Published in final edited form as:

Sociol Stud Child Youth. 2010 January 1; 13: 205–231. doi:10.1108/S1537-4661(2010)0000013011.

The Importance of Audience and Agency for Representation: A Case Study of an Urban Youth Media Community

Linda Charmaraman

Abstract

Purpose—Urban youths' agency to represent their realities through media has been largely unexplored in the youth development literature. In this qualitative case study of an after-school youth media program in the Bay Area, expressions of youth agency and the role of audiences are explored during the process of producing videos for public consumption.

Methodology—As participant observer of 14 ethnically diverse youth participants aged between 15 and 18 years over 18 months, I documented (a) the kind of agencies participants engaged in and (b) the impact of live and imagined future audiences on youths' creative processes. Analyses of field notes, semi-structured interviews, and media projects were conducted using thematic analysis to inductively generate emerging categories.

Findings—Themes included an agentic sense of self-efficacy, commitment, and responsibility, as well as perceived contributions to local audiences and an emerging collective identity. The youth demonstrated their increased sense of a social or civic duty to realistically represent youth of color to familiar and unfamiliar audiences.

Implications—This case study demonstrated how one youth media organization fostered agency through youth authorship, production, distribution, and local community dialogue. By documenting the impact of audiences from conception to public reception, this study provides valuable insight into the agentic process of publicly “performing” a commitment to complete a social change video project.

Contribution—This chapter underscores the value of performance within youth development programs and the critical component of audiences as one form of authentic assessment in order to foster individual and collective agency.

I feel that sometimes adults don't give young people a chance to speak and I think that's what this program allows – youth literacy or being able to communicate our ideas effectively through film.

– Kristine, Youthscape 10th grader

In this case study of a youth media context, I document how the presence of two audiences – the local neighborhood community as well as the emergent peer community of participants in an after-school program – cultivated a sense of agency among predominantly minority urban youth from low-performing schools. Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, and Cain (1998) describe human agency as the power of individuals to act with purpose and reflection, to be able to reiterate and shape the world they live in, both as social producers and as passive social products. Recognizing that exercising one's voice is integral to developing agency, Hull and Greeno (2006) advocate empowering youth through development of voice, which is defined as the “ways in which individuals present and represent themselves to others and to themselves, thereby authoring and coauthoring their identities in the social worlds in

which they participate” (p. 78). This case study shows how in the complex socializing context of a youth media community, adolescents can *produce* and not merely *consume* media as a cultural and technological tool in order to combat prevailing media misconceptions about urban youth. By producing an authentic perspective of the urban adolescent experience thereby reinventing their unique urban youth culture, young producers can actively author and coauthor identities to incorporate more positive community ideals and hope. The adolescent participants in the nonprofit media arts community described in this case study were motivated to provide a corrective to how the mass media appropriated youth identities into neatly edited packages for general public consumption.

Media Disempowerment

The vast majority of characters on mainstream television are upper-income White males under 50 (Kundanis, 2003). Minorities make up less than 5% of all characters on television (Greenberg & Collette, 1997). Graves (1993) observed that when ethnic minorities were depicted on mainstream television shows, they were restricted in “content ghettos” of limited scope and rarely interacted cross-ethnically. This can send a message of the implicit societal segregation of ethnic minorities from engaging meaningfully with the majority culture. Young people's experiences with mass media images can affect how they self-identify in relation to others, as well as provide limited impressions and schemas of groups that audiences may have little contact with (Huntemann & Morgan, 2001; Kundanis, 2003). The depiction of ethnic minorities and women on prime-time television programs as victims or as having low social status (Van Evra, 2004) can place marginalized youth at risk to feel alienated and invisible.

Mainstream media images of youth of color, especially for Asian Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans, continue to be vastly under-represented and often totally invisible (Mastro & Stern, 2003), which amounts to “symbolic annihilation” (Gross, 1995). These mainstream media images can operate as self-fulfilling prophecies. Weinstein (2006) believes that the social influence of self-fulfilling prophecies “operates through reinforcement, the availability or lack thereof of opportunities, and messages about capability, worth, or inclusion that impact individual self-view, engagement, and survival” (p. 14). This marginalized representation signals the absence of social power and teaches children about their relative importance in society (Greenberg & Brand, 1994). In this article, I argue that urban students' participation in public displays of media projects has the potential to reverse “media's current role in contemporary culture and politics from a source of alienation and silence to a source of collective voice and agency” (Sholle & Denski, 1993, p. 317). By engaging in youth-centered community-based media programs, adolescents address experiences of alienation in the media and the society by portraying identities that are agentic, efficacious, digitally literate, and connected to communities (Charmaraman, 2008; Hull & Katz, 2006; Soep & Chavez, 2005).

Emergence of Youth Media Production as a Forum for Agency

According to Goodman (2003), community-based media programs sprang up in the mid-1960s in New York City when the first 16mm film production workshops for inner-city teenagers were being taught. As the success of these informal learning environments grew within the context of student counterculture and the free speech movement, the idea of students as media makers as opposed to media receivers gained momentum. By the mid-1970s, however, budget cuts in the arts caused a decline in student media work, though many community-based groups provided off-campus venues to produce their own work. Although the increased availability of inexpensive yet high-quality equipment in the 1980s led to the promise of jobs in the media industry, this emphasis steered away from the earlier

idea of youth and community empowerment. Perhaps the media sparked renewed community interest in the disenfranchisement of youth after the highly publicized student shootings at schools and increased youth alienation overall by the 1990s (Goodman, 2003).

Campbell, Hoey, and Perlman (2001) conducted a survey of 21 US-based youth media programs, widely ranging from offering media literacy activities to developing TV show segments to participating in film festivals and international media exchanges. According to Campbell and colleagues, youth media production has been shown to enhance individual level positive outcomes, such as youth voice, research, writing, critical thinking, and career development skills. In a study of 45 youth media organizations by Social Policy Research Associates (2004), program directors indicated that young people are the primary intended audience for their youth-produced media products, followed by community adults and policymakers. There have been relatively few studies related to the role of media production and its potential to change young people's beliefs about agency to impact audiences, for instance by affecting perceptions of youth in their communities. In this qualitative case study, I explored the influence of an ongoing audience of peer/adult feedback throughout a program called Youthscape,¹ as well as an imagined local community audience that would ultimately evaluate their public media production. I documented the key roles these two audiences played in youths' perceptions of the value of their products, while affecting their agency to present more positive images of urban youth to their community.

