produce a short documentary that will represent the culmination of the research conducted. Again, only those who have consented will be included in the documentary, and contact information and names will not be included in these materials. There are no known risks associated with participation in this research. All audio and video recordings (excluding the What's up Doc films) will be destroyed at the conclusion of the research and will not be used for any purpose outside this study except with the written permission of the participants. This project has been reviewed by the Research Ethics Board of the University of New Brunswick and is on file as REB #2012-016.

Matthew Rogers, Ph.D. Candidate, Faculty of Education, UNB;
matt.rogers@unb.ca

Date: ________________________________
The research project described above has been explained to me and I have had an opportunity to ask questions. I understand that I must keep the identities and opinions of students and teachers involved in this project confidential. I also understand I can change my mind and choose not to participate in the research component of this project, at any time.

I voluntarily consent to participate in this research project under these conditions.

Signature of Teacher __________________________ Date __________________________
Curriculum Vitae
Matthew W.B. Rogers

Education
B.A. University of New Brunswick (2005)
M.Ed. in Critical Studies in Education, University of New Brunswick (2010)
Ph.D. in Education Studies, University of New Brunswick (2014)

Title of Master’s Thesis

Courses Taught
FILM/MAAC 4001: Advanced Production. UNB, Faculty of Arts.
Ed 5699: Cultural Studies Through Multimedia. UNB, Faculty of Education.
Ed 5070/5077: Social Contexts of Education. UNB, Faculty of Education.

Employment
Ongoing since 2009 - Sessional Instructor - University of New Brunswick, Faculty of Education.
Ongoing since 2009 - *What’s up Doc?* Documentary Filmmaking Program Coordinator, New Brunswick Anglophone District West.
2013 - Research Assistant - Nationwide Study on Cyber-bullying, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC.
2009 - 2011 - Research Coordinator, University of New Brunswick, Muriel McQueen Fergusson Family Violence Research Centre.
2009 - 2010 - Research Assistant, University of New Brunswick, Faculty of Education.
2008 - 2010 - Teaching Assistant, University of New Brunswick, Faculty of Education.
2008 - 2009 - Youth Exchange Coordinator, YMCA of Greater Toronto.
2006 - 2008 - Public School Teacher, Halifax Regional School Board, Bedford South School.

Funding and Awards
2014 - Artistic Creation Grant (Co-Applicant). The Shaw Fund, Department of English, Faculty of Arts, UNB ($4,250.00).
2014 - New Brunswick Short Film Venture Program: “A-list” ($4000.00).
2013 - SSHRC Connections Grant (Co-Applicant), 2013 Atlantic Education Graduate Student Conference ($18,540.00).
2012 - Trudeau Foundation Fellowship (Shortlisted).
2010 - 2013 - SSHRC Joseph-Armand Bombardier CGS Doctoral Scholarship, Government of Canada ($105,000.00).
2010 - 2013 - William S. Lewis Doctoral Fellowship, University of New Brunswick ($100,000.00 - prorated).
2010 - 2013 - The President's Doctoral Tuition Award, University of New Brunswick ($16,686.00 - prorated).
2009 - 2010 - Board of Governors Merit Award for Grad Studies, University of New Brunswick ($3,000.00).
2009 - 2010 - SSHRC Joseph-Armand Bombardier CGS Master's Scholarship, Government of Canada ($17,500.00).
2006 - 2007 - ASA Dow Scholarship, University of New Brunswick ($1,000.00).
2006 - 2007 - New Brunswick Teacher's Association Scholarship ($1,000.00).
2006 - 2007 - Tom and Parker Hickey Memorial Scholarship, University of New Brunswick ($400.00).
2005 - 2006 - N. Myles Brown Undergraduate Scholarship, University of New Brunswick ($1,200.00).
2000 - 2001 - IODE Scholarship, Bathurst ($500.00).

Publications

Articles Published (Peer reviewed)
Rogers, M. W. B. (In press). Problematizing the intersection of individualizing and deficit discourses in a participatory video project with youth in Canada. Area, (Special Edition: Problematizing Participatory Video: Experiences From Around the World)

Articles Submitted for Consideration (Peer reviewed)

Book Reviews (Editor reviewed)

Articles Published (Editor reviewed)

Literary, Artistic and Video Works
- Nominated “Excellence in Cinematography.”


- Winner “Audience Choice Award.”


