

**Transnational Childhoods and Youth Media:
Seeing with and Learning from One
Immigrant Child's Visual Narrative**

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Introduction

"Your family is always there for you more than anybody else. Family is the one who takes care of you when you was growing up...."

Angeline, quoted above, migrated to the United States from Kenya at the age of seven.¹ She is part of a large, extended family with "lots of cousins...some are 'back home'" (in Kenya), some live in Massachusetts, others are in Texas, Missouri, Georgia, or Canada. "Like, they're all spread out." Reflecting on her transnational family circle, she says she is glad "because then I have more culture in me.... Some parts of my family are, like, Kenyan culture and American culture. So, I have two cultures. I'm black American, so, mostly Kenyan though."

Like the other participants in this youth media project, Children Framing Childhoods, Angeline took pictures of her family, school, and community life that emphasize her participation in and insights about larger social structures, processes, and ideologies—including poverty, gender, the global migration of people, and the American Dream. Such large-scale processes are not often understood

from the perspective of children as social actors (Orellana 2009; Thorne 2002), yet this was the goal of the project on which this chapter is based.²

Angeline was one of thirty-four children aged ten–twelve who took part in this media project. Their use of photography—the images they took and the explanations they provided—served as a means of entry into their social and emotional worlds and complex self-identifications. In addition to extensive participant observation in their public elementary school, data include 1,350 photographs collected over four years and sixty-five hours of videotaped interview data in which the children discuss the meanings of their own and each other’s pictures. While the camera is just one among many tools, we contend that photography is an especially useful medium through which young people make visible their social worlds and express matters of the heart.

Our project is situated within an increasingly popular research practice that gives kids cameras as a means of inquiry. However, we take a different perspective on children or youth photography than the one taken by many photographers who are engaged in projects with young people. For example, Jim Hubbard, renowned professional photographer and founder of the Shooting Back project, explains that “unless there is a competent and ongoing tutorial element, most children will not produce images that truly depict the vast array of elements a community is comprised of.... Without ample guidance, the kids will take pictures of cars/hubcaps, hood ornaments, flowers, trees, grass, cats, dogs, and each other” (2007, 7). We did not encourage the children to produce a particular kind of image. Instead we believe there is merit in projects that seek to understand and preserve the meaning of these “ordinary” pictures to the children, on their own terms. Our approach is to assume that the meanings behind these images can be extraordinary, if we listen carefully and systematically as children help us see the world and themselves as they do.

That said, we do not believe that understanding transnational childhoods “through children’s eyes” or capturing children’s “voices” is a straightforward or simple task. We join others who challenge a notion of “voice” that assumes children speak as one, or with a singular voice (Arnot and Reay 2007; Luttrell and Chalfen, forthcoming; Piper and Frankham 2007; Thomson 2009; Yates 2008).³ We find that gender, race, ethnicity, class, and immigrant status influence the photographs children take, and what children say about those pictures. Also, there are shifts in how children discuss their photos depending on the context and audience—what is said to the interviewer may differ from what is said in peer groups or to teachers. We also find that there is no single theoretical framework with which to understand the “complex life” of the images children make.⁴ We start from the premise that there are multiple layers of meaning in any single photograph and that children make deliberate choices to represent themselves and oth-

ers, sometimes in an effort to “speak back” to dominant or stereotypical images of themselves (Luttrell 2003).⁵

Through our analysis of children’s use of photography, we wish to add nuance to the discourse about “immigrant” children within our field whose lives have mostly been examined in terms of two central questions: (1) How is Immigrant Group X adapting to school? (Lee 2005; Olsen 1997; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001); or (2) How do we explain the academic over- or underachievement of Immigrant Group Y, particularly as compared to other “minority” groups? (Coll and Marks 2009; Ngo and Lee 2007; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001). These are crucial questions, but they are not the only questions. In this chapter we focus on one particular immigrant child—Angeline—and the questions *she* raises about her transnational childhood.⁶ Of the many themes that Angeline identifies, we wish to feature one—the social and emotional worlds of carework.⁷ We have selected this theme for two reasons: first, because the relationship between care and learning is neglected in contemporary educational discourse, especially in this era of high-stakes testing and accountability; and yet, it is Angeline’s participation in and awareness of carework that etches her identity, self-regard, and social consciousness. Second, by examining the ways in which Angeline reads signs of care across several contexts—family, school, community—we are better able to understand her transnational experience.

