"Putting My Life Into a Story": A Preliminary Evaluation of a Digital Narrative Intervention Combining Participatory Video and Narrative Therapy

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Abstract

This article describes the development, implementation, and evaluation of a digital narrative intervention that combined participatory video (PV) and narrative therapy practices to engage Latinx immigrant young people in processes of personal and societal change. Drawing on ethnographic field notes, process recordings, audio recordings of intervention implementation, and focus group data, this program evaluation offers empirical evidence of the impacts of this innovative, digital narrative intervention on Latinx immigrant young people (ages 18-24) in New Orleans. A constructivist grounded theory approach to data analysis resulted in three main themes: critical self-awareness, Latinx and immigrant pride, and media literacy. This study unites PV and narrative therapy as complementary approaches to working with marginalized groups to share their stories, suggesting that the combination of these two storytelling practices resulted in several positive outcomes for participants.

Keywords: participatory video, narrative therapy, Latinx youth, immigrants, program evaluation

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Background

In the last few decades, video production has become an increasingly accessible, affordable, and popular activity, resulting in a proliferation of user-produced digital media. Telling stories in digital through media production is now recognized as an important form of self-expression for young people, affording opportunities for self-representation, political participation, and identity development (Blazek, 2017). For ethnic minorities and other marginalized youth, digital narrative interventions have proven useful tools for exploring racial identities (Burkholder & Gube, 2018), documenting and speaking out about injustice (Cahill & Bradley, 2011), and countering dominant, often harmful and limiting, narratives (Luttrell, 2012).

Dominant narratives about Latinx young people, one of the fastest-growing populations in the United States (U.S.) (Frey, 2020), are rooted in a history of racial exclusion and discrimination (Suarez-Orozco & Paez, 2008) that pushes them to the margins of society. Many Latinx young people in the U.S. today, including those involved in this research, came of age during the Former President Trump's administration, which was marked by racist-nativist policies coupled with anti-Latinx and White supremacist rhetoric (Huber & Cueva, 2012). Though not new, Former President Trump's anti-immigrant agenda laid bare the U.S. immigration system's continued focus on exclusion, and caused heightened fear, anxiety, and feelings of marginalization in Latinx young people (Fernández, 2021). To meet the needs of our rapidly diversifying society and foster the well-being, inclusion, and participation of all its members, helping professionals must prioritize efforts to combat the marginalization of Latinx young people and to promote social action and justice activities. Extant literature suggests that participatory video (PV) and narrative therapy (NT) are effective tools for doing so (Blazek, 2017).

Participatory Video

PV (also known as collaborative or participatory filmmaking) is a term broadly used and applied to a diverse array of media production practices involving ordinary people working together for personal and societal transformation. For the purposes of this article, PV is defined as a process of social intervention that aims to mobilize and empower participants through their active involvement in the production and distribution of their own media narratives. Key concerns of PV include an emphasis on the process of media-making, issues of self-representation and authorship, and engaging and mobilizing marginalized groups.

An understanding of the emergence of PV as a community intervention method helps illuminate its relevance for community practice with Latinx youth. The practice and theory of PV dates to at least the 1960's, when social movements against cultural imperialism converged with technological advances that made media production equipment more affordable, portable, and available, eventually resulting in the birth of what we consider PV today (Ruby, 2000). PV has roots in Latin America, where Third Cinema, a liberatory, decolonizing film/video tradition originating from Third World countries, emerged as a challenge to Western social documentaries that represented the "other." Media producers in Latin America distinguished themselves through a focus on using film/video as a medium for social change; they sought to decentralize the communicative and cultural power of mass media by putting the means of production and distribution into the hands of people who were typically film/video "subjects" (Ruby, 2000).

As more participatory approaches to media production practices were being embraced in Latin America, a series of films produced in the remote Fogo Islands of Canada resulted in the identification of common methodological principles that were developed into an adaptable model of participatory filmmaking now known as PV (Nemtin & Low, 1968). The Fogo Islands project, which focused on community members' perspectives on the Canadian government's plan to resettle island inhabitants to the mainland, was a collaboration between

a documentary filmmaker, a community development worker, and island residents (Nemtin & Low, 1968). This project resulted in a defining feature of PV's philosophy: recognition that the participatory filmmaking *process*, which afforded community members opportunity to practice reflexivity, provide feedback, exert control over their own representation, and catalyze change efforts, was equally as impactful as the films produced (Nemtin & Low, 1968).

