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CHANGING DIGITAL MEDIA ENVIRONMENTS AND YOUTH AUDIOVISUAL PRODUCTIONS: A COMPARISON OF TWO COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH EXPERIENCES WITH SOUTH MADRID ADOLESCENTS

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Changing Digital Media Environments and Youth Audiovisual Productions: A Comparison of Two Collaborative Research Experiences with South Madrid Adolescents

Abstract

This paper compares two studies conducted in Madrid within seven years of each other in which secondary school students (14-15 years of age) were asked to collaboratively create digital audiovisual narratives. In the first project, adolescents seemed to consider their audiovisual materials as transparent and with self-evident meanings. In the second project, adolescents problematized meaning and reflexively examined the design of audiovisual media. We explore two distinct but complementary factors that might help interpret the differences: (a) rapid historical changes in the digital narratives adolescents are exposed to and engage with; (b) methodological differences in the way adolescents were supported and guided during the creation of their audiovisual narratives. Through this analysis we draw on an ethnographically-grounded notion of *mediatization* that helps unpack both rapid transformations in adolescent's digital mediascape and how digital practices are socially co-constructed in collaborative projects with youth.

Keywords: Mediatization - Collaborative Research - Audiovisual Narratives – Digital Practices – Secondary Education

Introduction

This paper compares two studies conducted in Madrid in a 7-8 year span (2007-2014) in which secondary school students of around 14-15 years of age were asked to collaboratively create digital audiovisual narratives. The comparison between materials and experiences will allow us to explore, in an ethnographically-rich way and within a relatively short historical time-frame, transformations (cf. Lunt and Livingstone, 2016) in adolescent's *mediatized* audiovisual experiences and how these are tied to changes in the digital media and technology landscape over the last decade. In addition, while attention to adolescent's appropriations of (changing) available technologies puts the analytical focus on macro-level transformations, our analysis will also pay attention to meso-level / organizational processes in the production of contrasting types of audiovisual artifacts and the different types of adolescent media engagement (Androutsopoulos, 2014) these processes facilitate. In short, we have two goals for this paper: (a) to unpack particular aspects of what (in terms of semiotic resources, narrative structures, etc.) has changed in adolescent media practices through the detailed comparative examination of materials gathered at two critical points in the recent history of digital media and technology; (b) to expand current discussions of mediatization from the macro-level to the meso-level (Deacon and Stanyer, 2014) by focusing on how particular practices and activity infrastructures help shape adolescent media creations

Situating mediatization and media engagement in our analysis

Mediatization is a central concept in media studies (Livingstone, 2009; Hepp, 2014), has recently been discussed within sociolinguistics (Agha, 2011, Jaffe, 2011) and, even more recently, put at the center of possible dialogues between media studies and sociolinguistics (Androutsopoulos, 2014). There are several alternative definitions of the concept and a number of terminological debates that cannot be reviewed here (but see Hepp, 2014; Schulz, 2004; Hjarvard, 2008; Hepp, Hjarvard and Lundby, 2015, Deacon and Stanyer, 2014). For the purposes of this paper, the usefulness of mediatization is well captured by Hepp (2014) in his understanding of mediatization as a general research approach "used in order to analyze the interrelation between change of media and communication on the one hand, and the change of

culture and society on the other hand in a critical way" (p. 50). Given the goals and data of this paper, we situate mediatization within the following parameters:

(1) Mediatization is a specification of the more general phenomena of mediation (Androutsopoulos, 2014; Agha, 2011). From a socio-cultural or socio-semiotic perspective communication is mediated, for some more generally as it always accomplished through some semiotic system and for others more specifically when it utilizes a communicative technology other than oral language / face-to-face interaction. In either specification mediation emerges as a "structural" aspect of communicative processes. In contrast, mediatization highlights the socio-culturally and historically-situated processes that shape these mediated communicative processes.

(2) We can also understand mediation from a Vygotskian perspective (Vygotsky, 1978; Lave, 2011), as a process involving social actors engaged in collective activity, such as teaching and learning or, as in the cases below, working with adolescents in the co-creation of audiovisual materials during a research project. Further, this collective activity is structured at several layers of experience. In other words, social actors (such as teachers, students, peers, family members, etc.) co-participate in the generation, interpretation and production of audiovisual materials, yet do so by drawing from, adapting and interpreting the possibilities of the digital media technologies which are part of the *media environment* of participants (Hasebrink and Domeyer, 2012), wider cultural experiences and media ideologies (Gershon, 2010) and the unique histories and personal biographies of social actors.

(3) Given our primary focus on interactions around digital media and the creation of multimodal artifacts (Jewitt, 2013) our view of mediatization leans towards the social-constructivist tradition concerned with daily practices and appropriations of media (Hepp, 2014), rather than an institutional approach to mediatization (Hjarvard, 2008; Hepp, Hjarvard and Lundby, 2015), concerned with "the interrelation between the change of media communication and sociocultural change as part of everyday communication practices, and how the change of these practices is related to a changing communicative construction of reality" (Hepp, 2013: 618). Our analysis could be seen as falling within studies of youth media engagement (e.g. Androutsopoulos, 2014, Georgakopoulou, 2014; Lytra, 2014,

Dockter, Haug and Lewis, 2010), of how participants incorporate media texts/products/practices into their own daily interactions. Yet as we, in fact, focus on how adolescents create and generate original media products we will also move the notion of engagement a step further - a point we return to in the final discussion.

