

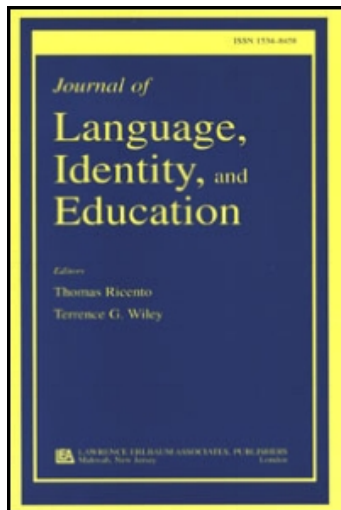
This article was downloaded by:

On: 5 April 2011

Access details: *Access Details: Free Access*

Publisher *Routledge*

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Journal of Language, Identity & Education

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t775653670>

Absent Audiences: Youth Identity Formation in Preparations for Performance

Carol C. Thompson^a

^a Rowan University,

Online publication date: 18 February 2011

To cite this Article Thompson, Carol C.(2011) 'Absent Audiences: Youth Identity Formation in Preparations for Performance', *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 10: 1, 22 – 40

To link to this Article: DOI: 10.1080/15348458.2011.539966

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2011.539966>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Full terms and conditions of use: <http://www.informaworld.com/terms-and-conditions-of-access.pdf>

This article may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any instructions, formulae and drug doses should be independently verified with primary sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

Absent Audiences: Youth Identity Formation in Preparations for Performance

Carol C. Thompson

Rowan University

This article explores the use of audiences in preparation for public presentation by an urban youth organization in Camden, New Jersey (U.S.). Camden is an impoverished city with few opportunities for youth. The organization, a hybrid of youth development, technology, business, and college preparation, prepared youth for good jobs or college. Public presentations were a main participation structure. In preparing for them, youth used the imagined responses of audiences as a way of developing their work. They also used the real responses of previous audiences as they considered how best to represent their work and themselves. Absent audiences were deeply connected to their thought processes for their presentations in radio shows, to Web design clients, and to audiences for digital storytelling festivals. These audiences also influenced the ways in which the youth constructed their own identities, moving from the categories of victim or urban youth to expert.

Key words: urban youth, participation, communities of practice, multiliteracies

One of the most difficult passages for urban youth is from school to the adult communities that surround them. They may feel uninterested in schoolwork that seems to have no connection to their lives, underprepared for more education, and unwelcome in worlds outside of school—worlds for which their roles as students usually have not prepared them. Drawing on data collected over six years at Hopeworks, an urban youth organization in Camden, New Jersey (U.S.), this article argues that certain kinds of out-of-school practices encourage youth to take on roles in adult communities. As they enact new roles, young people must learn to predict how adults will view them: That is, they must simultaneously begin to identify as professionals-in-training and thus as legitimate participants in their communities.

Frequently, youth must also learn how to counter versions of themselves that adults have already constructed. Youth from Camden, like those from other poor cities, are often identified by outsiders and adults in their own communities as representations of misery, for which one feels sadness or disdain. In neither case are they imagined to have legitimate roles in the community outside of school—if they have remained in school at all. Youth perceived as outsiders often identify themselves that way and remain delegitimized. A central issue for those at Hopeworks is gaining access to communities of practice in which new roles can be tried on and participation extended.

Through an apprenticeship model, Hopeworks teaches trainees (eschewing the word *student*) how to construct maps and Web sites for clients, to make radio and digital video presentations, and to present their work at professional conferences. The use of *trainee* signals an important shift from their participation in school into new communities of professional practice. In examining precisely how novices acquire new roles, I noticed that staff and more-expert youth held preparation sessions in which they routinely invoked absent audiences; I wondered if these proxy audiences were helping trainees acquire status as legitimate speakers and participants. In this examination of how participation is legitimized, I draw on the linked bodies of research on communities of practice, particularly in community-based urban youth organizations, identity formation, multiliteracies and discourse, and power.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Youth Organizations as Communities of Practice

In understanding how youth, if they are lucky, come to be viewed as legitimate participants in adult worlds, it is helpful to understand the communities of practice to which they have access. The universal community of practice for young people is, of course, school, but it plays an equivocal role in the lives of urban youth. On the one hand, some schools provide spaces for intellectual growth and nurturing relations between adults and children. On the other, as Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) contend, the practice of schooling is circular since schools prefer to teach those who already know the codes for self-presentation and are thus already “legitimate” candidates for participation. For urban youth these codes can be difficult to parse, and they are unlikely to make headway in breaking them without the mediation of adults. Finding such adults can be difficult in urban communities where there is limited access to community-based organizations that promote deep engagement between adults and children.

Wenger (1999) argues that communities of practice are characterized by “mutual engagement” of participants in a “joint enterprise” that uses a “shared repertoire of “discourses,” “artifacts,” “stories,” and “tools” (p. 73). The move toward shared goals is a result of the interdependence of members whose responsibilities to each other go beyond availability for ad hoc interactions. Wenger argues that communities use their shared repertoires flexibly to build new practice; learning, “the engine of practice,” is the developing participation of members and their “ability to negotiate meaning” (p. 96).

This concept of learning with shared repertoires is particularly evident in communities where multiliteracies (New London Group, 2000; Kress, 2003; Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001) are central elements in the repertoire. When texts (screen-based or otherwise) exist in multiplicity, Kress (2003) argues, categorizing them as “aesthetically produced,” “culturally salient,” or “mundane” (p. 120) is one way to help learners negotiate meaning. As they encounter variety, learners begin to see texts as both socially produced and interrelated. Communities of practice that “recruit, rather than attempt to ignore and erase, the different subjectivities, interests, intentions, commitments, and purposes that students bring to learning” (New London Group, 2000, p. 18) have pedagogies that also encourage participants to move toward central participation rather than remaining on the periphery (Lave & Wenger, 1991). One organization that incorporates multimedia and guided participation (Rogoff, 1990) is Digital Underground Story Telling for

Youth (DUSTY). Hull and Katz (2006) have described the ways in which participants use more expert others, peers, and multimodal technologies to construct stories through which they can examine “turning points” (p. 73) in their lives. The educative value of such storytelling has frequently been discussed in terms of motivation and self-expression (Salpeter, 2005), progress in reading (Bull & Kajder, 2004–2005), or expansion of technological expertise (Ohler, 2005). Hull and her colleagues, however, have examined ways in which the interactional nature of the narrative process also encourages reflection (Nelson, Hull, & Roche-Smith, 2008; Hull & Katz, 2006; Hull & Nelson, 2005; see also the work of Wortham, 2001, and Goodwin, 1984, on narrative and interaction). Both the evolving nature of multiliteracies and presence of newcomers, as Wenger (1999) notes, ensure that such a community will continue to build new practices and goals rather than merely reproducing itself and thus ossifying.