PV has since been used in many different community contexts for varied purposes such as health promotion/communication, community organizing and advocacy, community development, and conflict resolution (Milne et al., 2012). In the allied health fields, PV has begun to garner attention as a community-engaged, visual approach to qualitative research that uses media production tools for collaborative knowledge generation (Lilly, 2023, Brooks & Poudrier, 2014). Helping professionals have also employed various forms of PV in therapeutic settings, demonstrating its utility as an intervention approach (Miller Scarnato, 2018, 2019). However, there is a dearth of research examining the use of PV as a narrative therapy intervention – a gap this research aims to fill. To our knowledge, this article is the first to evaluate the impacts of a digital narrative intervention utilizing PV within a narrative therapy framework.

Narrative Therapy

NT is a post-structuralist and non-pathologizing approach to working with individuals, groups, and communities (White, 2007). Using a collaborative approach in resistance to traditional power hierarchies in psychotherapy, NT builds upon and applies the work of several post-structuralist theorists including Bruner's theory of the narrative construction of reality (Bruner, 1991) and Foucault's idea of resurrecting subjugated knowledges as a challenge to psychological discourse (Foucault, 1980). Put simply, NT is based in the belief that humans make sense of the world through stories and aims to apply that understanding in collaborative therapeutic settings with groups and individuals who have experienced hardship and trauma by working with people to make meaning of life events, primarily through oral storytelling and written narratives. NT practitioners position people as the experts on their own lives, and view problems, traumas, and hardships as separate from people. By recognizing a person's power to re-author, or re-story, the events of her life into preferred alternative stories, narrative therapists use storytelling processes to empower people by decreasing the influence of problems on the person's life and increasing the person's perception of her influence over problems.

Intervention Development

The digital narrative intervention was developed and implemented in collaboration with a local organization called Puentes New Orleans. Originally founded to connect Latinx families to needed resources following Hurricane Katrina, Puentes began working with Latinx youth in 2008. Noting a critical gap in youth-focused programs for Latinxs in the area, Puentes began shifting organizational priorities to increase their focus on Latinx youth in 2015, launching a college access program for high school students.

The author and primary investigator (PI) began collaborating with Puentes as a doctoral student and fellow in a program focused on community-engaged scholarship. A partnership with Puentes was suitable given the PI's research and advocacy focused on immigrant populations. During early conversations, Puentes staff and board members shared with the PI the findings of a community needs assessment they conducted to inform future programming efforts, as well as their plans to launch an organizing initiative for Latinx youth aged 16-25. Because there was a dearth of programs serving Latinx young people in the area, this new initiative would focus on building their power and participation through a combination of creative expression and informed social action. Through continued conversations, the PI raised the possibility of a digital narrative approach to the organizing project based on her past experiences using PV to engage Indigenous youth in Latin America in critical consciousness-raising and training in using NT with groups. Both PV and NT aim to empower individuals and groups to author their own narratives through storytelling processes meant to facilitate personal and societal transformation, which aligned with Puentes' goals for the project. Puentes' leadership embraced the idea of including a digital

narrative component in their work with Latinx young people and we began to conceptualize a digital narrative intervention that would combine PV and NT to complement the work of the youth organizing initiative. A project team was assembled consisting of the PI, and three Puentes staff members: the Director of Development, the Youth Organizing Program Manager (a social worker familiar with narrative therapy), and the Digital Media Organizer (a youth organizer with experience in photography).

A participatory design (PD) process was used to actively involve youth in intervention development. PD is a research approach in which the people who will take part in a system or intervention play a critical role in designing it (Hagen et al., 2012; Neuhauser, 2017). PD has frequently been used with young people as it recognizes their unique social context and their ability to define and generate responses to the problems impacting them (Hagen et al., 2012). This approach offers clear and adaptable tools and techniques to support young people's active participation through a process of mutual learning, making design decision-making processes accessible to users and improving intervention outcomes (Hagen et al., 2012; Neuhauser, 2017). A PD approach was chosen and implemented for the development of this intervention because it "helps us to develop interventions that are engaging to young people and therefore, are more likely to be used, increasing the overall reach and impact of the intervention" (Hagen et al., 2012, p. 6). We used a PD framework specifically for use with young people that is underpinned by three main principles outlined by Hagen and colleagues (2012): (1) young people act as codesigners throughout the process; (2) young people are design partners in idea generation and feedback loops, and; (3) interventions are evaluated from young people's perspectives.