(4) Finally, "historical change" always appears as a core element in discussions of mediatization (Lunt and Livingstone, 2016). However, at least in the references discussed so far, this aspect is not further conceptualized. Thus, for our analysis, introducing "scale" (Lemke, 2000) as an analytical concept is quite useful. This down-scaling of historical time, and focus on media engagement is also aligned with a view of mediatization as a mid-level concept analytically relevant to examine particular socio-cultural realities (Deacon and Stanyer, 2014) . More generally, by focusing on differences in the two cohorts of adolescents we can highlight some of the factors that, in line with Westlund and Bjur's (2014) call, contribute to heterogeneity in the digital media practices and experiences of adolescents – despite shared geographical, socio-cultural and generational background.

Two research cases come into a dialogue: Methodological considerations

The data we re-examine in this paper comes from two independent research projects implemented with different research goals and research logistics. However, as we put into dialogue how students in each project approached visual materials, we considered the possibility of discussing these contrasts in terms of a "natural experiment" created by the comparison of the two studies. We see this comparison as analytically possible and productive (with the necessary precautions) given the following conditions:

(a) Both studies were conducted in secondary schools located in the same southern district of the city of Madrid and with students roughly in the same age-group (13-15 years of age). Given these constancies, through the comparison we examined the role of two "variables" which do contrast. On one hand, in the relatively short time-span between the two projects significant changes in the broader digital technology landscape occurred. On the other hand, the organization of activity in each project led to the construction of different audio-visual texts.

(b) Both projects shared a general ethnographic perspective in their implementation and, more specifically for the aspects of each project that are put into dialogue here, they attempt to work from a participatory-collaborative research perspective. Also, as the first author of the paper was directly involved in each project, the comparative and shared analysis of the findings draws from the original data (recordings, field-notes, interviews, etc.), rather than from reported/published findings (as is more common in meta-ethnography, e.g. Beach, Bagley, Eriksson and Player-Koro, 2014).

(c) Given that the audio-visual productions we compare in this paper were collected in different research projects with different guiding research questions and under different circumstances it is reasonable that differences will emerge. However, as said, both projects were committed to allowing adolescents lead the construction of their audio-visual narratives, thus we would claim the contrasts cannot be only attributable to the methodological artifacts generated in each project¹ and also say something about the broader media experiences of adolescents outside the particularities of the project. Further, the ethnographic data from the project allows to reconstruct how different types of media artifacts were facilitated during the unfolding work of each project; that is, as we examine below, how particular forms of media engagement were mediated by adults and participants in the project.

In short, from our perspective, the comparison of the two projects allows for a multi-layered examination of different elements that play a role in young people's creative media and audio-visual practices (Wargo, 2015; Docter, Haug and Lewis, 2010; Husbye and Vander Zanden, 2015) With these provisos in mind, we summarize the logic and design of each project. Here we will limit the presentation to design issues and data-gathering techniques, as procedural aspects of how each of the collaborative experiences unfolded with the students are discussed later in the paper as part of the analysis.

Case 1: Audiovisual materials within a team ethnography

¹ An interpretation that, in itself would be problematic, as it questions the capacity of each ethnographic Project to generate theoretical and conceptual generalizations beyond the particularities of the study (e.g. Eisenhart, 2009; Davies, 1998)

The first set of audiovisual materials is extracted from a broader team ethnography conducted over the course of two academic years (2007-08 and 2008-09) focused on the social and educational trajectories of immigrant students in secondary education in Spain (Poveda, Jociles, Franzé, Moscoso and Calvo, 2012). The site of the study was a public secondary school (serving students between 12-18 years of age) located in a large southern, historically working class district of the city of Madrid - this school will be called *ICA* (pseudonym). Data collection focused on the practices that configure immigrant students' educational experiences in compulsory secondary education (12-16 years of age in Spain). The ethnography involved extensive participant observation in classrooms, the counseling department, teacher meetings, alternative programs and leisure spaces within the school. Additionally, groups of students were also observed and followed in out-of-school spaces (including emergent digital interactions at the time) and numerous teachers, students and parents were interviewed as part of the study.

Parallel to this work, the research team developed various 'collaborative' data collection workshops with the students in the school tied to the goals of the overall project. In particular, two types of events were organized:

(a) Video-documentary workshops: During the course of the study, three 'video documentary' workshops were organized by the research team for students in the school. The goal of these workshops was to create a space where students could generate their own video recordings and, eventually, edit small video documentaries. Two of these workshops were offered as an after-school activity (one during each year of fieldwork) and lasted about a month each (based on weekly two-hour meetings), and one was offered during the school day in a single one-day session in the final stages of the study. These workshops were implemented by the research team but also benefited from the collaboration of professional producers, researchers external to the team with experience in similar activities and assistant researchers with experience working with digital media.

In these workshops, students were free to explore any topic in their recordings and projects - with the general indication to focus on something relevant in their lives- and most focused on their expressive practices and interests or social concerns outside school. In this paper we

draw primarily from the two month-long workshops, as in these an attempt was made to co-construct a final project with students. These two voluntary workshops involved around 10 participating students.

(b) School landscape photographs: Apart from the various photographs taken and collected by the research team on two occasions during the study an activity was set up for students from two classes (14 and 16 year olds in their second or last year of compulsory secondary education). In these activities they were provided with digital cameras and asked to work in pairs and take photographs of the school and title the images they had collected. These materials will be used as complementary data to understand student's experiences with audiovisual materials.

