SOCIAL NETWORKING, WORKPLACE, AND ENTERTAINMENT LITERACIES:
THE OUT-OF-SCHOOL LITERATE LIVES OF NEWCOMER
LATINA/O ADOLESCENTS

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Studies indicate that Latina/o immigrant youth engage in a wide range of sophisticated literacy practices outside of school that are often transnational, crossing various linguistic, cultural, and social spaces. Technology has further afforded immigrant youth the opportunity to develop transnational capabilities which are rare in the mainstream population, yet needed in the 21st century of global connectedness. However, Latino immigrant youth drop out of school at disproportional rates, suggesting that their literacy practices are not recognized or valued by the educational system.

Using a New Literacy Studies perspective that recognizes multiple literacies that are meaningful within their sociocultural traditions, this collective case study investigated the range, form, and purpose of the out-of-school literacies of four Latina/o adolescent English Learners who are new arrivals. The qualitative methodology employed constructivist interviews, digital and actual artifacts, and observations. Findings demonstrated that the most prevalent out-of-school literacies the participants practice take place on the social networking site of Facebook, in their workplaces, and through the entertainment media sources of music and television. A cross-case analysis suggests that the literacy practices in these spaces have unique and purposeful roles for the individuals that allow them to connect to their home countries and maintain their Latina/o identities. Additionally, the participants use their out-of-school literacy practices to acquire English, support themselves, and establish a place to succeed. The five aforementioned spaces that their Facebook, workplace, and entertainment literacy practices fill are virtually absent from their in-school literacies.
This study suggests literacy pedagogy and research must not continue to impose a narrow monolingual, monocultural, monoliterate, and monomodal view of Latina/o immigrant students which essentially divests them of their greatest resources. Their literacy practices demonstrate that they are transnational, transcultural, emergent bilinguals who competently engage in multimodal means of communication across multiple linguistic, cultural, social, and geographic borders. Educators must reconceptualize school-based literacy to account for the ways immigrant youth make meaning outside of school to provide them a more equitable education that will nurture their transnational skills needed in modern society.
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CHAPTER 1

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Studies indicate that Latino immigrant youth engage in a wide range of sophisticated literacies outside of school (de la Piedra, 2010; Godina, 2004; Rubinstein-Ávila, 2004, 2006) that are often transnational (Bruna, 2007; McGinnis, Goodstein-Stolzenberg, & Saliani, 2007; Rubinstein-Ávila, 2007; Sánchez, 2007), crossing various linguistic, cultural, and social spaces, and sometimes creating a unique "hybrid" literacy (Gutiérrez, 2008). In a longitudinal study with immigrant students Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova (2008) explain how this population's unique transnational and multilingual abilities are rare in the mainstream population, yet needed in our society today. Immigrant youth possess multilingual and multicultural skills greatly needed for the United States to be competitive in the 21st century of global connectedness. This study (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008) illustrates how first-generation youth come with much energy and optimism about their futures and present themselves to be a great national resource. The research findings claim that in education we can create the conditions for them "to constructively unleash their full potential to the benefit of all Americans" (p. 377). The largest and fastest growing immigrant population is Latinos. Therefore, all of society can benefit because Latino students' success is closely linked to the future of the United States (Gándara, 2010), since it is predicted that one of every four students in the country will be Latino by 2021 (United States Census Bureau, 2010).

However, these students' abilities are not being appropriately harnessed by the U.S. educational system (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008) as Latinos are more likely to drop out of high school than any other ethnic group (Godina, 2004). The deficit perspective (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005) which views students from minority cultures as possessing substandard cultural
practices which lead to their educational failure, may provide an explanation. This lens is extremely harmful because it overlooks the vast linguistic capital (Yosso, 2005) and funds of knowledge (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992) that immigrant students possess.

Stereotypes resulting from this lens often move stealthily into educational policy and research frameworks. In order to reframe this perspective (Kiyama, 2010) we must understand who these students are and the many forms of capital they bring with them into the academic environment. Moje (2002) claims there is need for research to examine youth's everyday literacies and how these literacies connect to the academic literacy taught in school. She states that "popular assumptions, rather than careful research or well-articulated theoretical arguments, tend to dominate perceptions about young people and their literacies" (p. 212). Consequently, she challenges the notion of solely studying in-school literacies because it masks the immense potential that exists to build on students' vast literacy experiences.

