Transformation through Participatory Cinema: Working Creatively with Indigenous Youth through the Migrant Museum (Mumi) in Chiapas

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ABSTRACT This paper reflects on research processes that combine creative activism, social science methodologies and visual anthropology as part of the GlobalGRACE Project’s (globalgrace.net) research conducted in the Highlands of Chiapas, south eastern Mexico. This research has been conducted with indigenous young people working with the NGO Voces Mesoamericanas and through the Museo Migrante (MuMi). MuMi is a space that draws on stories and artistic practices to strengthen and articulate initiatives and knowledges of indigenous communities who live in contexts of disappearance, detention and human rights violations. Through participatory research we explore indigenous migratory experiences that are intersected by gender, ethnicity, class and age. Participatory art and video are used to create a historical memory made by and about indigenous migrants to reflect on historically rooted exploitation, socio-cultural, political, economic and gender-based marginalisation, the worsening migration phenomenon in the region in recent years, and to discuss better possibilities for the future.

INTRODUCTION

“It was a very humble family, but the husband was a very macho man who did not like his wife talking to other men. This man wouldn’t let her go anywhere and did not even allow her to talk to her other female friends, so the woman would spend all her time at home. One day she left the house and ran into a person she knew, but her husband saw her and immediately took her by the arm and took her to the house and then hit her, and every time she went out and talked to someone he would beat her, but the woman grew tired and one day she decided to run away.” (Screenplay overview made by indigenous young people during a Participatory Documentary Film Workshop, Chiapas, 2019).

The Museo Migrante or Migrant Museum (henceforth referred to as MuMi), is a project born out of the NGO ‘Voces Mesoamericanas’ (Mesoamerican Voices) located in Chiapas, Mexico. MuMi began its work in 2015, focusing on education with indigenous young people in the region. They work within a context where these young people have limited options in terms of sustainable livelihoods and are often forced to migrate away from their communities in search of better futures. Migration takes place under conditions that violate their rights both during migratory transit and later in the new places of home and work. These indigenous young people frequently face abuse, serious forms of labour exploitation and other human rights violations, including extremes of disappearance and death during their migrant journeys.

In this context, MuMi works as a living space for the recovery of the region’s migrant memory. Through pedagogical tools such as popular education, multi-sensory methodologies and participatory action research, migrant stories and experiences are shared with the aims of both dignifying and giving value to indigenous community experiences, and to reflect on the problems and struggles they face. MuMi also works to disseminate information about migrant’s rights within both communities of origin and destination. It is a space in which indigenous communities, including young people, women and men, can express their past and present experiences, feelings and desires for the future through art, working through multidisciplinary creative workshops focused on themes of human rights, gender in/equals and migration.

Within the indigenous communities living along the Mexico-Guatemala border region, a system of ethnic, social and economic segregation has been preserved for hundreds of years. The systematic discrimination experienced by indigenous communities creates high levels of precarity, poverty, the invalidation of indigenous cultures and languages and inter-ethnic, religious and territorial conflicts, all of which can be seen as manifestations
of the multiple forms of historical colonization. These communities have long been controlled through militarization and paramilitarism. It is in this context that people, especially young people, migrate, being forced to leave their communities of origin because they lack access to basic rights and the possibilities to live a dignified present and future (MODH 2016: 12).

The state of Chiapas is part of the Mexico’s South-eastern region and is characterized by a great ethnic diversity, represented by 1.7 million indigenous inhabitants belonging to 12 native ethno-linguistic groups. 77 percent of the population lives in poverty and 28 percent survive in conditions of extreme poverty.

Deep structural problems of economic, social, educational and political inequality reign in Chiapas, which adds to the context of violence, generating migratory flows of mostly indigenous Chiapans to the United States and other parts of Mexico. The modification of US immigration policy in recent years has led to significant increases in the return (voluntary or forced) of indigenous migrants to their communities of origin; transit, destination and return (MODH 2016: 14). The geographic proximity of Chiapas to Central America also makes it a major border-crossing region for those who want to reach the United States from further south, and as a destination for those employed in sectors linked to agriculture and domestic work. All this means that complex dynamics of displacement can be identified in Chiapas.