Case 2: Producing soundscapes and audiovisual narratives in a collaborative - educational innovation research project

The second set of materials comes from a research and educational innovation project that began in the 2013-14 school year within the Music curriculum of compulsory secondary education students. The site of this collaborative project is a 'subsidized' school (a school that receives public funds but is managed by a private entity) run by a well-known progressive educational organization. This school is located in the same district as ICA but in a different neighborhood. *La Colonia* (pseudonym name of the school) is a relatively large school, divided in two sections -with distinct buildings and administrative units- holding preschool (children between 3-5 years of age) plus primary education (1st-6th grade) and secondary education (from 7th-12th grade, divided in the Spanish system into Compulsory Secondary Education and pre-university Baccalaureate).

During the second semester of the 2013-14 academic year students in all three sections of Year 2 of compulsory secondary education (about 90 students) participated in a collaborative project involving researchers from a public university, the music education teacher of the school and several professional musicians and visual artists who gave master classes to the students in the school.

The central goal of the research/innovation project was to collectively explore the meaning and place of music in the lives of adolescents through different procedures and media. During the semester, students worked collaboratively in groups and completed several tasks guided by their teacher and the researchers: (a) they collected images and sounds from their daily lives, archiving and editing these materials to complete a multimodal soundscape/narrative based on the materials they had collected; (b) they were asked to maintain work-diaries of this process and, eventually, interview each other on their experiences and interactions with music; (c) all this work took place inside and outside the classroom and students worked with Tumblr blogs to archive and organize their materials.

All these activities were documented through audio and video-recordings, photographs and field diaries by the researchers and the teacher. Additionally, the research team interviewed (and held informal conversations) with the teacher-researcher, the students in the project and other teachers in the school and the visiting artists.

Convergences and divergences in the audiovisual narratives from ICA and La Colonia

As our aim is to make some sense of the differences between the audiovisual products generated in each project, we will start out by illustrating and examining these artifacts. In later sections, we examine two layers that might help interpret these contrasts: organization of action and participation during the activity and changes in the digital technological and media landscape.

Students who participated in ICA workshops were free to choose the topic to work on for their video-documentary and they primarily dedicated their time to generate video-recordings of their lives and the lives of youth (their friend and networks) outside school and in their neighborhood. The key issue that emerged -and we examine below in more detail- is that these recordings were: (1) primarily generated individually (or by pairs of close friends); (2) considered the "final" account they wanted to present for the project, thus; (3) students in the ICA workshops consistently did not think it was necessary to engage in further production/editing of the materials and established these "raw" recordings as what best reflected their audiovisual account of their concerns for the project; (4) tied to this

"disinterest" in production, photographs, video-recordings (and music or other media) were treated as independent media, and assembling them together was not contemplated by the students as something relevant for their goals.

For example, consider the following statement by Nacho (all participant names in this paper are pseudonyms) regarding what he planned to do. As an exercise to facilitate exploring topics, in the first session of the workshop the researchers asked students to "imagine they were writing a letter to a friend after completing the workshop and documentary and telling them about the experience". Excerpt 1 is an extract from Nacho's letter (written to himself in the future):


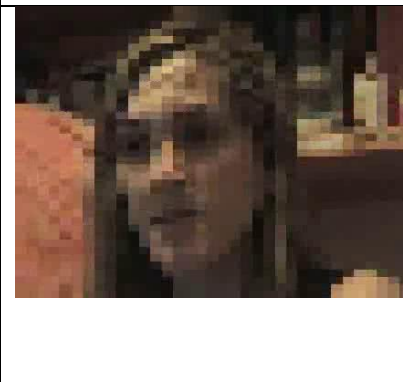

Excerpt 1: Nacho's initial letter in the video-documentary workshop (School year, 2007-08)²

(Spanish original)	(Translation into English)
<p><i>Querido yo</i></p> <p><i>Hoy he acabado el corto, y me ha gustado el resultado, ya que en este corto he conseguido reflejar la realidad sobre el tema que me interesaba.</i></p> <p><i>Los choques de Ideología en la adolescencia.</i></p> <p><i>Con este corto-documental, quiero mostrar la realidad sobre este tema al que algunos estamos expuestos, y que muchas veces es callado, por los medios de información Burgueses, y ridiculizado habitualmente.</i></p> <p><i>Tomando como ejemplo a no seguir, el programa de una conocida cadena, "Callejeros", e resuelto los errores de este programa, y no he cortado por donde me convenía ni he buscado la audiencia con historias manipuladas para darle la carroña-alimentacion al espectador-zombi.</i></p>	<p>Dear me</p> <p>Today I finished the short-film, and I like the result, as in the short-film I was able to show the reality of the topic I was interested in.</p> <p>Ideology clashes during adolescence.</p> <p>With this documentary short-film, I want to show the reality that some of us are exposed to and that many times is silenced by Bourgeois information media, and ridiculed often.</p> <p>I took as an example of what not to do, the program of a well-known TV station "Street Reporters", I solved the mistakes in that program and have not cut where it was not convenient, and I did not seek an audience with manipulated stories to feed garbage-for-food to the zombi-spectator</p>

² The transcription of the original text reproduces the non-conventional choices in his writing regarding capitalization, punctuation and grammar as he incorporated them in the original hand-written text. The translation attempts to capture aspects of this construction by being as literal as possible.