Purpose of the Study

Although the past decade has brought renewed research interest in assuming a broader perspective of youth's literacy (New London Group, 1996; Street, 2003), most of the studies of adolescents' out-of-school literacies exclude students from non-dominant communities (Rubinstein-Ávila, 2007; Yi, 2010). This exclusion further increases the gap of knowledge we have about particular populations of students. Thus, in order to counter the deficit perspective by widening the circle of validated literacies, this study investigates the range, form, and purpose of the out-of-school literacies of four newcomer Latina/o adolescents.

Research Questions

The research questions used to guide the present study are:
1). What are the out-of-school literacies of four newcomer Latina/o adolescents?

2). What meanings do these literacies have for the individuals?

3). How do these literacies demonstrate the adolescents' linguistic, cultural, and social resources?

Significance of the Findings

In 1995 Brian Street brought much change to the field of literacy research by asking us to consider Literacy with a lowercase l and without the singular ending of y. Thus, Literacy became literacies. Shortly after, prominent researchers and theorists from different countries began a dialogue about the need to view literacy in light of the influence of the dynamic nature of technology, complex local diversity, and increasing global connectedness (New London Group, 1996). Germane to this shift of the definition of literacy, the editors of the Handbook of Adolescent Literacy Research state that there is still much work to be done in adolescent literacy and "at times it seems if almost everything is yet to be done" (Christenbury, Bomer, & Smagorinsky, 2009, p. 11). They call for imagination and courage from researchers to better educate all youth, paving the way for a more just society. For them, understanding marginalized youth's out-of-school literacies in order to provide them a more equitable education is a crucial issue of social justice today. Alvermann (2009) echoes their exhortation, stating that the field is in need of more research on multiliteracies and new literacy studies, those that move beyond the in-school reading and writing practices of youth, and include the many ways they make meaning outside of school.

Jiménez's (2000) research with bilingual Latino students draws our attention to the inextricably pertinent area of their identity development, the "cultural borderlands," which consists of their multilingual, multicultural, and transnational interactions. He recommends that
literacy researchers focus their efforts in these spaces as they "may in fact be the most culturally and linguistically productive spaces in contemporary society" (p. 996). Similarly, other scholars (Lam & Warriner, 2012) call for more research that investigates this particular transnationalism as it manifests itself in youth's multiple social fields including school, work, and community.

Furthermore, the sparse body of scholarship which does illuminate Latino youth's out-of-school literacies (Bruna, 2007; de la Piedra, 2010; Godina, 2004; Rubinstein-Ávila, 2004, 2006, 2007), does not thoroughly address their transnational digital spaces. Due to the burgeoning of social networking among youth of all backgrounds (Junco, 2012), many immigrant youth are creating digital spaces that meet their unique needs. The extant research in this area (Black, 2006; Lam, 2000, 2004; McGinnis et al., 2007; McLean, 2010; Yi, 2007) primarily focuses on how Asian immigrant youth use digital spaces to further their English language acquisition and maintain their cultural identities. To demonstrate the need for more in-depth research in this area, an exploratory study of immigrant adolescents from many origins by Lam and Rosario-Ramos (2009) showed that social networking can help these youth construct a unique transnational identity. However, no studies to date focus specifically on newcomer Latino youth's digital social networking spaces.

Consequently, the present study will fill several gaps in the literature on Latina/o immigrant adolescents, specifically how their out-of-school literacies are affected by new technologies and transnationalism. The results will be used to make practical recommendations for teachers, schools, and policy-makers to provide a higher standard and more equitable education for such students. Additionally, the present study will illustrate new pathways for conceptualizing literacy research in light of modern day transnationalism and digital spaces.
Definition of Terms

For the present study I will use the constructs of newcomer, literacies, out-of-school, and in-school in specific ways relevant to the research purposes and grounded in previous scholarship.

- **Newcomer:** The term *newcomer* denotes those who have recently arrived in a new country, specifically less than five years ago. By using this term I suggest that the participants are not only new arrivals, but also English Learners (ELs). This borrows from the term "newly arrived" used in former scholarship (Freeman, Freeman, & Mercuri, 2002; Olsen & Jaramillo, 1999) to denote immigrant adolescents who have been in their new country for less than five years.

- **Literacies:** I use the construct of *literacies* to mean the multiple forms one uses to make and represent meaning such as dress, body, written, audio, and oral discourses (Gee, 2008). This definition embraces the new literacy studies as explained by Gee (2008) and researchers interested in the culturally and socially bound ways one uses literacy (New London Group, 1996; Street, 1995).

