Multimodal Voicing and Scale-Making in a Youth-Produced Video Documentary on Immigration

Wan Shun Eva Lam

Northwestern University

Amy A. Chang
Northwestern University

Enid M. Rosario-Ramos

University of Michigan

Natalia Smirnov

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Matthew W. Easterday

Northwestern University

Jack C. Doppelt

Northwestern University

This study builds on research of multimodal storytelling in educational settings by presenting a study of a youth-produced documentary on immigration. Drawing from a video documentary project in a high school class, we examine students' representational processes of scaling in documentary storytelling, and the kinds of resources they use to construct multiple spatiotemporal contexts for understanding their experience of immigration and immigration policy. Our theoretical framework relates the concept of scale to the Bakhtinian concept of voice to consider the semiotic resources that are used to index and connect multiple social and spatiotemporal contexts in storytelling. Focusing on a documentary produced by some students in the class, we analyze how the young filmmakers used particular speaker voices (characters) and their social positioning to invoke and construct relevant scales for understanding the problem of deportation. Our analysis extends the study of scaling to multimodal texts, and the strategies that people use to represent and configure relationships among different socially stratified spaces. By conceptualizing the relations between voice and scale, this work aims to contribute to literacy learning and teaching that support young people in bringing their knowledge, experiences, and narrative resources to engage with societal structures.

Growing use of digital tools has diversified the range of modalities that people use to interact, create messages, and document their lives and the society around them. Multimodal forms of communication and representation are becoming integral to youth civic engagement and activism, as well as to educational settings like schools and youth-serving organizations that promote media skills and production (Jocson, 2018; Soep & Chavez, 2010; Stornaiuolo & Thomas, 2017). We build on current research of multimodal storytelling in educational settings that seek to connect learning to students' lives and communities, by presenting a

study of a youth-produced documentary on immigration. We draw from our study of documentary-making with a high school class to understand how social and semiotic resources that come from diverse spaces are mobilized and orchestrated in documentary storytelling. We explore the representational strategies that some young filmmakers in the class used to portray multiple social and spatiotemporal contexts for understanding the political struggle over migration. In this social and political moment of heightened anti-immigrant rhetoric and dehumanizing policies, the narrative of immigration needs to center young people's voices and experiences with the policies that affect them.

We begin with a discussion of multimodal storytelling and relate it to the context of migration and youth political engagement through media production. To extend this literature in examining documentary media, we take up the concept of scale that has been theorized in a growing body of literature in the social sciences and language studies, and consider it in relation to the Bakhtinian concept of voice to examine the semiotic resources that are used to index and connect multiple social and spatiotemporal contexts in storytelling. We situate this discussion in our study of a video documentary that profiles one student's family experience of deportation. Our analysis focuses on how the student and the peers in her group used linguistic and visual resources to represent and contextualize the family's experience and relate it to policy practices at multiple scales to challenge deportation-based immigration practices and portray their human consequences. We examine how scales are represented through the spatiotemporal contextualization of the voices of particular characters in the video story, and how this process involves documenting and (re)configuring the relationships among language and semiotic practices that come from diverse spaces. This study extends theorization of scaling in language and literacy research by attending to the "specificity of strategies of scaling" (Canagarajah & De Costa, 2016, p. 9), particularly the potentials in documentary storytelling of putting different spatiotemporal scales and voices in relationship to challenge injustice and highlight the ways power operates across scales.

Background and Theoretical Perspectives

Multimodal Storytelling and the Context of Migration

Researchers who study the use of multiple modes for storytelling or composing have argued that multimodal storytelling not only promotes useful communication skills in our contemporary society, but very importantly expands the types of semiotic tools, artifacts, and knowledge and experiences from students' communities that are included and represented in the educational context (Domingo, 2012; Honeyford, 2014; Hull & Nelson, 2005; Mills, 2010; Vasudevan et al., 2010). Honeyford (2014) studied a photo essay exhibit created by seventh- and eighthgrade Latina/Latino students in an advanced English as a New Language class, and showed how they repositioned both aqui (here) and alli (there) as legitimate social locations to represent their affiliations and transnational identities to dia-

logue with their audience. The images and captions bring together multiple sites through references to people, places, and times across countries, and create new sights, or viewpoints, through implicit and explicit expressions of the students' values, beliefs, and claims of who they are. In a context where the students were faced with educational and political constraints and oppressive ideologies related to their undocumented status, they orchestrated a culturally and personally affirming response to challenge the dominant ideologies. One way to interpret what the students accomplished from a sociospatial perspective is that they (re)presented the relations between multiple spaces (e.g., Mexico and the United States) and their simultaneous belonging to these spaces that are often separated/alienated and dichotomized in the dominant political discourse. Other studies have similarly documented the personal, social, and political nature of the digital stories that young people produce that simultaneously highlight and challenge societal structures and ideologies that function to marginalize them, as well as exploring a positive and agentic sense of self (Curwood & Gibbons, 2010; Halverson, 2010; Hull & Katz, 2006; Smirnov & Lam, 2019; Vasudevan et al., 2018).

In the context of policies and practices toward immigrants in the United States, enforcement practices of surveillance, detention, arrest, and deportation have become the primary response to undocumented immigration in this country (Capps et al., 2018; Meissner et al., 2013). Deportations reached record highs in the Obama administration, and while the numbers declined sharply in the later Obama years, the Trump administration intensely escalated anti-immigrant rhetoric and expanded the scope of arrest and deportation of all undocumented immigrants. Young people have been at the forefront in advocating for immigrant rights and comprehensive immigration reform, exerting political pressure on the Obama administration to change its policies (Gamber-Thompson & Zimmerman, 2016). Storytelling in the forms of personal testimonies and documentaries allows youth to frame their own representation, and create and share more complex narratives on issues of migration to develop collective knowledge and consciousness.

Across these studies of youth engagement with multimodal storytelling in educational settings and political activism, we see young people bringing together their personal experiences and semiotic or narrative resources to engage with societal structures. We suggest this process involves engaging with experiences and practices of multiple spatial and temporal scales.

Semiotic Construction of Scale

A growing body of literature across the social sciences is working with the concept of scale in studying the relational construction of space and the semiotic activity of boundary making and remaking (Blommaert, 2015; Canagarajah & De Costa, 2016; Collins et al., 2009; Glick Schiler & Caglar, 2011; Herod, 2011; Stornaiuolo & LeBlanc, 2016; Summerson Carr & Lempert, 2016b). As a key term in human geography developed over the last several decades, scale encompasses both the process of spatial differentiation—how particular characteristics or practices are associated with particular groups, places, and institutions—and how these spaces are constructed in relation to each other (Herod, 2011). Such inquiry of scale gets at how social life is organized and political struggle carried out through forms of spatial classification.