How urban youth can become newcomers who are eligible for learning is a central question. They often have limited networks that they can use to gain access to adult communities of practice. Access alone, however, is insufficient, as Bourdieu (1986) argues, because the self-presentation or cultural capital by which potential participants will be judged is a proxy for “legitimate competence” (p. 245). A further barrier is that these social codes that signal eligibility are hidden. Organizations like DUSTY and Hopeworks try to provide both the access and the codes; working at Hopeworks, for example, requires newcomers to learn “businesslike” ways of talking and dressing to which they are often unaccustomed. Staff frequently remind trainees to imagine how others might view them, an attempt to make visible the kinds of cultural capital others will be expected to obtain. Beyond visibility, more expert adults must help learners make sure that their work is “noticed and admitted” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 481). At the same time, communities of practice that help youth jump these boundaries must avoid asking them to simply abandon their habitual self-presentation and, instead, see them as tools in the arsenal of cultural capital that they can use to benefit their learning.

McLaughlin (1993) has typified the communities of practice that provide these opportunities for youth as offering contact with caring adults who provide “bridges” to both the community and mainstream society (p. 36). Participation is framed through projects that involve teamwork and require youth to be reliable and contributing team members and to progress within the organization as they gain experience and the trust of the adults with whom they work. As many have pointed out (Dimitriadis, 2006; Heath, 1998, 1999; Hull & Greeno, 2006), such organizations are improvisatory, pedagogically complex, and deeply connected to local communities, frequently with a focus on the arts (Sefton-Green, 2006; Goodman, 2003). Because many use multimodal technologies to form these connections, language becomes both a test for and a crucial means of participation.

Becoming Legitimate Participants: Language and Identity

Linguistic competence is widely implicated as a primary marker of eligibility for legitimate participation in communities (Heath & McLaughlin, 1993; Bourdieu, 1977, 1984; Collins, 1993). Even for members, however, talk itself is no guarantee of learning, as Lave and Wenger (1991) have pointed out, arguing that “*talking about* and *talking within* a practice” (p. 109) are quite different. “For newcomers,” they note, “the purpose is not to learn *from* talk as a substitute for

legitimate peripheral participation; it is to learn *to* talk as a key to legitimate peripheral participation” (p. 109). This enacted talk is particularly important for youth with little experience of adult worlds who may struggle simply to articulate their thoughts in new speech communities without the resources to consider how interlocutors code them. Before they can begin to enact the roles of competent designers, for example, newcomers must not only understand professional terminology but also the dispositions and speech that will be expected in interactions with clients. As Goodwin (1994) and Heath (1998, 1999) have argued, adults play crucial roles in helping learners identify what they are seeing and the procedures they are using.

More expert others also help provide learners with models for recipient design—for placing themselves in the audience’s shoes (Duranti, 1997; Goffman, 1981). The insights that audiences have their own points of view and that even adult audiences are not omniscient are often surprising to youth, but they are crucial to full participation because, as Duranti (1997) observes, social actors must both use information and predict what others will do with it. These predictions are a necessary step in which learners learn how to fashion their talk for recipients (Duranti, 1997; Goffman, 1981; Goodwin, 1986) and see that talk as formed within a given social context. Gee (1992) argues that even “maladaptations” (p. 116)—if they are minor—can help make visible the *discourses* (normative and socially formed ways of interacting and representing) that are usually transparent. This ability to see the underlying assumptions at work is particularly important to urban youth, who are frequently identified by others as having little purchase on the adult worlds around them.

Recipients are, however, sometimes capable of producing what Rasmussen (2003) calls *injurious speech*. Using the concept of performativity (Butler, 1999), Rasmussen gives an account of how peers and teachers labeled and constructed a young student as intellectually incapable and how the student subsequently enacted those constructions. Butler (1997) has argued that harmful speech indexes social power in order to exclude individuals; because this exclusion is part of the constitution of a subject, the language practices that operationalize it are linked to identity. Hopeworks trainees must learn to resist the assumptions of audiences that they are unpromising. At a regional leadership conference, participants from other cities told the trainees their assumption that every Camden girl “was walking around pregnant” (field notes, July 8, 2005). Ashley, one of the youngest trainees, “stood up to people and told them how insulting that was” (field notes, July 8, 2005). As Norton (2000) contends, adults must help young people “claim the right to speak in the wider community” (p. 153). The goal for trainees is that they formulate responses to ascribed characteristics instead of assuming them.

When learners assume new roles, they also assume new kinds of interaction that identify them as people with certain characteristics. Like the constructs of discourses, performativity, and legitimized participation, Goffman’s (1959) notion of *role* allows for considerable dynamism in identity and denies the presence of an essentialized self. Roles help construct identity, which is itself a record of encounters with the social worlds. Bucholtz and Hall (2004) note that since much of cultural practice occurs through speech, it is substantially through speech that identity will be formed. Identity is thus an “outcome” of “cultural semiotics that is accomplished through the production of contextually relevant sociopolitical relations of similarity and difference, authenticity and inauthenticity, and legitimacy and illegitimacy” (p. 382). Because language use is heavily implicated in the presentations youth make, identities are formed around multiple discourses, and languages define the roles youth can play (Gee, 1999; 2000–2001). Playing roles convincingly requires linguistic competence, which signals a learner’s claim of

legitimacy. Language and identity thus have a frequently reciprocal relation both with each other and with the roles available within a participation framework. They are crucially bound up with the ways in which communities and organizations that aim to help youth view them, and to those who consider them legitimate participants. With this context, I now move to a discussion of the particular use of audience in this study.

METHODS

Setting

Hopeworks was established in March 2000, by one Catholic and two Lutheran parishes in Camden, New Jersey. Youth ages 13 to 18 who are still in school enter the Hope Through School Program; older youth not in school enter the day program. The organizational goals include helping youth continue with their education, learn adult technologies so that they can become production employees at Hopeworks or elsewhere, and assume leadership roles. Because of the apprenticeship structure, youth usually assume a succession of roles as they gain expertise, from mentoring newcomers to becoming design professionals. Social interaction is readily available since Hopeworks is housed in a three-story townhouse that was formerly a church parsonage; the small rooms offer a familial atmosphere in which about 20 youth work elbow to elbow.