Background

Wendy Luttrell first visited the school—a kindergarten through sixth grade urban, public elementary school in Worcester, Massachusetts—in the fall of 2003. Discussions with the principal about her most pressing concerns resulted in several initiatives, including one that would evolve into Children Framing Childhoods, which would attempt to better integrate increasing numbers of immigrant students and families into school culture. The school serves immigrant families from a range of nations, including, to name a few, Albania, Iran, Kenya, Puerto Rico, and Vietnam. Of the 370 students enrolled, 92% are eligible for free school lunch; 37% are white, 10% are black, 18% are Asian, and 35% are Hispanic.⁸ Luttrell saw this as an opportunity to investigate the lived experiences of transnational childhoods, and to consider the experiences and cultural knowledge of immigrant children as a rich resource for learning rather than as a deficit.

Using traditional ethnographic methods, Luttrell also designed a multi-layered, reflexive approach, combining “photovoice” strategies and photo-elicitation interviews (PEI; see Luttrell, forthcoming, for a full description of the research process).⁹ Other researchers have noted that photos can introduce content and topics that might otherwise be overlooked or poorly understood from an adult viewpoint, and can trigger new information, memories, and meanings for the

interviewees (Clark 1999; Clark-Ibanez 2004; Collier 1967; Harper 2002; Orellana 1999; Rasmussen 1999; Schwartz 1989). Moreover, because there are no ready-made devices for interpreting children's photography, it was important to provide multiple opportunities for the children to *instruct* us about their photos' meanings.

Each child was given a disposable analogue camera with twenty-seven exposures. For many, this was their first camera. In the words of one student, "Having a camera is a big responsibility." The children had four days to photograph their school, family, and community worlds. In grade five, the children were told to "imagine you have a cousin your age that is moving to Worcester and coming to your school. Take pictures of the school, your family, and community that will help him or her know what to expect."¹⁰ When participants went on to the sixth grade, they were free to take photos without specific prompting. After the photos were developed, each child discussed her or his photos with Luttrell or a research assistant.¹¹

During these interviews, each child was asked to select five photos for public viewing and to be discussed with the other participating children.¹² Luttrell and her research assistants then led focus-group interviews where the children discussed what they noticed in each other's photographs. At the end of each school year, the children collaboratively curated an exhibition of their photographs to be shown at their school and at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. All interviews and group sessions were audio- and videotaped and transcribed.

In each context we worked inductively—the interview questions were open-ended. As the children spoke about the people, places, and things they had photographed, we paid attention to how they negotiated their social placements. We listened for their own categories and how they marked social and cultural differences. Individual children's interactions with various interviewers and audiences—their own multicultural peers, the predominantly white, female graduate students in their twenties and early thirties, and Wendy Luttrell, a white, middle-aged professor—provided additional insight into the children's identity work, including how they asserted their expertise, played with power, and were cued into authority and status.¹³

Our analysis of the children's collection of photographs—their "albums," so to speak, weds visual with narrative analysis as a means to understand a child's self, identity, and social consciousness (Daiute 2000; Daiute and Nelson 1997).¹⁴ Each child took photographs that—in addition to commemorating occasions, relationships, and achievements—showed moments "when what is visible about [the child] attests to social matters about which [she/he] is proud" (Goffman 1979, 10) and through which a range of insights and emotions about childhood contexts can be appreciated. Writing about the convention of "private pictures" such as

these, Erving Goffman suggests that their “special properties” include the ability to “make palpable to the senses what might otherwise remain buried and tacit in the structure of social life” (10). With this in mind, it is difficult for us to write about our project, which is photo- and video-based without the benefit of the visual images to convey themes that are “*hard to write about but easy to picture*” (22). Social relationships and power dynamics are expressed through what Goffman calls shared “idioms of posture, position, and glances” that express how people “wordlessly choreograph [themselves] relative to others in social situations” (21).¹⁵ It is the choreography of carework and how Angeline is positioned and positions herself and others that we wish to draw attention to in this chapter. We hope our analysis will accomplish two goals: (1) complicate the analysis of images produced in youth media projects; and (2) generate a need-to-know-more stance toward immigrant children and their individual experiences of transnationalism.