- **Out-of-school:** The term *out-of-school* designates all literacies that are not part of the academic curriculum, regardless of whether they are deemed formal or informal, sanctioned or unsanctioned. An out-of-school literacy might even take place in the classroom, hallways, or cafeteria, yet not be part of in-school literacies. This might include students' texting in the hallway or drawing in their notebooks during class.

- **In-school:** The term *in-school* literacies stands for all literacies valued, recognized, taught, and sanctioned in the classroom by teachers, administrators and policy-makers. This
includes translating or technology use that the students are encouraged to use in order to accomplish an academic task.

Summary

Latina/o immigrant youth possess literacy skills that are seldom recognized, valued, or utilized in the academic setting, thus, they often receive an inequitable education. Data show that the current U.S. educational system is failing these youth while our society lacks the resources they could provide if given the opportunity to succeed academically. In order to fill a much needed gap in literacy scholarship, the present study documents four newcomer Latina/o youth's literacies that do not take place in the classroom for academic use. The findings create a basis for recommendations on how educators can address these students' strengths rather than focus on weaknesses. These changes in educational policy would allow students to gain the opportunity to experience educational success and become highly contributive members of society. Furthermore, the findings will address how literacy research should proceed to effectively address power relations in societies today.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

Given the current demographic trends in the U.S. and projections about the future (United States Census Bureau, 2010), Latino immigrants are inextricably linked to the future of the United States, yet data indicate that they are not receiving an education that allows them to more fully contribute as productive citizens (Gándara, 2009). The following framework provides the basis for the research questions relating to participants in the present study:

1). What are the out-of-school literacies of four newcomer Latina/o adolescents?
2). What meanings do these literacies have for the individuals?
3). How do these literacies demonstrate the adolescents' linguistic, cultural, and social resources?

This chapter is divided into three sections:

1) The first section focuses on literature about adolescent immigrants in the United States and the school's effect on their success. This illustrates what is already known about this population pertaining to their education and social adjustment. The scholarship in this area also demonstrates the educational system's great influence on the success of immigrant students.

2) The second section provides the theoretical framework for the study and a review of the construct *out-of-school literacies* within the same framework. In this section I explain the guiding assumptions of this study as well as discuss studies with minority youth using a similar framework. Through reviewing similar work in the area of out-of-school literacies, I demonstrate the need for a study that addresses notable gaps in the literature.

3) Lastly, in section 3 I address two additional areas that the findings of the present study speak to that are not presently noted in the current literature: Facebook use and workplace literacy specifically for Latina/o immigrant adolescents in a transnational context.
The School's Effect on Immigrant Youth's Success

Research provides evidence that adolescent immigrants face many obstacles in education, adding to the explanation of why Latino youth experience a disproportionate amount of educational failure (Godina, 2004). Many studies illustrate that these youth face barriers of language, culture, identity, discrimination, and border crossings that are often perpetuated by the educational system itself. This section explains why the school's context is highly correlated to immigrant students' success and why it is important to imagine a different paradigm of schooling that builds on all students' strengths and resources.

In the social sciences, immigrants are often referred to as first-, 1.5, and second-generation (Fu & Graff, 2009). The first-generation immigrant refers to students who arrive in another country later in their childhood, once they have received initial socialization and education in the country of origin. The 1.5 generation consists of youth who immigrate at a very young age, are socialized and educated in the new country, yet are still foreign-born. Lastly, the second-generation immigrant students are native-born children of immigrant parents. There are many issues that first-, 1.5, and second-generation students face as a result of the act of immigrating, leading to Súarez-Orozco and Súarez-Orozco's (2001) grouping these three groups under the broader category of "children of immigration." Even so, Bejarano's (2005) study of Latino youth at one high school demonstrates that all adolescent immigrants are not the same. She clarifies this distinction by explaining that students often group themselves into two distinct, yet fluid categories: Mexicanos, generally new arrivals, and Chicanos, students who are American-born or have lived in the U.S. for many years. Group identity is very complex because although there is often conflict between the groups, youth might claim an identity in each group at different times for different purposes. Despite the differences, Bejarano notes that
Mexicanos and Chicanos share many of the same obstacles to completing high school: poverty, legal issues, discrimination, and stereotypes. It is the shared obstacles stemming from the immigrant experience which affect them all in the arena of education. As documented in these studies, children and adolescents of immigration have unique issues in their lives due to immigration. Although each sub-group, first-, 1.5, and second-generation, is distinct, for the present study I review literature of students from the broader category of adolescents of immigration, noting distinctions when appropriate.