Theoretical Pathways to Voice and Empowerment

Agency versus Structure

The classic agency-structure debate in sociological discourse has primarily focused on the dichotomous relationships between (a) sociohistorical structural determinants, such as class, gender, and educational systems that have great impact on individual opportunity and (b) individual or collective oppositional practices that signify the free will to shape the social structures (Hubbard, 2000). Agreeing with Giddens's (1984) frequently cited classic theory of structuration, Buckingham and Sefton-Green (2003) assert that structure and agency are, in fact, interrelated and mutually interdependent:

Asserting the power of agency necessarily means denying the power of structures. Proclaiming that audiences are 'active' necessarily means assuming that the media are powerless to influence them; and asserting the power of the media necessarily means to involve a view of audiences as 'passive dupes' of ideology (p. 390).

Within the context of youth media studies, Buckingham and Sefton-Green framed this debate as that of young consumers existing within and against structured corporate media culture. They emphasized that the powerful notion of *activity processes* surrounding media products for both creators and recipients of media (audiences) is the indispensable element of agency. Media use, both within and outside of formal educational contexts, can take different forms: as an intentional process of design utilizing available resources to create meaning (Kress, 2000; New London Group, 1996) and as potential sites of progressive culture building rather than as objects for passive consumption (Willis, 1990). The activity process of engaging with media is the mechanism through which one produces meaning and pleasure. In this conceptualization of youth media, consumption is not simply passive or manipulated by the adult-controlled media industry.

¹All program and participant names are pseudonyms.

Interplay between Voice and Agency

One might argue that youth media programs are social movement groups attempting to bridge the divide between adults' control over media content and children's rights to access and change media representations. Within social movement theory, the terms voice and agency have been described as overlapping and mutually influencing (Dugan & Reger, 2006). A group's *voice* is its ability to articulate a common goal and sense of direction and at the same time taking into account the multitude of diverse voices within its membership – an appreciation of diversity in order to be unified. Mechanisms that can give voice include generating an external message to be consumed and interpreted by the public. Individual members of a group maintain their sense of voice when there are internal avenues for self-expression. A group's *agency* is the feeling of empowerment toward achieving its collective goals. Rather than measuring whether a group's outcomes are reached or not, Dugan and Reger focus on the *perception* of agency by members of an agentive group. It is critical that individuals perceive these goals as attainable and worth pursuing.

Taking into account the dynamic and reflective influences that can enhance the ability to become change agents, Emirbayer and Mische (1998) theorized agency as a temporally embedded process of social engagement, informed by the past (habits), and also oriented toward the future (imagining alternative possibilities) and toward the present (contextualizing past habits and future projects while in the moment). The ability to consider different perspectives about one's video making, gathering collective knowledge from the past and imagining what the future may hold when presented to an audience, could be key indicators of practicing agentive video-making skills. The purpose of this case study was to understand how the development of agency is observed within and influenced by social settings and community organizations. The theoretical framework, which guides this case study rests on the substantive interplay between structure and agency articulated through activity processes that occur over time. Combining the complex ways in which agency has been depicted by researchers from different theoretical perspectives, I utilized a hybrid conceptualization of agency: (a) as an individual and collective vehicle for voice and active community engagement and (b) as a dynamic social phenomenon, consisting of acting with purpose and reflection to interact with and shape the world one lives in.

Research Questions

- How does a youth media organization foster agency through the process of producing media content for public consumption?
- What role do peer and community audiences play in the development of youths' acquisition of agency?

Method

Participants

The nonprofit after-school organization in this study was situated at a high school and at a downtown office in the San Francisco East Bay. Funded by local community, foundation, and governmental resources, the programs were free to the youth participants. Youthscape enrolled young people from at least four schools across the school district. These schools ranged from a rank of 1 to 5 out of 10 on the 2004 Academic Performance Index (API), which characterizes them as some of the lowest performing schools in the state of California.

The organization recruited students through classroom presentations, announcements through the school's PA system, teacher and principal referrals, open houses, and word of

mouth. The after-school program offered classes in different media fields: radio broadcasting, music, and video or animation, ranging from 8 to 15 students per instructor. Though a variety of programs were offered at this site, I primarily focused on the intensive video apprenticeship class offered year round. The selection of this particular group was based on their relatively high attendance, the diversity of students from different schools and racial/ethnic backgrounds, as well as the relatively high numbers of female participants compared to similar programs. I observed 14 apprentice students over a span of 18 months, all of whom started the program with different technical skill levels. As reported by these students, average household income for this group of students was \$45,000, which is below the Alameda County median income of \$55,946 as well as the state median of \$51,593 (US Census, 2000). The video apprenticeship class was diverse in terms of race and gender: 31% Asian American, 25% African American, 20% Latino/Chicano, and 6% were Native American, Caucasian, Middle Eastern, or of mixed heritage; and 44% were female. The average age was 16.

According to its mission statement, Youthscapes aimed to support youth development by enhancing their capacity to “connect their own learning and transformation to community transformation.” By engaging more “frequently and meaningfully” with local community members through the youths' media work, the organization hoped to increase “dialogue across boundaries” as well as to develop young people's “sense of the role of media artists as community leaders and agents of change.” An analysis of surveys administered at the beginning of program involvement showed that the participants' initial reasons for joining this program reflected varying degrees of agreement with the organization's mission. Many believed that the program's purpose was mainly to allow youth freedom of expression, followed closely by developing technical skills. For example, a Chinese-American senior I refer to as Lynn (all names are pseudonyms) believed that this program was a “free forum for which youth can openly express their ideas and opinions, opening up new fields of thought and technique while encouraging the art and mastering of film production and technology.” Less common responses included more long-range purposes, such as giving youth “life goals,” tools to “communicate to the public through the media,” and a chance for youth to get together and make “something for the community.” Optimism for sense of agency was revealed in assertions of the potential impact of their media work on helping their communities understand youth better, yet some of the pessimistic responses, such as lack of voice in an adult-controlled world, revealed students' beliefs about how little individual and collective agency they had as members of their local communities.