Emphasis in original?

The Choreography of Carework

“Helping Each Other”: Carework as *Collective*

A tacit structure of social life that Angeline’s album makes visible is carework. Her photographs feature pictures of people in varied settings where she is cared for and where she cares for others. As if to echo the African proverb, “it takes a village to raise a child,” Angeline emphasizes that care is work, and that caring is a *collective* endeavor. She uses her photographs to talk about care-giving and care-receiving as a two-way project—one that is co-constructed between children, and between adults and children.¹⁶

Angeline takes numerous pictures of her classroom, a setting in which children [she says “people”] “work hard,” “help each other,” and “cooperate.” One of the classroom photographs is meant to show “people coming together. If somebody doesn’t have a book, you just don’t leave them. You help each other out.” Interestingly, most of her photographs of classroom settings are taken of children in small groups with no adult or teacher present.

Angeline also takes pictures of her female friends because “they help you, they’re always there for you.” Of her special friend, Thea, she says,

I walk to school with her. She lives about one house away from my house. She’s a real good friend to me. She’s there for me; whenever I need her she’s there for me, encouraging. Like, I wasn’t going to try out for basketball because I was nervous or something but she encouraged me to do it and I did do it.

“Nice” and “Kind”: The Feeling Rules of Carework

In fifth grade, ten-year-old Angeline hands her camera over to her teacher because she wants a picture of herself with “Sue, the lunch lady.” The two appear in the foreground, posing in a maternal-like embrace; both smile directly into the camera. Sue, a white woman with short auburn hair and chestnut eyes, wraps both arms affectionately around Angeline. Sue’s bent head rests atop Angeline’s tight cornrows. Angeline stands erect, her full forehead, deep brown eyes, and brown dimpled cheeks close to Sue’s chest. The background is dark and grainy; a line of light reflects off the large, stainless steel refrigerator unit that flanks the wall of the cafeteria, and a bright, yellow, industrial mop bucket can be seen by the door. Of the photograph, Angeline says,

That’s Sue the lunch lady, she’s really nice. I like her because she’s very nice... she is really kind. I help her a lot with her work.... If we didn’t have her we would be starving, *starving* [her emphasis] and we won’t be able to learn. *Why?* How can we learn without no breakfast, no lunch, how can we learn like that? Our stomachs will be going “Give us some food!”

Angeline pays tribute to Sue’s carework and perceives Sue’s arguably low-wage service job with high esteem. Through hyperbole and changing the register of her voice to virtually “sing her praises,” Angeline stresses the vital, if unrecognized, role of carework in the daily life of the school and in children’s learning. In exchange, Angeline helps Sue clean the cafeteria tables.

How do we interpret the wordless choreography of gender, race, and class that is captured in this photograph? And what imagined audience(s) do Angeline and Sue have in mind as they pose for the camera? The embodiment of maternalism is inescapable, and Angeline draws our attention to Sue’s caring, kindness, and nurturance.¹⁷

A gendered choreography of carework stands out in Angeline’s images at school. She photographs a universe of smiling girls (friends) and women (her fifth-grade teacher, Sue the lunch lady, and the principal), whom she praises for their encouragement of the emotional and social development of children.