Most research about immigrants and education focuses on young children or adults, with few empirical studies focusing on adolescents. The majority of the research about the educational experiences of adolescent immigrants is from the Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation (LISA) study, an initiative of the Harvard Immigration Project. The study began in 1997 and continued for a decade, tracking the experiences of over four hundred first-generation immigrant youth who all began participating in the study after recently arriving in the United States (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). The study contains large-scale quantitative data as well as qualitative portraits of select students and their schools. Overall, the data show that immigrant students come to their new country very optimistic about education and want to perform well in school; however, many issues have a negative effect on their education and social adjustment in the U.S.

Many first-generation immigrants are dealing with separation from parents or other family members which can have deep felt psychological effects. In fact, only 20% of the students in the LISA study arrived in the U.S. at the same time as their entire nuclear family. The other 80% either stayed in the home country while their parents came to the U.S. to begin working, came with only one parent, or came by themselves to live with extended family. The
researchers (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001) also reported that as students stay in the United States longer, they must deal with the pressure of negotiating the popular youth and native cultures because many immigrant parents view becoming American as being promiscuous and delinquent. Other issues students in the LISA study encountered were gangs, discrimination, legal problems and poverty. Unfortunately, few of the schools in the study had policies that recognized or harnessed the potential in these youth (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008). The few schools that did value immigrant students' cultural and linguistic resources generally had more successful students.

Overall, this research emphasizes the importance of the school context on immigrant students' success. Immigrant youth need schools that recognize, value, and employ all of their funds of knowledge, recognize their unique struggles, and build upon their potential. Regrettably, much research documents the pervasiveness of negative schooling contexts for adolescents of immigration. The present study seeks to demonstrate the resources immigrant youth already possess through their multiple literacies in order for their schooling experience to build upon such strengths.

Subtractive Schooling

The literature on subtractive schooling's effect on adolescents of immigration is relevant to the present study to explain the educational environment of many youth and the consequence it has on students' future success (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008). Neglecting to recognize, value, nor use students' out-of-school literacies in the classroom contributes to immigrant students receiving a sub-standard education (de la Piedra, 2010) evidenced by the research on subtractive schooling.
Additive and Subtractive Bilingualism

Subtractive schooling borrows its meaning from Cummins' (1976) distinction of additive and subtractive bilingualism. Additive bilingualism occurs when an individual gains proficiency in the L2 (second language) while continually developing the L1 (first language). Conversely, subtractive bilingualism consists of a gradual loss of the L1 as it is being replaced by the L2. The L1 is not further developed in reading, writing, and speaking nor used to access higher-order thinking, leaving the person with limited L1 and L2 academic literacy. Cummins reports the many cognitive benefits of additive bilingualism, while at the same time he describes the many deficits associated with subtractive bilingualism. He states that the reason many educators blame the L1 on ELs' poor achievement is because the students are experiencing subtractive bilingualism in educational programs that do not continually utilize nor develop the native language. The L1 is not interfering with their learning, rather the lack of L1 development greatly disadvantages them by circumventing their access to academic literacy and higher-order thinking.

Language and Culture

Collier and Thomas (2009) support this theory using longitudinal quantitative data from 1998 to 2002 in five diverse school districts across the U.S. Their findings demonstrate that the greatest predictor of academic achievement for ELs is the number of years of formal schooling in the L1. Formal schooling in the L1 might occur in the native country, explaining why many newcomers outperform other bilingual students who have received most of their education in the U.S. However, ELs can receive formal schooling in their L1s in the new country in strong bilingual programs that view the L1 as a resource. In these programs the L1 is continually
developed along with English through at least the eighth grade. In Collier and Thomas' research, students in long-term dual language bilingual education far outperformed those in transitional bilingual education, where the L1 was utilized only for a short period of time, and English-only education. The findings strongly suggest to policy-makers that the only way to close the later half (4th-12th grade) of the achievement gap between English learners and their native-speaking peers is through dual language bilingual education that continues through at least the eighth grade and preferably through twelfth grade. Concurring with other research (Gándara & Hopkins, 2010; Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders, & Christian, 2006), this study powerfully demonstrates that not utilizing the L1 does in fact harm students by divesting them of multiple learning opportunities and resources.