A central part of MuMi’s work is to provide a space for the dissemination of indigenous knowledge, experience and memory and to provide narratives of what happens in migrant communities from the perspective of people who leave, people who stay and people who return. In the same vein, MuMi’s work focuses on recovering different voices, in particular those of young people who are living in contexts of multiple forms of exclusion. This paper advocates for the value of participatory creative methods as we seek to share the stories indigenous communities tell from their worldview and emerges through participatory research with indigenous youth and families in Chiapas as part of the GCRF-funded GlobalGRACE project (www.globalgrace.net) carried out between 2017 and 2021.

The participants are largely young people, all from indigenous Tsotsil and Tseltal communities, many of whom have experienced displacement, violence, rights violations, and socio-cultural, economic and political marginalisation in the neoliberal Mexican context in which they live. These young people are excluded from a failed nation-state project, discriminated against for their ethnic-cultural identities and deprived of their territories and their relationship to it. I evoke Zigman Bauman (2006) here when he talks about existence under such conditions as living precarious lives, which he argues is a colonial vision of lives separated from progress. In Mexico, indigenous people’s culture has been co-opted, folklorised and commercialised as part of a national historical narrative and contemporary basis for tourism. Simultaneously, indigenous communities continue to experience material and symbolic exclusion, discrimination and racism. As a result of their lived precarity within their communities of origin, young people are often forced to migrate to earn a more sustainable living - and face serious risks in doing so.

Through our research, the research team seeks to share some of these stories of indigenous resistance and reflect on lived realities that have developed in the interaction and construction of knowledge with migrant communities of Los Altos de Chiapas. Participatory Action Research has increasingly incorporated art as a political tool for social transformation and MuMi is a space which draws on stories and artistic practices based on community-led processes. Through creative participatory praxis with women, men and young people, MuMi seeks to both articulate and strengthen the initiatives of these communities. Art and video are used as central tools in order to create a historical memory of migration and to discuss possibilities for the future, reflecting on the serious problems which are historically rooted in the region, such as violations of their human rights, socio-economic and gender inequalities and the detrimental effects of migration in the region in recent years.

The research team is comprised of a collaboration between the non-governmental organization Voces Mesoamericanas, the Autonomous University of Chiapas (UNACH) together with their Audiovisual Research Laboratory (LIA) and is part of the GCRF-funded GlobalGRACE project. The title

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we chose for our research ‘work package’ is For Good Living and Good Migrating: Creating cultures of equality through the Migrant Museum (MuMi) in indigenous communities of Los Altos de Chiapas, Mexico. Through participatory ethnographic cinema and visual anthropology, our work builds on the pedagogical processes of popular education developed through MuMi and focuses on understanding and narrating indigenous migrant experiences using participatory cinema. We consider here the role art plays in participatory research processes and the construction of shared knowledge that contributes to garnering plural and inclusive knowledge.

CINEMA AS A TOOL FOR THE REPRESENTATION OF THE ‘OTHER’

Cinema was born in France at the end of the 19th century, specifically the cinematograph was inaugurated for the first time on December 28, 1895 after the screening of the Lumière brothers work at the Grand Café in Paris (Donadio 2015; Morin 1972: 55). This device enabled the recording and projection of large amounts of moving images and was initially intended for scientific as well as profitable purposes. This was a dynamic age and, with inventions such as the steam engine, cars, trains, the telephone and only shortly afterwards the creation of the aeroplane, these were times that allowed people to travel further and faster and to get to know other places. Cinema, in the same way, enabled people to be exposed to images of different and multiple realities, to get to know different ways of being, to travel via the screen, to enter new geographies, and to observe other cultures (Morin 1979: 16). Cinema has thus allowed us to virtually migrate to other space-times and to get to know other ways of life without the need to move. This generates the possibility of reaching other people who, from their armchair, are able to contemplate new and multiple narratives built from light and the illusion of movement.

However, within anthropology and social sciences, cinema was associated from its inception with colonialisst characteristics: many films portrayed an exotization of the ‘other’, depicting the ‘primitive native’. An illustration of colonial intent can be seen in the fact that the Lumière brothers did not share the patent of their invention and hired cameramen to record what was happening in other parts of the world so that afterwards the ‘exotic other’ could be seen in the projections of the halls of Europe (Benet 2004: 31). The existence of a cinematography with these characteristics was already becoming subject to question during the first congresses of ethnographic cinema, where some critics attributed its promoters and filmmakers as ‘sellers of black culture’ or sociologists as ‘indirect exploiters of the working class’ (Rouch 1995: 96).