Intervention and Project Goals

Following a PD approach, the project team held several meetings open to all young people involved in Puentes' programs during which attendees were engaged in various PD techniques to actively involve youth as co-designers of the intervention. Specifically, we used the PD methods of card sorting, focus groups, and crowdsourcing (Hagen et al., 2012) during these meetings. This process resulted in the following collaboratively determined goals for the intervention, reproduced here in the language we devised together for inclusion in fundraising and promotional materials and used in research reports concerning related projects (Lilly, 2023, p. 11):

- to provide Latinx youth with a safe and welcoming space to discover and share their own voices, stories, and struggles, and to locate their stories within a historical and cultural context connected to systems of power and oppression that participants can identify and interrogate;
- to mobilize Latinx youth around issues identified through storytelling processes to further understand and combat oppression and its effects on their lives;
- to teach Latinx youth how to effectively incorporate digital media tools in organizing and advocacy campaigns designed to counter oppression.

Once these goals were established, the project team worked together to finalize the digital narrative intervention, seeking feedback and providing opportunity for youth input throughout the process. This research reports findings from a preliminary program evaluation of the digital narrative intervention. The pragmatic purpose of this evaluation was to document and analyze the digital narrative intervention process for continued adaptation and implementation. Data collection and analysis sought to answer the questions: What impacts did the intervention have on participants? To what extent did the intervention meet its goals? Young people were also actively involved in determining the methods used to evaluate the intervention, which are further described below.

Materials and Methods

Participants

Workshop participation was voluntary and open to any Latinx young person involved in Puentes' youth organizing initiative. Participants were recruited through a verbal pitch provided by the PI at three regularly scheduled youth organizing meetings. Potential participants were also provided an information sheet about the workshops and instructed to contact the PI following the meetings if interested in participating. Five Latinx young people participated in each workshop, for a total of 10 participants (18-24 years old), of whom six were female and four were male. Participants included four young people from Honduras, three from Mexico, two from Guatemala, and one from Nicaragua. Participants are identified by chosen names to protect their identities – Lia, Arturo, Giselle, Sofia, and Javi participated in the first workshop; Tatyana, Manny, Teresa, Camilo, and Jasmine in the second.

Intervention Workshops

The intervention was implemented through two workshops that guided participants through PV and NT activities. The first workshop began in October 2018 and concluded in December 2018, and the second workshop began in November 2018 and concluded in January 2019. Each workshop began with a three-day intensive training to introduce participants to media production activities and facilitate narrative therapy exercises. Specific activities and exercises are described in Appendix A. The workshops were co-facilitated by the Digital Media Youth Organizer and the PI. After the three-day intensive, participants continued to work together to complete their videos for approximately three months with support from co-facilitators.

Ethnographic Methods and Analyses

We used ethnographic methods to examine the intervention process and its impacts on participants. Ethnography was chosen as an appropriate method because it generates in-depth observational data from the field. Young people felt that this approach would be non-intrusive during the workshops and best capture their experience of participation. In concert with the university IRB, this study was determined to be limited to evaluative activities as the information was collected for the purpose of examining the outcomes of the program to improve its effectiveness and inform future program development. However, participants provided verbal consent to be observed and audio-recorded and were aware that the data generated would be used for program evaluation and research purposes.

The observational data generated included: ethnographic field notes recorded during or within 24 hours of each workshop session (eight fieldnote entries comprising a total of 52 pages) and audio recordings of group interactions and discussions during the intervention (18 separate recordings with a total duration of 10 hours, 41 minutes). These data sources were included in the analysis along with data from two audio-recorded focus groups with participants. Focus groups lasted approximately two hours and were held one month after each workshop ended. The first focus group included four of the five participants from the first workshop, and the second one included all five participants from the second workshop. During the workshops and focus groups, audio was recorded using a professional-quality recorder placed on a tripod within range of participants' voices. The PI transcribed all recordings for analysis.

