



Tracing The Paths Of Moving Artifacts In Youth Media Production

By: **Damiana Gibbons**

Abstract

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Tracing the paths of moving artifacts in youth media production

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ABSTRACT: Using a theoretical grounding in social semiotics, chronotopes, and social spaces with youth, I will discuss how identities are made possible and expressed in the interplay between the different parts of the youth video production process as youth artifacts as they move through time and space. The majority of my data is what I have come to term “moving artifacts”, and this article will attempt to make a case for attempting to trace “the paths of the moving artifacts” through the spaces in which youth artifacts are created, within the youth artifacts themselves, and between the artifacts. Exploring how youth artifacts move through time and space provides a new lens with which to understand how identity expression occurs in youth media production.

KEY WORDS: Digital media, social semiotics, social spaces, chronotope, youth media production, youth video.

Recently, scholars and educators have begun to realise that youth are capable not only of understanding stories created *in* media (Hobbs, 2007) but also of producing stories *through* media themselves, such as slam poetry (Jocson, 2009), hip hop (Morrell, 2004), fanfiction (Black, 2008), digital poetry (Burn, 2009), digital stories (Hull & Nelson, 2005; Nelson, Hull, & Roche-Smith, 2008), and youth-produced videos (Burn & Parker, 2003). Most of the scholarly work that focuses on media production does an excellent job of analysing the youth media texts; however, we are now starting to realise that analysing the texts in isolation from the process and the youth's world in which it was created is not sufficient. The texts are only part of the picture, and the texts are embedded in a range of different activities used to create it, a set of ideologies surrounding the youth and the project or space where she is creating the text, and a group of people, all with a variety of different beliefs and identities.

As part of a larger research team funded by the MacArthur Foundation and headed by Dr. Erica Halverson at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, I studied media literacy in youth media organisations that serve marginalized youth across the United States: Native American youth in the Midwest; poor, white youth in Appalachia; and urban youth in large cities in the Midwest and Northeast. With each site, we collected a variety of data: fieldnotes on observations of programs; interviews with youth, facilitators, directors, and parents; curriculum guides, both published and unpublished; written work produced by youth; organisational websites; and unedited and edited youth video productions. What we have found in this project is that how identity is expressed in youth videos differs among organisations depending on whether fostering an individual or a collective identity is the goal (Halverson, Lowenhaupt, Gibbons, & Bass, 2009).

We also found that there are key pedagogical moments across the youth media arts organisations (YMAOs): application, shooting script, pitch, editing and public screening (Halverson & Gibbons, 2010). These are the moments when youth signify their identities through artifacts, such as a written application essay, a verbal pitch, or

a DVD of their videos for public screening. We found that we could trace youths' understandings of how to express their identities through the affordances of film-making at different moments within the process through these artifacts. In this article, I expand on this idea by exploring in more depth how youth artifacts are moving through time and space and what this means for identity expression in youth media production.

From our data corpus, then, I focus on one kind of artifact – youth-produced videos. I focus on the videos in part because a finished video was the end goal for the YMAO programs, but also, focusing on a youth-produced video as it moves through time and space provides a strong grounding for finding consistent patterns in the movement. To this end, my questions are:

1. What are the times and spaces through which youth-produced videos move in these YMAOs?
2. What are the paths of the youth-produced video as a moving text, and what does tracing these paths afford?

To answer these questions, I attempt to lay the foundation for a framework that values an analysis of the sociocultural context that surrounds the youth media production and the interactions between the participants throughout the process. In particular, I am interested in how identities are played out through the activities surrounding youth video production. Using a theoretical grounding in social semiotics (Burn & Parker, 2003; Stein, 2007), chronotopes (Bakhtin, 1981; Compton-Lilly, 2010), and “social spaces” with youth (Leander, 2002; Leander & McKim, 2003; Leander, Phillips, & Headrick Tayler, 2010; Pahl, in press), I discuss how identities are made possible and expressed in the interplay between the different parts of the youth video production process as youth artifacts, in particular youth-produced videos, move through time and space. The majority of my data is what I have come to term “moving artifacts”, and this article will attempt to make a case for attempting to trace “the paths of the moving artifacts”.

