Special Series: Multimodal Inventions

Listening to Images, Participatory Pedagogy, and Anthropological (Re-)Inventions

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ABSTRACT In this article, I provide examples of how listening to images produced the possibility for anthropological reinvention. I base my analysis on fieldwork conducted in Karnataka, India, and the participatory photography project we initiated together. I focus my attention on the pedagogic basis of listening and build on the premise that a multimodal anthropology of invention can "facilitate a pedagogy of engagement and performativity" (Dattatreyan and Marrero-Guillamon 2019). I argue that listening is made possible through pedagogical methods that foreground an experience of teaching and learning in the field that, in turn, produces the kind of embodied recognition that revealed my participants' many "practices of refusal" regarding their ruralness and who rural people are and what they do (Campt 2017). In taking these refusals seriously, I was forced to see from a perspective not already overdetermined by narratives of powerlessness, dispossession, and lack of will. In other words, a pedagogy of listening actually led me towards radical anthropological reinventions. [*participation*, *multimodal*, *pedagogy*, *youth*, *India*]

RESUMEN En este artículo, proveo ejemplos de cómo el escuchar imágenes produjo la posibilidad de reinvención antropológica. Baso mi análisis en el trabajo de campo conducido en Karnataka, India, y el proyecto de fotografía participativo que iniciamos juntos. Enfoco mi atención en la base pedagógica de escuchar y construir sobre la premisa que una antropología multimodal de invención puede "facilitar una pedagogía de compromiso y performatividad" (Dattatreyan y Marrero-Guillamon 2019). Argumento que escuchar es posible a través de métodos pedagógicos que traen al primer plano una experiencia de enseñar y aprender en el campo que, a su vez, produce la clase de reconocimiento corporeizado que reveló muchas "prácticas de rechazo" de mis participantes con relación a su calidad de ser rural, y quiénes son las personas rurales, y qué hacen (Campt 2017). Tomando estos rechazos seriamente, me vi forzado a ver desde una perspectiva no ya sobredeterminada por narrativas de desempoderamiento, desposesión y falta de voluntad. En otras palabras, una pedagogía de escuchar realmente me llevó hacia reinvenciones antropológicas radicales. [*participación*, *multimodal*, *pedagogía*, *juventud*, *India*]

Look at this photograph (Figure 1). *What do you see? What do you hear? What does it want?*

One of my student-participants, Ajay, took this photograph as part of a participatory photography project I conducted during my fieldwork in Adavisandra village with eighth- and ninth-standard youth whom I worked with in the local government school. The project lasted about eight months and produced thousands of photographs. When I first scanned through these photographs, this one did not catch my attention, and I brushed it aside, like I did with so many others. At first, the image seemed quite nondescript, and I did not want to or could not listen to the many stories that this image would eventually tell to me and my fellow participants. The question, then,

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FIGURE 1. Bull on a Hill *by Ajay. (Courtesy of Ajaykumar) [This figure appears in color in the online issue]*

is why I came to be interested in this image in the first place.

I had come to Adavisandra[1] to critically study the effects of rural development projects that had emerged in the wake of the rapid urbanization of Bangalore and the decimation of rural areas outside of it. In particular, I was interested in the expansion of education as a site of moral, economic, and social engineering. Adavisandra is located approximately forty kilometers outside of Bangalore, just on the outer edges of Bangalore's massive transformation. The Bannerghatta forest curls to the northwest of the village, creating a visible, if illusory, separation from the city. The village had a population of 1,072 as of the 2011 population census. Like much of the rural peripheries of Bangalore, Adavisandra is deeply rooted in sericulture, producing silk cocoons that begin a silk commodity chain that moves from the village to market towns where the cocoons are sold and then to factories in these towns where the cocoons are spun into silk before moving on to the textile factories that dot Bangalore's inner peripheries. Unlike the cosmopolitanism associated with Bangalore and many of the towns in Ramanagara district, Adavisandra remains almost exclusively Hindu, "Kannadiga,"[2] and the majority of the residents come from the Vokkaliga caste, the primary agricultural caste in South Karnataka.[3]

As I followed the workings of a Bangalore-based education NGO in this village, I became mesmerized with the interactions between those within the local government school and these NGO workers, who were purportedly there to "help" those in this village by motivating them to learn. This meant, practically, integrating technology into their classrooms, advising them about the need to think beyond the village and instead to city contexts where more opportunities might lie, and extolling the virtues of academic success and college entrance. When I began my fieldwork, the passing of values seemed uncontroversially one-directional, moving from the city to its peripheries with the physical movement of these NGO personnel.

Over the course of my two years in Adavisandra working with youth in this school, the physical relation between the village and the city changed dramatically. Where once there were only dirt roads from the main highway into the hills in which the village sat, by the end of my time in the village a brand-new paved road was constructed, with a large green sign announcing the distance to the village. Youth in this community were well aware of their relation to Bangalore: they had family who had already moved to the city with dreams of better work and economic mobility, dreams that no longer existed in agriculture as India's economic liberalization had slowly made small-scale farming nearly untenable. They, too, aspired for jobs in the city to help their parents sustain themselves in their old age and to imagine a future in which they might be able to travel freely along the road between their village and the city whenever they pleased. They imagined themselves in this story not as mere spectators or consumers or recipients of urban-cosmopolitan value propositions *but as producers of them* (Gubrium, Harper, and Otanez 2015). Yet these narratives of agency and capability remain hidden in most discussions of rural life and rural youth. Instead, what seems to consistently emerge are narratives of the village as a place of tradition, the past, the backwards, the immobile, the uneducated, and the disconnected (Mines and Yazgi 2012; Vasantkumar 2017). All of these narratives have facilitated the continued perception of urban life as valuable life and the expansion of development projects that seek to facilitate the continued movement of youth from villages to cities.

My photography project with students in this school challenged this simplistic interpretation of value, power, and position. Ajay himself resisted my attempts to engage him in photography. At first, he would shrug his shoulders and dismiss the enthusiasm of his fellow classmates, refusing every opportunity to learn about the cameras or use them during the week-long forays into the village that his fellow students initiated without much questioning. He was very clear that he was focused on helping his family on their farm,

shepherding the four goats they owned up the mountain and back each day. He wanted his time at school to be dedicated to learning the skills he needed in order to pass his tenth-standard exams before he began to work in his family's traditional occupation in earnest. It was to my great surprise, then, that one afternoon Ajay came to school with the camera in hand and told me he had decided to try his hand at photography and had even decided to take some short films as well. So, when we uploaded all of the images to my computer, some two hundred or so, I was quite intrigued to see what he had produced.