Position of the Researcher

My entry into this research was to broadly document the potential social and cognitive learning processes that could be gained while participating in a particular youth media context (Charmaraman, 2006). During the process of “casing the joint” (Dyson & Genishi, 2005) over time, I refined my focus and tried to gain more insights as to how the program context practiced and nurtured their mission of “youth development,” promoting “community dialogue,” and fostering “agents of change.” This eventually evolved into my two research foci for the current study, focusing on (a) youths' processes of developing multiple levels of agency through program involvement and (b) the personal impact of eventually presenting their works to a variety of audiences within and outside of program walls. These types of questions are most suited for in-depth qualitative methods that aim for a full, collaborative description, allowing multiple voices to be heard while understanding process, meaning, and relationships (Stewart, 2000). Instead of attempting to generalize about all youth media programs, the actual business of this case study is particularization, not generalization – in other words, acquainting oneself with a particular case with great depth rather than distinguishing it from other cases (Stake, 1995).

Since I engaged in the research as a participant observer, the primary data during observations were my interpretations, hence I was the research instrument. My experiences, interests, and expectations all affected what I selectively attended to and reported on. Examples of participation included visible signs of real-time note-taking and/or videotaping of the youths' interactions during some of their on-site work and off-site expeditions. In order to gain the trust of the instructors, I entered the culture of the organization by attending weekly staff meetings. During this time I was able to develop a sense of the duties, problem-solving tasks, and conflict resolution situations each instructor faced throughout the year. In hopes of gaining the trust of the student participants, I was a casual observer who remained in the background but would agree to help out when explicitly asked to do so.

Procedures

Utilizing a qualitative case study approach, I incorporated field note observations and informal interviews over the span of 18 months to analyze the kinds of agency in which participants engaged. I observed participants within the program biweekly for between one and three hours at a time and analyzed field notes using thematic analysis to inductively generate categories (Miles & Huberman, 1994). These themes informed the development of the interview protocol in that I framed my interview topics around the themes that emerged from my field notes and the artifacts from the various stages of youth-produced media projects, including treatment ideas, scripts, production schedules, and completed works for public consumption.

I formally interviewed 14 of the apprenticeship students from mid-May through June, typically lasting 30–45 minutes. I used a semi-structured interview protocol, which served as a malleable template for the informal process of inquiry into students' beliefs regarding issues that arose during participant observation, such as collaborative authorship, ability to have a voice in creative and logistical decisions, and impact of constructive feedback from audiences on the quality of their work. All interviews were videotaped, transcribed, and coded into themes and categories until they were saturated. During this analysis phase of field observations, interviews, and media artifact review, I concentrated on isolated instances in order to analyze and synthesize my interpretations (Stake, 1995). Some themes that emerged included an agentive sense of self-efficacy, commitment, and responsibility, as well as perceived contributions to the local audience communities as well as the Youthscapes group identity.

With the knowledge that interviews should not be assumed to represent the truth of a static self and the views garnered from these interviews should not be taken at face value, I framed the interviews as personal narratives told from a particular perspective during a particular time and place. Along with questionnaire data, interview responses can show discrepancies between what participants say they have done or will do and what actually happened or will happen (Robson, 1993). The fact that some participants were not as familiar with me, whereas others had befriended me over the course of my involvement, potentially made a difference in what the participants revealed during the interviews.

Findings

Developing an Agentive Voice during Media Production

During the 18 months I spent as a participant observer, I had the opportunity to follow the apprentices through the cyclical process of video production, from conceiving script ideas to using Final Cut Pro to edit scenes to showcasing completed works to an audience. The preproduction and writing stages incorporated strategies to design an original scripted world, which would be translated and transformed into media construction (and reconstruction)

processes. When planning the production phase after writing the script, apprentices visualized and scheduled the sequencing in action. This process was both about internal choices, e.g. how do I want everything to look, as well as how to manage an external world, e.g. how do I effectively direct a group of actors. During the actual production when the cameras are rolling, each person on the set had to be self-regulating agents in order for the show to run according to schedule. As an editor in the technical postproduction stage, apprentices reflected on the imagined storytelling product through cutting, pasting, and shifting imagery, text, and sound together to form a cohesive whole, keeping in mind how others might react to one's ideas and messages. This somewhat structured process was experienced quite differently within the focal group, often depending on prior experience and willingness to try new things.

The following case is one example of how this production process provided opportunities for instances of agency and identity exploration in Pedro, a 17-year-old Filipino student who had recently taken his GED after feeling alienated and eventually dropping out from his high school. During his interview and several informal conversations in the field, Pedro reflected on what he gained from successfully completing the necessary steps within the structured cycles of production:

Working with other people, working as a unit and [learning] how to meet deadlines and get this whole planning thing. It felt really good to just be in a planning meeting and a production meeting and to see a project gestate from idea to pre-production to storyboarding to location scouting to actual production to post-production. You got to go through this whole process ... a whole professional outlook on how to do moviemaking.

When groups and “movement actors” come together to plan, strategize, and complete goal-oriented tasks for a unifying project, Dugan and Reger (2006) claim that they are accomplishing critical components of voice and agency. Throughout my observations of Pedro, I witnessed his growing sense of pride in mastering technical and procedural tasks of a goal-oriented project, which as he reveals in his interview, increased his sense of efficacy and promoted agency for media professionalism. He spoke of being pressured by the most important “audience” of all – his father – who wanted him to aim for a “real” job. In the following passage, Pedro tries to work out how to merge his family's expectations with his own sense of being his own “agent”:

If you're an independent filmmaker, your budget was just on production and you need someone to market it and get people to see it to make more money and get exposure. How do you do that? You market it. I figure if I can centralize everything to myself that would be great because I would have total control over everything and know what's going on.

At the beginning of program involvement, Pedro described himself as an introvert and enjoyed working alone, believing that doing everything by himself was preferable to being a “hard-ass” and issuing “orders to people” and being a leader was akin to being “bureaucratic.”

I totally follow Robert Rodriguez's dogma and doctrine of doing it yourself. Just because I like having control and I don't like depending on other people. Or maybe that's just something I need to learn and deal with. One great thing about [Youthscapes] is that I'm starting to work and rely on other people. That's something that I'm learning.