When we compare how Angeline photographs and speaks about her white, female, fifth-grade teacher and her white, male, sixth-grade teacher, the pattern is striking. Her female teacher is pictured smiling broadly, bending down to face level inside a ring of children’s desks. Angeline says she took the picture “because my teacher helps me learn new things, and if I don’t know what to do, she explains it to me and helps me understand it and I appreciate her very much.” Her talk of the female teacher reflects the teacher’s emotional form of labor and tending to the feelings of students—where the goal of the learning seems to be both to understand the material and to feel confident in one’s ability to learn new things. By

contrast, her male teacher is pictured standing upright and apart from the children and their desks, looking directly into the camera without a smile. Of this photograph she says, “He pushes us to do our work. And, I’m really glad he pushes us, ’cause then he will get us into college.” Her talk of the male teacher is rooted in an economic and social mobility discourse of education in which the goal of learning is to get into college. Both photographs depict the hard work of dedicated educators, but the emotional labor and “feeling rules” of teaching young children are more clearly reflected by the female teacher.

This choreography of care is mirrored in the different ways in which Angeline speaks of the role of her parents. Like so many children in the project, Angeline went to great lengths to photograph her parents.¹⁸ In Angeline’s case, it was 6:00 a.m. when she took her parents’ picture.

My dad had just woken up. He had to take my mom into work, he’s so grumpy when he wakes up. He looks kind of mad, he doesn’t have a smile. Okay, this is my mom. She was going to work, that’s why she has her work clothes and her jacket.

Angeline narrates her photograph in terms of her parents’ work schedules, featuring her mother’s double shift.¹⁹ Her mom, who is a certified nursing assistant in a nursing home, “goes to work 7a.m. to 11p.m., on Saturdays 7a.m. to 3p.m. Most of the time she goes at 7a.m. to 11p.m. and my Dad goes at 3a.m. to 11a.m.”

The gender dynamics pictured in this photograph are hard to describe in words. Angeline’s mom supports her husband’s presence, both literally, by gripping his wrist and putting her arm around his waist as they both stand erect in front of the front door, and symbolically, by satisfying her daughter’s request for his representation in spite of the early hour and his related “grumpy” mood. It is not that her father is uninvolved in her care, but his is of a different sort, captured by his refusal to smile (despite Angeline’s instruction to do so, as she tells the interviewer). Her mother, on the other hand, manages a smile in spite of a set of quite challenging circumstances: the very early hour, the need to leave for the first of two work shifts, her daughter’s request for a photograph at a relatively inconvenient time, and her husband’s grumpiness. It is the woman, again, who meets her emotional work responsibilities, “managing” her own feelings (Hochschild 1983) to address the feelings of her daughter. Angeline describes her parents in the following way:

I love my mom, she encourages me a lot. Like, for cooking. She encourages me for all the things I want to do. I love my mom. Like, mostly my dad encourages me to do math and stuff, like for MCAS [the Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment of Skills] and he gives me good advice because he’s very good at math. Sometimes I get awards in math so he is very good at [being] encouraging of that. And my mom is encouraging my cooking and my basketball team and all that stuff.

Angeline undoubtedly feels loved and cared for by both parents; still, she offers a gendered account of their carework—her mother encourages “all the things I want to do,”²⁰ while her father encourages “math” and her ability to perform on the high-stakes test.²¹

Angeline marks her own part in the gendered division of carework at home when explaining why she has taken a picture of the kitchen.

Cooking, cleaning up the house. This is where I wash the dishes, this is the stove. I like cooking a lot. That’s where I do my chores, most of the time on the weekends, that’s what I do.

Angeline says her mom has been teaching her to cook, but “sometimes when my mom goes to work and she has to leave early, and she doesn’t have time to cook, then if it’s the weekend and I’m not going to school and I need something to eat, then I ask my dad if he can cook for me and then he cooks. He’s a good cook, *for a man*” [her emphasis as she smiles at the interviewer].