But as we looked through these photographs together, I could not make much sense of them. I continuously tried to steer conversations back to other images that I could easily discern or that seemed to evoke the kinds of insights regarding rural change in which I was most interested. While other students photographed family members or zoomed in on the material changes in their homes—television sets, posters on the wall, and so on—Ajay's photographs felt barren to me. I could not see much of anything at all in them, even though Ajay had chosen to photograph these particular moments, experimenting with form and aesthetics to evoke an experience that resonated with him. Even the *Bull on the Hill* passed by my eyes with little resonance, and I would have moved on if, over the course of three weeks, all of his classmates had not continued to ask me to go back to this photograph, to look more closely at this image, which they deemed a kind of artistic masterwork. As much as I resisted this image, everyone else seemed to be listening very carefully to it: they heard the bull as it walked into the frame or the sound of its creeping footsteps as Ajay got close enough to capture the shot he wanted. They began to ask questions about Ajay and his relationship with this bull, wondering what was evoked for the photographer in the process of taking photographs. The photograph itself seemed to take on its own agency, driving all of us to see it in ways that were deeply affective. When we looked carefully, engaging all of our senses, all of us had to take seriously the vibrancy that lay waiting in this photograph. In other words, what the photograph wanted, just as what the youth who produced it wanted, was to be *listened to* (Campt 2017).

In this article, I provide examples of how listening to Ajay and his image produced the possibility for re-invention. I focus my attention on the pedagogic basis of listening and build on the premise of this special series that a multimodal anthropology of invention can "facilitate a pedagogy of engagement and performativity" (Dattatreyan and Marrero-Guillamon, introduction). I argue that listening is made possible through pedagogical methods that foreground an experience of teaching and learning in the field that, in turn, produces the kind of embodied recognition that revealed my participants' many "practices of refusal" regarding their ruralness and who rural people are and what they do (Campt 2017).[4] In taking these refusals seriously, I was forced to see from a perspective not already overdetermined by narratives of powerlessness, dispossession, and lack of will. In other words, a pedagogy of listening actually led me toward radical anthropological re-inventions.

This form of re-invention is not just about the moment of encounter or the moment of a photograph's taking but rather takes shape at *every stage of the invention process*. There are inventions tied to why Ajay chose this particular shot at this particular time and how he explains this story to his classmates, who then create their own interpretations. There are inventions tied to my students' decision to select this photograph for exhibition over any others. There are the inventions tied to the photograph's travel, from the village to the city of Bangalore, to photo exhibits in the United States, and now to your screen. But listening to Ajay and his photograph necessarily meant not stopping at re-inventions that focused on his community, a move that would implicitly delimit to what extent and in what community context someone like Ajay might be viewed as both influential and influencing. To truly partake in a politics of re-invention was to see people and places *beyond* the boundaries of sight and observer based on the insights gained through the pedagogy of participatory listening. As such, our radical re-inventions were not limited to "actually existing reality, but rather . . . create new entities, new subjectivities, new worlds" (Dattatreyan and Marrero-Guillamon, introduction).

In the rest of this article, I provide examples of how my pedagogic engagements produced new anthropological re-inventions. I begin with a deeper exploration of theories of image listening, participation, and pedagogy. Subsequently, in "Re-invention One," I show how Ajay's photograph and the conversations that we had together forced me to reconsider the cultural indexicality of a folk story common in Karnataka. I found that one of the oldest Kannada folk stories, *Punyakoti*, was not merely a form of cultural reproduction, reflecting an ossified manifestation of tradition, but instead reflected the emerging influence of media-consumption practices on rural life. This, in turn, facilitated a new way of thinking about Ajay's other media productions, including a film clip that was shot during the same session. In "Re-invention Two," I show how I began to hear and see his film not just as a moment capturing Ajay's traditional occupation as a shepherd but rather as a means to understand how film mediates a relationship among rural subjects, urban contexts, and the global. When viewing film from the vantage point opened by Ajay and his image making and filmmaking, re-invention necessarily took the form of a challenge to expected global-urban power hierarchies. Listening anew to Ajay's film opened avenues to think about how long-held colonial models for racialized subjecthood might be shifting, if ever so subtly, in the production and consumption of contemporary Kannada film.

IMAGES, LISTENING, AND PARTICIPATORY PEDAGOGIES

At first, an argument regarding listening to images might seem far fetched to some readers. Because of how ocular-centric analysis works, especially when we are inundated

with stereotypic images over a long period of time, we are likely to circumscribe our perceptions to the seeable and what we therefore perceive as the visually observable. But when we see an image, we also hear: we get a sense of place (Feld and Basso 1996) and make assumptions about who people are. That is to say, what we hear is predicated in large part on our sociocultural position and on the stereotypic representations with which we are inundated. When we *see* certain marked bodies, rural bodies, brown and black bodies, youthful bodies, or gendered bodies, we also *hear* them in ways that superimpose the aural and visual regimes we have partaken of previously. Take, for example, the McGurk effect, a phenomenon in which seeing a person's mouth while listening to their words affects how we hear. Lo and Rosa (2014) deploy the McGurk effect in their analysis of image consumption and racialization processes in sociocultural life. They illustrate how Will Smith's line "Welcome to earth" in the film *Independence Day* is heard by white Americans as "Welcome to earf" despite the fact that he actually says "earth." In this instance, how white Americans hear is actually influenced by how they see those they mark as racially black. These aspects of image consumption are also why bodies who have been historically marginalized have a hard time accruing alternative forms of value beyond what is expected (Poole 1997).

In the context of the populations I discuss in this article, the traditional documentation of rural subjects and other marginalized populations by nongovernmental organizations has placed the gaze on these subjects in order to justify interventions and provide aid (Campt 2017; Manzo 2008; Shankar 2014). These forms of authentication make "truth" claims that necessarily rely on assumptions regarding image making as unmediated and objective looks into rural lives (Shankar 2016). These kinds of images accrue an immense value as they circulate globally and carry with them "markers so loaded with mythical prepossession that there is no easy way for the agents buried beneath them to come clean" (Spillers, 2003, 203).

This is partly why hearing should be seen as distinct from listening and why listening is a highly political act. When we listen, we are participating in an active process, one that should activate our capacity to discern and question. In a world in which digital image circulation and consumption is constitutive of everyday life, influencing what we see and what we hear, images become another site where we must listen. Listening to images, as Campt (2017, 42) tells us, "requires an attunement to sonic frequencies of impact and affect. It is an ensemble of seeing, feeling, being affected, contacted, and moved beyond the distance of sight and observer." This is why, in Campt's account of listening, the sensorial obligation moves beyond what we think we see, and the assumptions therein, toward noticing "the other affective frequencies through which photographs register. It is a haptic encounter that foregrounds the frequencies of images and how they move, touch, and connect us to the *event* of the photo. Such a connection may begin as a practice of 'careful looking' but it does not end there" (9).