However, by the 1950s some anthropologists and social scientists, such as the pioneer of visual anthropology Jean Rouch, used smaller recording equipment (16mm cameras) which had initially been manufactured for military use during the European world wars. In the post war period however, they were repurposed to generate a new type of cinema (Rouch 1995: 108). A less invasive ethnographic cinema emerged with fewer people participating in its productions than was usual for the montages of large films of that time. In this type of cinema, the anthropologist became a more intimate filmmaker and as such this cinema was considered less invasive, less extractive and less colonizing than before (Rouch 1995: 109). The development of smaller and more accessible recording equipment facilitated greater and more equitable participation - a time could begin where people previously seen in front of the camera could now be behind it, recording their own stories. Working from a principle of co-authorship the filmmaker would no longer be seen as a ‘lonely genius’, expertise could be more democratically distributed, and films could be produced by the people in front of the camera themselves, providing cultural references, self-representation and contexts that oftentimes escaped the producer’s control (MacDougall 1995: 409).

Within visual anthropology, modes of representation have been critically analysed, leading to the popularisation of smaller production teams, new narrative tools and models of knowledge-production and more participatory and sensitive representations of the ‘other’. Ethnographic cinema and the images it portrays have been transformed and the director has become an active observer. Dora Fried Schnitman (2012) calls this director a ‘practicing theorist’ and says:

“More than an omniscient knowledge, we need a generative and local knowledge [...] There
is a turn that proposes that the most promising is defined by the exercise of curiosity, by the creation of a generative knowledge and by ‘practicing theorists’ who operate as observers participating in social worlds conceptualized as plural” (Fried Schnitman 2012: 67).

Cinema and MuMi

Today we increasingly seek to incorporate cinematographic language into the work and methodologies of social sciences. We advocate for a participatory approach that creates new possibilities for more equitable social dynamics and partnerships with participant communities. Through this approach, new artistic tools emerge, facilitating multidisciplinary ways to document and critically interpret diverse realities while at the same time creating more egalitarian methods. Through our methodological approach we seek to make participatory video understood as a form of ethnographic cinema, where the people with whom we work are involved in the processes of self-representation and production of films. Through participatory video we can reach wider audiences that are very different from classic anthropological texts and attract a more diverse viewer, reaching beyond purely academic spaces.

One example of the methods we applied in our practice are the participatory video and photographic workshops we facilitate. In one of the video workshops we held with indigenous women in 2019, we carried out a photographic exercise asking participants to visually describe the space where the community-based workshop was being held. Participant women took photographs that explored space, composition, different types of surfaces and light and so on. Some of the women opted for photographs of flowers, showing details of the landscape or portraits taken among them as friends. Others photographed objects of personal interest with meaning attached to them. When talking about the images they took, comments arose such as “in this photo I am with my best friend”, “this is a blouse embroidered by my mother”, and “here I am with the truck in which we came to the workshop”. In the end we collectively reflected on the social use of images, the subjectivity we attribute to them and the ways we open up when looking at them. It was here that ‘objects came to life’ (Morin 1979:64), and we could see how people project feelings or desires into both photographs and videos, which in these cases work like extensions of themselves.

A MIGRANT MUSEUM (MUMI) AS A LIVING PLATFORM FOR DIALOGUE AND REFLECTION

“I learned about the issues of human trafficking and I can now help other people in my community to defend themselves, not to be deceived and to know our rights.”

(Indigenous Youth Workshop Participant, MuMi 2019).

Migration modifies the dynamics of a community. Often young people (both girls and boys, men and women) have to leave out of necessity, risking their lives and leaving their families behind. As a response to this, MuMi, which understands itself as an itinerant/living museum based on participation and community creation, seeks to reflect on migratory experiences and build historical memory through artistic expressions and educational processes. Migrant contexts are made visible through MuMi’s work. It is a museum designed beyond the walls of formal institutional art spaces that cater for more exclusive sectors and ‘high culture’. Rather, MuMi creates a living museum in the streets, homes, forests and fields of indigenous communities and it is built and nurtured by indigenous migrant agents using objects, photographs, drawings and texts created by participants to tell their stories in their own ways.