“Moving artifacts” stems from two concepts. First, the data that I have collected from the organisations contains much data that moves (or can move) from person to person, for example, giving DVDs to parents, watching youth videos from other participants during the workshops, website pages that are viewed by many different people at different times, and that can move from medium to medium, for example, from DVD to YouTube. Second, movement is inherent in the data. The data – the youth videos, the websites from the youth media organisations, and video footage I collected about the pedagogical process – are inherently multimodal, which means that there is an interplay of modes within the texts, and between the texts and the creators and audience, that goes beyond a static text. Specifically, the youth-produced films and the video footage of the production process are inherently *kineikonic*, which is the mode of the moving image (Burn & Parker, 2003). They contain both the interplay between modes occurring within the texts as well as the movement of the individual modes themselves through time and space. Therefore, part of my methodological framework involves developing an understanding of how these modes inter-relate by using a layering of multimodal microanalyses (Gibbons, Drift, & Drift, in press; Curwood & Gibbons, in press).

For this article, then, I describe an analytic framework that asserts that there are a collection of artifacts in this data, and that these artifacts have a fundamental condition of movement both between various artifacts as people use, revise, and distribute these artifacts as well as within the artifacts themselves. I contend that by tracing the various paths of the moving artifacts, one can see how identities are being formed, reformed. Consequently, this provides a clearer picture of what is made possible in terms of identity expression in youth media production.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Youth identities in time and space

In terms of time, I draw on Bakhtin's (1981) idea of the *chronotope*, an idea about time-space in which time "takes on flesh... [to] become artistically visible" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 84). Compton-Lilly (under review) expands Bakhtin's notion of the chronotope by applying it to an analysis of how chronotopes operate in young people's lives in school contexts. Compton-Lilly interviewed youth at different points across a ten-year span, capturing their literacy development and practices at each point in time. Using a chronotopic analysis of a literacy case study of a young African American youth, she found that the "chronotope allows researchers and educators to look across multiple instantiations across time to consider sociological and semiotic meanings embedded with time" (pagination unavailable) in youth literacy development and schooling.

For my analysis, time is important in terms of how youth make different choices in what to include in their media texts over time. Specifically, what is of interest is how their semiotic choices change and evolve. Hodge & Kress (1988) discuss these different choices as diachronic processes, or transformations of semiotic choices over time. They assert that not only are texts linked to other texts created either before or after them; semiotic acts are also linked in a "series of transformations" (p. 168) that can be traced through the different semiotic choices that people make. Although it is important to note that youth develop their videos at different points in time over the span of a YMAO program, which varies from summer workshops to year-long programs (Halverson & Gibbons, 2010) (or in some cases, continuing to edit their videos after the program has ended), it is just as vital to trace the modal choices that they make within their videos that link the modes to other modal or semiotic choices in other artifacts.

Chronotope has two parts to it: time and space (Bakhtin, 1981), but although a recognition of time in analysing the data is important, what I found to be more salient is the idea of "space." Most of the movement happens in the paths of the youth-produced artifacts over a variety of spaces, with time kept to the time of a workshop. Spaces, however, vary widely, and the youth artifacts are spread over many. In fact, they are often in multiple spaces at one time. Leander (2002) discusses how there are "multiple and intersecting social spaces" for children in schools (p. 220; see also Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1996). Leander, Phillips, & Headrick Taylor (2010), in their review of empirical and conceptual research on children's "mobilities" (p. 330), make a useful argument. First, they synthesize research about the connections between actual geographical spaces and children to show how children are interacting with

material culture. Then, they discuss research about virtual geographical spaces, such as online spaces, and children (see also Leander & McKim, 2003). They show that children interact in a combination of both physical, material spaces as well as virtual ones. This is useful for understanding how children must and do navigate multiple types of spaces in their everyday and school lives.

Therefore, we must also attend to the combinations of spaces, for example, the combination of online and offline spaces that youth also encounter in media production. For example, in one of my research sites, a Native American reservation, the youth participants occupy many places. The summer digital media workshop happened in the school that many attended during the school year, and much of the filming occurred in the small town surrounding the school area. Their spaces also included sacred sites, such as the one I will discuss later. But the youth are also heavily influenced by other types of spaces, such as Facebook and other social networking sites, as well as the influences of mainstream media through television and movies. To create their films, they draw from a combination of media spaces, such as mainstream media, for example, blockbuster horror films. But, they are equally influenced by their lived social spaces, which includes receiving guidance from spiritual leaders, and from their lived physical spaces, such as filming near the site of a sacred island in the lake near their school. Therefore, rather than considering youth-produced videos as individual literacy artifacts, I attempt to make a case for attending to the relationships between the youth artifacts as they move through the multiplicity of social spaces.

Youth identities in multimodal artifacts

Although youth identities can travel through or are constituted by various spaces, we must also look at how youth identities can become instantiated in the texts they produce and how those identities can be traced throughout different versions of these texts. Rowsell & Pahl (2007) trace how identities of children of immigrants in England are present in the different layers, including how they are present in the artifacts of the youth-produced texts, such as drawings and written work. Identities expressions are layered, and the texts instantiate the layers through lamination, or a layering of chronotopes (Bakhtin, 1981; Holland & Leander, 2004).