Pedro's personal journey of finding his own voice was coupled with his realization that working as a collective did not necessarily diminish his individual voice, but rather working with others could actually benefit everyone. One explanation to this initial lack of desire for

teamwork could have stemmed from a prior negative group experience at a different organization, in which he was touted as one of the “team players,” yet his participation was perceived as more peripheral:

It's feels like I'm a part of something [at Youthscapes] because [in that other place], I felt pretty useless ... Now you're a part of something. You feel useful and that just feels great inside. I don't feel guilty that I'm wasting their time and I'm eating all their goldfish crackers. Here I'm earning these goldfish crackers because I'm carrying the light, I'm carrying the boom, I'm directing the shot, I'm directing the actors.

Pedro was more hopeful about his personal agency inside the particular context of Youthscapes, as reflected in his emphasis on the “I,” e.g. “I’m directing,” as opposed to focusing on the “we,” e.g. we (as a group) performed an important task. He felt that his individual contribution counted, as opposed to being in the margins in other social contexts. Dugan and Reger's (2006) determined that a social movement group had a strong sense of agency when its members believed that they were critical for the success of the group's goals for creating change. Pedro's perception of having a meaningful role within a structured group process provides a potential building block to his emerging sense of collective agency.

Previous scholarship on youth development within community-based programs has emphasized that key pathways to fostering voice and collective agency is through youth ownership of group efforts, youth–adult partnerships, and shared responsibility for decision making that fosters social trust (Camino & Zeldin, 2002; Zeldin, 2004). Prior youth media studies have demonstrated the different avenues in which youth had a safe space to freely express themselves and demonstrate ownership and shared commitment through a variety of artistic, activist, and media-oriented channels (Charmaraman, 2008; Goodman, 2003; Soep & Chavez, 2005). The Youthscapes program offered a nurturing environment in which young people could learn the technical conventions of the trade as well as grow and resonate into their own voice and perspectives. Donald, a 16-year-old Caucasian student, reflected on how the program personalized the media to one that emphasized self-efficacy and one that he could take into his own hands with agency, rather than passively watch others carve out their creative worlds:

Easier than I thought it was going to be, truthfully. It's really nice to be in this program where you actually get to do stuff. I looked at TV, video, and film as this abstract thing that George Lucas and Steven Spielberg do. I didn't think I'd be making short films at all, and I don't have a goatee, I don't go to art school, I don't know what I'm supposed to be doing but it just sort of opened up to me that it's not as complicated as you think.

Initially, Donald did not identify with mainstream White male notions of successful filmmakers nor was he confident of his ability to learn the necessary skills to accomplish that seemingly far-reaching goal. Through the process of interactive engagement in this youth media context, he eventually authored his emerging identity to reflect this shift in future possible identities related to media making.

Taking Back the Media and Representing

When asked during the interviews whether involvement in Youthscapes had changed their perceptions about the media world, the majority of the youth said definitely yes (88%). Several students also mentioned their surprise at how easy it was to construct their own storytelling device through the medium of video, and how easy it was to distort reality by utilizing camera and postproduction editing techniques. The most veteran participant Victor,

an 18 year-old African-American senior who had been in the program since ninth grade, was a vocal advocate in recruiting more students into the program, describing it as providing valuable opportunities for urban youth to tell their own stories. During his interview, he reflected upon his personal collective plan of action not only for his immediate Youthscapes community of peers but also for young people in general:

The more people that has [sic] their hands on the media, the more truth that's going to be out there. Media won't have such a strong influence. It won't be in the hands of a small few. Maybe if enough youth start showing what they like then MTV won't have such a strong influence. They start really coming down here, airing what we shoot instead of what mainstream producers or whatever think that we like.

Victor revealed his strong beliefs about the powerful influence of the media on society, especially on perpetuating stereotypes and pessimistic perceptions about urban youth. He was cognizant of the struggle that one must face to counterbalance negative imagery in the media. When he first arrived to Youthscapes in ninth grade, Victor had been invited to be an actor on someone else's project, but as the years went by, he submersed himself in different facets of the video production process and “finally got behind the camera and fell in love with camera composition and editing.” By his final year of high school, Victor believed that one of the purposes of being involved in the apprenticeship program was to protest the reality of media being in the hands of a powerful few, namely adults. He talked about utilizing the “strength in numbers” strategy and the power of collective agency. As the program's most consistent participant of almost four years, I felt that his sense of agency held a quality that was distinct from his fellow apprentices in that he was projecting youths' potential above and beyond the confines of this singular program.

Later in the interview, Victor went on to reflect about the media by, for, and about youth who must collectively represent and reinforce their own positive images:

... the way that they portray youth or my people or people period, just in certain ways that things are shot or certain messages that come across but aren't necessarily true, but they are reinforcing that it is true. I kind of catch more of that now. I see the importance of media being in the hands of youth ... It's more like this is a part of my life that you guys say it's one way and actually it's way, way different. That's the power I find in video ... I feel that media gives you a chance to show the world what you see through your eyes.

Victor reveals his developing notions of critical media literacy, which motivated him to take on an agentic approach toward combating negative stereotypes or inauthentic depictions of urban youth cultures. Prior studies have demonstrated that minorities are relatively more critical audiences than Caucasians with respect to how their ethnic group is represented in the media (Davis & Gandy, 1999; Fujioka, 2005). Issues of race and ethnicity arose often during script development, such as when two apprentices were brainstorming about an appropriate name for a protagonist:

Hank Dante if you are black, sounds like you are a criminal. But if you are white, it sounds like you are a saint.

Chris How about Jamal, but that sounds really black.

Hank How about Little C?

Similar issues of responsible racial/ethnic representation also surfaced during casting calls, such as when an apprentice director had to make a decision as to whether an actor's cultural heritage would affect the particular character or plot development.