Such a practice of listening should foreground an affective connection between the viewer of an image and the image itself. As Azoulay (2016) makes clear in her work, the sensorial processes of viewing images should produce a *feeling*, which, in turn, enacts a relationship between the viewer and the viewed that is much more profound than a mere analytic or interpretive impulse. This affective tie should develop into a different form of accountability that is intersubjective, embodied, and ethical. To listen, then, is to take seriously those with whom we are in dialogue—to be attentive and open to, to confer authority upon, and to consider whatever information is provided from a vantage point of humility that suspends, if only for a moment, our active assumption that we know. Listening is, therefore, an inherently political act, especially when we listen to those who have traditionally been thought of as unable to speak (Spivak 1988). As such, a method that begins with listening to images refuses to accept expected truths that are embedded in images and, as such, refuses analysis that is intended "to produce particular 'types' of regulated and regulatable subjects" (Campt 2017, 8). Instead, listening foregrounds "the forms of refusal visualized through . . . images" and provides an approach to study that places questions of power, value, and affect at the center of how we analyze images historically and ethnographically.

Visual anthropologists have long grappled with the representational politics associated with ethnographic image making and the types of methodologies that might decenter the power of the anthropological gaze. Beyond the visual, some might say that the entire ethnographic project is founded upon and continues to build toward a method predicated on listening closely to our informants. Anthropologists have traditionally based much of their ethnographic enterprise on metaphors that foreground how they listen but don't speak, a fly on the wall with a notebook scribbling away as our participants enlighten us. It is this kind of one-directional relationship that some imagine gives voice to those who otherwise might not have voice and through which anthropologists develop insights because of how they have changed during their encounters. The problem with these imaginaries is that they do little to address the active processes that are part and parcel of careful listening. Unfortunately, in the past ten years, the return to the observational in ethnographic film, a model that is again in vogue with the turn to sensory ethnography, relies on this distanced version of listening, where cameras show life as it unfolds in ways that are perceived as seemingly unmediated glimpses into an everyday that *never moves beyond the distance between sight and observer*.

As a corrective, a growing number of anthropological dissenters have focused on the possibilities of participation, collaboration, and shared anthropology (Gubrium, Harper, and Otanez 2015; Hijiki 2010). Recently, anthropologists have evoked the "multimodal" as an attempt to re-engage the dialogic and relational aspects of ethnographic practice

over the observational by utilizing the relative democratization afforded by the proliferation of inexpensive digital technologies (Collins, Durington, and Gill 2017; Dattatreyan and Marrero-Guillamon, introduction). These scholars have drawn from the Rouchian tradition of cinéma vérité and the postcolonial feminist tradition espoused by those like Minh-ha, whose filmic sensibility begins with a methodology of "speaking with" and "speaking nearby" (see Chen, 1992). In so advocating, Minh-ha (1991) is seeking to push beyond the simplistic binaries—insider and outsider, who is within the frame and who is not, who we are to learn from and who we are not—that have all too often come to dominate anthropology. Instead, she suggests that viewers must take seriously the kinds of intersubjective links that are produced in the very act of making films "with" and that always produce embodied connections in space and time that inevitably move beyond the expected distance between sight and observer. In this sense, Listening to images functions as an innovative extension of the dialogic potentials associated with visual ethnographic praxis.

The participatory turn in visual anthropology has developed these ideas further and is predicated on the idea that anthropologists producing images must provide those who they work with a "modicum of control over the stories that circulate" (Bowles, 2017). Yet participatory methods have been fraught, seen by many as a new tyranny that provides the optic of ethical praxis while doing very little to subvert the relations between those who have power and those who do not (Strohm 2012). Nakamura (2008) warns anthropologists against this practice of giving participants cameras uncritically because it can inadvertently reproduce the problematic culturally bounded "emic" imaginaries that began with Sol Worth and John Adair's (1972) *Through Navajo Eyes*. As importantly, she warns against handing cameras to vulnerable populations whose labor is *already* devalued. In this context, those with less power may participate in projects that are useful sources of data for anthropologists but do little to better the lives of those participating.

In my own project, I struggled with just these issues. I wanted my participants to have a sense of ownership over the products they were making and the learning they were doing. But when I first arrived, I, like many other do-gooder anthropologists, came with a set of protocols, themes, and ideas about what was important to be depicted and discussed. Yet, my participants immediately resisted. They brought back photographs that "lacked creativity" and voiced disinterest in the project that I had articulated. As I reflected on my project and what was going wrong, I realized that I had imposed a reading onto their lives that reduced the possibility of mutual learning. As a result, I switched my approach, giving my participants cameras without instruction, helping them learn to work the devices but also allowing them to experiment with the devices as they saw fit, above and beyond the few prescriptions I had given. My participants also began to experiment with form and aesthetics in ways that they, and not me, deemed useful. They began choosing photographs to discuss together that they found most interesting and valuable. We produced these photographs together, and my students shared hundreds of photographs they had taken with their families, took home copies of some they found most powerful, and kept thirty of their favorite photographs in their school building as a reminder of their creative labor. They kept the cameras that I had brought in order to continue photography projects at their schools with their school instructors, and we sought to have their productions accrue their own value by showing them in university contexts in the city of Bangalore as well.

What my project revealed, especially through the early struggles I faced, and what I want to argue here, is that our anthropological conversations on listening, participation, and the like must take seriously the *pedagogic basis of listening* that are part and parcel of participatory visual methods. In the tradition of critical pedagogues, learning only materializes in a reciprocal process of teaching and learning:

> When we live our lives with the authenticity demanded by the practice of teaching that is also learning and learning that is also teaching, we are participating in a total experience that is simultaneously directive, political, ideological, gnostic, pedagogical, aesthetic, and ethical . . . the process of learning, through which historically we have discovered that teaching is a task not only inherent to the learning process but is also characterized by it, can set off in the learner an ever-increasing creative curiosity. (Friere 2001, 31–32)

In other words, when we imagine ourselves as a fly on the wall or begin with the notion of "being there" in the sole guise of researcher, we do little work to develop insights that move beyond the distance of sight and observer and change how we hear because we are, paradoxically, resisting the possibility of a total experience and therefore foreclosing on our own learning. Unlike in this most traditional anthropological view of participation, a pedagogically infused version of participatory listening begins with the total experience of the dialogic teacher–student relationship. Such a total experience should consider what students want to learn and what they want to teach, how learning these technical skills might impact their lives, and if we would like to participate in this together. In such a scenario, I might add, participants not only must have the "right" to refuse but must have sincere engagements with researchers about if and how they want to go about the project. Without attention to the pedagogical in our understanding of participation and listening, then, there is very little possibility for anthropological re-invention.