In later work, Pahl (in press) expands on how youth identities become layered through youth-produced, digital stories. She finds through creating digital stories in an after-school project in the United Kingdom, youth are able to assert their identities. Moreover, tracing the different modal choices children (and their families) make throughout different stages of the process shows those identities through the digital stories themselves. Similar results were found in a discussion of how identity was expressed and fixed in a digital story created by a young African American teen as part of a digital storytelling project in the United States (Nelson, Hull, & Roche-Smith, 2008), by migrant youth in California (Scott Nixon, 2009), and with Canadian youth in schools (Rogers & Schofield, 2005).

All of these studies claim that youth, even marginalised youth, are asserting identities in ways that are empowering for them through the creation of multimodal texts. It is also true that expressions of identity in multimodal texts have unrecognised complications when the texts are created by youth who are historically marginalised,

and this research is predominantly celebratory without fully discussing these complications. However, other work is beginning to discuss these issues. Fleetwood's (2005) study of youth media arts organisations in the U.S. finds that "through video, media organisations attempt to connect with and document the temporally fleeting, but discursively repetitive and static, authenticity of a racialised youth experience (pp. 156-157). In recognising that this might be occurring in our youth media arts organisations, we have also found that it matters whether youth are in organisations that are attempting to foster individual or community identity (Halverson, Lowenhaupt, Gibbons, & Bass, 2009).

This does not mean that youth are unable to assert their identities in multimodal texts; however, we must realise that doing so can involve complications for some youth. Stein (2007) explored how youth identities are constructed via modal choices in her study of the storytelling practices of a Zulu speaking, 13-year-old girl in South Africa. By analysing different instantiations of this girl's stories (written, drawn and performed versions), Stein found that the girl used modes as "semiotic resources" to connect her identity to the "history and language practices of her home and wider community" (p. 44). Also, in conducting social semiotic analyses of youth video production, Burn & Parker (2003) found that youth sometimes make modal choices in response to conflicts that arise during filming, and it is possible to see how the youth make sense of conflicting discourse through a semiotic analysis of the youth videos. The youths' modal choices in their video often reveal as much about their own sense of themselves as youth as they do about them as youth filmmakers.

In the illustrative example that follows, I discuss how one Native American girl created her youth-produced videos through times and spaces, and how she had to negotiate her modal choices in her different versions of her video in connection with other youth-produced videos and with online spaces.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLE

In the first part of this illustrative example, I will discuss how a youth artifact could move through time and space in one youth media arts organisation, In Progress, to point to what possibilities can potentially be opened up for youth identity expression in general. Then, I will explore the changes in modal choices in different versions of her video and how these modal choices connect with those of other youths' videos within the organisation. I end with a discussion of her video in online spaces.

But first, some definitions. An "artifact" can mean any form of representation in which youth signify identities in some form: written, verbal, online or digital. Artifact is a term that can describe the variety of texts that youth produce in these media arts programs at key moments along the process in which they must present their story in some sort of material form, such as a shooting script or storyboard drawn before filming or the different versions of a youth video during the editing process (Halverson & Gibbons, 2010; see also Rowsell & Pahl, 2007 for the use of artifact to describe different types of youth-produced multimodal texts). There are many different types of material representations that youth create during the media production cycle, but I will discuss only one type of artifact in this article – youth-produced videos. Using the generic term "artifact" affords enough room to include

other types of youth media that are not video. “Spaces” describes the different places in which the youth artifacts are created or distributed, but because these places are often not physical or geographic but rather are social, digital and virtual, I use the term spaces to encompass both actual places and virtual spaces (Leander & Kim, 2003; Leander, Phillips, & Headrick Taylor, 2010). “Time” refers to chronological time, for example, months of the year or seconds in a video, as well as elements of the production process, such as the time of a workshop, which varies depending on the YMAO (Halverson & Gibbons, 2010). In particular, I am interested in the semiotic transformations in the modal choices (Hodge & Kress, 1988) in the kineikonic mode, “the mode of the moving image” (Burn & Parker, 2003, p. 13), that occur over time and through the interactions in different spaces. In other words, I focus on how youth make choices about which modes to use and which identities to show through these modes as they create their videos within various times and spaces.