Angeline was not the only child to make visible the gendered nature of care in households. Looking across all of the children’s photographs provides ample evidence of the all-too-familiar gendered division of love and care labor, presented most frequently by “moms-in-kitchen” photographs that celebrate and honor mothers’ primacy in “feeding the family” (DeVault 1991).²² Moreover, we found that there was a difference in how boys and girls placed themselves in this calculus of maternal carework. Gender asymmetries were brought to the surface as girls took photographs that proudly displayed the objects and tools of their domestic chores (e.g., laundry, dishes, vacuum cleaner), often commenting on the need to help mothers who come home exhausted from their jobs. By contrast, boys took more photographs of (video) games, sports equipment, and outdoor play spaces. From the children’s own accounts, parents’ low-wage work routines seemed to shape the girls’ and boys’ lives differently, offering the boys more leisure time at home, as has been documented by other researchers (Dodson and Dickert 2004). In the children’s photographs and testimonies of admiration for their (oftentimes single) mothers and the carework that they do, we found that boys described being *cared for* by women (mothers, aunts, grandmothers), whereas girls described *caring with* (and thus identifying with) a lineage of female family figures.

Growing and learning in this gendered context of care, how does Angeline make sense of her own identities and responsibilities as a young woman?

“A Hardworking Girl”

We have no direct way of knowing how Angeline understands the choreography of care—but we do know that her own identity is tied up in being a “helpful” and

“hardworking” girl whose training of the heart and preparation for the future takes place across family-school-community and national contexts.

It is her discussion of two self-portraits—one taken at home by her mother and one taken at school by her best friend—that provides us a glimpse into the complexities of her self-identification and raises provocative questions about how Angeline reads her world. In the first photograph Angeline sits on the living room sofa behind a small tray table. Her head is bent in concentration, her eyes intent on her paperwork with pencil in hand:

Oh, that was me when I was doing my homework. Because I said what I do after school is I do homework sometimes. I read. I play. So I told my mom to take a picture of me doing my homework.

So what did you want to show? Why is this picture important to you?

Because I need homework in my life. Because even though some people don't really like it—I don't really like it that much, homework. But even if you don't like it you're going to need it in your life.

Why?

Because you're going to need math in your life. If you don't learn math when you're little then you're going to be really poor, you're going to have no money. Because you're going to be cheated...of a lot of things. They're going to be like, “Give me one hundred dollars and I'll give you one cent.” And you're going to be like “OK” because they're going to think that one cent is worth more than one hundred dollars [*laughs*].

So it's important to learn math so you don't get cheated?

Yes. And don't I look beautiful?

Angeline sees herself as “beautiful,” epitomizing her feminine self-regard. She needs homework in her life, but especially math, to protect herself. Throughout her interviews Angeline associates “math” with school achievement, going to college, but most important, with basic survival. She reiterates this message when she takes a picture of her “hardworking classroom.”

I took it in math because you know what I said about we need math in your life? You can't be anything; you won't know what to do with your life without math. Because obviously if you pick to be something you can still be cheated of money.

What does Angeline's allusion to poverty and being “cheated of a lot of things” have to do with her life experience or her parents' experience in Kenya and their migration to the United States? How might her associations about math be related to her previous post-colonial British schooling in Kenya? These are the need-to-know-more moments that are opened by Angeline's engagement in the project that beg for more information.

This theme of a hardworking girl is carried forward in the other photograph where she strikes the exact same pose:

My friend took it to show that I'm a hardworking girl.

Why is that important to show?

Because I want to learn, I want to get into college, I want to make my life really—you know, I don't want to have any problems with my life. I want to learn a lot so my life can be exactly like how I want it to be and go to college.

How do you want your life to be?

I want to live maybe in a big house or a mansion, have two cars—one of them should be a sports car and one of them should be a big car which is good for winter, a sports car maybe for summer. And I want to be a fashion designer or a doctor, mostly a doctor. And I want to have a family and I want to make my life interesting [*gesticulates outward with hands and smiles*].

As Angeline speaks, she shifts between two voice registers. One voice addresses her concerns about money, poverty, problems, and being cheated. Another voice addresses the American dream of abundance, luxury, and glamour. These are parallel scripts into which she has been initiated and through which she is articulating a social consciousness about money, power, and powerlessness. Still, there is another voice about the meaning of being a hardworking girl to which we now turn.

"I'm Really Appreciative": The Transnational Flow of Gratitude

As Angeline's opening quote asserts, "Your family is always there for you more than anybody else. Family is the one who takes care of you when you was growing up..." This care, however, should not be taken for granted. "Not everybody—kids can be born with their family but their parents don't want them. So, the kids don't even know that much about their parents."