But to speak of *re-invention* is to foreground the ways that pedagogic processes of participatory listening actually deconstruct the overdetermining "nominative properties" that saturate discussions about particular bodies. Spillers (2003, 203), describing the experience of black womenhood and the difficulty of presenting a form of self not buried under stereotypic representations, writes, "in order for me to speak a truer word concerning myself, I must strip down through layers of attenuated meanings, made an excess in time, over time, assigned by a particular historical order,

and there await whatever marvels of my own inventiveness." Spillers is explicitly describing the process by which invention might occur: stripping down attenuated meanings and, in turn, opening a space to create and invent another version of her reality. This process of self-excavation and self-representation is not merely a redirection *but a radical re-invention*, remaking the world in the process. Moreover, this process is embodied and involves intersubjectively changing who one is and changing how those around them *feel* about the bodies in question. In this sense, re-inventing oneself is tantamount to remaking our cultural worlds.

To be sure, anthropologists who work with youth are at the forefront of such anthropological re-inventions precisely because they become enmeshed in the creative curiosity of their participants (Nakassis 2016; Wagner 1975; Willis 1977).[5] Youth push us to see and hear beyond the staid categories of cultural recognition as they learn to stake their claims to their own futures in a present that is inevitably in economic and political flux (Dattatreyan 2015; Lukose 2009). Similarly, in developing my participatory photography project with students, I started to open myself to the world of those with whom I was sharing "my pedagogical adventure" of mutual learning (Friere 2001, 122). A pedagogical adventure implied discovery, exploration, wandering toward that which is new and novel; it implied, in other words, that we were together embarking on a process of cultural invention tied to our shared creative curiosity. As my students learned to use the equipment, experimented in ever more complex photographic activities, and discussed these photographs with me, they drew me into this adventure of invention. This adventure of invention is premised on the foundation that participants must be given the opportunity "to reclaim their 'right to look' . . . as they develop aesthetic sensibilities that may or may not be legible to a broader public whose privilege has demanded particular depictions of them" (Shankar, 2016, 164). This broader public included myself, an anthropologist located in the American university system, who brought with him much of the stereotypic "nominative properties" about rural Indian children that circulate as part of global digital media productions.

Indeed, my participants worked hard to create images and explanations that were not buried under the weight of the many stereotypic understandings of who they were and how they ought to move in the world. They were inhabiting a form of rural willfulness that forced a different kind of accountability to their productions and the meanings that were attached to them. By seeking to strip away much of the excess meaning attached to their bodies, and in many cases choosing not to show their bodies at all, they were exerting their own inventiveness. They were, in fact, re-inventing their reality through their ever-increasing creative curiosity rather than merely describing it for global publics (including anthropological ones) that might expect an unmediated, objective gaze into their lives (Shankar 2016): a bike with a glistening new handlebar purchased in the nearby town, a girl wearing a new jacket bought by her dad in Bangalore draped over her sari as part of a new fashion trend, or television sets and satellite dishes that youth used to mark their particular form of rural cosmopolitanism (Gidwani and Sivaramakrishan 2003). Each of these images was an invention all its own and took my ethnographic insights to places both unexpected and unknown when discussed with the youth from Adavisandra.[6] Because my participants and I both had *stakes* in the process of production and in the products themselves, participatory image making opened different means to listen to those who I met in the field. I had to listen when challenged on my assumptions about who possesses knowledge, what insights should be most valuable, and even what types of images should be listened to in the first place—however, and this is critical, not from a standpoint of an outsider without stakes but as one who was himself molding and being molded.

RE-INVENTION ONE

I am walking through the Bannerghatta forest with six of my students, a trip we had planned some days in advance and on which one of my students, Ajay, is especially eager to take us. The forest begins just past his own *doddi* (village), about three kilometers east of Adavisandra, past *reshmi* (silk) and *raagi* (finger millet) fields into an ever hillier and tree-filled forest ecology. It is illegal to trespass into the Bannerghatta forest, and a wall separates it from the last few rows of village homes, lined at the very top by two rows of barbed wire. Ajay knows a path to get through, and we come to a small opening where the wall has cracked and where we can squeeze through if we lean down far enough. As we walk into the forest, Ajay admits that it could be dangerous in the forest because wild pigs, snakes, and even tigers, lions, and elephants might be seen if we walked far enough into the interior. Ajay wants us to reach the top, from which we will be able to see in all directions, as far as Bangalore on a clear day (which was extremely rare given the city's increasing pollution).

As we are walking, Ajay is reminded of his photograph *The Bull on the Hill*, and he points over into the distance and tells us,

> Ajay: That's my *doddi*. . . . And that's where I took the bull's photo.
> Arjun: There?
> Ajay: Yes there.
> Ajay: Anekal, Jenkal hill. [*anekal* is elephant rock and *jenkal* is bee rock]
> Arjun: Anekal?
> Boy: Jenkal hill means there are a lot of bees there.

Ajay explains the photograph in a couple almost dismissive sentences, "The cattle had come to the forest to graze. I clicked the picture while taking them back home." It's a simple explanation grounded in the realities of his everyday life in the village and the daily work of tending to his family's cattle. Mostly, Ajay is implying that he was just experimenting with the equipment and that it was less about the content of the shot and more about the way his curiosity about the

camera itself had driven him to take a shot of his village in a way that was both unexpected and profoundly unique.

When I, along with my research assistant Sripriya, ask the teachers at Ajay's school what they think about the photograph, however, I get an entirely different explanation. Manjunath Sir, the students' social science teacher, who has a master's in sociology, explains, "The one I liked the most is the bull on the rock. It impacts such deep thoughts that a whole story can be written about it. It suggests drought, the green is all gone, as if the cow is looking for grass." Another teacher, Reddy Sir, overhears and chimes in, "It seems as if it is orphaned. It has no one to look after it," and then remarks, "*Dharani Mandala Madhyadolage* . . . it is about the cow and the tiger." Clearly, both Manjunath Sir and Reddy Sir are drawn into the image as they look, expanding the sensory imaginary behind the distance of sight and observer in this moment of viewing. They begin to listen to the story the image wants to tell them, even though both teachers had been skeptical about the potential photographic outputs of our participatory project. Indeed, they, like me, had resisted many of these images until this day, grounding how they saw images through the lens of their own students' lack of capability and capacity (Shankar 2016). Yet they could not look away from this image as it spoke to them, and they began to listen to it in ways that engaged their cultural sensibilities and, eventually, challenged their narratives of student deficiency. In other words, we might say that it was the photograph that was the initial agent of change.