Path of moving artifacts: Movement of youth artifacts through multiple spaces and times at In Progress

In Progress (real name used with permission), one of these youth media arts organisations in our study, is a youth media arts organisation based in St. Paul that serves many ethnic groups, but it predominantly serves Native American (54%), Latino (24%), and Hmong (14%) (In Progress, 2007).¹ Most of the programs that In Progress offers are community-specific. In other words, its programs are all tailored to specific communities, most of which are rural (30%) and tribal (39%) rather than urban (31%). In particular, I observed a program called Ogichidaakweg, a digital art-making program in Anishinaabe (also known as Ojibwe) communities in Minnesota. The goal of this program is to provide mentorship opportunities for Anishinaabe youth to help them grow into strong young members of the Native community by fostering digital media skills.

For the first path of the moving artifacts, I discuss how youth-produced films move through the times and spaces of In Progress (see Figure 1). In particular, I focus on one of the youth participant’s paths of the moving artifacts. Téa Drift (real name used with permission), now 11 years old, who was one of the youth participants in the workshops of this organisation from 2006 to present. During her involvement at In Progress, she produced two youth videos. Versions of one of these will be discussed in this article.

Each workshop lasted for three weeks, but the spaces were varied. During the workshop spaces, the youth were in multiple places: the school where the workshop was held and the youths’ homes and community areas where the youth often filmed. The youth had face-to-face interactions with the facilitators, other youth, and community members throughout the process. However, the youth also interacted in two types of digital spaces. First, when filming, they used digital video equipment and the footage was transferred to computers for storage and editing. Second, the youth also watched the previous year’s videos (the digital space of the DVDs meeting the

¹ In Progress collected demographic data about their constituency and published this data on their website in 2007. In summer of 2007, everything in that version of the website was lost due to a server malfunction at the In Progress headquarters. The new website is located at <http://inprogress.viewbook.com/portfolio/news>, but this demographic information is no longer on the website. It is, however, recorded in my data.

face-to-face space of the workshop lesson). Then, the youth edited their films on the digital space of editing their films on iMovie (also combined with face-to-face of mentoring by facilitators).