So you took a picture of your parents and you wanted to show...

To show that I admire my parents, I love them because they born me into this world, with the help of God [*smiles*], yeah.

Throughout Angeline's interviews she communicates the significance of basic necessities and everyday rituals of care and survival.²³ Looking at a photograph she took of her apartment house, Angeline says, "Because my house means a lot to me, that's where I live. If I didn't live in a house I would be homeless, that's why I'm really appreciative [*stumbles over this word, and gesticulates to her heart*] that I have a house."

Angeline takes nothing for granted, often going out of her way to emphasize her gratitude. Angeline's photo of her carefully organized and full closet is a case in point. A viewer might guess that she is demonstrating an orientation toward American abundance and consumerism (Schor 2004), and Angeline does say that she enjoys shopping and "dressing good." But she also discusses her closet and her clothes as a means of maintaining ties with the important people she has left behind or lost through the act of giving and receiving.

All my clothes mean a lot to me because if, when people buy them for me. Like, the ones I buy for myself and my grandparents buy for me are very special.... 'Cause my grandparents live all the way in Africa where I am from, so it's really special because that's something I can remember about them and when I wear them and look down at it I remember them. I picture them in my eye [*gestures putting her hands to her face*].

Presenting people, objects of value, and settings that she has captured in her photographs through a framework of *gratitude* is integral to Angeline's self and identity-work in the context of a transnational childhood. Angeline's narratives of gratitude for all of the things that others have provided—food (Sue, the lunch lady), clothing (her closet and family members), shelter (if she didn't have a house she would be homeless), and life itself (her parents, for having brought her into this world)—speak to an ethic of care that rises out of gratitude and mutual obligation (rather than entitlement), which orients Angeline's understanding of herself in relation to the world around her.

Angeline takes two photographs of a poem she wrote about her extended family at school that "traveled" home to be displayed in her bedroom—a fitting metaphor for the emotional realm of her transnational childhood. She says she photographed the poem "because that's my poem about my family, you'll see it [again] in one of these pictures." Coming upon the close-up shot of the poem, she says with great excitement in her voice, "Oh that's my poetry that I hanged up in my bedroom!" and without prompting reads it aloud to the interviewer.

My Family

When I need them, they are there for me
 When I'm lonely, they come to the rescue
 When I'm cold, they make me warm
 When my heart is broken, they put it back together
 Some are sensitive, some are not
 But I will always love them no matter what they are
 Because we are one big loving family
 by: Angeline

Angeline explains why she took the photo:

I didn't have time to take a picture of my *whole* family and I couldn't find a picture of my family so I just took a picture of this describing my family. [*emphasis hers*]

So you mean your whole family, not just your mom and dad?

My *whole* family. [*gesticulating widely, emphasis hers*]

Angeline uses the poem to communicate the emotional “here” and “there-ness” of her transnational circle of care and to commemorate those she has lost and longs for.

The photograph of her poem leads her to reminisce about family members, including her favorite cousin who lives in Kenya with her grandmother:

...because my uncle and his father died, so when he was little he thought that my mom was his mom and my dad was his dad. And he thought that I was kind of his sister. And now he knows that his parents are dead but he's okay with that, but he's still closest in our family so he's kind of my brother.... He's my favorite, favorite—even though I love all of my cousins, he was my favorite one, he means a lot to me. He's, like, there's something special about him.

Angeline describes how she maintains contact with her special cousin—through photographs that her grandmother sends and talking to him regularly on the phone (with her mother's phone card). “Someday I might go back there to visit.” In this way, Angeline's “album” features the practices, relationships, and sentiments that link her with her home country.