In bringing scale into language and literacy studies, researchers have theorized the semiotic nature of the construction of space-time contexts for meaning-making in human interaction (e.g., Blommaert, 2010; Blommaert et al., 2015; Canagarajah & De Costa, 2016; Collins, 2012; Collins et al., 2009; Stornaiuolo & LeBlanc, 2016). These studies have examined how people's uses of language are *scaled*—that is, how they index values, discourses, and practices at various geographical, temporal, and institutional scopes. Blommaert and his colleagues (2015) proposed that scale can be conceptualized as the *spatiotemporal scope of understandability*, which refers to how space-time domain affects the degree to which particular uses of language and other signs tend to circulate and take on meaning and effect. They posited that scale, as "semiotized space-time stands for the way in which space and time define the relative scope of meaningful semiotic activity in relation to other scales" (Blommaert et al., 2015, p. 123). In this sense, and particularly noting that scale is both a pre-given structuring and an ongoing production (Collins & Slembrouck, 2009), we think that scale provides a conceptual lens for analyzing what discourses and practices are enacted and produced to define a particular space-time domain, and how the spatiotemporal scale of practice then provides a context (set of expectations and references) for meaning-making. Indeed, scale is a relative term or term of comparison (Gal, 2016; Summerson Carr & Lempert, 2016a). Different scales of practice often exist in stratified relations reflecting the power struggle in society.

In a recent article, Stornaiuolo and LeBlanc (2016) proposed the notion of scale for literacy research to examine educational inequities, and how "literacies and texts are always dynamically constructed in relation to hierarchical orders of varying spatial and temporal dimensions" (p. 263). They analyzed how teachers who participated in a digitally mediated, cross-cultural educational exchange drew on diverse spatial and temporal contexts to frame their interactions. As these teachers, who were located in Norway, India, South Africa, and the United States, collaborated with each other via video calls, email messages, and a social networking site, they positioned themselves, each other, and their pedagogical activity in different contexts. The participants variously invoked the norms, practices, and material conditions at their local site, school administration, education system, and institutions, as well as the international collaborative project led by researchers in the United States, to interpret, make sense of, and justify their activity. Through their scalar moves, the teachers aligned themselves with people and practices at particular scales, contested power hierarchy (e.g., the privileging of English) and asymmetry of resources, and made central other localities and contexts for understanding the collaborative project. Of note in the study is how the participants juxtaposed and layered multiple contexts in making sense of and recalibrating power relations in their educational partnership.

The theorizing of scale as we discuss above resonates with studies of space-time and discourse that have illuminated the fact that social space is not a backdrop for activity but is dynamically produced, managed, and mobilized for meaning-making

in literacy activity (Leander, 2001, 2002, 2004). Leander (2001) has shown how multiple space-time contexts are made relevant and often juxtaposed or laminated for meaning-making in pedagogical discourse. The notion of scale also relates to Lemke's (2000) understanding of timescales and his argument for the importance of studying social activity as a site of the interaction of processes and practices with different inherent timescales. Recent work on scale has drawn upon these layered metaphors of time and space to create a textured idea of contexts that are stratified by multiple fields of power and yet dynamically constructed and made relevant in social interaction. Moreover, scalar analysis attends to how social and spatiotemporal contexts that extend across geographical borders impinge on language and literacy activity (Canagarajah, 2016; Lam & Warriner, 2012), and how movement across scales involves strategic processes to navigate, expose, and challenge power relations (Stornaiuolo & LeBlanc, 2016).

In this study, we are interested in the semiotic process of scaling or scalemaking in documentary storytelling, and the kinds of resources students use to construct multiple spatiotemporal contexts for understanding their experience of family deportation and separation. As illustrated in Stornaiuolo and LeBlanc (2016) and other studies (e.g., Baynham, 2009; Canagarajah, 2016; Wang, 2019), scaling is an active process whereby social actors position themselves and others in particular space-time contexts and circulating discourses in those contexts. We examine speaker positioning as a semiotic resource and narrative device through which the discourses and practices at different scales are brought to bear in portraying issues of immigration. We consider how speaker positioning is constructed multimodally in the filmic medium, and how language and other modes are used to portray a speaker's point of view and relationship to people and practices in particular contexts. In this way, we extend the study of scaling to multimodal texts, and the specific resources and representational strategies that people use to (re)configure relationships between different socially stratified spaces. In the next section, we further conceptualize speaker positioning through Bakhtinian theory of voice and its multimodal expression.

Voicing, Scale, and Multimodality

Mikhail Bakhtin (1981, 1984) wrote about the stratification of language resources through the concept of *heteroglossia*, explaining how within any given language there are ways of speaking, registers, and genres that index a variety of social groups and segments of society. These different ways of speaking, or languages of heteroglossia, bear the history of development of beliefs, values, and ideological points of view that are at play within the different groups and segments of society. Hence a person's use of language always positions the person in relation to particular social worlds and the ideological points of view within those worlds. The idea of *voicing*, or speaking with a certain voice, then means using words or other signs that index some social position and its associated beliefs, values, and experience in particular "ideological worlds" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 365). The examples Bakhtin gave for these social and ideological worlds are broad and vary in spatiotemporal scope—including social groups and classes (e.g., professions, education, and in-

herited status and class hierarchy); historical periods, generations, and individual life history; and social domains and units of family, religion, art, and government (see Bakhtin, 1981, pp. 290–296). These "social, historical and national worlds or micro-worlds" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 365), while varying in scope, are marked by diverse socio-ideological points of view and show the inherent heteroglossia in society.

Focusing on the analysis of literature, Bakhtin showed how these social worlds of heteroglossia are introduced in the novel through the voices of "speaking persons" or "individual human figures" (Bakhtin, 1981, pp. 326, 332). Bakhtin noted that voices, as points of view indexing different social worlds, are not isolated but involved in a chain of communication in which they indicate awareness of and respond to other voices, whether in a complementary or conflictual way. In particular, he showed how this dialogicality of voices is intensified and employed to create new meanings in the multivoicedness of literary discourse, such as when novelists juxtapose different speakers and portray characters as dialogically commenting on each other. That is, by juxtaposing different speakers, the novelist or storyteller is using one voice to cast a meaning on another, and in so doing, brings different ideological worlds in relationship to each other.