The first task for newcomers is to begin learning Web site design through an online curriculum, with help from peers and the adult lead trainer. After they complete the curriculum, they construct and present personal Web sites to the entire organization. In these small performances a youth stands next to a computer with the site on screen and demonstrates its functionality, pointing to certain features and discussing the reasons behind the design decisions. Presenters are presumed to be able to communicate using the language of Web design in accordance with a putative “script” (Bauman, 1984) to which both the presenter and the audience of staff and peers adhere. The audience is charged with asking the presenter to defend the designs and with evaluating the professionalism of the speech in the interaction. This test of competence can be challenging, and most trainees are unlikely to have encountered anything like it in school.

Trainees who successfully complete their Web sites are eligible for employment in either map or Web production, where they learn to work with clients, and respond to their needs. They begin to think about clients as one kind of audience, but they must also consider the needs of the clients’ audiences, for whom the sites are constructed. Trainees working the Mapping Program also interacted with multiple audiences when they created the first Camden map in decades, sold ads to local businesses, and then distributed the map across the city. Trainees have also routinely presented at conferences, in community workshops, and in presentations of their “digital storytelling.” Staff rehearse with them for these presentations, and my previous research (Thompson, 2009) indicated that rehearsals were powerful opportunities for role construction and movement.

Few trainees have had such opportunities in school. The Camden schools are classified as “needing improvement” by No Child Left Behind (NCLB) criteria (State of New Jersey, 2008). Fewer than 40% of students at the local high school meet state standards (Poverty Benchmarks, 2007); more than 50% of children live in poverty, and crime figures routinely place Camden at the top of the list of dangerous U.S. cities (Gettleman, 2004; Giordano, 2009; Katz, 2008; Wood, 2005). Hopeworks participants are representative of the socioeconomic demographics of the city;

about a third are Hispanic and a half are African American. The high school youth have generally remained in school; a few of them and a larger number of older day trainees are referred by the juvenile justice system.

Data Collection and Analysis

The data presented here are the result of a multiyear study that began in 2003 when Hopeworks was two years old. The executive director of Hopeworks thought that my (then) university might provide useful community connections for building the program. I became interested in whether the participation structures offered real learning opportunities to youth, and I began a 3-month long participant observation study. (That study resulted in collaboration with the executive director and several trainees on two conferences and a book chapter [Thompson, Putthoff, & Figueroa, 2006].)

As I examined participant structures more closely in my weekly visits, I noted that they encouraged, and sometimes discouraged, transitions into new and challenging roles, and in February 2005, I asked the executive director and staff for permission to continue my research. From then until September 2005, I was on site approximately 5 to 6 hours a day, 3 to 5 days a week; for the following 4 months I attended one day per week. From January 2006 to January 2007, I visited occasionally, returning in January 2007 for further data collection. One of the questions that had emerged was the extent to which imagined or remembered audiences were mobilized as interlocutors who might help the trainees with their imagined feedback. For the next two years I continued to collect data one afternoon per week, specifically targeting practices such as digital storytelling and radio shows that would be likely to occasion this use of audience.

The corpus of data includes 38 hours of transcribed audio and video recordings of community practices and video/audiotaped interviews with both youth and staff. Field notes extend to approximately 350 pages; I also collected copies of numerous community artifacts, such as the digital stories and Web sites produced by trainees. I had data on 27 activities in which staff explicitly used absent audiences as scaffolds for self-analysis. In transcribing, I used Moerman's (1988) conventions with the audio tracks; as I looked for themes in the data I used coding techniques outlined by Miles and Huberman (1994). Weekly member checks helped insure accuracy. Thematic coding categories included community practices (collaboration, rehearsal, scaffolding, presentation, reflection) and language use (professional language, articulating answers for peers, audience awareness, and communicative competence). In the latter stages of data analysis, I focused on the reported speech of both imagined and past audiences to see how they were used. Data were cross-coded in all applicable categories. Duranti (1997), Goodwin (1994), and Levinson (1992) provided helpful models for analyzing discourse as part of professional practice and the socialization of new community members into participation through talk.

AUDIENCES

Using Absent Audiences as a Community Practice

I have mentioned previously some of the brief presentations that even fairly new youth make. Youth who give tours to visitors, for example, must be able to explain not only what they are

learning at Hopeworks but also the organizational mission. As trainees prepare to make their first “professional” presentations of their personal Web sites, they must learn where to stand and how to speak to the community at large. The staff asks trainees not only to conceptualize but also to articulate their design decisions for audiences; the prompt to consider what the audience will think is woven into performance practices.

Before moving into an examination of two lengthy transcripts on digital stories and a radio show, I will look briefly at an occasion in which a group rehearsal became an opportunity for a trainee, Amir, to take up the staff’s interest in audience as an evaluative tool. A group of five advanced trainees, including Amir, was preparing prototype Web sites for a series of books about urban youth for high school students. The clients were the author and publisher of the series, who wanted to use the trainee-designers’ technological expertise and backgrounds as urban youth to help them conceptualize an innovative site for the book series. Amir, who had been at the organization for over a year, had had some difficulties both with school and with his site. He had not always been responsible in getting his work done on time and both he and the staff expressed concern about his performance and his continuation in the program. The five trainee/designers had met weekly to give each other feedback on their designs and to rehearse their presentation to the author. In the final design meeting, Amir made an important contribution in assessing the appropriateness of one of the sites. He looked at Raquel’s site and noted that its colors appealed to an audience far younger than that of the book series:

Amir: I think they’d [colors] be all right if you’re aiming for a younger audience, but the books are meant for students in HIGH school, this would be aimed more at a middle school to high school grade level, it’s kind of kiddie—

Youth: What about colors, make it colorful.

Amir: not to be insulting, Raquel, but if I went to a site like this I’d think these colors are boring—make me think this site is for *Winnie the Pooh* or something.

All: hahahahahaha.

Ajua: He’s right but she—

Amir: —I’m sorry, I’m sorry. But they’re primary colors, elementary.

Youth 2: They’re basic colors.

Raq: All RIGHT, all RIGHT. hahaha. Using colors in the crayon box.

Amir’s own audience took his blunt clarity to heart. His argument—which left no lasting animosity—became the occasion for Raquel to rework the color choices on her site. In conversations with the other trainees, Raquel had been focusing on the composition of her site. The task of the trainee/designers, however, was the creation of sites for other urban youth readers of the book series, something that Raquel had not thought much about. Amir’s use of audience was precisely the kind of analysis that she and the others needed as they prepared to present the sites to their client. He mentions audience 4 times in 5 lines (high school audiences once, middle school or “younger” twice, and himself once). The responses of the other trainees indicate that his evaluation was both apt and helpful in making him a legitimate participant in the activity.