The students also hear this story, called *Punyakoti*, in the photograph, a story that is one of the oldest in Karnataka, passed down in the Janapada tradition of Kannadiga storytelling, but other versions are told in many of the other folk traditions of South India as well. In these stories, the very act of listening and memorizing are constitutive of the story itself. In such traditions, the storyteller's voice takes a prominent role; who the storyteller is and how they tell the story are as much a part of how we hear the story as the story's content. "Jana" means "people or tribe" and "pada" is a kind of short verse joined together. The term is also a shorthand for the early folk culture associated with the Kannada language. "Dharani Mandala Madhyadolage," the first line of the *Punyakoti* story, translates literally to "in the region at the center for the earth," a reminder that where the "center of the globe" is located has always been directly related to *who* is telling these stories and where they themselves are located. The students tell me the *Punyakoti* story as we walk through the forest, disagreeing about all of the details—what the characters had done, the order of events—until Ajay takes over the telling, and tells us a version that I very much like:

> There was a forest, there was a person called "Golla," who is a cowherd. He takes the cattle to the forest to graze. When the cattle were grazing, he takes a bath in the river and sits below a mango tree playing his flute. When all the cattle will be grazing, this one cow wanders off alone. It meets a tiger. The tiger says, "I have got food today, I shall eat you." When the tiger says this, the cow replies, "I have a calf back home, I shall go feed it milk and come back, then you can eat me." The tiger asks how it can trust that the cow will come back. The cow says, "Truth is my father, my mother. Truth is my family, if I don't follow the path of Truth, will God approve of me?" The tiger agrees to let it go. When the tiger agrees, the cow goes to its calf. It says to the calf, "Today I shall die, drink the milk and be good . . . . It tells the calf to be friendly to all the other cows . . . . "Yes, be friendly to others," it says to the calf and goes. When the cow [returns to the tiger], the tiger says that if it eats the cow now God will not approve of it and [the tiger] instead kills itself.

When I heard the story for the first time, I was overly happy with myself, a kind of ethnographic hubris taking over. I thought I'd arrived at the heart of the *Camera Kannadiga* (borrowing from Pinney's [1997] *Camera Indica*)—that is, an "authentic" cultural way of seeing and hearing. This was a facile and convenient insight, which neatly fit within the confines of what I expected to see in the photograph. In another time, it might have been enough to end here, the next step being to interpret the story in relation to what it said about Kannadiga culture—a kind of excavation that could be considered "thick," in the traditional Geertzian sense, and would be very reassured in its direct link to the expected.

But when I listened to the recordings of our dialogues later, in the quiet of my room, I heard something different, a throwaway comment by Ajay overwhelmed by the children's excitement to tell me the story. "O ya," he says, "it was shown on Chintu TV."

Chintu TV is a Kannada-language children's television channel, part of the Sun TV Network Limited that operates thirty-three channels all over South India, including seven Kannada-language channels. It's a corporation that has been named the most profitable media corporation in all of Asia and was the first to begin privatizing media programming in South India, which had, previous to the corporation's inception in 1993, been dominated by public broadcasting.

I found out later that Ajay is referring to a version of *Punyakoti* that aired on the children television show *Little Krishna*, a 3-D computer-animated show about the Hindu god Krishna as a child. As I watched the clip, which can be found quite easily with a simple YouTube search (Figure 2), what struck me was that students like Ajay were, in some cases, no longer learning stories like *Punyakoti* from their families or Kannada-language texts but were learning about these stories through their consumption of television programs. In this case, Chintu TV showed Little Krishna side-by-side with Kannada-dubbed versions of *Dora the Explorer*, *Jackie Chan Adventures*, *Spongebob Squarepants*, *Men in Black*, and *Kung Fu Panda*.

As such, Ajay's digital photograph, at one level, reflects the re-invention of the story of *Punyakoti* within the village's distinctive digital culture.[7] Indeed, while my participants are hearing and retelling the *Punyakoti* story, they are also hearing its digital rendering, meaning that the storyteller has changed, which, in turn, changes how the story is voiced and what the story means for those who now tell it. The story is still in Kannada and is still about *Punyakoti*, yet the music and the visuals have now taken as much room as the

FIGURE 2. *Screenshot of "Punyakoti story" on* Little Krishna. *[This figure appears in color in the online issue]*

words themselves. The digitization of television is, in other words, essential to how we hear Ajay's photograph. Digital time space is unique in its ability to compress and connect, highlighted in the example just given in the side-by-side consumption of *Dora the Explorer* and *Little Krishna*, which indexes hyperdisparate temporalities and spatial circulations facilitated by these digital infrastructures. These digital circulations stand in sharp contrast to previous televisual cultures in India, which were markedly "national," exemplified by *Doordarshan* in India, a nationally controlled TV network, that dominated programming until the early 1990s, an analog to digital transition that corresponds with privatization and a burgeoning global viewing culture (Nakassis 2016; Rajagopal 2001). At the same time, these digital circulations also facilitate the transmission of other values. Here, the story of *Punyakoti*, a Kannada folk story with no mention of any Hindu gods or goddesses, is now Hinduized and associated with Krishna and his youth. Of course, these regional and religious values are bundled to facilitate consumption, with advertisers paying for and therefore playing a key role in determining what's being shown on these Kannada-language channels to youth.

RE-INVENTION TWO

The unexpected results of listening to Ajay's image made me go back and listen to every other photograph and piece of film footage that he had produced during his time using the digital camera. There were several hundred photographs from the single session during which Ajay had captured the *Bull on the Hill* image along with ten or so short film clips. Most of these images and clips were taken while Ajay was shepherding his goats, and during my first few times looking through these images, I interpreted them as uninteresting examples of his everyday life in the village. In a way, I fell prey to the Worthian tendency to seek to "see" through native eyes, focusing on the expected ways that his productions could be easily placed within an existing map of agricultural life.[8] But listening to one image forced me to listen to these other productions as well, and in so doing, other re-inventions were made possible. These re-inventions led me toward analyses of film productions that played a central role in my participants' lives. These films, which I had previously dismissed as epiphenomenal to my ethnographic encounter, now took on central importance: by marking these films in his own production, Ajay was asking me to listen to these films and to understand why they had become constitutive of how he made sense of his life both within and beyond his village.