The audiovisual materials the students produced in this first workshop primarily consisted either of "interviews" (i.e. they held the camera while asking questions to other people), recordings of daily activities of youth in their neighborhood (e.g. playing in basketball courts, activities at cultural centers, parks, parties, etc.) and/or conversations with these youth during ongoing activity. The recording student would hold the video-camera while "shooting continuously" the activity, as illustrated in the successive frames from different recordings from the 2007-08 ICA Workshop:

Figures 1: Still frames and narratives in the 2007-08 ICA recordings

	<p>Figure 1(a): This screen-capture illustrates a part of Nacho's recordings (see Excerpt 1), which he did alongside his friend Jorge. Here they are interviewing a friend who is actively involved in the Madrid "anti-fascist" youth movement and claims, during the interview to participate in violent confrontations with "neo-nazi" youth in Madrid.</p>
	<p>Figure 1(b): This screen-capture illustrates a part of the video-recordings presented by Emma. She has formed a dance group/collective with school friends and neighbors and they dedicate a significant part of their out-of-school time to dance and rehearse their choreographies. Here she is interviewing one of her friends about the difficulties that young working-class people in Madrid have if they want to develop an interest in modern dance.</p>
	<p>Figure 1(c): This screen-capture illustrates a part of the recordings collected by Juanjo. He tried to document the various activities and places he and his friends go to during their leisure time and the weekends, such as going to parks, shopping malls or concerts and festivals that might take place in the district.</p>

In contrast, the visual artifacts produced in La Colonia were edited assemblages of image, video and sounds generated by the participating students and/or downloaded from the web. Also, all these productions gravitated around the same issue: explore the meaning and place

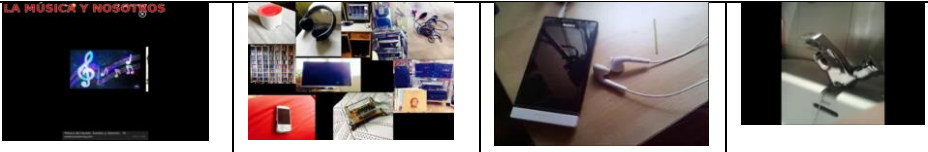
of music in their lives. As we discuss below in more detail, these *narrative soundscapes* (one of the labels used in the activity to describe the final products) emerged as: (a) collective-group projects from the students in the music class; (b) the organization and meaning of the final product developed and emerged over the duration of the educational experience; (c) each individual student within his/her working group positioned him/herself in various ways (including dis-identification) in relation to the portrait/narrative captured in the final project of the group. Excerpt 2 presents an explanation offered by a La Colonia student about this progressive unfolding of the educational experience during a roundtable presentation of the project at our University - which was planned as one of the outcomes of the project.

Excerpt 2: La Colonia student describing the educational experience during a roundtable presentation at the University

(...) At first we were lost, we are used to having teachers telling us what to do, as in the end teacher's evaluate us, but then everything changed (...) the most interesting part is that we gradually started making our decisions, learning to do things on our own (...) also with artists we saw that things could be done in many different ways (...)

Each of the group final projects had a distinctive construction and aesthetic style, but all projects were created as compositions (remixes - see below) in which the various elements they had collected (image, sound, video, music, voice, etc.) were layered together. Figure 2 schematically illustrates how this layering was accomplished in one particular work-group in which a series of images were combined with various layers of sounds, speech and music.

Figure 2: Example Layering in the final narrative soundscape from La Colonia

Images (selection from the full clip)	
Music	Commercial songs: <i>Royal</i> (by Lorde) - in the background during the full clip
"Sounds"	Telephone rings, water running, kitchen appliances, classroom activity...
Voice / Talk	Statements from each of the students in the group about the meaning of music for them

In short, ICA students seemed to treat their audiovisual productions as transparent texts, which did not require any additional post-production/edition work to be rendered as interpretable narratives. In contrast, La Colonia students constructed with their peers multimodal assemblages of materials they collected and jointly interpreted over the course of the educational project they participated in. In the following section, we attempt to interpret these differences in relation to significant changes in the digital media landscape each cohort of adolescents is exposed to and engages with in their daily media practices.

Macro-level processes: Changes in the digital media environment and digital media youth practices

Attending to macro-social transformations in the digital media landscape in which these students participated provides one interpretive layer to understand the differences between the visual artifacts generated in 2007-08 and 2013-14. There is hardly a 7-8 year difference between the two studies, yet this particular period is marked by a significant transformation in the digital technologies available to adolescents – and, more fundamentally, the digital practices connected to these technologies relevant to understand the audiovisual productions discussed above. Further, the ethnographic data from these projects allows to connect these broader changes in the digital media environment (Hepp, 2014), that is the technologies and applications that are available in the market and broader context, to the particular media repertoires (Hassebrink and Domeyer, 2012), that is the particular technologies and practices that are used and taken up by individuals, of the adolescents from the two research sites (given their own preferences, socio-economic constraints, etc). This allows for a more contextualized account of how changing digital media environments materialized in the audiovisual creative practices of the adolescents of our studies.

One way of understanding this change is by, drawing parallels from sociolinguistic work on youth language practices, considering an adolescent digital enregisterment (cf. Karrebæk, Madsen and Møller, 2015): how digital practices are aggregated into a recognizable and distinct repertoire that stabilizes for particular groups/cohorts of adolescents but also changes over time - relatively rapidly given processes of differentiation among adolescents and the dynamism of expressive practice (Wortham, 2011). Table 1 summarizes some of the contrasts

in the digital technology and media environment that are potentially relevant to our argument. These macro-changes are later situated in relation to the digital practices of students at ICA and La Colonia.