Using an Imagined Audience to Construct Digital Stories

The staff experimented with another kind of presentation, digital storytelling (Lambert 2002; Hull, 2004; Hull & Katz, 2006), and later institutionalized it as an occasional practice. They wanted to use the process as a way to involve older youth in writing by using technology; from the start, the idea was that the finished projects would be presented to the local community. Digital stories contain spoken narratives, often personal, to which still or moving images and sound tracks have been keyed.

Though it was not an organizational focus, digital storytelling nonetheless used the same apprenticeship practices as the Web design and mapping programs. The adult staff leading the project included Mark, the director of daily operations and an Emmy-winning videographer, and Erica, a former English teacher. The project was intended as an opportunity for the older day trainees (whose job was to learn to design Web sites for others) to use their voices about themselves. The seven participants were the three newest trainees (Michaela, Isaac, and Justin—all of whom had juvenile arrest records), two (Michaela and Ashley) with some experience, and two more (Ernesto and Robert) who had been production employees for more than a year and had continued on to the local community college.

Mark used professional equipment to record the narration, and the seven trainees used Adobe Premier, a professional editing program, to incorporate images, voice, and music tracks into their pieces. The timetable allowed only a week to move from brainstorming stories to finished projects, a deadline Mark and Erica said was typical for videographers. Mark continually framed the project as belonging within a tradition of professionals, illustrating throughout how they think and talk about their work. In linking the idea of professionalism to audience considerations, Mark frequently tied the two together by recounting examples from his experience. Both he and Erica used the notion of an anticipated audience as a mechanism for youth to use in assessing how well their stories were working. Mark asked the youth to consider their choices of images, repeatedly urging them to “put yourself in the place of the audience.” Justin, for example, struggled to find an image that represented his home in a faraway rural state. But the actual picture of his house didn’t carry the meaning he had hoped for, and Mark encouraged him to think beyond his desire to keep that image in the video:

15. Mark: Remember, when people are looking at the movie, they will say, “he could’ve
16. picked any picture in the world, why did he choose that one?”
17. Then the audience is starting to think [and] then you’re starting to lose them.

Here Mark clearly voiced the thoughts of the imagined audience for Justin to consider as feedback. In so doing, Mark both broadened the impact of his words and removed himself as only an individual critic with a particular reaction, though he was often that as well. On a subtler level, his comment in lines 15–17 also constructed the audience as, first, being so engaged in the story that they are not “starting to think.” Thinking—or analysis—as Mark conceptualized them for Justin were a different process from being swept along by a story, and he clearly separated that reaction from the kind of analysis he wanted the youth to do as they worked on their stories.

This focus on audience thus had a number of effects. First, it asked the story-makers to change their relationship to the material in their stories and to become intermediaries between the stories

and the imagined audience. As they moved from reporting their personal stories to making performance objects, their footing (Goffman, 1981) and roles also underwent clear changes. *Footing*, as Goffman has noted, represents the temporary relation between participants in interactional situations. For example, when at one point Mark asked all seven trainees to consider themselves as workers in a professional tradition, the process of making the stories changed from what Ernesto called a “fun break” in the usual routine into a situation with requirements for professional terminology and practices. Being privy to professional practices was also something that interested them more. No longer just reporters of their own pasts, they now had explicit goals for their stories as communicative objects in relation to their public audience.

This new footing permitted a longer term movement into new roles, as Melanie’s experience illustrates. Her story, recorded in a devastatingly calm voice, reflected a series of sexual abuses and abandonments by her family. As a young teenager, she was thrust into the ranks of the homeless, and she moved to Las Vegas where she supported herself and her new drug habit with prostitution. As Melanie constructed her story and began to read it for Erica, her first audience, she worried about Erica’s reaction. Erica responded to the content of the story with obvious concern:

20. Erica: [responding to content] Melanie, that’s terrible.
21. Melanie: And that’s not even the end of it.
22. Erica: This is 13 [referring to Melanie’s age and pointing to her transcript], OK, so
23. now you’re here, this is here this takes you to [age] 16.
24. Melanie: OK, 16 (5.0). You’re going to look at me like real different . . .
25. Erica: No I won’t, no I won’t, I know YOU, so what happened before doesn’t matter
26. to me . . .

Two things are noteworthy in this brief excerpt. First, both Melanie and Erica understand clearly what Erica refers to when she uses words such as *this* and *here*, partly because they have Melanie’s story transcript on the table in front of them. These deictics are, as Wortham (1996) points out, the kinds of linguistic cues we can use to discover the footing of participants in a conversation. The use of *this* and *here* indicate that Melanie and Erica are both literally and figuratively on the same page and that they are partnering on this project. After a pause, however, Melanie shifts the discussion to one in which Erica might now change her opinion of Melanie. Erica’s immediate reassurance conceptualizes two Melanies—the remembered and troubled Melanie who is becoming objectified by the writing process and the second Melanie, the “*you*” who is writing the story. Indeed, Melanie mentioned much later that when she watched her finished project, with its happy ending, that it was “like seeing a fairy tale”—a comment indicating authorial distance.

But Melanie also took up a third position with regard to the story in a conversation with me on the following day when she articulated her intention that the story, “Girls Need to be Protected,” should be a warning to other young girls, to whom she felt a sense of duty. Melanie thus created for herself a role as an expert who could advise other young women. These shifts in role occurred as Melanie widened the possible audience for her story from Erica to me to Mark

(who recorded the story), to the other youths in the project, to the invited audience at an evening presentation of the stories, and to unknown audience members at a public presentation at a major art center in Philadelphia. She reported that she would need to “cut out a few pieces [of the story], depending on the audience [she] was going to show it to” (personal communication, May 17, 2007), noting that some things she would show only to family or close friends. With each presentation, Melanie’s confidence grew, as did the circle of potential interlocutors. Increasingly she saw herself as having the expertise to guide other, younger girls and their parents. With regard to her nervousness about showing the film in front of audiences she didn’t know, she reported, “I got over that the first time . . . now I want to help people take action with their own kids . . . it’s going to touch people in different ways. I can’t wait.” The prospective audiences, one by one, helped her change her perceived role from reporter to guide.