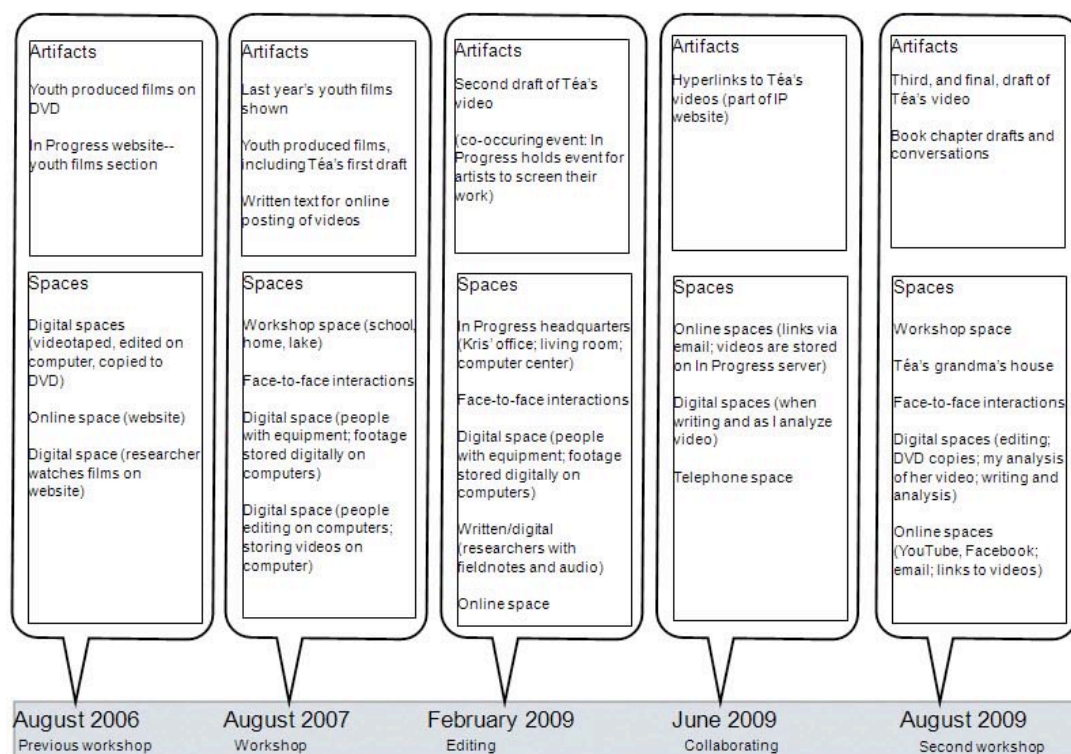


Figure 1: In Progress artifacts, space and time diagram

In the summer 2007 workshop, Téo produced the first version of her video, but she was unable to finish it owing to time constraints. She later edited this video in the fall of 2009, when her mother and she traveled to the In Progress headquarters. She finished her video in another workshop held in her community in 2010. Time, in this case, is intriguing because there were many factors involved in why she had to take so long to finish her video. There is no access to digital video equipment or digital editing software in her community; therefore, Téo and the other youth could only access these during workshops. But, workshops require both money and people to run the programs, both of which are often in short supply in non-profits, especially one that serves youth all over the state and in the youths' own communities. Therefore, it took a long time for Téo to finish her video. These are issues that are often not addressed in scholarship about youth media, but they are worth mentioning.

Téo's video artifacts are digital at all times and in all spaces, but the spaces themselves change. To create and edit these versions, she went to different places, including the workshop space of the school and of the lake for the filming and the In Progress headquarters in St. Paul for the editing. She also interacted with various spaces, such as digital when filming and editing, and digital/online when posting her video online on YouTube. I recently co-wrote a book chapter with Téo and her mother in which I analyse the final version of her video. In this chapter, Téo discusses how and why she made her films, and her mother provides context and insights on their culture (Gibbons, Drift, & Drift, in press). This academic space was new to Téo, and it

involved the addition of different relationships to space, such as communicating about the written drafts over email, telephone and Skype.

Path of moving artifacts: Movement between one youth's digital video artifacts

In this section, I discuss how Téa's modal choices change in the different versions of her videos by analysing how the modal choices change over time. This is part of a larger analysis in which I used what I call multimodal microanalysis (Gibbons, Drift, & Drift, 2010; for a full description of multimodal microanalysis, see Curwood & Gibbons, in press). Essentially there are three steps to multimodal microanalysis: creating a multimodal transcript of the video, narrativising the transcript, and coding the narrativisation for patterns in the modal choices. Tracing the modes in this way show what is present in the space of the video, and it allows researchers to see how the modes are occurring and how they interplay – how they are moving – through time.

After conducting a multimodal microanalysis for each video, I layered the multimodal microanalyses to show how modal choices are changing over the three versions of her video (see Figure 2).

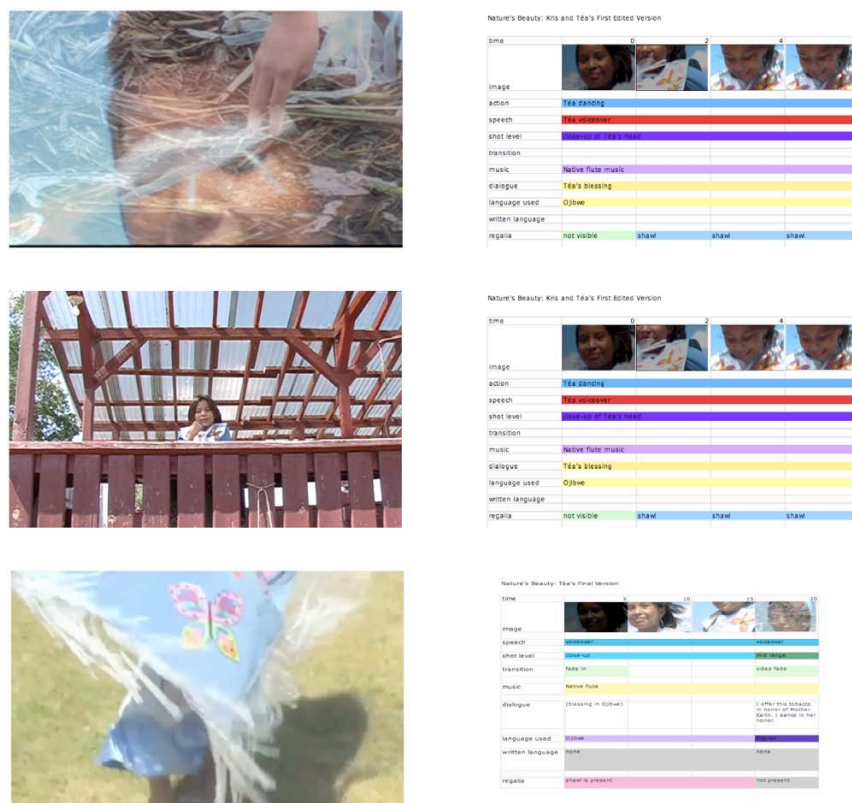


Figure 2: Multimodal microanalyses of Téa's three videos

Pahl (in press) has shown that by tracing the different versions of youths' digital stories, especially in terms of the modes within them, one can discern how identities are being expressed, and although these are youth videos not digital stories, this is what is occurring here as well. Téa asserts identities in these videos, yet the different identities do not appear in all versions nor do they appear equally in each one.