We find this idea of juxtaposing voices and linking the speaking person with their ideological world helpful in thinking about how documentary storytelling mobilizes different speakers and their social positioning to bring together multiple spatiotemporal scales to portray a social issue or phenomenon. While Bakhtin's idea of the different social worlds or contexts that constitute heteroglossia is broad, the concept of scale helps us examine the nature of the space-time contexts that are implicated in a meaning-making activity. Indeed, Bakhtin's argument suggests that points of view can come from practices at different scales, from the individual to the family to different sectors and historical periods of society. Scale provides a conceptual tool for analyzing these multiple and intersecting spatial and temporal contexts, and their role in shaping any social and ideological struggle in society. In our analysis of documentary storytelling, we draw from Bakhtin's theory of voicing in literature to analyze how the voices of different speakers or characters in a documentary are used as semiotic resources to make visible particular spatiotemporal scales of practice, and how the juxtaposition of these contextualized voices may create an understanding of the relationships between these scales of practice.

In exploring voicing in documentary and other multimodal media, we need to consider how different modal resources are used to represent particular voices. What is possible to express and communicate easily with a semiotic mode (such as image, gesture, speech, music, or writing) is dependent on its material nature, how it has been repeatedly used to mean and do, and the shared cultural conventions around its use (Jewitt et al., 2016; Rowsell, 2013). In the moving images of video or film, a variety of cinematic techniques are used that draw on different modal resources for representation and communication. Halverson (2010) discussed four major cinematic techniques: use of the visual images that are captured with the camera (called *mise-en-scène*); use of sound; cinematography or techniques that are used to affect the image seen through the camera lens; and the postproduction

work of editing to introduce graphic elements such as text and special effects, and to arrange shot sequences and their transitions.

In analyzing voicing and scale in the filmic medium, we consider how the social and ideological point of view of the speaker or character and their relationship to particular people and practices are represented through language in combination with visual images and other semiotic modes. Drawing from multimodal film and visual analysis (Baldry & Thibault, 2010; Feng & Wignell, 2011; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006) and our analysis of the data, we use the idea of multimodal voicing to describe how the points of view of different characters are represented and related to each other. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) discuss the representational function of visual image in terms of participant, process, and circumstance. Participants are depicted through analytic process (the parts or attributes that make up the whole), actional process (the actions they perform), and the spatial and artifactual elements of the setting or circumstance in which they are located. When voice is considered through this multimodal lens, characters are constructed through a number of bodily attributes, such as dress and physical characteristics. They are also constructed by the elements of the setting in which they are represented: the type of space, the artifacts in that space, the presence (co-location or accompaniment) of others. Kinesic action—gaze, movement, gestures, facial expressions—articulates the relations among characters and the location, and may communicate the affective disposition of a character. Such visual representation may be coordinated with text graphics and music to accentuate the particular social location or point of view of a character. Multiple modes can also be used to layer or laminate different voices to create a dialogic relation, such as through editing shot sequences and their transitions.

In this study, we are interested in how language and the visual aspects of characters and scenes are orchestrated in documentary storytelling to represent and potentially interrelate diverse scales in portraying the problem of deportation. Our analysis focuses on these two questions: (1) How do students construct scale through the narrative device/semiotic resource of voice in documentary media? (2) How are particular scales indexed through character voices, and how are the relationships among scales represented?

Research Context and Methods

Context of the Study

The study reported in this article emerged from a multimedia storytelling project with a 12th-grade class in a public high school located in an urban school district. The project was initiated as a collaboration between a journalism educator (Jack Doppelt), two researchers (Wan Shun Eva Lam and Matthew Easterday), and two teachers at the high school (a social studies teacher and a media studies teacher). Jack Doppelt invited a colleague who had expertise in video journalism to coteach video production to the class. The school had a multiracial and multilingual student population, and significant numbers of students whose families had migrated

to the United States. A majority of students (86%) qualified for free or reduced lunch. In the classroom where we carried out the project, there were 22 students who identified as Latina/Latino or Hispanic, 3 as African American, 4 as White, and 1 as of Asian descent. The majority of students in the class were children of immigrants (14 from Mexico and 7 from Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Poland, or Vietnam), and 6 were born outside the United States (in Mexico, Ecuador, Vietnam, or Bosnia-Herzegovina).

We decided on the topic of immigration in this storytelling project based on a confluence of interests of our instructional and research team and the prospective students who were enrolling in the class. Students identified immigration as one of the societal topics that they were concerned about in a written survey that we distributed when we met with them at the end of the previous school year. The teachers noted the importance of centering the project on immigration, given the large numbers of students in the school who came from immigrant families. Others on our team brought an interest and previous background in research or journalistic work with immigrant communities; most of us were immigrants and children of immigrants ourselves. Our collaborating team of teachers, journalism instructors, and researchers worked together to design the curriculum, with most of the class sessions taught by the teachers and weekly sessions on video-making and storytelling taught by Jack and his colleague. Over three and a half months, from October 2012 to January 2013, students worked in small groups to produce a short documentary to profile the experiences of immigrants and how immigration policy affected people in their community. A number of students whom we interviewed told us they received support and encouragement from their families in doing this project that focused on the experiences of immigrants. Their parents supported them in arriving to school early or staying late to work on their videos, and suggested people whom they could interview.

The project took place during the United States presidential election campaign, in which immigration policy, particularly relating to undocumented youth and families, became a focal point. President Obama issued an executive order during that summer that launched the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program that would provide undocumented youth who were brought to the United States as children with temporary protection from deportation and eligibility for a work permit. In the first few weeks of the class, the teachers led students in discussions of the debates and policy positions around immigration. Students then began to develop their story ideas and engaged with a range of journalism skills (interviewing, story generation, note-taking, storyboarding, video-shooting, editing, and postproduction). We invited to the class three representatives from different institutions, including the Chicago Office of New Americans and two civic organizations that worked with immigrants and diverse cultural groups, whom the students interviewed on camera for use in their respective stories. Many of the students linked their interview profiles of people in their community to the interviews with the representatives from these institutions in their video documentaries. The class hosted a film screening at the end of the school year, where students shared their work with their peers and teachers in the school, as well as friends, family, and other people they invited from their communities.

Focal Students and the Video Documentary

Within the larger study of the documentary project, we observed in the classroom three times a week and used qualitative methods (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007) to gather data, including narrative field notes of each observation, video tapes of whole-class and small-group discussions, artifacts of student work (including blog posts, written story treatment, and in-progress multimedia documents that students produced), and planning materials and memos from the instructional team. We conducted formal interviews with four groups of students to discuss how they made their decisions in putting together their videos.