When Melanie’s story was complete, both staff and peers recognized its power and careful execution. During an end-of-project wrap-up meeting with the storytellers, Mark asked them to assess how well the project had gone and then asked, rhetorically, that the trainees consider helping others. Melanie felt sufficiently competent to volunteer immediately, even though Mark was only asking the youth to consider the possibility:

14. Mark: Now we’re looking back and getting your feedback; are any of you guys
15. skilled enough that you could help us out by being a trainer? [asked rhetorically]
16. Melanie: I’LL DO IT.

Melanie, thus, changed her footing from listener to active job seeker. This was a clear assertion of power (and desire) ratified when the staff promoted her to assistant trainer for the younger trainees. Melanie’s story, then, did not stand in isolation. Along with it were the differing versions and the commentaries she developed in relation to her widening audience. Although she was concerned about her self-representation, she was also clearly engaged in her self-presentation (Goffman, 1959; see Nelson, Hull, & Roche-Smith, 2008, for a helpful discussion of how these two types of presentation play out in digital storytelling). That is, she used the story of herself overcoming adversity as a way to map out a move into increasingly complex roles. Melanie’s trajectory from conceptualizing herself as powerless to powerful indicates both her accumulation of new social capital and the relation of performativity to language practices, audience, role, and identity. Norton (2000) argues that community learning practices can affect the subject positions that newcomers adopt to protect their identities. Here the interdependent factors of apprenticeship, language use, and audience were deeply embedded in the larger community practices and particularized in the digital storytelling, and Melanie’s new roles signaled her changing identity as a beginning professional. In the following case, the youth preparing for a radio show were also dealing with the issues of representation, but they struggled primarily with the characteristics ascribed to them by others.

Using an Absent but Real Audience to Construct a Radio Show

In the case of the digital story preparation, Mark and Erica acted as proxies for an audience; their own extensive professional experience enabled them to predict the likely responses of future

audiences. The trainees' brief digital stories were autobiographical, and they represented primarily themselves. The seven radio show panelists, on the other hand, had been chosen by the staff to take part in the broadcast of a discussion about youth experiences of Camden. They were thus representing the category of "Camden youth" in a forum that would be somewhat fluid. In beginning their preparation for the radio show, both the panelists and Anna (then literacy director) had established the general topics for discussion and gathered some research, and Anna reminded the youth that they were residents and, therefore, "experts." As the panelists began to rehearse, they were somewhat constrained by the fact that too much of a script would render the actual show wooden or boring to the participants; too little, chaotic. The rehearsal was thereby considered an approximation rather than an attempt at an idealized performance, though there was discussion in the rehearsal about the kinds of things needed to be correct. Five of the seven panelists were present at the rehearsal: Alejandro and Lakesha were experienced day trainees who worked in production; Ashley, Raul, and Robert were high school freshmen and sophomores finishing their pre-production training.

The panel participants' chief topic was how Camden residents were perceived by surrounding communities. Camden is often used as a dumping ground for trash, criminals, and pollutants from elsewhere in the surrounding wealthier parts of the county. The panelists knew that they and other residents were the objects of scrutiny by commuters passing through Camden on their way to Philadelphia; Ashley had published a poem in the local newspaper in which she commented on the invisibility of Camden residents to the outsiders above them on the freeway. She admonished the outsiders, noting that they were "only able to see us for what you think we are/we're not different from you." During the preparation, Anna used the poem as a prompt to the other panel members, asking how they thought outsiders perceived them. The panel responded that Camden residents were seen as "barbarians" who don't care about their neighborhoods and as "a bunch of nobodies" unworthy of protection from industrial polluting. Lakesha added that many Camden teens feel that there isn't much to live for.

The concern over these ascribed characteristics was intensified during the practice session by the experience of several panel members three weeks earlier at a professional conference in Cleveland, Ohio. They had made a successful presentation; in a Q&A session afterward, however, an audience member stated her assumption that the youth would not go to college. This comment made apparent the tendency of some professional audiences to delegitimize urban youth. I had heard about the comment and that Lakesha had managed the situation well, but I did not know the details. When the panelists began discussing the status of Camden citizens as "nobodies" and "barbarians" I mentioned the incident. Alejandro, one of the most experienced youth, interpreted my point as being that audiences are pleased to see Camden youth doing something positive.

17. Alejandro: It HAPPENED, it happened before. When we went to San Antonio
18. about 2 years ago uh we presented to them and showed them the video that said
19. the murder rate and the high school drop out rate. People were glad to see like a
20. bunch of 16- and 17-years-old presenting, doing something, something like that
21. could give us a future and it felt good because like when they heard us talk

22. and they saw the video, to me what they probably thought was like oh you
 23. know. Look at these people, you know, look at these youth, they're like,
 24. their city is. like Like SO messed up—SO much violence and drugs and
 25. like Lord knows what. And like they're out here trying to DO something
 26. with their lives And there was in San Diego when we showed them
 27. another video with like the same stuff with the dropout rate, the murder
 28. rate, and we got a standing ovation and like it felt good and we came up on
 29. stage like, and we talked about the city of Camden was and what we're
 30. trying to do and. like doing that was like real good for us, y'know it gave
 31. us a little bit of a name sort of and people said at the end, OK so Camden
 32. isn't just all about poverty violence and drugs, there a lot of hope, uh
 33. Anna: perfect

In reporting on the response of the San Antonio audience, Alejandro depended on his ability to read audience cues (see Goodwin, 2007), and to allow himself to feel “good” that the San Antonio audience recognized trainees’ hard work in the context of a “messed up” city (ll. 24–27). He infers that in giving the youth a standing ovation, the San Diego audience indicated that it had altered its perception of Camden (ll. 31–32) and appeared to be encouraged by the meaning his words seemed to hold for an audience of adult professionals. While Alejandro had answered a part of my question, he had not yet taken up the issue an audience member raised very specifically at the Cleveland conference three weeks earlier: her assumption the youth wouldn’t attend college. This assumption went to the heart of the problem urban youth face, “win[ning] a place in the social order” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 481). Because the assumption was deeply connected to the panel’s concern with others’ perceptions of Camden youth, I raised it again:

34. Carol: And Tamika’s story from Cleveland about how the, the person kept
 35. PUSHING her, uh, saying (0.5) that well, you, you guys won’t really go to
 36. college—
 37. Lakesha: —y[eah].
 38. Carol:[so[o—
 39. Lakesha:[She, I was [so mad!
 40. Carol: [y’know so
 41. Lakesha: she was fun though! Hahaha
 42. All: hahahaha
 43. Anna: someone rea[lly SAID that to you?