Data Analyses

A constructivist grounded theory (CGT) approach (Charmaz, 2014) was employed to analyze the data iteratively and inductively. CGT is "a method of conducting qualitative research that focuses on creating conceptual frameworks or theories through building inductive analysis from the data" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 187). This approach was used because it is a flexible, yet rigorous analysis method focused on understanding participants' experiences (Chun Tie et al., 2019) that stresses "social contexts, interaction, sharing viewpoints, and interpretive understandings" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 13). All data were analyzed iteratively and inductively using the constant

comparison method (Charmaz, 2014), which proceeded through three phases detailed in Table 1. To provide an audit trail that helps ensure procedural precision and rigor, the PI recorded analytic memos throughout the analysis process, detailing why and how analytic decisions were made and documenting the PI's own thoughts and feelings. The rigor of the study was further enhanced through triangulation of data sources (e.g. examining field notes in tandem with transcripts of audio-recordings from the same date, comparing data across the two focus groups) and member-checking (participants were sent a draft of results for feedback).

Table 1
Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT) Analytic Process

Phase	Purpose	Approach	Team Members	Examples
Initial Coding	Begin to identify patterns in and assign meaning to data; inform continued data collection	Inductively generate and compare codes, remaining close to the data and embedding action in codes; record analytic memos to document the researcher's thoughts and feelings	PI	Initial codes: understanding oneself, feeling disadvantaged, feeling proud of ethnic heritage, recognizing immigrants' accomplishments, learning visual language, engaging with media, identifying formal techniques
Focused Coding	Transform data into abstract concepts; continually reassess assigned meaning to refine analysis	Review, organize, and hierarchize codes; identify and define the properties and dimensions of core categories; identify relationships between categories	All members of project team	Core categories: self- awareness, impacts of power and oppression, Latinx pride, immigrant pride, media vocabulary, active viewing
Theoretical Coding	Produce a theory grounded in the data that explains the phenomenon being studied	Integrate and synthesize codes, integrating extant theory; explain relationships between categories	All members of project team with input from youth participants	Theoretical codes: critical self-awareness, Latinx and immigrant pride, media literacy

Results

Our analysis resulted in three main themes that offer empirical evidence of the impact of the digital narrative intervention on participants: critical self-awareness, Latinx and immigrant pride, and media literacy.

Critical Self-Awareness

Our analysis revealed that participating in the intervention facilitated processes of critical self-awareness in participants. Producing media together that shared their personal stories helped change the way participants looked at themselves and fostered a more critical perspective on how power and oppression impacted them. The experience of being interviewed by a peer during the Episodes of Life exercise was a particularly powerful

vehicle for seeing oneself from a new perspective. When we debriefed immediately following the exercise, Jasmine expressed: "I never thought about my life like that. It was new for me. I have never thought about putting my life into a story before, but it was good because I started to understand myself more. It made me find myself more." Giselle also shared that she saw herself in new ways and better understood the uniqueness of her experiences, stating: "I was pretty nervous being interviewed. But I feel like I learned that maybe what seems normal or not that interesting to me might be interesting to other people, or like, different from what they've experienced. And so, I guess it gave me a new view of me too."

After participating in the intervention, participants were able to articulate an understanding of the systematic disadvantages and experiences of discrimination associated with immigrant status and race. During a focus group, Teresa shared: "One of the things I realized is that we all migrated to an English-speaking country without speaking the language, and some of us don't have permanent status. Those things put us at a disadvantage here." When discussing our dissemination strategy for their finished videos, Camilo connected his experience to systemic injustices, stating "I have started to feel that we don't get the same opportunities that we should. And with all the things that are happening, I feel like this [video] can really help people to understand us better." Expressions like these demonstrate youth's critical self-awareness of the structural disadvantages they experience as immigrants in the U.S.

Latinx and Immigrant Pride

Participants also described gaining a deeper appreciation for and pride in their Latinx heritage. Lia shared:

At the beginning, I felt like I was Latina and I am maybe treated differently here [in the U.S.], but now I feel more proud of who I am. Because when I was shooting the scenes for my film, I saw people working really hard. And when I heard the stories of people in here [within the group], I started to understand what we all have to go through in order to have a better life. And that makes me feel so proud of who I am and where I come from.