Moreover, Collier and Thomas (2009) assert that there are four essential components that contribute to one's success in school: academic development, cognitive development, language development, and sociocultural processes. Students who enter U.S. schools who speak English at home will have complete access to at least the academic, cognitive, and language development factors. Furthermore, English-speaking students whose cultural practices most closely match those of the school have the foundation upon which school success is built: the validation of their social and cultural processes. However, English learners who enter an English-only context will lose three of the four components: academic, cognitive, and sociocultural. As Thomas and Collier (2009) explain, the students will receive L2 language instruction, but the instruction for academic development will either not be on grade level or accessible in their L2. Secondly, cognitive development is not emphasized because students do not have access to many higher-order and critical thinking skills in English, a language they are still acquiring. Lastly, the most important factor, social and cultural processes, will usually be ignored as most English-only
programs ignore ELs' linguistic and sociocultural practices that make them distinct from monolingual children. The single element of successful schooling that will be available to them is the language development component which will only be occurring in their L2.

Understanding this model, termed prism by Collier and Thomas (2009), one can understand why the achievement gap between ELs and native English-speakers is escalating with the passing of each school year in English-only contexts.

This study (Collier & Thomas, 2009) shows that the only program successful at closing one hundred percent of the achievement gap is dual language education. Many school districts such as Houston ISD have seen outstanding gains in high school achievement and graduation from their English learners in dual language programs. Students in the dual language programs are outscoring their counterparts in English-only contexts on tests not only in Spanish, but in English as well. Though it might initially seem counter-intuitive, Collier and Thomas have demonstrated longitudinally, cross-nationally, and with over six million data entries, that instruction in the L1 and L2 while giving cultural, cognitive and social support will greatly improve test scores in the L2, English.

Much like the prism model, Angela Valenzuela (1999) takes the idea of subtractive bilingualism and applies it to not only linguistic, but also cultural subtraction in the term she coins, subtractive schooling. In her three-year ethnographic study of Mexican youth at a U.S. high school in the mid-1990s, she studied the relationship between schooling and achievement. She concluded that the problem with the students' poor academic performance was the subtractive culture of the school. The school she studied divested these students of not only their linguistic resources, but also their cultural resources as it shunned all things Mexican in its organization, curriculum, and culture. She states that schools that erase students' cultures and
consequently, their cultural and linguistic resources, are causing immigrant youth to fail academically. Supporting Valenzuela's claims is Espinoza-Herold's (2003) case studies of a Latina first- and a Latino second-generation student which illustrate how the school's assimilationist ideologies push non-dominant youth out of the educational system. The youth in her study often felt unsuccessful in school and considered dropping out due to the discrimination, prejudice, and cultural incongruities they felt at school. Furthermore, Olsen's (1997) study of Mexican immigrant youth in a California high school demonstrate that the youth faced many inequalities and were excluded on multiple levels due to their language and cultural differences. The prevalence of these negative schooling situations for Latino youth often leads to students never acquiring the academic literacy needed to be successful in school.

Thus far, the research about adolescent immigrants suggests that these students often face significant issues pertaining to language and culture due to the nature of subtractive schooling. By understanding the Latina/o immigrant participants' out-of-school literacies in the present study, recommendations can be made that will provide an alternative to subtractive schooling. However, it is not just a culturally and linguistically subtractive environment that immigrant students face in school. The following section depicts the difficulty they often encounter as they attempt to negotiate multiple cultures.

Cultural Negotiations

Fu and Graff (2009) remind us that "growing up in the United States can be a difficult and confusing process for immigrant youth...[because] their lives [are] situated between two worlds" (p. 402). Adolescent immigrants live in the world of their (or their parents') home country and the new country at the same time. They continually negotiate between the two as they move from the mainstream culture at school to their family's culture at home or in their
community. Many adolescent immigrants negotiate different expectations at home and at school, which often causes conflict with their parents or friends (Qin, 2009).