“He's Not Doing a Bad Thing”: Navigating the Gaze

Angeline skillfully navigates the camera and the interview exchanges to protect her own and her family's public image. She is self-assured yet cautious about her self-presentation, consistently acknowledging the video camera as though it is a third party in the room. For example, Angeline takes a photo of a local health center to “show how people help each other get well. Like how they treat you very nice over here [in the United States].” As she describes the context of her photograph, she catches herself and wards off the possibility that her father will be viewed negatively:

Like, sometimes if my parents, they need to get some medicine...I go with them...I took that when my dad was going there. He was getting medicine there. I don't know why. I don't know; *but he's not doing a bad thing* (she emphasizes these words and looks directly into the eyes of the interviewer and then to the video camera).

What social meanings does Angeline perceive her imagined audience will attach to her family—as Africans, as immigrants, as doing something “bad”? Angeline's efforts to manage her family's image in the face of viewers (teachers?

researchers? a judging public?) who might view them otherwise is part of a larger pattern we found across the children's albums. As immigrant children move between family and school, they must contend with an ideal of "family" reflected in cultural representations and institutional expectations that may not match their own. In this project, the children used their photographs to communicate their attachments and to extol the virtues of their parents' (predominantly mothers') carework. Behind their "ordinary" pictures lies an extraordinary choreography of carework that is part of the fabric of their lives.

Conclusions and Implications

We have argued that Angeline's album valorizes collective care-giving and care-receiving, while also shedding light on its gendered organization—a social process in both families and schools that underwrites inequality but is not the focus of mainstream social science research or public policy. At a time when basic resources and services are increasingly withdrawn from schools and post-welfare, neoliberal social policies fail to recognize and reward care-giving as a public good rather than a private affair, we think that Angeline's portrayal of collective carework (at home, in school, and in the community) is of civic significance. It is vital that concerned adults learn more from children and young people about this hidden and undervalued domain of everyday life, including how their self-regard and personal identities are bound up in this world of care. In doing so, we may discover that Angeline and her peers are ahead of social scientists and educational policy analysts who have long ignored the centrality of this affective domain in achieving social justice (Lynch et al. 2009).

We have also argued for a more full and complicated analysis of images produced in youth media projects. Collaborative youth media projects need to engage researchers, educators, and children themselves in a need-to-know-more stance about the images that are made and the hidden dimensions of social structure and cultural meanings that are conveyed. We take seriously the power of visual media in research with young people not because they necessarily show us something we haven't seen before, but because they show us something we are likely seeing through different lenses.

Finally, educators and social scientists need the help of young people like Angeline to refocus our lens to better align with how they make sense of their own transnational childhoods. Learning more about how children read signs of care will enable us to understand transnational experience as more than the flow of people, money, goods, and ideas, but also of *sentiments*.

Notes

1. All names are pseudonyms.

2. For more information about the project, including selected photographs, see www.wendy-luttrell.com.
3. See Pat Thomson (2009: 4–6) for her discussion and critique of “voice” research and its tendency to universalize children and youth experience. She reviews five different kinds of voice to which researchers have paid attention and suggests there may be more: authoritative, critical, therapeutic, consumer, and pedagogic. She also breaks down two different types of approaches to visual research—those in which researchers use visual methods *on* children (where children are framed as the subjects of inquiry) and those that use visual methods *with* children and youth as partners in inquiry.
4. See Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins (1993) for their discussion about the “complex life” of images in terms of their production, circulation, and interpretation.
5. Luttrell first took this approach in her image-based ethnographic study of how low-income, mostly African American pregnant girls experience “teenage pregnancy”—a phenomenon and stigmatizing label they were keenly aware of and navigated within the multiple contexts of family, school, and community (Luttrell 2003).
6. See Robert Smith (2006) and Michael Burroway et al. (2000) for discussions of transnational life and global ethnography.
7. We draw from an extensive feminist literature that has emerged since the 1980s about carework and inequality. Feminist scholars have sought to redefine the meaning and status of *care* as work like any other form of labor that uses complex skills, requires time and effort, is demanding, and should be valued as such. Scholars have also identified carework skills (e.g., tending to emotions and managing the feelings of others) that are required in service jobs, especially those jobs populated by women who are understood to be “naturally” suited for such work. Carework blurs the boundaries between what we consider the “private” world of emotions and the public sphere (Hochschild 1983).
8. These are the labels and percentages provided by the school; they do not publish records of immigrant status of the children. Students are eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch in schools if their family income is at or below 185 percent of the Federal poverty line. In the United States the percentage of students in a school receiving Free and Reduced Lunch is an indicator of the socioeconomic status of a school.
9. See Marisol Clark-Ibanez (2004) for a discussion of PEI approaches. Photovoice research stresses participant-produced photographs that are specifically intended for an audience of people with power. Photographs are used to stimulate community/civic discussion about what changes are needed or demands need to be made. For examples, see Brinton M. Lykes (2001); Caroline Wang (1999); Wang and Mary Ann Burris (1997); Wang, Burris, and Xiang Yue Ping (1996).
10. We brainstormed together with the children to arrive at additional prompts, for example, “Take pictures of places inside and outside of school where you feel comfortable. What do you do after school and on the weekends?”
11. The following open-ended questions guided the conversation: “Tell me about this photo. What’s going on here? Why did you take it? What does it tell about your life and what is important to you?” At the end of each interview, children were asked if there were any photographs the child wished she or he could have taken but didn’t or couldn’t.
12. They were told that these five photographs would also be shared with their teachers, and with teachers-in-training at the Harvard Graduate School of Education.
13. A multicultural team of graduate students took part in the data analysis.
14. Data that constitutes an “album” includes the child’s fifth-grade and sixth-grade photographs; the individual interviews about the meaning of the photographs; the child’s response to an ed-