In this paper, we focus on the video documentary produced by a student group that profiled the family experience of one of the students, Maria (all names are pseudonyms), whose father had been deported several years ago. Maria, Mark, and another student worked as a group to produce the video. Maria's parents came to the United States from Mexico, and Mark's parents migrated from Poland. Both students participated in our interviews about their video. As her group decided on the topic of their video, Maria proposed to do a story about her family. Maria noted to us that she wanted to tell the story of her family "because I think it's not just only my family that it happens to, it happens to a lot of families, so I thought that was a good topic to do" (Interview, February 2013). It was the first time that her group members and some of her friends in the class who also had immigrant parents learned about the experience of Maria's family. In his interview with us, Mark said he was surprised that Maria was willing to share her story, and he wanted the video "to relate to people and kind of affect you know people's decisions and their views on like what the government does to immigrants" (Interview, February 2013). Maria noted that she wanted to communicate through the video that "we should all come together and make a change, like, people should feel like they're not alone. . . . They can have a connection and come together, like immigrants with other immigrants, and they can make a change" (Interview, June 2013).

Judging from the students' and instructors' reactions during the students' presentations of their work, we felt this documentary resonated with the audience. One student whose immigrant parent was at the film screening told us her parent was deeply moved by Maria's story. The video exemplified a range of the elements that students in the class included in their work. It showed a clear portrait of immigrant experience that was linked to policy discourses; it included the use of Spanish and subtitles, which were also seen in a number of other students' works. The focal students' documentary offers an important story and informative case to help us explore the semiotic resources that students bring, the representational elements in their work, and the focal students' reasoning about them.

We conducted two interviews each with Maria and Mark, with the first one carried out in February and the second one in June after their film screening. In our interviews, we asked the students to tell us the story of their video, and how the different parts and elements in the video contributed to the story. The students

watched the video, paused at what they considered main parts or segments, and explained what each segment was about and how it related to other segments. We followed up with questions about how they selected particular photos, music, interview clips, footage, and graphics, as well as how they thought about the arrangement and ordering of these elements in the video.

Data Analysis

The analysis and interpretation of the data were guided by the theoretical concepts of scale, voice, and multimodality discussed earlier, as well as the multimodal transcription and analysis procedures used in other studies of digital storytelling and multimodal projects (e.g., Baldry & Thibault, 2010; Curwood & Gibbons, 2010; Domingo, 2011; Halverson, 2010). We analyzed how speaker positioning was constructed multimodally in the video—that is, how language and other modes were used to portray a speaker's point of view and relationship to people and practices in particular space-time contexts. We connected the representation in the video to how the youth described the story they were telling and how they commented on the characters and the characters' relationship to particular people, practices, and institutions.

We developed a system of multimodal transcription to record several categories of modal resources shown in the video (an excerpt of the transcript is included in the Appendix). Drawing from Halverson's (2010) analytic framework for films, we transcribed for features of *mise-en-scène*, sound, editing, and cinematography. We included both still and moving images under *mise-en-scène* to describe features of participants and setting within the video frame. *Sound* was sub-divided into *speech* and *other sounds* (like music). *Cinematography* provided description of techniques of camera use, such as angle and distance. We recorded transitions between frames (such as fade and dissolve) under *editing*, and included a separate column for *text* to note the written words on the screen. These different modes were described alongside still shots of images from the video.

Additionally, adapting from Domingo's (2011) approach, we wrote analytic notes for each set of related frames (e.g., photographs or interview clips). These analytic notes included a narrative description that connected and elaborated key features from the transcription; interview notes that summarized data from our interviews with the youth that pertained to that part of the video; and our own interpretive notes based on these observations. Writing analytic notes allowed us to link each segment of video analysis to the students' reasoning and comments. We wrote analytic memos (Charmaz, 2014; Heath & Street, 2008) to bring together observations and ideas developed from a larger segment or phase of the video.

In developing the analytic notes, we paid particular attention to actions, attributes, and circumstances of the characters and scenes (Feng & Wignell, 2011; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006) in representing the social and ideological point of view of the speaker or character and linking them to other people, practices, and institutions. Facial expression, tone of voice, dress, and body movement, together with language use, serve to express a speaker's attitude and point of view, as well as how they affiliate with others. The editing of b-roll (secondary) footage or text graphics

to the camera shot may accentuate particular affiliation or contextualization of the speaker, situating them in particular space-time contexts. We paid attention to the juxtaposition of different characters and scenes in the video, and the students' ideas of such juxtaposition, to examine how the relationships among scales were represented. Given the prominent role of interviews in the documentary and the bilingual use of Spanish and English in part of the video, we examined the use of language in social positioning (Bloome et al., 2005; Gee, 2014; Wortham, 2001). We attended to how linguistic features such as nouns and pronouns, transitivity of verb forms, modifiers, and modality indexed point of view and supported voicing in the Bakhtinian sense (Wortham, 2001). Through the analysis, we considered how speech was coordinated with visual images and text to position characters in a particular context and portray their perspective.

Analysis of Youth-Produced Documentary on Deportation *Multimodal and Bilingual Representation of the Family Scale*



Figure 1. Opening sequence. Top photo: "Chicago, una Città col Vento in Poppa" by Viaggio Routard, is licensed under CC BY 2.0 (https://www.flickr.com/photos/viaggioroutard/14960383332/).

The video starts with an opening text slide that fades in on a black background, reading, "Did you know that 400,000 immigrants are deported in the United States each year and many families are affected." Sad string music starts playing as the text "Chicago, IL" fades in and an aerial photo of the Chicago skyline appears and is zoomed in slightly. This is followed by a text slide introducing Maria's family and a photo montage of her father and the family (see Figure 1). The photos position the characters in relation with each other, with a strong sense of physical closeness, and serve to construct the unit of the family. Most of the pictures show the father with other family members, depicting his relationship with them as husband and father with close and caring gestures, such as pushing a young child on a swing, posing in a close-up head shot with his wife and two daughters, or embracing Maria in a protective manner. The camera angle and distance of the images (close-up shots, frontal positions) call for audience involvement and possible identification, drawing the viewer into the perceptual world of the family. Here, Maria's viewing position as both a character (depicted in the photos) and producer is offered to the audience, as she selected and jointly constructed these images with her classmates. In an interview about the video, Maria commented on the photos:

MARIA: I think this was nice because it was just him and my mom first, and it shows how he was, how we all were together all the time, how he was always there when I was, when any of us was sick, and just how close we were together and what he would do.

Interviewer: What he would do?

Maria: Yeah, what we would all do when he was here.

Maria's description of the closeness of the family shows how she saw the photos as representing and communicating their relationships, the significance of their father in their lives, and, by implication, the values that they held as a family.