Breaking Apart Stereotypes through Digital Story Retelling

By writing PSAs on themes particularly relevant in their immediate communities, such as safe sex practices, anti-domestic violence, fears of racial profiling, and antismoking campaigns, the youth video makers exercised their creative agency for positive urban youth representation. The apprentices explored their racial/ethnic identities by developing projects related to antiviolenence within African-American communities, Latino health awareness, and Asian attitudes about voting. While analyzing the subject matter and broader social message of the video artifacts,² it was apparent that a community had been formed, which allowed students to jointly express their frustrations with how teens are depicted in the media and then work together to harness that energy into creating alternative perspectives. In *A Lack of Color*, the African-American writer offers his angst-filled, sarcastic vision of a world where mass suicide is romanticized, yet he gives a critique of the implied media-induced trend, namely from the popular film, *Virgin Suicides*, wherein the teens eventually do commit the dreaded act. In *Patty*, the Mexican-American writer produced a fantasy world where the unpopular, overweight underdog has a chance at capturing the heart of the popular, attractive guy and at the same time, delivers a scathing critique of the reality of bullies and teasing in the hallways. *Inertia* was an Asian-American female's critique about the futility of the archaic "drill & kill" teaching method where the instructor possesses the knowledge that he or she imparts onto learners. The students bring in their collective agency to confront the instructor who needed to be "schooled" on how to engage students emotionally and intellectually without talking down to them, but rather coming to a common language and learning partnership. In *C: None of the Above*, the diverse team of writers cleverly conveyed the often closed-minded, adult-controlled media monopoly, which lacks the imagination to strive for true diversity of expression. It is an experimental piece that pushes the boundaries of our taken for granted categories and schemas in life, wherein the main character is searching for someone to understand his point of view but constantly faces rejection and is outcasted.

In all of the above societal critiques wrapped in tidy video narratives, the writers politicize their everyday worlds by addressing their personal concerns utilizing fictional characters. By countering the observation that minority television characters are typically confined to content ghettos and mingle only amongst their own race, each of the pieces described above were cast with a diverse spectrum of actors ranging in age, ethnicity, race, socio-economic class, and gender. Across different video works, the difficult divide between sociohistorical structural restrictions and young people's freedom of expression and sense of agency was often a subtle, subliminal message to the audience. Rather than following a standard boxed formula imparted by outside sources such as step-by-step instructions from a media production instructor, themes arose in accordance with the writer's personal style of storytelling, which ranged in tone from sarcastic and witty commentaries about societal conditions to contemplative and quiet reflections on inner worlds to angry yet empowering treatises on social injustices.

Importance of Audience and Real World Evaluation

According to audience analysis studies, along the continuum of audience types, the familiar audience yields informal ways of interacting, whereas one can keep a safe emotional and physical distance with more formal composite audiences (Callison & Lamb, 2004; Youga, 1989). Within the video apprenticeship program, all finished videos were given a public screening for family, friends, and local community members, and were also submitted to the youth film festival circuit, in hopes of being recognized for good work. When asked about what students thought about going to screenings during the interviews, most of the students

²For a closer content analysis of the media projects, see Charmaraman (2006).

wanted more opportunities to have a public community showing of their work. This would offer the potential to engage with an audience that could foster dialogue about past, current, and future video-making possibilities. This parallels Emirbayer and Mische's (1998) conceptualization of human agency as embedded in the process of social engagement, affected by the past, future, and present capacity to orient the past to affect the future.

During his interview, 17-year-old Hank, an African-American student, commented on the value of attending screenings of his own and others' works, indicating a connection between artist and audience: "The screenings are one of my favorite parts ... I get perspective at those screenings. I get what people are looking for. I get what other filmmakers are doing... The best part is seeing other people's reactions to your work." Similar to Hank's experience in being vulnerable to public scrutiny and gaining a certain perspective at open screenings, in his study of youth video production culture, Reilly (1998) made the following observation about his students: "Telling a story and putting ideas on the screen is a way of exposing yourself to others, and the public nature of the production and presentation of these stories helps perpetuate and change the culture – students see what others have done, learn from their work, and try to do a little bit better" (p. 224). The process of learning about the multifaceted function of audiences "in the field" reinforced the video maker's desire to construct stories and messages that might educate, connect, or inspire a fellow video maker to build on their ideas or a community member to gain understandings about urban youth identity.

Reflecting on his personal reasons behind creating video, Hank reluctantly reveals just how much impact the potential audience has on the writer and director of movies:

It's changed the way I view the people who make films, because before I would be really critical ... over a person who decided to change a movie because they wanted to appease the audience. But now like that I'm doing it, that's really the biggest thing that I'm worried about. I could make a movie that I enjoyed but then I'd watch and I'd be like "Yah!" and other people would be like "What's going on?" I realized that when you are making a movie, you are making it for a lot of other people more than you are making it for yourself and sometimes you have to adjust it for that.

Out of all the apprentices, it became apparent during my participant observations that Hank was the most aware and concerned about the potential audience reception of his works. Buckingham and Harvey (2001) stated that in theory, media production with a goal of presenting to a live audience should encourage students to think through the choices they make during production as well as the consequences. In addition, confronting an audience and listening to reactions to their media work can be a powerful motivator to "reflect more critically on the relationships between intentions and results" (p. 174). Even though Hank feels a certain commitment to his artistic integrity and freedom of expression, he realizes that the product that he is creating is ultimately going to be judged by others using criteria such as whether it was enjoyable or meaningful. He reflects on his agentive potential to both stay true to his original intentions and adjust for a wider audience appeal. Through Hank's engagement with "activity processes" that go beyond the consumption, appreciation, or critique of media, he is able to step outside of his immediate media-making world to reflect on the learning process afforded from conception of ideas to reception by the future external world.

Impact of Audience and Agency on the Creation Process

Advancing from being the receiver of feedback to a producer of feedback completes the cycle of competence and agency within media production. Being able to receive critique as well as having the experience to be able to provide constructive feedback are powerful team-building tools in a field that is highly collaborative and dependent on audience reception in

nature. Before public screenings, the apprentices would often have a private screening with actors and crew members present, which presented an opportunity to gauge preliminary reactions from the “inside” front lines. Other apprentices preferred a more one-on-one approach to critique, feeling more vulnerable at the prospect of a public critique. Renee, an 18-year-old Laotian/Thai student, recounts how her first evaluative audience (her program instructors) valued her ideas and how the learning was more of a two-way street of reciprocal feedback, increasing her sense of ownership and self-efficacy:

Sometimes when I'm finished with a piece and I'll ask him what he thinks of it. He'll tell me, well I like that part ... but that one part maybe you should do so & so, because I didn't really understand it that well. ... They really know how to make our work better from our first draft. ... The communication is really great between us. They want us to know what is going on and they want our input on what they think they want to do. And they want us to talk to them if we have an idea. So our relationship isn't like I'm the boss and you do only this. Don't do this. It's a cycle. They learn from us and we learn from them. It's something that I'm not able to do in a lot of other places.