Hence, the scenery of MuMi’s set is a movable nomadic space that evolves through dialogue and live exchange with migrant communities. MuMi uses various pedagogical and communicative resources that encourage links to be made between artistic-cultural expressions and political reflection. MuMi is particularly concerned with listening to the voices and enhancing the participation of indigenous youth, and as such the majority of workshop participants are young people. MuMi’s methodology has as its guiding axes a fivefold focus on gender; sensorial anthropology; interculturality, historical memory and multi-disciplinarity. The images, objects and artistic-cultural representations that are exhibited in MuMi are developed through creative workshops involving a range of expressions including theatre, storytelling, music, song,
video, painting, and photography. Artistic expressions are understood as products constructed from dialogue and pluralistic community-based interaction. Art is, then, an agent that generates political aesthetics, emerging from the context, knowledge and experiences of the participants and audiences.

MuMi is made up of four thematic sections reflecting different stages of indigenous migrant lives, which are represented through photographs, videos, objects and creative methods raising awareness about migration: the first is ‘Here we are’ – focusing on people who stay in their place of origin waiting for the return of loved ones or who are in search of a missing family member. Secondly is ‘We are on our way’ – about people who live through the dangers of transiting to a new place of destination. The third section is ‘We are there’ – thinking about people who have reached their migration-destination, and now live in circumstances where the transterritorial communities reproduce themselves and where labour exploitation and racism are often experienced. The fourth section is ‘We are already back’ – reflecting on experiences of people who return either voluntarily or in a forced way to their ‘home’ place of origin. On returning ‘home’ migrants often feel and experience being there in a different way and at the same time work to create more sustainable living, a ‘good life’. Starting from these four points, spaces that focus in on particular issues are built within and emerging from these themes, for example, a ‘Youth and Childhood’ section, a ‘Women in Migration’ section, and a focus on experiences of agricultural day-laborers.

MuMi’s work begins with the bodies of participants, starting with their corporeality, their emotions and their experiences in order to reflect on their concrete realities and to imagine ways of transforming them. These pedagogical standpoints are meaningful from both a political and methodological perspective for the participants, who are themselves political subjects who impact community decision making. MuMi aims to provide a creative, organic space through which indigenous peoples are able to value themselves and recognize the importance of their own identities, and create a collective memory as a political act of resistance against those who might wish to censor or denigrate their stories. Through art, photography and participatory video we want to share what moves people in migratory contexts in south eastern Mexico: their pain, their struggles, their joys and their ways of organizing and resisting (Morales et al. 2019).

Our research team facilitates these participatory creative workshops conducted with indigenous communities through MuMi and these are underpinned by four overarching pedagogical approaches:

1. Popular education to promote reflection on context and political positioning by strengthening self-organization initiatives and horizontal, community-based forms of education.
2. Feminist theory and methodology characterized by interdisciplinarity, reflexivity and an ethical practice that explains and addresses the inequalities embedded in the daily life of communities.
3. A de-colonial theoretical approach that means a commitment to work with knowledge that arises from the plurality of dialogues, where knowledge is nourished by the experience and practices that are exercised from participatory-action, and
4. Participatory cinema, as the axis that articulates the processes and activities that occur through the MuMi but also in community life, where the filmmakers are the protagonists of their own stories.

These workshops promote reflection and knowledge sharing that serve to strengthen the political awareness of young people, focused on human rights, interculturality and gender in/equalities. Participation and leadership skills are also central axes that we seek to develop through these processes. Young people choose between collaboration in different artistic workshops where they create ways to express their knowledge and experiences. Participatory video is used as a tool to record all the processes that build MuMi and at the same time young people generate narratives arising from their daily lived experiences. Through theatre workshops we create spaces where participants develop the scripts they wish to stage, portraying various stages of change that migrants go through with their families, as reflected through MuMi’s four thematic foci. Through developing their own theatre in these workshops both the actors and the audiences are sensitized to the socio-cultural, economic and political dimensions of their lives, knowledge and experiences.

In one of the workshops one young participant, reflecting on the work they had done in a workshop, said:
“walking around the world is a right and we celebrate that we can go out with our theatre to do justice and to denounce those who have turned migration into a problem. We are against sexual, economic, political violence; it is up to humanity no longer to play dumb about things that happen, not because it is my mother, my sister, my friend, but because they are people” (Indigenous Youth Workshop Participant, MuMi 2019).