On the same day that Ajay took the photograph of the *Bull on the Hill*, he also shot a forty-second film, which has fascinated me ever since. In the film, Ajay takes us along the edge of his village until he reaches the forest, which is cordoned off by the same wall we passed through in order to start our walk in the forest a few months later. He walks behind three goats, who move slowly in front of him, stopping from time to time to graze as they move further up the hill adjacent to his village. The clip, without sound, does not seem all that interesting—merely another example of one of my students shooting footage during their "everyday" life that mirrors what we have come to expect of rural life (Figure 3).

Yet with the sound on, the entire scene changes; the crunching of feet and hooves on grass and dirt are drowned out by the sound of music. I've watched the clip many times now, each time listening to the music as Ajay slowly walks behind his goats, a song called "Heartalliro Harmonium" (Harmonium in my Heart) from the 2013 Kannada film *Brindavana,* a remake of the Telugu-language film *Brindavanam*, starting, building, and ending abruptly when Ajay turns off the camera, unable to simultaneously film and focus on his task. Every time I watch, I am reminded of another film, *From Gulf to Gulf to Gulf*, a participatory film created by a group of sailors traveling from the Gulf of Kutch in the state of Gujarat in collaboration with the CAMP activist collective, in which they shot footage of their travels using only their cell phones. Similar to what Ajay does, the clips in *From Gulf to Gulf to Gulf* always include diegetic music—in their case, mostly Bollywood songs—that start and end

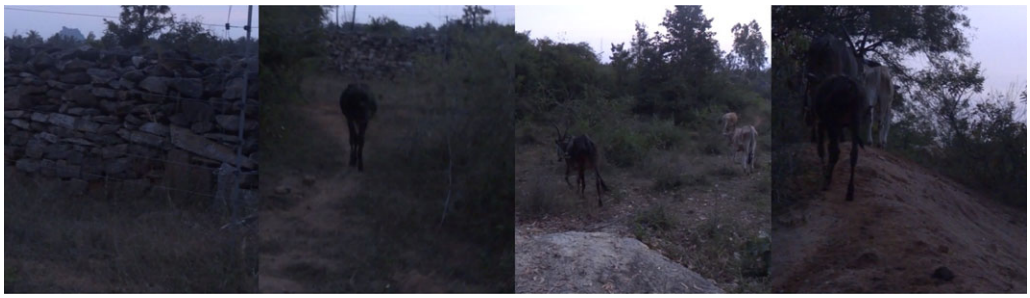

FIGURE 3. *Screenshots from Ajay's video. (Courtesy of Ajaykumar) [This figure appears in color in the online issue]*

abruptly, a brief window into daily life that is, purposefully, not shot with the viewer in mind, captured only when the sailors have a few moments to pause in the midst of their work. The effect of this style is jarring and yet changes our expectations of how and what a film should look like at the very basic level of each scene. But it's the music that keeps us engaged, a surreal juxtaposition with shots of the sea, shocking us in and out of each scene by what we hear. Ajay's video recording has the same effect, the juxtaposition of the Kannada film song changing our relationship with what we are looking at and shocking us out of a simplistic understanding of the experience of herding goats in a mediatized environment. Is Ajay merely entertaining himself while working, or is he doing something else entirely? Might Ajay be making a film about his life set to the soundtrack of another film? Also, I have often wondered, how might this entrance of the mediatized object change the act of herding itself? In playing this tune, was Ajay experiencing "life as a cinematic scene," producing a cultural re-invention of its very own (Pandian 2015, 2)?[9]

Ajay himself shrugged away such facile questioning, taking for granted that yes, of course, he listened to music while shepherding his sheep and that, yes, of course, film was a part of his daily life. These questions did not, in other words, seem to lead very far away from what he himself posited as the expected relationship between sight and observer. For Ajay, listening to "Heartalliro Harmonium" was not so surprising given that *Brindavana* was one of the biggest hit movies during my time in Karnataka, a film that stars Darshan, affectionately called the "Challenging Star" by fans, and one my students' favorite actors. My students would also buy Darshan trading cards from the town of Harohalli, just five kilometers away, a few of which they gave me during my last few days in the village (Figure 4).

Not one of my Bangalore-based friends would accompany me to watch the film, staring in disbelief when I mentioned that I had gone to see the film at all, a class-based perception of what constituted quality film and who would go to see movies like *Brindavana*. Indeed, had I not been deeply influenced by listening to Ajay's film production, I might not have gone to see the film at all, instead viewing it as unnecessary to the exploration of development and education that I had chosen to undertake. I finally saw the film some two weeks later, accompanied by one of the teachers working at Adavisandra school, finally getting a clearer picture of what, exactly, the story is about.

The story begins with Darshan (also known as "Krish"), the son of a Bangalore-based multimillionaire, falling in love

FIGURE 4. *Sheet of Darshan Playing Cards. (Courtesy of Ajaykumar) [This figure appears in color in the online issue]*

with Madhu, a girl from a local village who has come to Bangalore for her studies. Madhu's cousin Bhoomi, who still lives in her native village, comes to her for help, desperate to get out of an arranged marriage with a village *goonda* (hooligan) whom she does not want to marry. Madhu, in turn, asks Krish to help Bhoomi, and he reluctantly agrees, going with her to the village and pretending to be her boyfriend (instead of Madhu's). As the plot unfolds, Krish realizes that he has stumbled into a rivalry between two stepbrothers, Saikumar and Sampath Raj, who are Madhu's and Bhoomi's respective fathers. By the end of the story, Krish has resolved the village conflict, gotten the two brothers to get past their differences, and, inadvertently gotten *both* women to fall in love with him. The last scene is an especially comical one, with the two women pulling him from either side until Darshan desperately runs away to pray to Lord Krishna for an answer. The two girls run into the room, standing on either side as Darshan looks at one, then the other, then at the screen in puzzlement as the three people slowly fade into an image of an idol of the Lord Krishna accompanied on either side by two of his wives, Rukmini and Satyabhama, a not-so-subtle hint that the story is somehow an allegory for the story of the Lord Krishna. Even the title of the film, "Brindavana," is a reference to the mythical town in which the Hindu god Krishna spent his youth.