Table 1: Some features in the digital media landscape of Spanish adolescents in 2007 and 2013

2007-08	2013-14
PC-centered digital communication Text-based mobile phones First PC-based “social media” sites (e.g. Messenger, Myspace, Metroflog) Spanish version of Youtube launched in 2007	Mobile-centered digital communication Smartphones Multiple multi-media-platform “social media” Most adolescent media consumed via digital devices

Spanish adolescents in 2007-08 were clearly part of an adolescent digital culture, which had some basic features and was, in fact, at the brink of important transformations. More generally, adolescents at this point in time were part of a *PC-centric* digital landscape (González-Patiño and Esteban-Guitart, 2014; Esteban-Guitart, 2016) and the mobile phones that some adolescents owned only allowed text-messaging. The digital practices reported by these adolescents included downloading content from the internet, using e-mail, sending text short-messages and instant messages via *Messenger* and participating in interest-based forums (Poveda and Sánchez, 2010). Adolescents at ICA, especially immigrant adolescents, also had social media profiles in emergent and popular platforms at that moment, such as Myspace and Metroflog - the latter especially popular among Latin American adolescents as it allowed them to sustain their transnational networks (Calvo, 2012), which they primarily engaged in through their home computers. Among adolescents at ICA there was a group of more active digital users engaged in creative and collaborative digital practices, creating content, uploading videos, etc. - these engaged users at ICA was especially involved in Hip-Hop / Rap culture (Poveda, 2012). There were also students with particular interests in technology and programming, who planned to continue their studies and training in this area. Yet, none of the adolescents who participated in the video workshops were strongly involved or were early adopters of these more engaged/participatory digital practices (cf. Lange, 2014). In fact, given the prevalent socio-economic conditions of the school (i.e. working-class and/or migrant backgrounds), it can be said that most students at ICA were not early adopters of emergent

technologies and displaying and using the latest devices in the market was not usual in the school.

By 2013, all adolescents in La Colonia were fully engaged in a *mobile-centered* digital culture (González-Patiño and Esteban-Guitart, 2014; Esteban-Guitart, 2016). The immense majority, if not all, of the students who participated in the collaborative project around music owned smartphones, had daily access to internet via their smartphones and other digital devices and were part of peer networks in which editing, remixing and sharing audiovisual materials through various social media platforms -especially those more amicable to mobile devices (e.g. Whatsapp, Snapchat, Instagram were the popular applications among adolescents in La Colonia)- are a constitutive part of their daily interactions (e.g. Wargo, 2015). Further, most media consumption by these adolescents took place via digital media platforms (primarily Youtube), rather than television or other "traditional" media (as illustrated in the captures in Figure 2). Consequently, their audiovisual narratives both: (a) recuperated materials from these social media platforms (e.g. images, video extracts, audio fragments, etc.) and (b) utilized some of the "compositional" strategies present in these audiovisual texts to create their own projects (Ito, Horst, Bittanti, Boyd, Herr-Stephenson, Lange and Robinson, 2008; Kafai and Peppler, 2011). Further, as we discuss in more detail in the next section, another indication that the digital landscape had changed in the interval between the two projects is that by 2013 there were a variety of digital social media platforms in the market and not all of these were part of adolescents repertoires. For example, the adults in the research team chose Tumblr as the social media platform to upload and share materials generated during the project - under the assumption that Tumblr is especially "user friendly" with a variety of media materials (image, sound, video, text, etc.) and allows for a variety of social media interactions (commenting, following, tagging, etc.). Yet, this platform was not used by the participating adolescents in their informal interactions and, during the project, students had to learn how to use the platform and situate its utility within the logic of the collaborative research experience (Morgade, Verdesoto, Poveda and González-Mohino, 2016).

In summary, between 2007-2014 a number of macro-level transformations in the digital landscape available to contemporary youth took place. These transformations penetrated, to different degrees, the social and communicative practices of the participants in each of the

sites discussed in this paper and provide one interpretive layer around the differences in the media artefacts generated in each of the collaborative research projects. For example, as Excerpt 1 above shows, students at ICA drew their references from broadcast television programs -and particularly the “street reporting” shows that were popular at the time- while, as Figure 2 shows, adolescents at La Colonia assembled pieces from different digital media none of which include broadcast television. However, there are also important differences in the organizational arrangement of each experience and on the mediating role of adults/researchers in the process. These also help understand how the construction of the audiovisual materials developed. In the following section we turn to meso-level and micro-level processes.

Meso/Micro-processes: Organizational constraints and mediation strategies at ICA and La Colonia projects

There are obviously countless differences between the two research projects and the collaborative experiences around audiovisual materials, so attempting to outline each of these and attribute them a particular explanatory value would be a futile task. However, we do want to highlight two general contrasts between the projects that might help understand how the construction of the audiovisual artefacts in each context progressed. These two factors also help unpack how mediatization, in line with the conceptualization discussed in the introduction, unfolds in social practice and how macro-processes are tied to and enacted in interaction. The two features we will discuss are: (a) the institutional-organizational constraints that permeated each project; (b) how adults mediated students' engagement with audiovisual materials generated during each project.

Institutional constraints at ICA and La Colonia

The video-documentary workshops offered at ICA were part of a larger two-year ethnographic study in the secondary school focused on the educational trajectories and experiences of immigrant youth. These workshops were one (relatively minor in terms of data and participants involved) component of the data-gathering process and were designed to complement previous extensive observations of students inside and outside classrooms. Under

these conditions, two critical features help understand the organization and dynamics of the workshop.