The use of dissolves between the photos suggests passage of time and the history of the family experience, and helps to show a contrast of the attributes and actions of Maria's mother and younger sister before and after her father's deportation—the contrast of smiles and physical closeness in the photos with the expression of loss and sadness in the interview segments with the mother and sister that are shown later in the video. Mark, a student coproducer, noted this temporal contrast:

They're not doing that anymore, so that photo is like, that's not happening, so yeah. So this like, this is kind of like the effect, like that's what happened, that's what they were like before, and yeah also with the photos, we can say that that's like how, how they were like before, before the situation happened, so that too.

A spatiotemporal scale of the family's experience is presented through the photo montage, positioning the mother and younger sister who subsequently speak in the video in relation with the father and each other, and the values and practices they engaged with as a family. In this way, the sequence of photos begins

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to construct the characters and their point of view and provides a temporal contrast to show the effect of deportation.

Selected Stills	Subtitles	Speech
's Wife) It was a very fadical change.	It was a very radical change.	Fue un cambio muy radical.
I had to work to get along with life	I had to work to get along with life and my daughters lives.	Yo tenía que trabajar para sacar a mis hijas adelante sabiendo que teníamos
and two were about to araduate from 8th grade.	and two were about to graduate from 8th grade and two that were about to do their first communion and me stay along in the country alone with my 4 daughters It was a very hard change.	dos de graduación de octavo grado, dos de primera comunión, y yo quedar sola en el país con cuatro hijas. Fue un cambio muy duro.
(Daughter of		My family changed because my mom had to take three or four jobs my sisters had to try, um, harder at school. And everybody just had to try harder and try to accomplish their goals, but at the same time helping
		each other.

FIGURE 2. Mother and daughter sequence

FIGURE 2. Continued



With a text overlay on the last photo indicating when the father was deported and how he was "pulled over and falsely accused by police for something he didn't do," the video fades into interview segments with Maria's mother and younger sister. The mother talks about how she took on the responsibilities of sole parenthood of four daughters while going through the tremendous hardship of being separated from her husband. The daughter's speech provides more information on how her

mom had to take three or four jobs, how her sisters also had to work harder, and how the family pulled together (see Figure 2). In an interview about the video, Maria described how her group decided to put the family story at the beginning:

MARIA: I think it was from all the feedback we were getting, and everybody was telling us we should either put the family last or before and we thought it was better to put them before and let the family give their story, and then have the experts talk.

INTERVIEWER: Why is it better for the family to give their story first?

MARIA: Because I think we would have a better idea of what we're trying to tell. That's why we decided to do that first. . . . Because we're focusing on deportation and how it changes the family and I think that's why we decided to do it first because they're talking about how it changed them financially, emotionally.

Maria's comments show that she was aware of how she and her coproducers were foregrounding the experience of the family by telling their story first. While this narrative technique follows a common convention of journalistic documentary filmmaking, of beginning with a personal and emotional story to connect with the audience, what Maria's explanation also indicates is the importance of the point of view that is brought out by the family—a point of view that makes visible the traumatic changes experienced by family members of a loved one who is forcibly taken away from them. Mark noted how the family context and experience introduced a different point of view than the generalized discourses and statistics of immigrants that he and others were often exposed to in the media.

We try and get not just the thing that people talk about, about they just see on TV or something. We want people to see it first-hand, how it affects the family and like we want to connect the audience with the family too. . . . They actually look at like one specific story, and instead of just a bunch of them just put together . . . just a number like 400,000. Like that's just a number. We can, we can think what we want about what happened . . . but we usually think is, oh they did something bad, and so that's why they got deported, but this story . . . not just this story, but many other stories, they talk about how people get unlawfully deported, like unfairly deported.

Mark's contrast between the specific story of Maria's family and what is portrayed on television (pointing to generalized statements and distanced and impersonal images) and stereotypes that people hold showed his thinking about the role of the family context for understanding the effects of deportation. He also suggested that portraying the family scale might position people to relate to the issue from the experience of family. Indeed, this potential to connect to the audience at the experiential level of the family is achieved through multiple modes of communication.

In particular, the mother's point of view and social positioning in relation to her family is portrayed through language, sound, gesture, visual images, and b-roll

(secondary) footage. The mother's narrative is spoken in Spanish and translated in the subtitles by Maria. The sadness in her voice is palpable and is supported by the subdued string music. Both her voice quality (low voice, slow and steady as if hovering over the experience) and facial expressions (somber demeanor, looking aside and down) serve to express emotion and amplify the content of her speech.

In the mother's speech, we see how the use of particular linguistic structures serves to construct her point of view:

Fue un cambio muy radical. Yo tenía que trabajar para sacar a mis hijas adelante sabiendo que teníamos dos de graduación de octavo grado, dos de primera comunión, y yo quedar sola en el país con cuatro hijas. Fue un cambio muy duro. (Enid Rosario-Ramos, one of the study authors, translated these statements as "It was a very radical change. I had to work to get my daughters ahead knowing that we had two graduating from eighth grade, two doing their first communion, and me remaining alone in the country with four daughters. It was a really hard change.")

The first-person subject and transitive verb construction of "Yo tenía que trabajar para sacar a mis hijas adelante" (I had to work to get my daughters ahead), together with the epistemic modalization "sabiendo" (knowing), shows the mother as an agent who is shouldering this tremendous hardship and moving forward for the well-being of her daughters. Maria's translation in the subtitles matches what the mother says in a global sense, making clear the magnitude of the trauma and responsibility that the mother had to take on. However, her translation lessens the role of the daughters as the direct goal of the mother's action.

The presentation of the mom's narrative is further layered with the b-roll of a toddler that is taken from a scene shot in the home of the family. The footage shows a high-angle view of a small girl, Maria's niece, straddling a rocking horse, and is overlaid on the mother's speech excerpted above as she mentions her two daughters. Maria and Mark told us that the girl in the footage represents a young child in the family and relates to what the mother is saying when she starts referring to her daughters and changes in the family. The use of b-roll, which is a technique not taught in our class, shows the students' sensibility to how the b-roll could complement the mother's speech by visually positioning her in relation to a young child in the family as coparticipants in the experience. Whereas images of the daughters graduating from eighth grade or having their first communion might match more closely what is expressed in the mother's speech, Maria's thinking about the relevance of the b-roll introduces another time-space context for understanding the impact of her father's deportation on the family across generations. In describing the role of her niece's footage in the video, Maria said:

MARIA: My niece, yeah, because how she [Maria's mother] talked about how when my dad had left, it was only four of us, just me and my sisters, so she had to stay here alone with all four of us, and then, my sister had the baby so it was not just four, it was, you know, five.

Interviewer: Right, right, the audience would not know though, right? What does it, what does including this footage, this video of the girl, do for the video?