All of Téa's videos² have the same premise in that each is intended to be a documentary about fancy shawl dancing, a type of dance that is traditional to her community. This type of dancing is increasingly being lost in her community as few youth are learning this tradition; therefore, Téa wanted to show both how she is a fancy shawl dancer and how she is preserving her culture as a cultural preservationist. The best example of these two identities is the title sequence, which combines many modes together: music, with the Native American flute song; image, with the combination of Téa, the lake, and the island; action, with Téa dancing and the lake moving; written text, with the title overlaid over Téa dancing; and the full-length view of her regalia. All of these combine to show Téa as a fancy shawl dancer.

This scene is also an example of how Téa must negotiate what she includes in her video with members of her community. In her desire to be a cultural preservationist, she had decided to film this video as a documentary about fancy shawl dancing. For the filming, Téa wanted to have shot levels that showed both her dancing and Spirit Island, an island in a lake on her reservation that is sacred to her people. She shot the footage, and it was included in her first version. When she was editing her second version, her mother saw the footage of Spirit Island and she told Téa that she would have to ask permission from the elders in order to keep that footage in her movie. This was news that Téa took in stride. In an interview with her after she had edited the second version, Téa explained to me:

We may have to cut out some of that [footage showing Spirit Island]. We'd have to talk to Jack (a pseudonym) who is our spiritual teacher, teaches us kids [sic] about our culture. And, then, we'd have to talk to our medicine man, our elders, and all that before we can actually publish it (T. Drift & D. Drift, personal communication, February 9, 2009).

Ultimately, they did present the footage to their spiritual leaders and elders, who all said that she could use it. In reality, Téa had no problem taking the footage out, if the elders had wanted her to do so. She wanted to include it because she wanted to preserve her culture; therefore, if those who are also in charge of preserving it did not want her to do so in that way, she had no problem with that decision. However, what is interesting is that she had to make choices about what was included in her video in ways that many youth do not have to face, and it is something we need to consider as researchers and educators who are studying youth-produced media.

Path of moving artifacts: Movement of modes across youths' digital video artifacts

The unexpected complication of the Spirit Island footage drives home the point that we must take into account that youth videos are not created in a vacuum, at least not when they are produced in youth media workshops. This contrasts with work done on many other types of youth video production, for example, amateur movie-making (Buckingham & Willett, 2009). The young people in YMAO programs create their videos surrounded by the influences of their peers, not only in face-to-face

² The final version of Téa's video can be accessed on In Progress' YouTube channel at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wG7NOVd4_U0.

interactions, such as mentorship, but also in the form of other youth-produced works. Sometimes the influences of these other works cannot be seen, but there are times when one can see how these influences play out in terms of modal choices.

Although the detailed analysis of all of the other youth-produced work shown during Téa’s workshops is beyond the scope of this article, a brief discussion of one points to how the influences of other videos can operate in these spaces – for instance, the idea of respecting one’s culture as the content of one’s movie shown in other youth-produced films created by youth in previous years. The year before Téa produced the first version of her film, another youth named Rhonda (a pseudonym) created a film in a workshop in which Téa had also participated. Rhonda discussed this film and a trip she was able to take to a film festival to show it. Her film was shown as a model during the summer workshop in which Téa made the first version of her film. Therefore, it would make sense that Téa might be influenced somewhat by these interactions (see Figure 3).