First, these workshops were offered as voluntary after-school activities (see Figure 3). On one hand, in terms of institutional involvement, the school simply allowed the activity to take place, offered school spaces to conduct the workshop but did not supervise or collaborate in the organization of the workshop (e.g. via interested teachers), its goals or methodology. On the other hand, as student participation was voluntary only a small number of students enrolled in the workshops and their participation/presence across the sessions of the workshops also varied (either because students became disinterested or because they had other conflicting commitments - study for exams, other activities, etc.). Consequently, it was relatively "easy" to dissociate the workshop from regular school activities and subjects (it did not deal with any particular content area, was not led by school personnel, was not graded, etc.) and the conversations we had with students, such as candidly discussing violence or drug consumption, suggest this was the case. Yet, securing the commitment of students during the workshops became a recurrent issue and sessions had to be planned and re-designed taking into consideration that students might not show up at the session, might not have the recordings they claimed they would bring, might have forgotten parts of the materials, etc.

Figure 3: Flyer announcing the video-documentary workshop

<p>TALLER DE INVESTIGACIÓN Y REALIZACIÓN DE UN CORTO DOCUMENTAL AUTOGESTIONADO POR ESTUDIANTES DEL IES</p> <p>Coordinadores: [REDACTED]</p> <p>Diseño: Convocatoria a la realización de un taller de investigación y producción de cortos-documentales sobre la realidad social y la vida escolar desde la perspectiva de los jóvenes.</p> <p>Objetivo general: Lograr mediante la entrega de elementos sobre la investigación social y la producción audiovisual, que los participantes realicen cortos documentales en los que analicen la realidad social y la vida escolar desde su propia perspectiva.</p> <p>Modalidad: El taller promoverá el trabajo en grupal mediante actividades individuales, sub-grupales y colectivas, fomentando el debate y los acuerdos para la realización de la tarea</p> <p>Duración y tiempo de trabajo: Encuentros de trabajo de aproximadamente dos horas durante diez semanas. Los días jueves en horario de 17:30 a 19:00hs.</p> <p>Fecha de comienzo: Jueves 22 de Enero del 2009.</p> <p>Desarrollo:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1- Entrega de información sobre los objetivos del taller y la investigación general que lo enmarca. Entrega de elementos básicos sobre lo que significa investigar y sobre el uso del registro audio visual. Trabajo sobre temas o áreas a investigar a partir de los intereses de los participantes. Elaboración de un diseño de filmación (cronograma, sujetos intervinientes, espacios, etc.)2- Filmación simultánea a cargo de distintos participantes3- Trabajo de síntesis y planificación de la edición4- Montaje definitivo de la producción documental <p>La participación en el taller es voluntaria, y el equipamiento será provisto por el equipo de investigación.</p>	<p>(Translation of the "General Objective")</p> <p><i>By providing elements from social research and audio-visual editing, to allow that participants produce short documentary films in which they analyze social reality and school life from their own perspective.</i></p>
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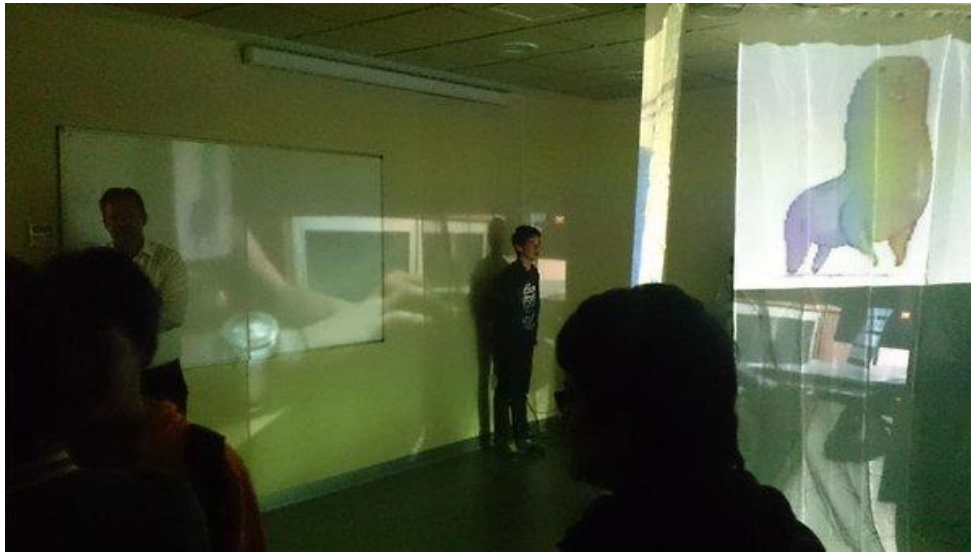
Second, the explicit goal of the workshops was to generate a video-documentary, that is, a "final product" created by the students. Yet, within the logic of the larger research project, the workshop in itself and the "raw" materials generated during the experiences were also considered valuable data for the research project and materials that could be analyzed and eventually provided insights in relation to the broader research questions that guided the project. Consequently, there was limited pressure on the part of researchers to complete the video-documentaries and finish the workshop with a product. In other words, even if a short video-documentary was not produced, the workshop experience still served the goals of the research project, did not conflict with student's level of engagement during the workshop and was in line with how adults in the activity framed their role (see below).