44. Lakesha: [She was like, Well, how many of ya'll are going to

45. COLlege?

46. Ashley: all of us thanks

47. Lakesha: I'm going NOW—HOW 'BOUT IT! Hahaha.

48. Carol: This fits perfectly—

49. Lakesha: —I was so mad!

In these lines, my prompt to Lakesha to tell the story contained indicators of my own discomfort with my question (“uh,” “well,” and the pause). Lakesha responded with a series of evaluative comments as she both reported on the audience member’s question and her own response. In line 39, she veered away from discussing the audience member to describing her own reactions (“She, I was so mad”). Lakesha loved verbal dueling, so her comments that the interlocutor made her “mad” but that she also had provided some “fun” (l. 41) weren’t antithetical. The overlaps throughout this section indicated the intensity of our reactions to the incident and our eagerness to express our varying intentions for dealing with it. Anna’s question in line 43 implied an evaluation, with its assumption that people don’t usually ask such questions, after which the story resumed, with Lakesha using Anna’s question as a proxy for the audience member’s statement. Her answer in line 47 was an emphatic “I’m going NOW,” followed by an evaluative commentary, “HOW ‘BOUT IT!”). My attempt to relate the story back to the radio show audience in line 48 was an assertion of my correctness in having brought the story up in the first place; I was also trying to reassert the frame of the radio show audience. However, I had jumped the gun. Lakesha let me know that she had not finished relating her narrative with her restatement that she was “so mad.”

49. Lakesha: She said that that EVERYBODY, she tried to get us to start business,

50. start being entrepreneurs

51. Ashley: yeah

52. Carol: and how perceptions can shut down opportunities if people don’t stand

53. up for themselves—

54. Lakesha: —exactly

55. Anna: [you’re

56. Carol: [well this might give you a lot of support on that

57. Anna: And if that’s something you’ve experienced, you could bring up, bring

58. up that [story and

59. Lakesha: [And she was, I was mad because she was one of US

60. Alejandro: Black?

61. Lakesha: YEESSS. hahaha. I was so MAD! Discourage us to go and make

62. ourselves BETTER. because just like you can start a business your
 63. business can fail and you would've wasted time and money. WHY!
 64. Ashley: uhm hm
 65. Lakesha: I was so mad.
 66. Anna: wow, that's really shocking.
 67. Alejandro: like, people like to do like make people like us feel—
 68. Lakesha: —why do you want to push US to be entrepreneurs and YOU
 69. TEACH! YOU'RE not an entrepre—hahahah—neur! hahaha! She was like
 70. "I am a professor at this college, and I think you should." And you
 71. aren't even an entrepreneur, sit down and shut up. hahaha

As was the case in the previous excerpt, the conversation here moved in and out of narration and commentary, with some of the assessment embedded seamlessly in Lakesha's narration (l. 63 "WHY!"). Lakesha's use of reported speech conjures up the missing interlocutor, and, as was the case in lines 39–49, the focus shifts quickly back and forth between teller and the absent audience member. We alternate between laughing with Lakesha and commenting on her interlocutor (e.g., Anna's assessment that the audience member's speech was "shocking" in line 66; see Goodwin [1984] for the way in which "laugh tokens" guide the audience response; see also Goodwin, 1986). Although the audience member wasn't present in Lakesha's rendering of the story, Ashley, one of the youth who had witnessed the interaction, ratified Lakesha's version in lines 51 and 64, and none of the other youth disputed it. As was the case in the first excerpt, Anna and I were the primary audience for the story since most of the other youth in the room had attended the Cleveland conference. My comment (l. 56) that the incident would be good evidence for the panel discussion was evidence of a competing framework in which I again jumped the gun and where Lakesha worked around me.

In lines 69–71, Lakesha described the way in which she would have liked to have responded; embedded in that is her report of the professor's introduction of herself as an expert. In line 69, Lakesha challenged this expertise with her laughter ("YOU'RE not an entrepre—hahahah—neur!") in response. Lakesha herself was working at a youth organization with an entrepreneurial focus, and she also was attending community college full-time. Her speech explicitly asserted her expertise in both fields, expertise that the professor did not have. Lakesha's distress at being positioned as inferior by someone who was without business experience seemed matched by her distress that this audience member was "one of US" (l. 59).

This was a particularly powerful example of the difficulty urban youth can have in parsing the social order, let alone finding their place within it. Lakesha and her interlocutor ranked the attributes of race, class, education, professional experience, and social standing differently, with Lakesha assuming that race would be a predictor of affinity. The professor's assumption that Lakesha and the others would not go to college implicitly made a distinction between the social standing of the trainees and her and then effectively shut the door to their further education. It was clear to the panel that they would have to find a way to make their audiences listen to them.

Lakesha had at least found a way to figuratively silence the professor by reporting the unspoken thought that she should “sit down and shut up.” Goodwin (1986) has noted the ways in which a speakers “test their competence and standing vis-à-vis each other” (p. 311). Lakesha had tested herself against the professor, and in relating her story she also displayed her competence to us and enjoyed the admiration of the younger youth (while simultaneously managing the responses of the researcher).

The forthcoming radio audience would be both silent and invisible, but the prior conference audiences could be used as probable indicators of how other audiences might respond to the youth. Ashley, the author of the poem who had largely remained silent, commented, “It’s a shame, though, how people don’t believe in us, and think we are, like, ignorant, think we sit there and waste our lives.” The preparation, then, was an opportunity for the panelists to analyze and evaluate the responses of two previous audiences to them as representatives of their city, about which they were themselves deeply ambivalent. Importantly, it was also an opportunity for them to claim the right to speak and be heard.

DISCUSSION

The staff originally conceived of the presentations from which these data come as practices that would help the youth draw together and articulate their learning. Performances are always more than that, however; inescapably, as all three examples here testify, the youth represent themselves as subjects for discussion, and they thus both construct their identities and respond to the identification made by others. In illustrating how an audience can be marshaled into helping youth assess their own development, these examples also make clear the depth of the learning possible in multifaceted organizations with multiple ties to adult communities. Bauman and Briggs (1990) argue that the multiplicity of speech events that surround a performance, including previous audiences, texts, and rehearsals, not only enables, but also requires reflection as context changes. For example, although presentation of work to one’s peers is useful, peers frequently do not make the same kinds of assumptions about urban youth that strangers might.