How do we understand a storyline like this? First, for me it exemplifies the kinds of regimes of value necessary to sustain a cycle of global capital, which exceedingly is concentrated in urban centers like Bangalore and needs a continued labor force of migrants *from* villages. In order to facilitate this movement, a recalibration of aspirations in villages is also required: a simultaneous devaluing of rural life and iconizing of the urban in heroic figures like Darshan, who remains staunchly culturally Kannadiga and Hindu even as he avails himself of a progressive cosmopolitan life. Bangalore city and its growing cosmopolitanism are now iconized in these films despite the fact that these films are catered to the rural and working classes. In this sense, Kannada film functions much like how Hardy (2010, 235) describes Bhojpuri cinema, "as a cultural medium which is situated precisely in the circuits between rural and urban, in the spaces in which rural and urban must be taken as mutually constitutive. These circuits are inscribed in the movements of the language and its speakers, in the narratives and imagery of the films, and in the processes of their production."

When I talk to Nikhil Sir, the physical education teacher at Adavisandra, after we finish watching the film, he is of two sentiments. On the one hand, he enjoys the film quite a bit, describing his favorite lines and scenes and happily proclaiming that, on the whole, the film was good fun. On the other hand, he recognizes that the village in the film, a gloss for *all* villages in South India, is portrayed in a less-than-ideal light. He tells me frankly that he does not like that the village is seen "negatively" and as "backwards," portrayals that do not reflect his own feelings about rural people and places. Yet, he cannot resist going to see these films because he is socialized into a Kannadiga filmic culture that he is affectively entangled within, loving the songs, the comedy, the Kannada version of the *masala* stories that mix drama, fighting, and romance into a single narrative of debauchery and happy endings, even though the storylines and characters seem to portray those from villages, like him, as in need of help, change, and development. In this sense, the film, and broader media portrayals therein, becomes its own "technologies of the self" (Foucault 1988, in Pandian 2009), complicating one's ability to resist their own exploitation in implicitly accepting seemingly "natural" and "desirable" filmic portrayals.

Importantly, my student-participants rarely watched recently released films like *Brindavana* at the theater. What they did instead was watch portions of these films on their mobile phones, downloading them onto their phones or, in many cases, sometimes just downloading the music videos. Multiple instantiations of digitalization (Gursel 2016) work in conjunction with one another—a mobile digital technology and digital video—together allowing for youth consumption patterns as I witnessed them in my ethnographic context. In this form of mobile music-video consumption, less-expected types of value and power regimes emerge.

Take, for example, the music video that accompanies "Heartalliro Harmonium," the song that Ajay listens to as he takes his goats to graze. The song itself is a love song, sung at a moment when Darshan and his primary love interest express their deep desire for one another. The first two lines do enough to characterize this love: "Heartalliro harmonium tune haakidey / Roobaroo . . . roobaroo / He manasina FM-mally ninde haadidey / Roobaroo . . . roobaroo" (The harmonium in my heart is singing. / Roobaroo . . . roobaroo / Your song is playing on my mind's FM (radio) / Roobaroo . . . roobaroo). But what interests me here is the visual itself: a hyperreal dance sequence framed between a beautiful snowy mountain scene and a frozen lake, the first Kannada music video to ever be filmed in Iceland. Madhu, clad in a traditional pink-and-white Indian sari, the woman who is expected to bear and maintain traditional Indian values, begins the song, slowly moving her arms as the music builds. From a distance, Krish emerges, walking slowly and confidently, wearing red pants held up by a yellow belt, a pink collared shirt covered by a black-and-white-striped sweater, a black blazer, and a pair of sunglasses—the height of Kannadiga "style."[10]

Krish reaches Madhu, standing behind her sensually and holding her by the arms just as the lyrics begin. The scene cuts to Darshan lip-syncing the first two lines of the song, moving his arms in a kind of wave. Then, suddenly, the scene cuts to a long shot with Darshan and Madhu dancing in front of four white backup dancers all clad in white suits and green collared shirts, together doing the wave. Throughout the rest of the song, the white backup dancers mimic Darshan's movements, each new dance move associated with a complete dress change for the entire cast. I am riveted by this song sequence and the white backup dancers—the *only*

FIGURE 5. Bull on a Hill *by Ajay. (Courtesy of Ajaykumar) [This figure appears in color in the online issue]*

time we see white faces in the film—who seem to "speak for themselves," no discourse framing their images at all. At the very least, the white backup dancers seem to do the work of "provincializing whiteness" (Dyer 1997).[11] In this particular context, "whiteness" projects Darshan's cosmopolitanism and globality: "he has appropriated the exterior, he has become an object of desire through co-opting that which is beyond India" (Nakassis 2010, 188) as he coolly leads these white men through the dance in his Western-style dress on the rocky Icelandic beaches. But, critically, the end goal is no longer "to be like white," the assumed premise from which postcolonial critique springs to life. Music videos like this one reveal the kinds of unexpected Othering produced in these regionally specific film forms—that is, a white person who does not or cannot speak but whose value is produced only in the consumption of his gyrating body as a backup dancer to the brown hero.

Here, then, is a second, significant form of re-invention that tracing Ajay's media production leads us toward, a re-invention that strikes at the heart of our most well-trodden narratives of colonial dominance. What I came to realize was how Kannada-speaking people were actually shifting historically emplaced racialized global power relations, centering themselves in these narratives not as the powerless but as the powerful. Even if my participants are not speaking about this shift explicitly, their media-consumption practices obviate the fact that they live and experience a different world, one in which they do not see themselves within the simplistic confines of oppressed and oppressor. But perhaps this has never been true, even if scholarly analysis has suggested otherwise, especially if we take seriously the line that begins the story of *Punyakoti* in the discussion above: "Dharani Mandala Madhyadolage" (In the region at the center for the earth).

CONCLUSION

We have traveled along a path from image to film, from rural to urban, and from the particularities of village consumption practices to the racial politics of Kannada music videos. We have come far from Ajay's initial image, and we should not be overly surprised by the feeling of vertigo that is associated with the intense proliferation of potential connections in time and space that doing ethnography in the current global digital moment entails. This is part of what I have termed elsewhere as the "digital parallax" (Shankar 2015) experienced by the ethnographer, in which "virtual connectivity . . . exceeds the readily perceptible, empirical dimension" (Chow 2012, 155)[12] and which has facilitated a rhizomatic proliferation of potential ethnographic insights. This does not mean, however, that there is no logic to the lines of flight that contemporary ethnography can take. Indeed, what I have argued in this article is that by *listening to images* produced as part of a sincere pedagogical undertaking, to Ajay, his fellow students, teachers, and other members of the village community, I was able to make unexpected connections that bring into focus the very specific sociopolitical and mediatized landscapes in which my participants lived. Indeed, a sincere engagement with participatory pedagogies necessarily means analyses that begin with an acknowledgment of the mutual stakes that those who produce these images have in how they are interpreted and, in turn, to take seriously the kinds of novel insights that they demand of us. As Azoulay (2017, 11) writes, such a project is about "recognizing . . . [their] refusal to be expelled to begin with, as a refusal that has never ceased." Indeed, for rural subjects like my participants, this might be the only way to see and hear them differently and to produce politically minded re-inventions.