MARIA: I think it's because the baby, we show her pictures of my dad and say, look, this is Papi, this is Grandpa, so she goes around the house and she'll see pictures of him on the wall and be like, oh, Papi, or, look it's Grandpa, so that's why we decided to put her there. And my dad, we took a picture of him once on a horse, so ever since she saw the horse, my dad with the horse, she was like, I want a horse, so that's why she's trying to get on a horse.

Here Maria indicates her mother's positioning and responsibility toward her granddaughter, the symbolic significance of the horse, and how her father's absence from their lives is felt across generations and over time. Maria's idea of the b-roll points to a longer timescale for the persistent effect of family separation, just as the potential inclusion of the living situation or status of Maria's father in Mexico would introduce a cross-border spatial scale in understanding deportation. Such alternative portraits suggest various ways that the family scale can be represented and how coordinating language and the visual modes requires attention to such space-time contexts.

We have discussed how this segment of the video foregrounds the experience of Maria's family through their photo archive, video footage, and bilingual interview narrative. The family scale for understanding deportation is represented through visual images as well as spoken and written narrative drawing from the family's communicative repertoire across Spanish and English. The construction of the mother's voice—her point of view and social positioning in relationship to her family—through both speech and subtitles shows that students' bilingual skills are important resources in journalistic and documentary media production as they provide a medium of access to diverse and marginalized voices in society. In this case, Maria worked on the subtitles mostly by herself, with some sporadic consultation with her teacher in Advanced Placement Spanish. Additional guidance and support in the translation and editing process could afford the opportunity of learning that extends students' sensitivity to how point of view in speech is represented through linguistic structures and how language can be coordinated with other semiotic resources. The multimodal process of constructing voice and scale calls for attention to how diverse semiotic modes serve to represent a speaker's positioning within particular context(s). Below we discuss how the video moves from the family to other speakers and contexts to invoke multiple scales for understanding deportation.

Assembling Voices and Scaling the Problem

The mother's and daughter's interview segments end with text stating, "The family has not seen [father's name] still, to this day" as the string music fades out. Another full-screen text slide, "There will be change," transitions the story to the next phase with interleaving shots of two speakers. The first is Adriana Moreno, director of

an immigrant advocacy organization, who talks about a federal program called Secure Communities that had led to large numbers of deportations and separation of families during the Obama administration. She also talks later about how the state of Illinois was the first state to opt out of the program. Interleaved between the two segments of Moreno is a clip from Luis Martinez, an official in the city government who is affiliated with the newly established Office of New Americans. He talks about how the Mayor's Office is working on making Chicago and each city agency more welcoming to immigrants. Both of these speakers came to the class to be interviewed by the students for a class period (see Figure 3).

In stringing these clips together and juxtaposing the two phases, the students were connecting the family experience to discourses and practices in policy at different scales—critical commentary and opposition to the federal program expressed by Moreno, and policy direction in the city of Chicago expressed by Martinez. As Moreno appears in the video, she is presented by a text overlay that identifies her as someone with credentials and a leadership position in advocacy work. In her narrative, she lays out how the Secure Communities program, as a collaboration with local law enforcement, led to racial profiling and people undergoing the deportation process when they were stopped by the police for petty infractions such as traffic violations. Moreno's speech shows a clear and strong voice of a critic, with her use of language complemented by a serious demeanor. We see the use of categorical modality and factual statements to describe the federal program and strong negative evaluation through use of the word "lies," as well as adjectives and adverbs that emphasize the intensity and degree of the program's consequences—"routine," "a lot," "over [a million]," "day in, day out"—all of which serve to construct her position as a critic of the federal program.

As the shot cuts to Martinez, he appears in formal attire and is presented as a public official who has a leadership role in making policy to support immigrants, with a title stating his position with the city government's Office of New Americans. In the clip, he describes the policy direction and priority of the Mayor's Office to make Chicago a welcoming city for immigrants. Because the clip does not provide specific information on the policy actions being taken by the city, the speech comes across like a public relations speech, particularly with the use of "we" signifying affiliation with the Mayor's Office, direct address to the audience through the pronoun "you," and modifiers ("instantly," "constantly," "incredibly") that place emphasis but also sound somewhat hyperbolic. It is important to note that this clip is part of a longer interview in which Martinez also described a number of city ordinances that were passed to stop local police from sharing information with ICE (Immigration and Customs Enforcement).

In our interviews with Maria and Mark, both of them indicated their awareness of and intention to signal relationships among practices at different scales as the video moves from the family to the other speakers. Maria noted that Moreno's comments on how people are deported through routine traffic stops as a result of the federal program are related to how her father was deported and the experience of her family.

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Selected Stills Speech There will be change. Um, the Secure Communities program works hand in hand with the local police stations and sheriffs. Um in different counties, it's an opt-in type of program and you know through routine traffic stops people have been put into deportation proceedings because they missed a stop sign or because they looked like they could have been undocumented. So the CONS is that it has separated a lot of families under the last four years, we've had over a million deportations and this is the increase of Secure Communities program. And like I said, 70% of the people that have been targeted have been noncriminals. So the, the population that it was intended to, uh, target is not targeted. And families are being torn apart day in and day out. And so, when you look at our city by contrast, you instantly get how immigrant friendly we are, how welcoming we are. Part of what I WILL say is that we are constantly working on it, that it's sort of how to break through is, the Mayor's Office is committed to this issue, he has set this goal as a priority for the city. He has created this new Office of New Americans to focus on how to make EACH city agency more welcoming. Um, and that while we're already, I think compared to most other cities in the country, incredibly welcoming we're constantly looking for ways to improve it. And that you also have a window into the Mayor's Office through, through me. Illinois was the first state in the nation to opt out as a state of Secure Communities, meaning that we chose not to participate, because of There was a freedom of information request on the program and that's when we got all of the numbers and the percentage that the program wasn't working the way it was supposed to, so. Um. I think that uh, we passed, we passed the law here in the State of Illinois that's called Smart Enforcement Act, which basically looks into making sure that the police are collaborating with immigration,

but that they are targeting the people that are intended to be targeted,

which are criminals and not regular working families.

FIGURE 3. Interviews with Adriana Moreno and Luis Martinez

So in the first part, we chose that part because she [Adriana Moreno] talked about how people were getting deported for routine traffic stops or not doing a stop sign correctly, so that's kind of what my dad also got deported for. He got pulled over for, it was for something similar to that. So that's why we chose to put that part. . . . She's giving information of, well, about immigrants being deported for reasons that shouldn't be a big deal, like traffic stops, and how families are being torn apart, so that's why we decided to put that one, because she said families are being torn apart and that's what our video is about.

Here Maria is bringing together the point of view expressed by Moreno's speech and the point of view of her family experience to interpret the action of routine traffic stops. In moving from the family story to Moreno's speech, the video creates connection between these multiple viewpoints and contexts for understanding deportation and family separation.