The radio panelists, not only understood, but also took for granted, the constraints of poverty, inadequate schools, and isolation from the mainstream that they shared. Their audiences, some of whom could act as gatekeepers into communities of practice in adult worlds, saw these constraints as defining features. The trainees placed substantial importance on dealing with these audience responses: Of the 234 lines of transcript of the radio show preparation, 81—more than a third—explicitly concern the legitimacy of their participation in the adult worlds. While I had brought up the question asked by the professor, the youth engaged it at great length. The data also indicate the variety of uses to which both staff and youth put the absent audiences. Amir positioned users of the new Web sites as students deserving to be treated respectfully, while simultaneously gaining respect from his own audience. Melanie first conceptualized the adults’ helping with her story as possibly rejecting; after her presentation, she imagined audiences of young people whom she could advise. In both these latter cases, imagining audiences allowed trainees to imagine themselves with new roles and identities. The presentations, with their absent audiences, not only help the youth see themselves, but also to learn to use their audiences, first as mirrors, and then as potential partners—who may need to be convinced of the legitimacy of their claim to participate.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Who gets to speak and be heard is a central question for urban youth whose race and, frequently, poverty mark them as illegitimate participants in adult communities of practice. As Alejandro and Lakesha found, even displays of some competence can be insufficient evidence of the cultural capital gatekeepers require for legitimate participation. The case of the radio show demonstrates the ease with which minority youth may be marked by audiences as improbable candidates for success in college. Part of the interactional work youth must learn is how to acknowledge and overcome such marking (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Norton, 2000)—in part through *habitus*. In considering *habitus*, Duranti (2001) suggests that learners do have ways to increase their cultural capital through “regulated improvisations” (p. 29) and argues that the notion of cultural capital “allows us to think of linguistic varieties as having a ‘value’ within a ‘market’” (p. 29).

For youth, learning to parlay these values into new roles requires adult mediation. In asking trainees to first use each other as audiences, the staff took their thinking out of the realm of private thought and externalized it within the community (Sawyer, 2006). All community members, from novices to more experienced youth and staff, then had a prime opportunity to reflect on what they were doing. Community practices that objectify a presentation, as Bauman and Briggs (1990) and Nasir, Roseberry, Warren, and Lee (2006) argue, help make “the structure of the domain visible” (p. 492), while simultaneously modeling how actors using a domain think and talk (Goodwin, 1994; Collins, Brown, & Holum, 1991). Such practices offer multiple opportunities for learning that goes well beyond self-expression or technological expertise.

The trainees’ understanding of recipient design and audience expectations were part of their socialization into both the community and into the world of professional practice (Duranti 1986; 1997; Goodwin 1994; Kendon 1990; Levinson 1992). They needed to understand the fluidity of the expert/novice situations (Jacoby & Gonzales 1991) that performances would offer; they might have more expertise than some audience members, and they would need to assess the needs of their audiences carefully.

This kind of participation structure, with its clear connection to adults in a community is clearly powerful. However, as the study of Halpern, Barker, and Mollard (2000) indicates, many out-of-school organizations for urban youth do not help youth “stretch and grow” and instead “seem . . . to reinforce the youths’ limited sense of their own possibilities and their narrow sense of the world” (p. 502). And although 6 million children participate in after-school programs, Hall and Gruber (2007) note that only 8% were teens in grades 9 through 12, adding that “many teens would prefer to participate in structured activities should they be available” (p. 1). Like McLaughlin and Heath (1994), Hall and Gruber (2007) note the attributes of successful programs, which include local and extra-community connections, participation in decision making, and relationships with supportive adults. They also argue that the ability to gain some independence by learning employment skills and earning wages or stipends in out-of-school programs has great value for youth. But as this article has argued, these should be coupled with community practices that give participants opportunities for legitimate participation. Organizations that can make these connections need to encourage the kind of deep learning that a technologically complex organization inspires, especially when learning is articulated in presentations. The case study presented here is, of course, an examination of only one organization. The participation framework, however, is something that could be used in a variety of settings, such as schools with arts or other kinds of performance expectations, in which an audience, especially an absent one, can play a powerful role.

REFERENCES

- Bauman, R. (1984). *Verbal art as performance*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
- Bauman, R., & Briggs, C. L. (1990). Poetics and performance as critical perspectives on language and social life. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 19, 59–88.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Information* 16(6), 645–668.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *A social critique of the judgment of taste* (R. Nice, Trans.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241–258). New York, NY: Greenwood.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J.-C. (1990). *Reproduction in education, society, and culture*. London, UK: Sage.
- Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2004). Language and identity. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *A companion to linguistic anthropology* (pp. 369–394). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Bull, G., & Kajder, S. (2004–2005). Digital storytelling in the language arts classroom. *Learning and Leading with Technology*, 32(4), 46–49.
- Butler, J. (1997). *Excitable speech: A politics of the performative*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1999). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Collins, J. (1993). Determination and contradiction: An appreciation and critique of the work of Pierre Bourdieu on language and education. In C. J. Calhoun, E. LiPuma, & M. Postone (Eds.), *Bourdieu: Critical perspectives* (pp. 116–138). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Collins, A., Brown, J. S., & Holum, A. (1991). Cognitive apprenticeship: Making thinking visible. *American Educator*, 1–18. Retrieved from <http://www.21learn.org>
- Dimitriadis, G. (2006). “Pedagogy on the move”: New intersections in (between) the educative and the performative. In D. S. Madison & J. Hamera (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of performance studies* (pp. 296–308). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Duranti, A. (1986). The audience as co-author. *Text*, 6(3), 239–247.
- Duranti, A. (1997). *Linguistic anthropology*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Duranti, A. (2001). Linguistic anthropology: History, ideas, and issues. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *Linguistic anthropology: A reader* (pp. 1–38). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Gee, J. P. (1992). The social mind: Language, ideology, and social practice. In D. Macedo (Ed.), *Series in language and ideology*. New York, NY: Bergin and Garvey.
- Gee, J. P. (1999). *An introduction to discourse analysis*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Gee, J. P. (2000–2001). Identity as an analytic lens for research in education. In W. G. Secada (Ed.), *Review of research in education* 25 (pp. 99–126). Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association.
- Gettleman, J. (2004, December 29). Camden’s streets go from mean to meanest: Life and death in a city called America’s most dangerous. *New York Times*, pp. B1, B5.
- Giordano, R. (2009, November 24). Camden’s crime rate again leads U.S. *Philadelphia Inquirer*. Retrieved from http://www.philly.com/philly/news/local/20091124_Camden_s_crime_rate_again_leads_U_S_.html
- Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. New York, NY: Anchor.
- Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of talk*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Goodman, S. (2003). *Teaching youth media*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Goodwin, C. (1984). Notes on story structure and the organization of participation. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis* (pp. 225–246). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Goodwin, C. (1986). Audience diversity, participation and interpretation. *Text*, 6(3), 283–316.
- Goodwin, C. (1994). Professional vision. *American Anthropologist*, 96(3), 606–633
- Goodwin, C. (2007). Participation, stance, and affect in the organization of activities. *Discourse & Society*, 18(53), 53–73.
- Hall, G., & Gruber, D. (2007). *Back to the future: Engaging older youth*. Issue brief. The Massachusetts Special Commission on After- School and Out of School Time. Retrieved http://www.wellesley.edu/WCW/NIOST/publications/MS_C_brief_Hall_Gruber_b.pdf
- Halpern, R., Barker, G., & Mollard, W. (2000). Youth programs as alternative spaces to be: A study of neighborhood youth programs in Chicago’s West Town. *Youth & Society* 31, 469–506.