Conference and Professional Presentations

Academic Conferences


(2012). *Education as a field of study and applied research methods: A mismatch?* Paper presentation with Dr. Emery Hyslop-Margison at the American Philosophical Association, Central Division, Conference, Chicago, IL.


**Invited Keynote Addresses**

(2014). *Participatory filmmaking and social action.* (Keynote Address) 5th Annual Whats up Doc? Film Festival. UNB Campus: Fredericton, NB.

(2013). *Supporting social justice in schools.* (Keynote Address) 4th Annual Whats up Doc? Film Festival. UNB Campus: Fredericton, NB.

(2012). *Lights, camera, social action.* (Keynote Address) 3rd Annual Whats up Doc? Film Festival. UNB Campus: Fredericton, NB.

(2010). *A Candle in the Dark film screening and address.* In conjunction with *The Muriel McQueen Fergusson Silent Witness Project.* University of New Brunswick UNB Arts Centre, Memorial Hall. Fredericton, NB.

(2009). *Candle in the Dark: A filmmaking experience by youth exploring the issue of violence.* (Keynote address) Muriel McQueen Fergusson Centre for Family Violence Research. Annual General Meeting. Fredericton, NB.

(2009). *Candle in the Dark.* (Film Premiere, Keynote address) Empire Theatres. Fredericton, NB.

**Invited Speaker (symposia, speaker series, and general meetings)**

(2014). *Video, critical pedagogy, and participatory practices.* LEARNEast 2.0.14 Conference. Fredericton, NB.
(2014). *Participatory video, student agency, and change.* NBTA Annual General Meeting, Miramichi, NB.

(2014). "*What’s up Doc?*" Student Short Film Collection. Cinema Politica, Fredericton, NB.


(2012). *What’s up Doc?* (Invited Panel Member) LEARNEast 2.0.12 Conference. Fredericton, NB.


(2011). *What’s up Doc: The positioning of a researcher in a critical filmmaking project.* Paper presented at the Qualitative Lunch Series, St. Thomas University, Fredericton, NB.

(2011). *Acting Out: Turning a research project into a thesis.* Paper presented with Dr. L. Eyre at Works in Progress Sessions, Faculty of Education, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, NB.


**Invited Speaker (University lecture)**

(2013). *Participatory video & critical filmmaking in the classroom.* (Invited Lecturer) Ed. 5001 - Teaching and Learning Theories: Faculty of Education. Fredericton, NB.


(2010). *Filmmaking as a research praxis.* (Invited Lecturer) Ed. 6910 - Introduction to Research in Education. University of New Brunswick: Faculty of Education. Fredericton, NB.

(2010). *Drama and technology across the curriculum.* (Invited Lecturer) Ed.5314. Drama Across the Curriculum. University of New Brunswick: Faculty of Education. Fredericton, NB.


**Presentations at Teacher Professional Development Sessions**


(2012). *A series of smart films.* NB School District 18, Devon Middle School. Fredericton, NB.

(2012). *"What's up Doc?" PD sessions: Moving to the next level of critical video production.* NB School District 18, Secondary Literacy Department, Fredericton, NB.


**Professional Development Series**

2013 - Filmmaking in the classroom: A practical learning workshop for middle and high school literacy and social studies teachers. University of New Brunswick and Anglophone District West. Fredericton, NB.

2012 - Participatory film and video-making in the classroom: A practical learning workshop for middle and high school literacy and social studies teachers. University of New Brunswick and Anglophone District West. Fredericton, NB.

**Committee Membership**

2013 - ongoing - Film Studies at UNB. Faculty Committee.

2008 - ongoing - Graduate Student Association Executive Member, University of New Brunswick, Faculty of Education. Fredericton, NB.

2007 - 2008 - Teacher Advisory Council, Viewfinders International Film Festival, Halifax, NS

**Academic Service Activities**

2014 - Reviewer of article manuscripts and video documentaries for Journal of Video Ethnography.

2013 - Reviewer of article manuscripts for Citizenship Teaching and Learning.

2012 - Co-founding Journal Editor - The Atlantic Journal of Graduate Studies in Education. Fredericton, NB.

2012 - Co-founding Conference Chair - Atlantic Education Graduate Student Conference. Fredericton, NB.

2012 - Reviewer of article manuscripts for Antistasis.

2011 - Graduate Student Representative - UNB Faculty of Education Faculty Council.
Professional Development
2011 - Collaborative Training - Realtime Video. Reading, UK.
2009 - Filmmaking Internship Royal Ontario Museum. Toronto, ON.