Mark also commented on their intention to move to "the wider view" through the segment featuring Adriana Moreno and Luis Martinez:

We shift from the family to the wider view again, so we had the family and then we head back to like the 4, we're kind of representing the 400,000 again, we're talking about like everyone and how those experts talk about new ways that we can actually help these people . . . to show new types of programs that are helping. They are also there to, if they would, we could have put their own stories in there, but we already had a story, so I think they're just there to be kind of like professional people to talk about the overall problem, and how we can go about it.

Mark noted how the two speakers bring out the problem with immigration policy and what changes and new programs are being put forward. In particular he expressed a recognition of the roles of different types of speakers in the documentary story. While both Moreno and Martinez had their own personal stories of growing up in a mixed-status family or as undocumented themselves, as they shared with the students during the class interview, their positioning in the video is that of an expert or professional in a particular domain. Here, Mark seemed to indicate that the selection of speakers and their narrative content was related to what social position in particular domains they would take up in the documentary.

Both Maria and Mark described how Martinez connects the issue to the city of Chicago. Maria said:

So how he talked about Chicago, how, so that connects with the first picture, he talks about how Chicago is like an immigrant friendly city and how the mayor is like helping out with it, too, and how we're not like Arizona, how they pull over people and like just ask them for their papers.... So that's why we picked him, because it's basically saying how, well it's trying to say the police can't pull you over and ask you for your immigration status. That's why it connects with hers [Moreno's speech].

The clip of Luis Martinez relates the issue back to Chicago, the establishing scene at the beginning of the video. Maria highlighted the role of the Mayor's Office in Martinez's comment that Chicago is an immigrant-friendly city, and contrasted the policing practices in Chicago with those in Arizona, both being at the subnational level.

The students were aware of how Martinez's voice indexes the scale of Chicago city government, particularly the Mayor's Office and the policy direction that counteracts or departs from the deportation-based immigration policy described by Moreno. Because Martinez's speech does not specify types of actions taken by the city, it seems that the students' understanding of his comment was based on the whole interview with him in class rather than the specific clip that they used. Whereas the students wanted to communicate policy practices in Chicago through Martinez, the public relations or marketing style of his speech and the dissonance it creates shows the skills that are involved in identifying salient expressions of a speaker's positioning that relate to a particular context.

The video closes with a concluding phase, with the fade-in of a rhythm-andblues melody and text that reads, "People are fighting for freedom," followed by three photo images (see Figure 4). The first photo offers a canted low angle of a man with dark, curly hair holding an American flag and looking like he is raising his voice, with his mouth open. The second photo shows a young white woman



Figure 4. Closing sequence. Top-right: "Immigration Rally" by Boss Tweed is licensed under CC BY 2.0 (https://www.flickr.com/photos/bosstweed/480342717/). Bottom-right: "International Workers Day March in Minneapolis" by Fibonacci Blue is licensed under CC BY 2.0 (https://www.flickr.com/photos/fibonacciblue/4569330249/). Bottom-left: "Minneapolis Protest against Arizona Immigrant Law SB 1070" by Fibonacci Blue is licensed under CC BY 2.0 (https://www.flickr.com/photos/fibonacciblue/4556657462/).

in a crowd holding a sign with a black-and-white photo of a young child and the words: "STOP DEPORTATION! I NEED MY DADDY!" The third photo shows a brown-skinned hand holding a sign that says, "ESTUDIANTES PARA DERECHOS DE INMIGRANTES," and a young man holding a microphone with other signs raised in the lower third of the image. Because the intertitle links the photos as people engaged in the fight for freedom, this last phase brings in a scale of practice of political protests and actions by immigrants and their allies. The ethnic and linguistic diversity of people portrayed in the photos relates the family's story to the experiences and aspirations of other people, with the second photo creating a direct connection among families being separated by deportation. Maria pointed out how the photos show different people and immigrants coming together to press for change: "It's saying how people are fighting for freedom, and the freedom is immigrants being able to be over here . . . and try to have a better life. . . . Because it makes people think, not just my family but everybody."

Discussion and Implications

In composing this video, the youth bring together different speakers and visual images of bodies and scenes to represent and inter-relate multiple scales in portraying the problem of deportation. Maria, Mark and their fellow student documented and linked the experience of Maria's family to policy making and contestation at multiple levels. The documentation of the family's narrative puts center stage the human toll and suffering from deportation, and expresses the specificity of the experience. Maria's and Mark's comments show their attention to the point of view brought out by the family that is critical for understanding the impact of deportation and that contrasts with generalized statements and distanced images of migrants. The youth also indicated their intention to communicate relationships among practices at different scales as the video moves from the family to the other speakers. In juxtaposing the family story with the voices of immigrant advocacy and city government, the students were connecting the family experience to discourses and practices in policy, noting the scalar contestations around immigration policy across different levels of government and advocacy.

We propose that the concept of scale can be productively related to the Bakhtinian concept of voice to consider the semiotic resources that are used to index and connect multiple scales in creating an understanding and representation of a social issue. Here we extend recent research on scaling that has focused on how social actors position themselves and others in particular space-time contexts to frame their interactions in face-to-face or textual exchanges (e.g., Baynham, 2009; Canagarajah, 2016; Collins, 2012; Stornaiuolo & LeBlanc, 2016). By turning interviews, video footage, and other artifacts into a documentary story, the young filmmakers selected particular speakers and frames from these real-life interactions to include in the story. We argue that the selection and multimodal editing of speakers and frames involves the filmmakers' attention to the spatiotemporal contexts that they are representing in the story. The linking of a speaker with their social and ideolo-

gical world is aptly described through Bakhtin's concept of voice. Maria, Mark, and their fellow student used particular speaker voices and their social positioning to center the family experience in portraying the ideological conflicts over migration policies and their human consequences. Our analysis extends the study of scaling to multimodal texts, and proposes voicing as a semiotic resource and narrative device for constructing scales in documentary storytelling.

While voicing can inform our understanding of the representational strategies that people use to make visible multiple scales and their interrelations, the concept of scale can inform our understanding of voice. As noted earlier, Bakhtin's argument suggests that points of view can be generated from practices of different scales, from the individual to the family to different social domains and historical moments in society. The concept of scale turns our analytic lens to the space-time contexts that produce particular points of view. We have discussed the variability of space and time in representing the family experience and point of view, as the impact of deportation and family separation may not only be understood in its immediate consequences but also in its persistent effects over time and across borders. An attention to space-time contexts of the individual and family experiences of migration and displacement allows us to introduce different vantage points for understanding people's struggles and strength in the face of a broken immigration system.