- Heath, S. B. (1998). Working through language. In S. Hoyle & C. T. Adger (Eds.), *Kids talk: Strategic language use in later childhood* (pp. 217–240). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Heath, S. B. (1999). Dimensions of language development: Lessons from older children. *Cultural processes in child development: The Minnesota symposium on child Psychology*, 29, 59–75. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Heath, S. B., & McLaughlin, M. (Eds.). (1993). *Identity and inner city youth: Beyond ethnicity and gender*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Hull, G. A. (2004). Youth culture and digital media: New literacies for new times. *Research in the Teaching of English*, 38(2), 229–33.
- Hull, G., & Greeno, J. (2006). Identity and agency in nonschool and school worlds. In Z. Bekerman, N. Burbules, & D. Keller (Eds.), *Learning in places: The informal education reader* (pp. 77–97). New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Hull, G. A., & Katz, M. L. (2006). Crafting an agentive self. *Research in the Teaching of English*, 41(1), 43–81.
- Hull, G., & Nelson, M. (2005). Locating the semiotic power of multimodality. *Written Communication*, 22(2), 224–261.
- Jacoby, S., & Gonzales, P. (1991). The constitution of expert-novice in scientific discourse. *Issues in Applied Linguistics*, 2(2), 149–181.
- Katz, M. (2008, September 23). N.J. murder rate falls, but rises in Camden. *Philadelphia Inquirer*. Retrieved from <http://www.philly.com/inquirer>
- Kendon, A. (1990). Spatial organization in social encounters: The F-formation system. In A. Kendon (Ed), *Conducting interaction: Patterns of behavior in focused encounters* (pp. 209–238). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Kress, G. (2003). *Literacy in the new media age*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Kress, G., & Van Leeuwen, T. (2001). *Multimodal discourse: The modes and media of contemporary communication*. London, UK: Edward Arnold.
- Lambert, J. (2002). *Digital storytelling: Capturing lives, creating community*. Berkeley, CA: Digital Diner Press.
- Larson, R., Walker, K., & Pearce, N. (2005). A comparison of youth-driven and adult-driven youth programs: Balancing inputs from youth and adults. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 33, 57–74.
- Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Levinson, S. C. (1992). Activity types and language. In P. Drew & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Talk at work: Interaction in institutional settings* (pp. 66–100). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- McLaughlin, M. W. (1993). Embedded identities: Enabling balance in urban contexts. In S. B. Heath & M. W. McLaughlin (Eds.), *Identity and inner city youth: Beyond ethnicity and gender* (pp. 36–67). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- McLaughlin, M. W., & Heath, S. B. (1994). Learning for anything everyday. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 26(5), 471–489.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded source book* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Russell Sage.
- Moerman, M. (1988). *Talking culture: Ethnography and conversation analysis*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Nasir, N. S., Roseberry, A. S., Warren, B., & Lee, C. (2006). Learning as a cultural process. In R. K. Sawyer (Ed.), *Cambridge handbook of the learning sciences* (pp. 489–504). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Nelson, M. E., Hull, G. A., & Roche-Smith, J. (2008). Taking, and mistaking, the show on the road: Multimedia self-presentation and social interaction. *Written Communication*, 25(4), 415–440.
- New London Group. (2000). A pedagogy of multiliteracies designing social futures. In B. Cope & M. Kalantzis (Eds.), *Multiliteracies: Literacy learning and the design of social futures* (pp. 2–38). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and language learning: Gender, ethnicity, and educational change*. Essex, UK: Pearson Education Limited.
- Ohler, J. (2005). The world of digital storytelling. *Educational Leadership*, 63(4), 44–47.
- Poverty Benchmarks Project. (2007). *Poverty in the city of Camden*. Retrieved from www.lsnj.org/PDFs/budget/PovertyCityOfCamden041107.pdf
- Rasmussen, M. (2003). Performativity, youth, and injurious speech. *Teaching Education*, 14(1), 25–36.
- Rogoff, B. (1990). *Apprenticeship in thinking*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Salpeter, J. (2005). Telling tales with technology. *Technology & Learning*, 25(7), 18, 20, 22, 24.
- Sawyer, R. K. (2006). Analyzing collaborative discourse. In R. K. Sawyer (Ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of the learning sciences* (pp. 187–204). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Sefton-Green, J. (2006). *New spaces for learning: Developing the ecology of out-of-school education*. McGill, South Australia: Hawk Research Institute for Sustainable Societies.

- State of New Jersey (2008). *NCLB report*. Retrieved from <http://education.state.nj.us/rc/nclb08/reports/07/0680/07-0680-040.html>
- Thompson, C. C. (2009). Roles and rehearsals: Youth participation frameworks in one youth organization. *Linguistics and Education*, 20(4), 328–349.
- Thompson, C. C., Putthoff, J., & Figueroa, E. (2006). Hopeworks: Youth identity, youth organization, and technology. In D. Buckingham & R. Willett (Eds.), *Digital generations: Children, young people, and new media* (pp. 313–329). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum
- Wenger, E. (1999). *Communities of practice*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Wood, S. (2005, November 21). “Most dangerous” label strikes Camden again. *Philadelphia Inquirer*. Retrieved from <http://www.philly.com/mld/inquirer/news/local/13221055.html>
- Worham, S. (1996). Mapping participant deictics: A technique for discovering speakers’ footing. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 25, 331–348.
- Worham, S. F. (2001). *Narratives in action: A strategy for research and analysis*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.