In contrast, the collaborative project in La Colonia was inserted in the Music curriculum, a compulsory subject for all students in their second year of secondary education. At the very initial stages of the project, the research team did critically discuss the implications, advantages and disadvantages of offering the experience as an after-school or out-of-school activity. Yet, as the collaboration of the music teacher became a key aspect of the project, the

decision was to develop the project during Music classes in school. Further, while the research team was inclined to only work with one section/group of students (for practical and methodological reasons), the teacher was adamant about offering this opportunity to all his students (i.e. three sections, about 90 students) and, thus, the educational innovation and collaborative research project was implemented with all students in the second year of secondary education - and students were not given the opportunity to opt out from the experience.

The educational innovation involved substantial changes in conventional classroom practices, in how students usually worked, in the type of project adolescents had to develop or in relation to how the course would be assessed; yet, the experience was still framed as a "school activity" and the project time-line oriented towards completing a number of tasks. The teacher and class expected to finish the school year with each group of students producing an audiovisual soundscape and the class preparing a collective exhibit and presentation of the project for the school and at the collaborating university. Further, as the project captured media attention -began to be commented on social media, was featured in a Spanish public television program, involved various collaborations with professional artists, etc.- completing a "deliverable" product became a more relevant goal for the teacher, the school and, indirectly, the students. In other words, while careful documentation of the process and the compilation of the materials generated during the study could serve the goals of the research component of the study, the educational/curricular aspect of the experience was oriented, at least in part, towards completing and showcasing an outcome (Figure 4).

Figure 4: "Museum of musical experiences" installation at the University by La Colonia students



These general organizational arrangements conditioned how each of the collaborative experiences unfolded, and consequently the type of audiovisual artifacts adolescents were enticed to generate in each context. Apart from this, while there are potentially infinite differences in how interactions were structured in each experience which we could bring into the analysis, we argue that one key aspect/contrast is how adults acted as mediators (cf. Baynham, 1993, Papen, 2010) in the construction of the audiovisual narratives in each context.

Adults as media mediators at ICA and La Colonia

“Collaboration” in ethnographic research can be problematized, defined and put into motion in a number of ways (e.g. Estalella and Sánchez-Criado, in press; Kullman, 2013, Rabinow, 2011) and both experiences started out with a shared concern around “collaboration”: understanding that (adult) researchers would work with (adolescent) students to help them develop their own interests, questions and results from the experience. Yet, there were differences in the stance taken by adults during the activity and in the role adults construed and re-defined for themselves throughout each project. We suggest contrasts at this level can be understood by focusing on two aspects that developed in distinct ways in each study: (a)

differences in the "guiding metaphors" for each collaborative experience and; (b) how adult's mediational strategies changed (or not) throughout each experience.

The after-school project at ICA was presented as an opportunity to help students develop and produce their own video-documentaries. Therefore, the main metaphor/referent was for students to adopt the role of "ethnographers" (Cammara, 2011), to engage in practices akin to ethnographic-anthropological inquiry and to work towards a product recognizable as a social science / anthropological output: an ethnographic documentary. This logic, often implicit, was well reflected in the roles and identities of the adults who collaborated and participated in the experience: academic anthropologists and researchers, postgraduate students, visiting researchers with experience in this area or professional documentary filmmakers.

Additionally, from our perspective, the impact and relevance of this metaphor during the experience was visible in how the researchers in charge of the activity defined their role during the first sessions of the program. A review of the field-notes and recordings from these sessions show adults in a rather "directive-instructional" stance aimed at helping adolescents adopt a researcher-perspective and the analytical tool-kit of an ethnographer. For example, the first sessions and activities that were generated with the students were very much aimed at helping students formulate their objectives and research questions and, later, see if there were common themes or conceptual interconnections between the different projects of the students. Later, when students began producing their first recordings, these were brought to the workshop where they were played and discussed with the group. However, as the vignette below shows, the adult mediators in the program, in fact, seemed to redefine these recordings as "fieldwork" examples and provided feedback and suggestions regarding the actions and strategies adolescents could have deployed in the field to optimize the richness of the data - very much like if they were in a qualitative research methodology seminar and were discussing how ethnographers can/should act in the field.

Excerpt 3: Vignette from an ICA Workshop session (13 May 2008)

Two students have come to the workshop today, Juanjo and Emma, with the recordings they collected over the weekend. We set up a laptop computer and sit around a table to watch the videos. Four

researchers accompany the two students, two sitting in chairs alongside the students (Graciela and Ana), one controlling the laptop computer (Adela) and one situated outside this activity controlling the video-camera recording the workshop session (David). We have started to play the recording Emma and Juanjo did together, in which Juanjo recorded Emma with her dance group during a morning rehearsal and then asked questions (camera "in hand") to the dance teacher, some of her students and other friends who had gone that morning to see the rehearsal.

At one point in the recording, Juanjo asks one of these (male) friends "so do you like to get into trouble or are you a calm person? (*¿y os gusta buscar problemas o sois tranquilos?*)". Immediately after this exchange in the recording, Graciela asks to stop the recording and then starts to discuss with Juanjo what he intended to do with this question and attempts to explain how the way it is formulated, as an alternative choice question where one of the options is socially much more desirable and face-saving, might direct the person being interviewed to respond in a particular direction.