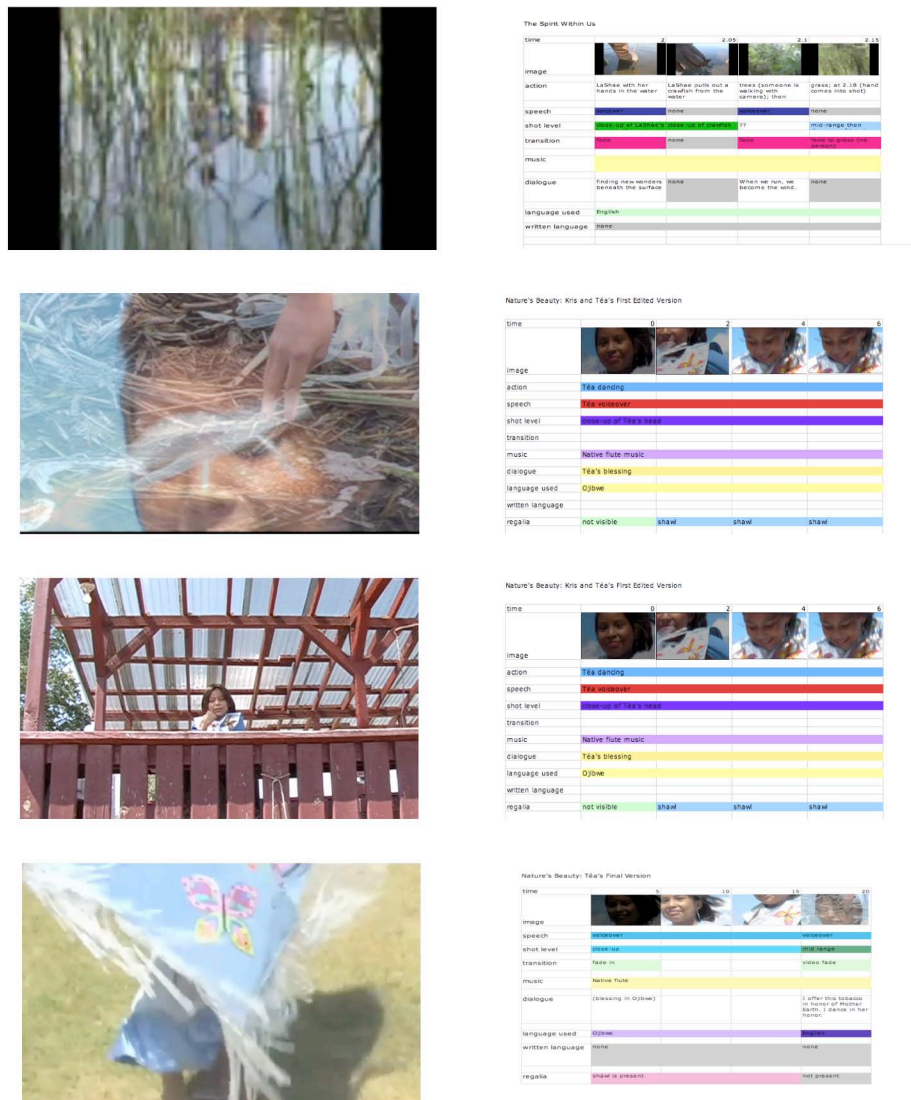


Figure 3: Modes across youth videos

What is interesting with this intertextuality is not just that Téa might have been influenced by Rhonda's work, but also that through a layering of multimodal microanalysis, one can trace the influence of Rhonda's video on the modal choices in Téa's videos. For example, Rhonda's video shows modal choices that focus on respecting nature and one's culture – such as images of nature and using voiceovers to literally give the blessing – both of which are prevalent in all of Téa's versions. Also, Rhonda was able to film her video on Spirit Island itself through special permission from the elders in the community for this filming, because it was a documentary about the sacredness of the Island and the connections between people and nature. What this all means is that there is a foundation represented by this video that respecting tradition and people's connections to one another through their connection to nature is what is worth filming, and it is through the combination of the various modes available in video production, such as the use of images of nature paired with voiceovers about the relationship between people and nature, that these important ideas can be expressed. Some of these are present in Téa's videos as well. This is not to say, however, that Téa is mimicking the other youth's modal choices; rather, she “remixes” through her use of modes (Curwood & Gibbons, in press). One can see how she makes sense of the modal choices available to her to create something that is uniquely hers through the different drafts of her videos. But, it is not only hers. Her videos occupy a part of the space that is also occupied by other youth artifacts at different times, including her own versions of youth artifacts at different times and spaces.

Path of moving artifacts: Movement of youth videos into online spaces

Occupying the same space as other videos becomes even more apparent when Téa decides to post the final version of her video online. Her video is currently in three online spaces: the In Progress website, the Facebook profile for In Progress, and on YouTube through the In Progress channel (see Figure 4).

When I interviewed Téa after she had edited her second version, I asked her if she planned to post her video online. At that time, she said that she did not plan to show it outside of her community. Therefore, I didn't see this online space as a factor until I saw a posting from In Progress on my Facebook homepage that provided a link to Téa's video on YouTube. The director had posted Téa's final version, with Téa's permission. Seeing her video on YouTube was how I found out that she had finished editing. All of the other youth videos created during the workshop in which Téa finished her video were posted on Facebook and YouTube, so it does not surprise me that Téa changed her mind. Later, in a conversation about the book chapter we are writing³, I asked Téa why she decided to post her video. She explained, “It feels super cool to have a video [on YouTube] that I am in and that I helped film and to know that almost everyone and anyone can watch it” (as cited in Gibbons, Drift, & Drift, in press). Her inclusion of her video in these online spaces puts her digital work into play with not only other youth-produced videos from In Progress, but also with other work in the YouTube community. Therefore, Téa's chose to distribute her video in a