In some of the workshops we also worked through music and dance, using, for example, Hip Hop as a means through which young participants create song lyrics and dance compositions as way to tell their stories. These musical expressions are intoned with their gestures and bodily movements. One example of the young people’s creation is the following verse:

“We are young people who seek to end all evil and state-terrorism that governs the city; those who struggle to recover their dignity and who bet their lives to achieve equality; we come from different contexts with the same struggle there are no pretexts, tell me why they don’t listen to us ...”

(Collective song lyrics, Indigenous Youth Workshop Participants, MuMi 2019).

We also held graffiti workshops to encourage young people to develop their artistic skills, using painting, drawing and stencils to depict political slogans of their choosing, which have included; ‘Migrating is a right’, ‘We are all migrants’ and ‘No human being is illegal’. There are also workshops on masculinity and gender where the theme is to reflect on the internalization of gender-roles that promote the repression of emotions, which can generate and reproduce negative forms of masculinity. In summary, we seek to create a plural and inclusive knowledge, which departs from the experiences of people from the community with the purpose of providing a safe space in which they can reflect on their values, experiences and recognise themselves as political subjects of social change. Through MuMi and the creative workshops we seek to encourage everybody to recognise each other through artistic processes and participatory action research. We see participatory art as a tool “[t]o channel art’s symbolic capital towards constructive social change (…) [where] there can be no failed, un successful, unresolved or boring participatory art, because all are equally essential to the task of repairing the social bond” (Bishop 2012: 13). Ultimately the desire for socio-political transformation is integral to MuMi’s processes, and artistic expression keeps on inviting us to reflect and be creative.

CREATIVE ACTION AND PARTICIPATORY CINEMA

Through our workshops, community groups, involving women, men and youth, of Los Altos de Chiapas learn to use video in its three stages: pre-production, production and post-production. Video provides participants with a tool to recognize and represent themselves, generating knowledge and feelings with the other people involved. They use the camera as a form of expression, self-exploration and self-recognition and as an instrument to share their stories. Through these visual means, we narrate the dynamics of migration and the migrant’s memories and daily life. Here the camera fulfills a double task: on the one hand it carries out the work of capturing and collecting images and audio in the research processes, and on the other it serves as a tool to record and collect audiovisual data for a film. In other words, the camera becomes “an auxiliary memory for the documentary’s memory and at the same time the camera is an instrument of negotiation and mediation discovery” (Ardévol 1996:13).

Through the making of their own films, young people have managed to identify, conceptualise, narrate, and share problems generated or exacerbated by their experiences. This process has in turn facilitated greater collective wellbeing and political knowledge and enhanced their capacity to face the problems that are common in the context of migrant communities. In these ways we use participatory documentary and popular pedagogy as ways both to generate interaction and collective working between and with young men and women from migrant communities, and as tools that can generate ways of approaching and producing knowledge. We also promote the ideals of reflective cinema in which the person who records is also recorded, and where we incorporate the recording process, seeking to reflect on the “record of recording, where we think about thinking, where we look at how we watch”. (Ardevol, 1998, from the making of a Camera obscura, to studies on photographic composition and recording exercises:
10). Dora Fried Schnitman talks about this social dynamic in the construction of new knowledge acquisition when she says:

“From the dialogic perspective we build locally and collectively, what we consider true and adequate in the process of carrying out dialogues and joint actions; the cutting of a reality, of relationships, of values, and meanings. The notion of dialogic truth is a process, a narrative goal, not a content ... The construction of the world and scientific and cultural knowledge takes place within forms of relationship and social ties ... invite a diversity of perspectives on the reality while recognizing the contingency and material, historical, and cultural location of each one” (Fried Schnitman 2012: 67).

Participatory film workshops are ex%

The participatory film workshops are experiences that generate communication with and between these community groups whom we work. We experiment with theoretical and practical exercises, for example the creation of a ‘camera obscura’ to analyses of composition and recording. Within the workshops, multiple themes and concerns arise which help us reflect on in/equality and we look for and highlight issues that are important for the communities and promote equity, ‘good living’ and ‘good migrating’. At the end of each workshop the participants reflect on their experience, for example, one young participant said: “Everything I have learned has been useful for me, especially for those in my family who are out there looking for work. I will explain to them that they should know everything necessary regarding their work and their rights, so that nobody can mistreat them.” Another participant said that: “This will help me and my whole family who migrate to El Norte. Me personally I did not know the meaning of the right to migrate, but when you arrived it all made sense, now I have the ability to claim my rights as a person, as a woman, here and anywhere – even in China” (Indigenous Youth Workshop Participants, Chiapas 2019).