In the interview above, we find examples of what Bandura (2006) would term *proxy* and *collective agency* such that Renee was able to acknowledge that she needed help and asked for feedback from someone more experienced (proxy). She also realized the power of pooling together knowledge and resources from others in order to make the group effort matter in the final product (collective). This sentiment was echoed by Lynn, a Chinese-American 12th grader:

One thing that I like is that [the program instructors] are not just dominating everything. They are guiding and mentoring us. At our cubicle we help each other out, but then again we have our time alone to allow us to focus on our own individual projects. But everybody is right there so we can ask questions, give critiques to our work and stuff so I really like that.

According to Dugan and Reger (2006), group or collective agency is decreased when members are left out of decision-making processes and their skills and talents are unrecognized. Sixteen-year old, Chinese-American Kristine discusses how the program instructors created a learning environment, which helped her to launch her unique voice as well as her collective voice to represent urban youth: “I feel that sometimes adults don't give young people a chance to speak and I think that's what this program allows – youth literacy or being able to communicate our ideas effectively through film.” She reflects on how the program mission and structure allows youths' talents and contributions to be recognized and showcased.

While youth voice is placed at a premium, the program also encouraged apprentices to take an adult's perspective and constructive feedback into consideration during the media-making process. While writing the script for his video, Jason, an 18-year-old Mexican American, originally wrote a scene where a character is making a presentation in class about Martin Luther King. The character stated, “Martin Luther King was a very important person because he helped the nation be more friendly ... he did a lot of good things in his lifetime ... uh ... ohm ... yeah, he is an important part of history.” His first audience member, his instructor Sam, not only provided scaffolding in the technical components of video making but also offered a sneak peak at how a broader audience might react to elements of the script. When Sam had a chance to critique Jason's script, he wrote on the margins, “good but makes him seem dumb,” citing some examples of what he could use instead, e.g. that he was a civil rights leader who called for desegregation and acceptance for people of all colors. Eventually Jason did take into account Sam's suggestions. In so doing, he utilized proxy

agency of a more experienced video maker and audience member, in hopes of connecting with the wider audience's potential reaction to the protagonist.

Hank's and Jason's agentic experiences of taking the future audience perspective into account during the creation process were echoed in Paull's (2002) study with digital storytellers in which "imagining audience was integral to the reflective and expressive process, and in choosing to address certain audiences and incorporate media meaningful to certain communities, the storytellers were defining themselves according to their social alignments" (p. 229). In line with Emirbayer and Mische's (1998) notions of human agency, Hank and Jason exercised their capacity to bring in potential reactions from their community audiences into their current creation process, noting how audiences had reacted in the past toward different aspects of videos screened at previous showcases. Individual agency occurs both as a self-reflective process and as a socially embedded phenomenon, often harnessed by participation and activity in collective groups. By identifying with others through activity processes, whether in a social movement or in a goal-oriented project or while interacting with audiences, self-efficacy and a sense of self-worth can be accomplished. This agentic process is enhanced when individuals and collectives inform their present actions by considering the possible causes of successes and failures in past examples, as well as the ways a current idea or project may influence or be received by others in the future.

Becoming "Professional": Reflecting on the Empowering Process

At the Youth Media Salon at the biannual National Media Education Conference held in San Francisco in June 2005, Hank and other apprentices were each paid to serve on a panel discussion with other local youth media producers after a public screening of their collective works. The audience was primarily media-related researchers, practitioners, youth media organizers, and producers from around the country. The all-youth panel took turns describing the youth media pieces and introduced the filmmakers, thereby contributing to their sense of ownership and pride in their group accomplishments. After the last video was screened, the floor was open to questions from the audience and it was at this juncture when the apprentices took the spotlight. One question from the audience was "how does making a film relate to writing a paper?" which Hank was eager to respond to:

When you make a film, you are thinking about how to make your audience happy, not just your teacher. While making movies, you are constantly planning on the BART, how you are going to organize everyone. With a paper, you might just show it to your teacher and get an OK grade.

Hank was honestly reflecting about the different levels of motivation he experienced to produce high-quality work, depending on which audience he was aiming for – whether in a low impact setting (a single classroom) or on a broader community-level scale. The fact that his media projects would be viewed and evaluated by "the world" increased his sense of purpose and agency to make some positive impact on a potential audience. Others asked the youth panelists about why they felt the need to put their perspective out there for others to view. Hank remarked that he needed an outlet because

I never agreed with what was on TV. It would be a different world if every kid could afford an iMac and Final Cut Pro. You can be creative with pen and paper, but if we could access these equipment we'd have more competition, more to work with. Kids can do so much with music and movies.

In this quote, it was apparent that Hank felt the importance of acknowledging individual potential to be change agents in a predominantly adult-controlled media community. After the panel discussion, I asked Hank how he felt being up there in the spotlight and he gushed that he "just kept thinking about what [Pedro] would do," applauding his best friend who

referred him to the program in the first place, demonstrating his committed sense of group pride and ownership in taking the prepackaged media identities into their own hands.

The audience at the conference was particularly interested in getting these works shown to as wide an audience as possible, suggesting such venues as specific youth distribution companies, regional film festivals, public access television in Manhattan, which has 1,000 channels across the nation. Needless to say the youth media producers on the panel were excited by this flurry of approval throughout the audience, thereby increasing their collective agentive potential. Indeed, the youths' works were eventually submitted throughout the country to venues and internet sites targeting youth media. By the end of my time with the apprentices in this case study, many of the works had reached wider, far-reaching audiences by receiving awards at the San Francisco International Film Festival, Media That Matters Film Festival, YouTube.com, to name but a few.

Discussion

This exploratory case study demonstrated how one youth media organization fostered agency and empowerment through socialization, youth authorship, production, distribution, and local community dialogue. Youth were typically writers, directors, and editors of their own projects, as opposed to working around adult-imposed topics and themes. I observed that the development of agency operated through an increased sense of a social or civic duty to represent youth of color to audiences whom the apprentices wanted to captivate and reeducate. These stories carried the weight of not only self-preservation in wanting to appear technically competent in public but also preserving group identity and pride with fellow producers on team projects. These video products turned into a public performance of a focused commitment to complete a social change project, which underscores the critical component of authentic assessment and/or performance within youth development programs. By the final stage of the media production cycle – showcasing and distributing their work – these apprentices developed multiple levels of agency through complex activity processes, which were socially embedded and eventually evaluated by their own communities, such as families, friends, teachers, neighbors, or unfamiliar audiences at youth empowerment events.