Manny also revealed a sense of Latinx pride when thinking about the impact he hopes his video makes:

If someone I don't know is watching my video, I just want to let them know that they don't have to be ashamed to be Hispanic. And if they are being bullied or made fun of for being different, that they just embrace it even more. Being Hispanic isn't bad. I'm so proud of being Hispanic. I can speak two languages and most people cannot."

For Jasmine, the experience made her think more deeply about the contributions of immigrants:

I feel like [Trump] thinks he's making America great, but he's really not because we're the ones who build this stuff. We're the ones who built his White House, so like, he can't even tell us not to go in the White House because we built it.

Having the opportunity to work together to produce videos that conveyed their stories helped participants recognize their unique strengths and resources as Latinx peoples and immigrants.

Media Literacy

In addition to learning media production skills, we found that participating in the intervention increased participants' media literacy, strengthening their ability to read and critically engage with the visual language of media. This was demonstrated through discussions of short films about immigrants that we watched during the intervention. After watching one of the films, Javi stated the following in our discussion:

I like how it only showed people from behind, like their backs, because that was like equalizing since they were all shown in the exact same way. They're all immigrants – like, look, here's this guy, here's this guy, and every time it's a different race but it's the same thing showing the back of their heads, which

is a way of visually making you connect those people. They're all immigrants, and you never see their faces.

In discussing this film, Javi demonstrates his grasp of the visual language used to convey the diversity and unity of the immigrant population. Discussing another film, Tatyana reflected:

They don't spell things out for you. They don't make it super clear, so you have to work a little bit to figure it out for yourself, like fill in the blanks. So that kind of made me pay attention more. Because I'm watching it, thinking like "Oh, what's going on here? How do these people know each other?" And that can be a good thing, to keep people's attention.

In this instance, Tatyana was able to identify the importance of keeping an audience engaged and one approach the film used to do so. After viewing and discussing several films together the first day of the intensive, Jasmine returned the second morning, excited to talk with the co-facilitators about a film she had watched at home. I jotted the following in my field notes:

Jasmine came in and immediately told me that she couldn't stop seeing all the things that we learned yesterday while she watched a film about teen pregnancy that evening. She started explaining the plot, but also how the film was told from different perspectives, the visual style, the use of focus and sound to tell the story, how it had almost no dialogue, the transitions it used. She started showing me the film and was pointing all these things out as it played. I encouraged her, saying "Yes, now you have a new way of seeing films. You can interpret them based on what you learned." She said she would visualize the editing timeline while watching it, imagining the different tracks for music and dialogue.

This example shows how Jasmine was able to apply what she had learned about creating films while watching them, exercising her new vocabulary, and accurately identifying formal techniques in describing the filmmaker's choices to us.

Discussion

Both PV and narrative therapy are alternative approaches to working with people to share their stories within their respective fields – PV emerged as an alternative to mainstream media production practices that place media professionals in a position of authority over the stories of marginalized groups, and narrative therapy was developed as an alternative to pathologizing therapeutic traditions that place therapists in a position of authority over the stories of clients. In resistance to practices that tell stories about and represent the "other," PV and narrative therapy recognize people as knowledge holders, championing their ability to author their own narratives and represent themselves. Based on these synergies, we developed, implemented, and evaluated an innovative digital narrative intervention that used PV within a narrative therapy framework to promote Latinx immigrant youth's empowerment.

The results of our preliminary program evaluation suggest that the digital narrative intervention for Latinx young people resulted in changed perspectives in multiple ways. The use of PV within a narrative therapy framework afforded participants the opportunity to author their own media narratives, which helped them gain new perspectives on themselves (critical self-awareness), on their communities (strengthened pride in Latinx and immigrant identities), and on media messages (enhanced media literacy). These findings attest to the value of combining PV and narrative therapy practices and suggest that the intervention was able to work toward its intended goals.