Feedback and dialogue are fundamental to the workshops and lived experiences are valued. As one participant said: “My focus is very much on video and interviews. I would love to keep on doing it in order to later achieve something in life” (Indigenous Youth Workshop Participant, Chiapas 2019). Learning is collective, you learn from others, we learn from one another; knowledge is generative and it feeds on multiple voices. Another young woman who participated in the workshop tells us:

“The most important learning is the information on how a video or a movie is created, what is needed, the tools or devices. I feel very happy and excited. Based on the information I am getting in the workshops, this is very important because sooner or later I will be living that life or I will be seeing it and I will already know what to do and how to tell it.” (Indigenous Youth Workshop Participant, Chiapas 2019).

A student, who participated in a workshop in the community of Laguna in the municipality of Altamirano, Chiapas, in 2019, tells us: “I would like to make or record my own video, of my life, either for denunciation or memory.”

The dynamics and experiences of each film workshop change, depending on specific contexts, cultural codes, gender relations and work dynamics. We have experienced that our work is enriched and more enriching when it takes place in the participants’ place of origin, in the community’s own spaces and contexts. Frequent visits and developing good levels of trust and friendship links, as well as facilitating

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thinking and living are shared, and ultimately with the hope of becoming an instrument of transformation. This is a dialogic, dualistic and dynamic process and we are accompanying the community on this path, where narratives and images are built from different perspectives, and where these stories are nourished by cultural exchange and a plurality of knowledge.

More and more people from diverse places and spaces are creating cinema that no longer involves the lone privileged cameramen of the original Lumière brothers’ invention, or the ways of seeing of colonial and neocolonial anthropologists and researchers who hold the camera to create highly problematic and extractive representations of the exotic ‘other’. Increasingly many of us now move along other more inclusive roads. The most accessible research methods and technologies allow those who were in front of the camera to step behind the lens and make use of it in order to generate their own stories and teach us to build other forms of organisation and knowledge.

This is the importance of MuMi. It creates a space where indigenous women, men and young people work through creative education, art and film, to present realities and imaginaries of a more egalitarian world, one in which we advocate for a ‘good life and good migration’ as a political proposal as well as a way of everyday living. When asking a young Tseltal women how participatory cinema can help social change in the community she said: “By making videos related to what happens in the community, finishing them and projecting them for the people of the community, so they can see what changes have to be made” (Indigenous Youth Workshop Participant, Chiapas, 2019).

The lived realities of these historically marginalised indigenous communities in the highlands of Chiapas are no longer being told exclusively by other people coming in from beyond their communities. Through these processes of participatory training, these communities are able to subvert the traditional gaze of the camera, able to narrate their desires, experiences as they choose, and to build from their worldview the stories of their grandmothers and grandparents, those of the people who left, the people who have already returned, and of those who never returned. As we have found through our research, participatory video can be a valuable means through which people can say ‘this is our voice, our history and this is us’.

CONCLUSION: ART AS A COLLECTIVE CONSTRUCTION FOR SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

The complex border geography of south eastern Mexico with its embedded inequalities, economic and political precarity, and its violent and besieged historical militarisation, amplified by anti-Mexican migration policies in the United States, is also where resistance and possibilities for change arise. It is within this context that the itinerant Migrant Museum hopes to be a space for meeting, sharing and creation; a space of artistic expression, storytelling and alternative pedagogical processes. MuMi aims to be a place that encourages and draws together plural, inclusive and creative dialogue, as a source of information-sharing about people’s rights and a place where we openly denounce discrimination – a place where we are able to face the walls but create bridges.

Through participatory workshops we continue to advocate for the vindication of migrant stories, we continue to record the struggles and feelings of indigenous young people, migrant men and women, who choose the stories they want to tell and how to tell them. Participatory documentary film making in this process serves to narrate their memories but at the same time it is a tool they can use to denounce oppression. Their films are a means of communication where ways of
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