Several studies have suggested that the connection to the local community can be effectively cultivated in out-of-school neighborhood settings, offering learning opportunities that involve planning, rehearsal, revision, public performance, and reflection (Heath, 2001; Mahiri, 2004). Indeed, youth media programs typically incorporate the aspect of authentic peer and community “assessment” into their eventual performance. This informal evaluation entails sharing talents and eliciting dialogue with a collective audience – whether it is their fellow peers and instructors from the Youthscape program or a local community audience. The social aspect of feedback was a critical input to enhancing agency. According to Moore and Cunningham (2006) agency develops as adolescents communicate with others and internalize strategies, which helps them self-regulate future thinking and actions. When there is an identified audience, it enhances the value of communication, drive, and commitment, which involves both personal and social consequences. Active communicating is an empowering exercise in which having an attentive audience increases motivational value of the external product and process. After showcasing their finished products, youth in this case study described a feeling of reciprocal energy and engagement when their works were “authentically assessed” in a natural setting. This real world evaluation fueled their drive and commitment to present a competent, talented, and artistic image of themselves to their local community.

Agency to Represent Urban Youth Images in the Media

Unfortunate stereotypes about wild, disobedient, misbehaving, and unsupervised urban youth are perpetuated in the mass media, fueling concerns over the moral state of youth today. The youth participants in this case study attempted to cast their own stories by writing, rewriting, producing, and showcasing images to their local community audiences that not only entertained but also educated and reconceived urban youth reality. The Youthscapes program provided opportunities to the youth to become their own media agents through real world skills of collaborative teamwork. Their collective agency coincided with their driving need to address misconceptions of urban youth in the media (the past) by taking the matter into their own hands (the present), thereby reinventing how their own neighborhood community views them (the future). This development of an empowered voice through media production was a dynamic process of mutual, purposeful engagement with others through feedback from within the micro-community of the organization and through the larger peer and family community at public screenings.

In this case study, adolescents felt empowered to thrive as productive citizens engaged with socially sanctioned goals. As a disenfranchised group in society, these urban teens sought refuge in their unique microcommunities as urban adolescents of color under the guidance of an adult mentor. In this program, participants discovered like-minded companions from different schools and neighborhoods, combating negative stereotypes and low expectations of youth through media production. These media apprentices developed their sense of agency and feelings of connectedness to their communities, which in turn, enhanced collective and community agency, which is paralleled in other types of assets-based youth development programs (Heath & McLaughlin, 1993; Lerner & Benson, 2003; McLaughlin, 2000). As the media apprentices developed their community of learners, they found that their artistic and creative input was critical to the success of each project – that individual voices were not drowned but integrated into the group's mosaic and mission. This growing sense of a youth media movement within the program enabled them to connect with the wider social and cultural networks of urban youth media production.

Future Directions

While this case study offered insight into how participation in a youth media program affected urban youths' sense of agency and connection to their community audiences, future empirical work is needed. In terms of documenting the mechanisms and processes that enhance underserved youths' media agency, community-based program evaluations could concentrate on youth media programs specifically geared to overlooked youth populations with limited avenues to express their voices, such as girls of color, gay/lesbian youth, religious minority youth, etc. It would be advantageous for more interdisciplinary exploration of the youth media field, e.g. visual sociology, educational psychology, and anthropology. Such studies could investigate how structural variables, e.g. class, gender, and race/ethnicity play in the development of youth identity and agency through engagement with media in its myriad contexts, from youth development programs to online social networking.

Future research investigating collective agency within youth media could incorporate focus group methodology, which may identify how groups' collective identity is affected by pooling resources to produce a product for an audience. Surveying or interviewing participants and audience members before and after performances may also shed light on the interconnectedness of community, empowerment, and its impact on youth voice and agency. In addition, more longitudinal studies of young people's participation in media programs could further demonstrate the dynamic, long-term impacts on youths' development of agency. When designing program activities, instructors might consider the powerful effects

of incorporating elements of performance, reflection, and interaction with audiences as a critical component to positive youth development. These asset-based goals for youth may harness the potential of youth to become more agentive navigators of their own fates. As citizens empowered with an individual and collective voice, youth media participants take part in the complex and ongoing process of creating and reconstructing her or his own identity (Strasburger & Wilson, 2002). Empowered with media literacy, technical production, and social management skills, youth can utilize media technology as a means to reconceptualize our culture as democratic, such that each member has a voice despite pervasive and oppressive societal structures.

Acknowledgments

I sincerely thank the generous participants of my study at Youthscape – you all continue to inspire me. I wish to thank my mentors at the UC Berkeley Graduate School of Education, Glynda Hull and Jabari Mahiri, who continue to guide my intellectual pursuits. I am also grateful to an anonymous reviewer, Rosa Lau, and my colleagues at Wellesley Centers for Women – Sumru Erkut, Ineke Ceder, Nancy Marshall, Michelle Porche, and Corinne McKamey – for their encouragement and helpful feedback. The writing of this manuscript was supported by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development postdoctoral fellowship (5T32 HD041917).