- ited videotape of her/himself talking about her/his five favorite photographs in which the child could and did make changes, including Angeline; and the exit interview. See Riessman (2008) for a comprehensive discussion of visual narrative analysis.
15. Those idioms include relative size, the feminine touch, function ranking, the (nuclear) family, and rituals of subordination (Goffman 1979).
 16. We are drawing on scholars who have written about carework from the perspective of children, including Barrie Thorne (2001), who writes about how children read signs of care across lines of social class, race, and gender, and across cultural divides and child-rearing philosophies; Arlie R. Hochschild (2003), about children as eavesdroppers and what they learn from parental negotiations about their care; and Mary Romero (2001), about what children learn from being taken by their mothers to their jobs.
 17. Images of maternalism are historically and culturally situated, and carry multiple meanings and assumptions. For example, during the first wave of immigration at the turn of the 20th century, a politics of maternalism (sometimes called “social motherhood”) was based on a conviction that white women reformers should function in a motherly role toward the poor and promote a middle-class morality. As several scholars have noted, these politics were riddled with “race anxiety” directed toward immigrant populations.
 18. Children who were unable to photograph a parent or another important family member for a wide array of reasons (the demands of shift work, divorce, separation, incarceration, deportation, illness, or death) found creative ways to document them in their albums.
 19. This pattern of narrating family photographs in terms of parents’ work schedules was found across the children’s albums.
 20. Note that Angeline uses the same words to describe her female friend Thea.
 21. Interestingly, Angeline associates math with the men in her life—her father and his encouragement of math, an uncle who is studying to be a doctor whom she helps with his math homework; her sixth-grade teacher who pushes her, especially in math; and even in her math classroom photograph, which is the only classroom image that includes a male student.
 22. Across all the children’s photographs, food and kitchen spaces were associated with female caregivers—mothers, aunts, grandmothers.
 23. It would be interesting to consider the multiple models of child-rearing that Angeline may be reflecting through her album. Robert LeVine et al. have written about cultural models of child-rearing as having three parts: moral direction, a pragmatic design and a set of conventional scripts for action—a “cultural software package driving parental behavior” (1996, 248). Among the Gusii culture in Africa, they identified a “pediatric model” of child-rearing that stresses “survival, health and physical growth” in the face of high fertility and harsh life conditions compared to the American, middle-class “pedagogic model” of child-rearing that stresses preparing children for educational interactions. Whereas the main goal of mothering for the Gusii is *protection* of the infant or child against illness and danger, the main goal of mothering for the American middle-class is *education* through promoting “active engagement and social exchange.”

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