Adults continued adopting this stance during several sessions of the workshop but then changed rather abruptly. Adolescents in the workshops engaged with commentaries as those in Excerpt 3 and showed (moderate) interest in the concerns and logic of a "social research perspective"; yet, as discussed above, they also considered their "raw" recordings responded to their research concerns and portrayed what they wanted to document in audiovisual format. Additionally, as the stated goal of the workshop was to have students edit/produce their documentary film, adult researchers actively retreated from making suggestions or taking lead in any the activities tied to the "production" process of the materials (cf. Rifà-Valls, 2009 for a project in which researchers take a much more active role in co-production). The work was limited to compiling and archiving these recordings and students finished the workshop period without generating any type of edited or final product nor did they have any other external pressure to do so.

The experience at La Colonia also, and very explicitly, framed students as "researchers" and the collaborative project as an opportunity to document their musical practices. However, here rather than have students adopt the role of traditional ethnographers, the metaphor was closer to an "arts-based" form of inquiry (Finley, 2008). Students during the project were exposed not only to (academic) researchers but primarily to professional musicians, artists and photographers and were enticed to generate a multimodal narrative that clearly departed from the formats of reporting knowledge that were familiar to them or common in school.

In line with this perspective, the collaborating researchers (and the teacher) understood that their role should be relatively "laid back" to allow students to generate their own materials and express their own ideas, acknowledging that these could not be ranked and that the same concerns and ideas could be expressed in a number of ways (and through different media). However, as Excerpt 2 above summarizes, this relational logic in adults clashed very strongly with dominant practices and student's experiences in school - where there is a "correct way" of doing things, students are constantly assessed and teachers instruct about how "things should be done". The impact of these contrasting approaches and expectations became visible in the first few weeks of the implementation of the project: the initial enthusiastic response to being able to explore alternative educational practices was replaced by frustration and skepticism on the part of students given the lack of clear instructions and guidance regarding what they "had to do".

Consequently, the teacher and the researcher in charge of the experience had to progressively re-define their roles and take a more active stance. But this transformation did not mean adults assumed a more "instructional" attitude, rather adults engaged with the materials, with each other and with the students in ways that modeled for students how to interpret and work with the visual and aural artifacts adolescents were compiling. The excerpt below illustrates how adults defined their role, as captured in the researcher's field-diary:

Excerpt 5: Marta's Field-diary from La Colonia project (Spring 2014)

The morning session plan is for each group of students to present the photographs they have generated about the place of music in their daily lives. No one wants to be the first group to present, so we –the researcher and the teacher- eventually encourage a group to come out first. The group comes up to me trembling and very nervous, one of students says he "does not know if it's right" and "does not know what to say". I try to calm him and tell him not to worry, that the point is just to share ideas, that it will be OK because he is going to show his pictures and this is what matters for the activity. We spend some time trying to open the photographs in the computer to show them in the projector until they finally come up. Then, one student in the group describes each picture and explains why it was chosen while the rest of the group stands quietly. When he is done presenting all the photographs the rest of the class claps. Alberto, the teacher, asks questions to the group that has presented the photographs and the class but they hardly respond. Then we both remind the class the objectives of the project and insist that the

whole point of the activity is to encourage discussion. Some students start to respond and say the photographs are good, while other students start to talk and joke among themselves. The teacher asks for silence and encourages the students to share their commentaries in public to the whole class.

In short, comparing adults' role in each experience, at ICA adult researchers started out with a much more directive approach, focused on how to generate and interpret audiovisual materials but then withdrew completely from guiding students into the production and edition of the materials. In contrast, at La Colonia, as the project developed, the adults had to adopt a more active role in guiding students on how to work with and interpret their materials unconstrained by the dominant "school logic". Later, as deadlines had to be met to complete the projects, adults supervised more closely progress in the projects of each group of students and provided clear guidelines when necessary.

Discussion

This paper compared the audio-visual productions of adolescents in two projects separated by a relatively short time-span marked by significant changes in the digital technological landscape³. We have attempted to understand these contrasts through a socio-constructivist approach to mediatization and media engagement. Our argument is that mediatization as a constitutive element of adolescent's digital and audiovisual practices can be examined both at a more macro-historical level and through the actual social practices of youth engaging with and generating audiovisual artifacts. At a historical level, the comparison illustrates how digital technologies and media operate in and contribute to a context of rapidly changing digital media practices. Yet, the comparison and reanalysis of the original data and field materials in light of technological changes -and evolving theoretical discussions- has allowed to situate these changes within the actual media repertoires of two recent cohorts of Madrid adolescents suggesting how these impact on the audio-visual artefacts they produced in different collaborative research experiences.

³ The period between 2007-2014 is also marked by an unprecedented economic crisis with a dramatic impact on Spanish society and, particularly, young people. These aspects also overlap with socio-demographic differences between La Colonia and ICA. Yet, a discussion of socio-economic factors is simply beyond the scope of this paper.

In addition, developing a lesser explored line of inquiry in mediatization research with youth, we have been able to trace the social practices and interactions that might shape the construction of adolescents' audiovisual artifacts. We documented adolescents' actual creative engagement with media and the role played by peers and adults in shaping (i.e. mediating) their multimodal productions – as said, within the context of contrasting digital media environments that shape these practices (i.e. how they are mediatized). Finally, our comparative approach and re-examination of ethnographic and audiovisual materials could also be seen as opening an alternative line of inquiry in relation to adolescents' (or children's) media and digital practices. Accumulated ethnographic/qualitative studies of youth media practices could be successively re-opened, re-examined and compared to trace transformations which often operate below the radar of historical or sociological analysis of social change but that might be more amenable to the temporal logic of ethnographic analysis and the rapidly changing nature of digital technologies and practices.

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