References

- Bandura A. Toward a psychology of human agency. *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 2006;1(2): 164–180.
- Buckingham D, Harvey I. Imagining the audience: Language, creativity and communication in youth media production. *Journal of Educational Media* 2001;26(3):173–184.
- Buckingham D, Sefton-Green J. Gotta catch 'em all: Structure, agency and pedagogy in children's media culture. *Media, Culture & Society* 2003;25(3):379–399.
- Callison D, Lamb A. Audience analysis. *School Library Media Activities Monthly* 2004;21(1):34–39.
- Camino L, Zeldin S. From periphery to center: Pathways of youth civic engagement in the day-to-day life of communities. *Applied Developmental Science* 2002;6(4):213–220.
- Campbell, PB.; Hoey, L.; Perlman, LK. Sticking with my dreams: Defining and refining youth media in the 21st century. Feb. 2001 Available at: http://www.campbell-kibler.com/youth_media.html
- Charmaraman, L. Exploring imaginative worlds through digital video storytelling in an urban after-school community. Conference proceedings of the International Conference on Imaginative Education; Vancouver, BC. Sep. 2006 Available at: <http://www.iereg.net/confs/viewabstract.php?id=211&cf=1>
- Charmaraman L. Media gangs of social resistance: Urban adolescents take back their images and their streets through media production. *Afterschool Matters* 2008;7:27–37.
- Davis JL, Gandy OH. Racial identity and media orientation. *Journal of Black Studies* 1999;29(3):367–397.
- Dugan K, Reger J. Voice and agency in social movement outcomes. *Qualitative Sociology* 2006;29(4): 467–484.
- Dyson, AH.; Genishi, C. On the case: Approaches to language and literacy research. New York: Teachers College Press; 2005.
- Emirbayer M, Mische A. What is agency? *The American Journal of Sociology* 1998;103(4):962–1023.
- Fujioka Y. Black media images as a perceived threat to African American ethnic identity: Coping responses, perceived public perception, and attitudes towards affirmative action. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 2005;49(4):450–467.
- Giddens, A. The constitution of society. Cambridge, MA: Polity; 1984.
- Goodman, S. Teaching youth media: A critical guide to literacy, video production, and social change. New York: Teachers College Press; 2003.
- Graves, SN. Television, the portrayal of African-Americans, and the development of children's attitudes. In: Berry, GL.; Asamen, JK., editors. *Children & television: Images in a changing sociocultural world*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage; 1993. p. 179-190.

- Greenberg, BS.; Brand, JE. Minorities and the mass media: 1970s to 1990s. In: Bryant, J.; Zillmann, D., editors. *Media effects: Advances in theory and research*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum; 1994. p. 273-314.
- Greenberg BS, Collette L. The changing faces on TV: A demographic analysis of network television's new seasons, 1966–1992. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 1997;41(1):1–13.
- Gross, L. Out of the mainstream, sexual minorities and the media. In: Dines, G.; Humez, JM., editors. *Gender, race, and class in media: A text-reader*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage; 1995. p. 61-69.
- Heath SB. Three's not a crowd: Plans, roles, and focus in the arts. *Educational Researcher* 2001;30(7): 10–17.
- Heath, SB.; McLaughlin, MW. *Identity & inner-city youth: Beyond ethnicity and gender*. New York: Teachers College Press; 1993.
- Holland, D.; Lachicotte, W.; Skinner, D.; Cain, C. *Identity and agency in cultural worlds*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; 1998.
- Hubbard, G. The usefulness of in-depth life history interviews for exploring the role of structure and human agency in youth transitions. *Sociological Research Online*. 2000. Retrieved October 17, 2007, from <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/4/4/hubbard.html>
- Hull, GA.; Greeno, JG. Identity and agency in nonschool and school worlds. In: Bekerman, Z.; Burbules, NC.; Silberman-Keller, D., editors. *Learning in places: The informal education reader*. New York: Peter Lang; 2006. p. 77-97.
- Hull GA, Katz M. Crafting an agentive self: Case studies of digital storytelling. *Research in the Teaching of English* 2006;41:43–81.
- Huntemann, N.; Morgan, M. Mass media and identity development. In: Singer, DG.; Singer, JL., editors. *Handbook of children and the media*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage; 2001. p. 309-322.
- Kress, G. Design and transformation: New theories of meaning. In: Cope, B.; Kalantzis, M., editors. *Multiliteracies: Literacy learning and the design of social futures*. New York: Routledge; 2000. p. 182-202.
- Kundanis, RM. *Children, teens, families, and mass media: The millennial generation*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates; 2003.
- Lerner, R.; Benson, P., editors. *Developmental assets and asset-building communities: Implications for research, policy, and practice*. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers; 2003.
- Mahiri, J. New literacies in a new century. In: Mahiri, J., editor. *What they don't learn in school: Literacy in the lives of urban youth*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc; 2004. p. 1-18.
- Mastro DE, Stern SR. Representations of race in television commercials: A content analysis of prime-time advertising. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 2003;47(4):638–647.
- McLaughlin, MW. *Community counts: How youth organizations matter for youth development*. Washington, DC: Public Education Network; 2000.
- Miles, MB.; Huberman, AM. *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage; 1994.
- Moore, DW.; Cunningham, JW. Adolescent agency and literacy. In: Alvermann, DE., et al., editors. *Reconceptualizing the literacies in adolescent's lives*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates; 2006. p. 129-146.
- New London Group. *A pedagogy of multiliteracies: Designing social futures*. Harvard Educational Review 1996;66:60–92.
- Paull, CN. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of California; Berkeley: 2002. Self-perceptions and social connections: Empowerment through digital storytelling in adult education.
- Reilly, BT. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of California; Berkeley: 1998. New media and new literacies: Understanding the culture of a high school video production classroom.
- Robson, C. *Real world research: A resource for social scientists and practitioners-researchers*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd; 1993.
- Sholle, D.; Denski, S. Reading and writing the media: Critical media literacy and postmodernism. In: Lankshear, C.; McLaren, PL., editors. *Critical literacy: Politics, praxis and the postmodern*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press; 1993. p. 297-321.

- Social Policy Research Associates. Youth media's impact on audience & channels of distribution: An exploratory study. Oakland, CA: Social Policy Research Associates; 2004.
- Soep E, Chavez V. Youth radio and the pedagogy of collegiality. *Harvard Educational Review* 2005;75(4):409–434.
- Stake, RE. The art of case study research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage; 1995.
- Stewart, E. Thinking through others: Qualitative research and community psychology. In: Rappaport, J.; Seidman, E., editors. *Handbook of community psychology*. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers; 2000. p. 725-736.
- Strasburger, VC.; Wilson, BJ. Children, adolescents, and the media. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc; 2002.
- Van Evra, J. Television and child development. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum; 2004.
- Weinstein R. Reaching higher in community psychology: Social problems, social settings, and social change. *American Journal of Community Psychology* 2006;37(1/2):9–20. [PubMed: 16680533]
- Willis, P. *Common culture: Symbolic work at play in the everyday cultures of young people*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press; 1990.
- Youga, J. The elements of audience analysis. New York: Macmillan; 1989.
- Zeldin S. Youth as agents of adult and community development: Mapping the processes and outcomes of youth engaged in organizational governance. *Applied Developmental Science* 2004;8(2):75–90.