In alignment with our first goal, the intervention provided Latinx young people with a "safe and welcoming space to discover and share their own voices, stories, and struggles" (Lilly, 2023, p. 11). We created this space by employing narrative therapy exercises meant to protect participants from re-traumatization while inviting them to share their stories with one another. Participants described how the experience of documenting and sharing

their stories using digital media afforded them a new perspective of themselves and increased their awareness of the impacts of power and oppression on their life experiences (critical self-awareness), relating to the second part of this goal focused on contextualizing life experiences within systems of power and oppression. From a narrative therapy perspective, becoming critically self-aware changed participants' relationships to the problems they encountered in life, allowing them to see beyond individual circumstances and gain an understanding of the multi-systemic, multi-level factors that contribute to individual and collective problems. This finding is consistent with extant research examining outcomes of PV (Blazek, 2017) and narrative therapy (Angus & McLeod, 2004), suggesting that both processes may have contributed to critical self-awareness. We found that the combination of PV and narrative therapy facilitated critical self-awareness by helping participants to see their stories as part of social discourse through the process of being interviewed, documenting their stories on video, and producing videos that allowed them to share their stories with broader publics.

Our findings also revealed that the intervention increased participants' sense of pride in their identities as Latinx peoples and as immigrants. Extant literature has shown that a strong sense of ethnic-racial identity increased Latinx young people's hope (Yager-Elorriaga et al., 2014) and helped them recognize and make meaning of racism (Torres & Hernandez, 2007). Participants expressed a renewed appreciation for their membership in these identity-based groups, conveying a sense of collective identity formation which is vital to collective social action (Flesher Fominaya, 2010).

Participants' pride in their Latinx and immigrant identities and critical self-awareness resulted in an important shift from individual, problem-saturated narratives to stories that conveyed a sense of participants' collective struggle against oppression, which motivated youth to act on issues important to them. Youth's desire to use their videos as part of social change efforts demonstrates progress toward our second goal of mobilizing youth. After participating in the intervention, youth expressed many ideas and motivations for sharing their films as part of their mobilization efforts and subsequently continued to incorporate digital media tools in their organizing and advocacy campaigns, as encapsulated in our third goal.

We also found evidence suggesting that the digital narrative intervention increased participants' media literacy – an unintentional though unsurprising outcome, given that producing media has proven an effective way of developing media literacy (Friesem, 2014; Šupšáková, 2016). Learning to critically read media is an important skill for media producers who are aiming to convey their own media messages, thus, we engaged participants in viewing and discussing a variety of videos. Through our viewings and discussions, youth demonstrated an ability to identify formal production choices, apply new vocabulary, and understand media messages – key components of media literacy that support youth's ability to actively engage with media messages (Soep, 2012). An enhanced ability to understand and critically interpret the construction of narratives may also support youth's ability to identify, guard against, and counter racial and other forms of bias in media stories that might negatively impact youth's sense of self if left uncritiqued (Scharrer & Ramasubramanian, 2015). Media literacy skills are also beneficial for effectively incorporating digital media into organizing and advocacy campaigns, in relation to our third goal.

This study unites PV and narrative therapy as complementary approaches to working toward the empowerment of Latinx immigrant youth, offering evidence that the combination of these two storytelling practices resulted in several positive outcomes for participants. However, the results of this qualitative, preliminary program evaluation are not intended to generalize beyond the participants involved in this particular digital narrative intervention. Future research on the use of PV within a narrative therapy framework should explore whether similar outcomes emerge from other contexts. Despite these limitations, this study offers empirical evidence of the ways in which an innovative digital narrative intervention (the first to utilize PV within a narrative therapy framework) impacted the Latinx young people with and for whom the intervention was developed. The findings presented here support the continued use of PV and narrative therapy in community practice with marginalized groups.

The findings of this program evaluation also bear implications for helping professionals. These findings might inspire practitioners to acquire the knowledge and skills necessary to integrate media storytelling practices in therapeutic settings with the intent of furthering and strengthening a client's capacity to author her own narrative. Practitioners may discover that utilizing PV or other participatory digital media approaches helps young people gain new insights into their own identities and social contexts – a key developmental task that impacts the health and well-being of adolescents and young adults (Sawyer et al., 2012). As this study revealed, interventions utilizing PV within a narrative therapy framework hold great potential to positively transform the lives of young people who experience marginalization, offering them the opportunity to gain critical self-awareness, pride in their identities, and valuable media literacy skills, all of which can help propel them to social action in their communities and beyond.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank the young people who participated in this study for the invaluable contribution to society they have made in sharing their stories, the staff and leadership at Puentes New Orleans for their support, and Dante Bryant for his feedback on this piece. This research was supported by the Mellon Fellowship for Community-Engaged Scholarship at Tulane University.

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Declaration of Interest Statement:

The author declares no conflicts of interest in relation to this work.

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