This is also why listening to images necessarily meant not stopping at insights that focused on Ajay's community or his interpretations of these changes. To truly partake in a politics of re-invention was to see people and places *beyond* the boundaries of sight and observer based on how I also changed through our pedagogic project. If one vector of analysis remains embedded in the social, political, and economic relations of "being there"—all that is expected from within the frame—many other vectors of analysis begin with the radical changes in how we study other objects based on the total experience of having "been there." We

might say that the "invention of existence" develops through a strategic methodology that places primacy on our mutual unfinishedness and the embodied changes that push us to see the world beyond any ethnographic context differently (Friere 2001). In the end, my participatory photography project, especially when I enacted a pedagogic form of listening, opened up lines of ethnographic flight that connected unpredictable worlds of ideas, belief, and action.[13] Noticing these expanded landscapes of connection is another way of saying that these images are accruing value, that they are important not just as demonstrations of village life or village change but also as a means by which to rupture our understandings of mediatized consumption, re-centering my analysis to focus on the power of those traditionally seen on the peripheries of twenty-first-century global processes.

Look at this photograph (Figure 5). *What do you see? What do you hear? What does it want?*

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NOTES

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1. Adavisandra is a pseudonym. I have chosen not to divulge the village in which this project occurred for reasons of confidentiality.
2. Kannadiga is a term used to describe those who speak Kannada and which is also associated with a shared set of cultural practices.
3. Vokkaligas are the second largest agricultural caste group in all of Karnataka behind the Lingayats, who are concentrated more often in North Karnataka. They are categorized as an Other Backwards Caste (OBC) by the Indian government.
4. We, as anthropologists, often think of pedagogy as something we do in the classroom and fieldwork as something we do someplace else. As Dattatreyan and Marrero-Guillamon (2019) write, "Multimodal invention, we suggest, has the potential to dissolve the distinction between what we do as fieldwork and what we do in classrooms. Multimodal invention also holds the promise of connecting the two—the classroom and the field—more viscerally. In this formulation an education in anthropology is not solely for those who we work within institutions but for everyone we interact with as counterparts." What I hope to show in this article is what might be made possible if we start think of reciprocal exchanges in the field as embedded within a process of teaching and learning.
5. These studies have been a significant countering trend to a general tendency in anthropology, which has rarely included children and youth as "active participants in anthropological research, setting agendas, establishing boundaries, negotiating what may be said about them" (Scheper-Hughes and Sargent 1998, 15).
6. A pedagogically oriented participatory photography methodology is predicated on dialogic, shared relations that necessarily disoriented "the previously established relationship between researcher and subject" (Henley 2010; Hijiki 2010). In this sense my work builds upon Rouch's conception of a shared anthropology, in which subjects of his films became active stakeholders as they suggested and produced new ideas for films during feedback screenings. (For more on the subject of shared anthropology, see Henley 2010.)
7. In this particular instance I use "the digital" to flag the transmission of digital signals to television sets in homes in Adavisandra many of which have satellite dishes (like the United States, India has chosen to go digital, replacing all analogue systems with digital ones by March 2015) as well as to flag the types of computer technologies necessary to create three-dimensional TV shows like Little Krishna.
8. Sol Worth created his own experimental model for participatory film in the United States as part of his Navajo Filmmakers Project. Worth was interested in the concept of biodocumentary—the idea that the films that amateur filmmakers produce could reveal their makers' thought processes, an attempt to "see through Navajo eyes," to destabilize the anthropological gaze, and to give the possibility of voice to those who were, until then, marginal and silenced within the dominant anthropological paradigm (Gross and Ruby 2013). However, Worth lived before the reflexive turn, and so his work suffered from the same assumption of a totalizing, bounded culture (a singular Navajo culture) characteristic of much of the scholarly work from that period (Ginsburg 1991). Yet, Ginsburg, while pointing out this flaw in Worth's theoretical understanding of how photography and film might be used, also saw the beginnings of a new paradigm emerging in his work, one which foretold an audiovisual method that could reveal a multiplicity of cultural ontologies, previously overdetermined by the particular concepts—for example, caste or kinship relations in the case of India—traditionally associated with the place-based anthropological imaginings of both proximal and distant Others.
9. Anand Pandian's *Reel World* begins with a scene from his earlier fieldwork in Tamil Nadu. As the story goes, he encounters a farmer singing a Kollywood (Tamil film industry) film song as he plows his crops. Pandian becomes obsessed with this memory and it ultimately becomes the beginning of his exploration of the Tamil film industry. In singing this tune, this farmer, Pandian explains, was experiencing "this life as a cinematic scene" (2015, 2).

10. I am drawing from Nakassis's (2010, 86), in which he argues that this form of dress is "a personae that emblematize style; most commonly [associated with], film heroes." Nakassis focuses on Rajnikanth, the iconic film hero associated with style in Tamil Nadu but whose reach can be felt all over South India, including in Karnataka as well. Even the autorickshaw drivers in *Shankar Nag* mention that they make Rajnikanth stickers because they watch his films in Karnataka alongside Darshan and Punit Rajkumar films.
11. The concept of whiteness has a specific signification in localized cultural and social contexts, and the concept cannot easily be generalized beyond those contexts.
12. Shankar (2015, 163) writes, "If Faye Ginsburg's (1995) 'parallax effect' mostly remained tied to the indigenous–outsider dichotomy, predicated on a fear that the Other would question the anthropologist's filmic representations, the digital parallax is an anxiety based on the sheer proliferation of position in a web-centric world, something akin to 'parallax as vertigo,' to use Jackson's terms. To place these instances of parallax in the frame is to admit that we were wrapped in these digital entanglements."
13. In this phrasing I am evoking Benton (2016, 189), who draws on Grimshaw to argue that visual and ethnographic analyses enable us "to radically juxtapose 'different elements in order to suggest new connections and meanings' and 'explore a series of imaginative connections,' which, in turn, allows for novel ways of thinking about 'professional, moral, ethical and affective encounter[s].'"

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