³ Although beyond the scope of this article, our collaboration for our book chapter has its own set of times and spaces. In particular, most of our collaboration for this book chapter is occurring over email and Skype. At the time of this conversation, we were using Skype. I was studying in London, and Téa was discussing her video with me on her mother's cellphone as her mother and she were on their way to a Miley Cyrus concert.

larger space, posted next to a variety of other videos (some produced by other youth in her workshops, most produced by others, including adults), and on a website accessible at any time. Although her video is local and for her community, she chooses for its scope and audience to be much wider.

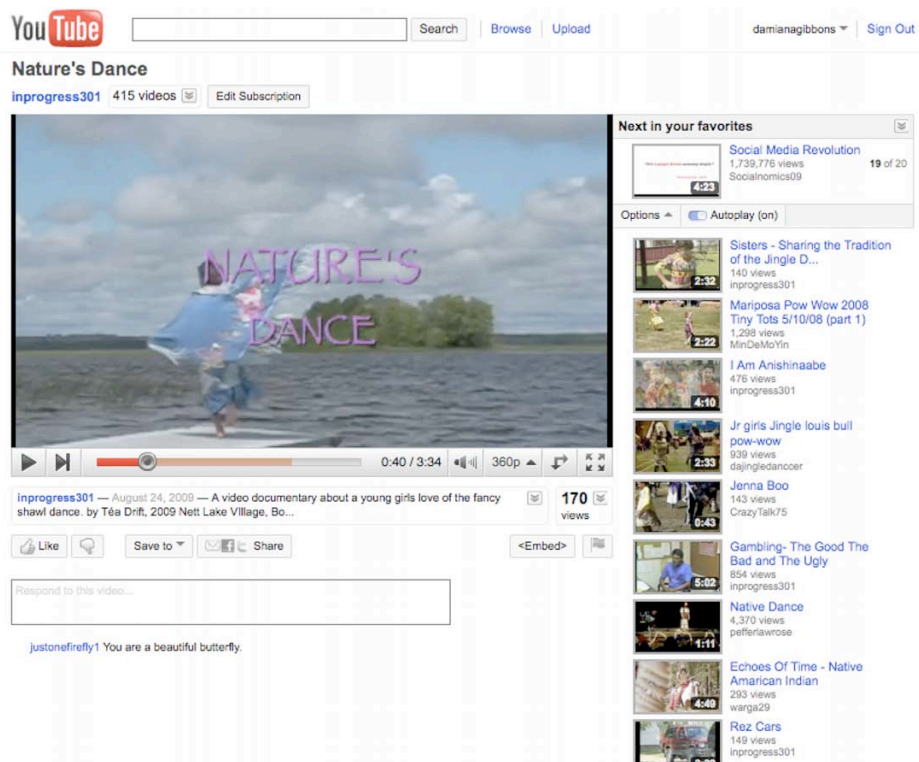


Figure 4: Téa's video on YouTube

DISCUSSION

Tracing the paths of moving artifacts in youth media production shows that youth media travel through time and spaces in ways that might be unexpected at first but that are traceable if one looks for them. Uncovering these paths actually reveals a myriad of possible path choices. Some are connected to others, such as Téa watching the other youth videos shown in the workshops. Some dead-ended, such as unfinished youth videos. Some are continuing, such as Téa's videos on YouTube or our collaborative book chapter. Understanding these paths can help educators and researchers to understand the context within which youth are producing and distributing their media. It can also show the many complications that can arise when youth are producing their media and illustrate how youth negotiate the visions of their media productions in those contested spaces.

Tracing these paths of the moving artifacts within the youth artifacts themselves, especially if the analysis is layered, can show how youths' modal choices are connected both throughout the different versions of their videos and between their work and other youth-produced media. Attending to these connections can illustrate

how youth select what to present in their media productions, and it can offer some insights into why they make the choices they do.

The most important lesson in tracing these paths is that it is not just that youth create a video then show it to their family and friends. It is not that simple. Youth face complicated, sometimes difficult, choices, and they must occupy many different spaces and times while making those decisions. Marginalised youth often face choices of which researchers can be unaware, such as the need to respect one's elders when shooting a video. There are many paths they can take in many spaces over time. In this article, I have shown only some of the possible paths of the moving artifacts. The next step is to see what youth envision as paths with their own work, what they value as viable paths, and why. I think we'd be surprised by what they'd find as paths for their media.

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