The consideration of how space-time contexts generate specific viewpoints involves how a particular scale (e.g., family) is represented, and what scales are brought into relationship with each other. In documentaries, a particular scale may be invoked and produced through the interactive process of interviewing, conversation, and observation in everyday settings and activities. Further research on such real-time interactive processes of scaling among participants in the production stage of documentary and other media would further our understanding of how particular voices or points of view are produced. More research could also explore how multiple scales of individual and family experiences, societal conditions, and governmental policies, as well as community practices and activism, are included and related to each other in documentary and other media, and how that may support a more complex understanding of the social forces underlying migration.

By conceptualizing the relations between voice and scale, this work aims to contribute to literacy learning and teaching that support young people in bringing their knowledge, experiences, and narrative resources to engage with societal structures. Extending research on multimodal storytelling, we are interested in how documentary media mobilize constructs of scale to enable particular ways of knowing the world. In our analysis, we focus particularly on how scales are represented through the voices of characters and their social positioning. Such representation involves documentation and orchestration of linguistic registers and multimodal expressions that come from diverse spaces. In this way, we think that media production offers opportunity for students to document and mobilize their own and their communities' language and semiotic repertoires, and to analyze and

orchestrate them in relation to other community and institutional voices to extend important conversations in society. Documentary storytelling can support literacy learning that leverages and expands the linguistic and communicative repertoire of students and challenges language hierarchy in society.

In a time when xenophobia and misunderstandings about immigration are on the rise and actively promulgated in society, we need to support learning in classrooms and other educational settings that reflects the voices of immigrants and children of immigrants. We can harness the power of narrative to connect people to the personal experiences of migrants and the societal contexts of migration. It is important that this process take place in a safe and trustworthy environment where students are careful in choosing what they share from their experiences. In the current political climate, it is vital that the teaching and sharing of immigration experiences do not put students or other people at risk. We need to communicate to our students that sharing their stories does not mean they have to reveal their documentation status. Elsewhere, we have described how another group of students in this documentary project chose to interview and tell the story of a relative who had recently become a legal citizen in the United States to educate their peers about the long and difficult process of legalization (Chang & Lam, 2018). An initiative called Re-Imagining Migration (https://reimaginingmigra tion.org), based at the University of California, Los Angeles, has created a network of educational resources and educators' guides for teaching and learning about migration, including through storytelling and audio and video interviews about an individual's migration history. The curriculum resources support teachers in facilitating discussions on immigration and using narratives to teach the human facets of migration. We hope our effort to understand the representational process of documentary storytelling in this study contributes to our collective endeavor to create new perspectives and understandings of migration in our classrooms and communities.

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APPENDIX: MULTIMODAL TRANSCRIPT

Time Stamp Still Frame		Editing	Text	Cinematography	Mise-en-Scène	Sound – Speech	Sound – Other
00:01:07:83		Fade in					
00:01:08:23				[Shot] Medium shot [Angle] Eye level [Lighting] Hard [Movement] None	Shot] Medium shot Medium shot of Maria's Angle] Eye level mother as interviewee, Lighting] Hard wearing a pink blazer, in Movement] None front of a yellow wall		
00:01:08:43			[Lower-third sub- title] It was a very radical change.	[Shot] Medium shot [Angle] Eye level [Lighting] Hard [Movement] None	Shot] Medium shot of Maria's Angle] Eye level mother as interviewee, Lighting] Hard wearing a pink blazer, in Movement] None front of a yellow wall	Fue un cambio muy radical. [It was a very radical change.]	
00:01:09:00	. swa		[Upper-right corner] [Name of mother] ('s wife)				
00:01:12:57	The found of the pine.	Upper- right title fade out	[Subtitle] I had to work to get along with life.			Yo tenía que trabajar para [I had to work to]	
00:01:13:92	And the state of t	Cross dissolve	[Subtitle] and my daughters lives.			sacar a mis hijas adelante [get my daughters ahead]	

Narrative Notes

(Action) Voice quality—low voice, slightly breathy, slow and steady, as if hovering over the experience. Looking aside and down, as if recalling the memories. Somber demeanor. The mother talks about how she took on the responsibilities of sole parenthood of four daughters while going through the tremendous hardship of being separated from her husband.

(Attribute) Dressed up. Presenting herself formally.

(Circumstance) Yellow wall in background—appeared in photos before, home setting.

Music evokes emotion of sadness. Text says, "[name of father]'s wife."

Interpretive Notes

The mother's facial expression and tone of voice complement her speech to express her point of view. Facial expression and voice quality express emotion, adding attitudinal and evaluative meanings to speech (Baldry & Thibault, 2010).

of smiles and physical closeness in the photos and the expression of loss and sadness in the interviews—provides a temporal scale to show The contrast between the attributes and actions of Maria's mother and younger sister before and after the father's deportation—the contrast the effect of deportation.

The mother notes the degree and severity of change in the first statement, and positions herself in relation to her daughters. The first-person subject and transitive verb construction of "Yo tenía que trabajar para sacar a mis hijas adelante" (I had to work to get my daughters ahead), together with the epistemic modalization "sabiendo" (knowing) that follows, shows the mother as an agent who is shouldering this tremendous hardship and moving forward for the well-being of her daughters.

Consider audience relation to the character based on camera framing—the journalistic convention of a medium shot off-center—indicating public testimony.

Interview Notes

Maria talks about how deportation has changed her family financially and emotionally, and the significance of putting the family story first to show the effect of deportation.

Maria says her mother decided to dress up for the interview. It's not her usual attire for going to work. Maria says her mom dresses up when she goes out and when she goes to school to meet Maria's teachers.

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Wan Shun Eva Lam is an associate professor at Northwestern University whose work explores young people's digital and multilingual literacies in transnational cultural and political contexts.

Natalia Smirnov is a researcher, writer, and learning designer living in Philadelphia. Amy A. Chang is a doctoral candidate in the learning sciences program at Northwestern University whose research examines how people of diverse backgrounds make sense of controversial social issues, and ways to foster expansive understanding across ideological differences.

Matthew W. Easterday is an associate professor at Northwestern University and is interested in educational technology for civics.

Enid M. Rosario-Ramos is an assistant professor of educational studies at the University of Michigan School of Education, with expertise in the areas of Latinx education, critical pedagogy, and youth civic engagement.

Jack C. Doppelt is the Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani Professor of Journalism at Northwestern Medill School of Journalism, Media, Integrated Marketing Communications; principal investigator of the Robert R. McCormick Foundation-funded project on social justice reporting in Chicago called Social Justice News Nexus; and publisher of Immigrant Connect, an online storytelling network for immigrants, their families, and communities in and around Chicago.