In a two-year longitudinal study of 54 urban youth, Phelan, Davidson, and Cao (1991) developed models of how these youth negotiated such cultural boundaries and the effect it had on their academic success and personal relationships. They developed four categories to describe students' negotiations of their multiple worlds which they defined as students' "culture, ethnicity, socioeconomic status [and] religion" (p. 232). Mainstream students whose home and school worlds were congruent could easily make smooth transitions between the two. However, the more divergent students' home and school worlds, the more difficulties they had either academically or socially. Whereas students who had fewer differences could manage the constant border crossings, students whose worlds were more oppositional, were either estranged from their families or not successful in the classroom. Lastly, some students' worlds proved to be so different that the borders were "impenetrable" and the "boundary crossings insurmountable" (p. 240). The students that fell into this category had basically given up on education. The authors of this study suggest that "we need to identify institutional structures that operate to facilitate boundary crossing strategies that do not require students to give up or hide important features of their lives" (p. 246). I think that such strategies could encompass using students' out-of-school literacies for academic purposes, demonstrating that their transnational identities have value.

**Summary of the School's Effect on Immigrant Youth's Success**

In conclusion, the research shows that adolescent immigrants face many obstacles in education, adding to the explanation of why Latino youth experience a disproportionate amount
of educational failure (Gándara, 2010; Godina, 2004). Most often, the deficit view is used to explain this phenomenon, but the previous scholarship makes evident that these youth are facing obstacles of language, culture, identity, discrimination, and border crossings that are often perpetuated by the educational system itself. Grant (1997) makes the observation that "the deficit model has a really nasty side: it mistakes symptoms for causes, blames the victim for the failings, [and] salves the conscience of the advantaged (like you and me)" (p. 217).

Clearly, education must change in order for this social injustice to cease. Therefore, understanding the complex phenomena of education for Latino immigrants, the present study provides a better understanding of the strengths and potential resources the focal students possess in order to counter the deficit perspective and suggest practical ways to provide them a more equitable education. However, we cannot build upon the resources we do not recognize nor understand. For that reason, the present study will provide a knowledge base of the literacies that are already in the participants' repertoires and could potentially be harnessed for academic growth.

Theoretical Framework

Framed by a sociocultural lens, the approaches to literacy research that guide the present study are funds of knowledge, capital, and the new literacy studies. In the next section, I explain how the three aforementioned approaches to literacy study in sociocultural theory frame the constructs used in this research. Figure 2.1 illustrates the relationship between each theory and area of scholarship as used to frame the present study.
Figure 2.1. Theoretical framework.

**Sociocultural Theory**

A sociocultural view of literacy recognizes the multiple, social, and cultural ways people use language or other constructs to make and receive meaning. Under this perspective the role of "social, cultural, and historical factors in the human experience" are emphasized (Tracey & Morrow, 2006, p. 104). The assumption is that each individual and therefore, each literacy is situated in specific historical, political, cultural, and social spaces that are fluid and dynamic, sometimes even overlapping. Furthermore, each literacy is social in nature as it affects and is affected by other beings who also exist in fluid cultural spaces.

According to Vygotsky (1978), people's thinking is mediated by their interactions with their worlds. They use psychological tools such as signs and symbols to make meaning, but the construction of this meaning is mediated by social relationships. González et al. (2005) explain that the zone of proximal development is used by Vygotsky to demonstrate not only the child's
independent and instructional levels of tasks, but also the relationship between "everyday" and "scientific" concepts. The "everyday" concepts (dogs and frogs) are the unsystemized, while the "scientific" (mammals and amphibians) are highly systemized. The relationship is reciprocal in that the everyday concepts are the foundation for the scientific, but then are transformed by the acquisition of the scientific. Conversely, the scientific concepts become the everyday as they carry more meaning and significance. As González and her colleagues (2005) point out, the foundation of Vygotskian psychology is that human beings are inseparable from their worlds. For that reason this research investigates the context of youth's out-of-school literacies and the meanings associated with each practice.

Funds of Knowledge Research

Grounded in Vygotsky's (1978) sociocultural understanding of knowledge, Luis Moll and colleagues (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & González, 1992) assert that Hispanic children's cultural and social resources are not appropriately harnessed in academic learning, which often leads to educational failure. By utilizing the funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992) approach grounded in sociocultural theory, I contend that there is much value in adolescents' out-of-school literacies for the academic classroom as they can support in-school learning if they are first understood and then applied. González, Moll, and Amanti (2005) assert that all students and their families "are competent, they have knowledge, and their life experiences have given them that knowledge" (pp. ix-x). The funds of knowledge project is based on the principle that students, their families, and their communities possess rich knowledge that can and should be used in the academic environment. Using ethnographic methods to research the community and home lives of Mexican children in the U.S., educators have capitalized on their students' Spanish-language
abilities, family literacy, and cultural values in order for more effective learning to occur (González et al., 2005).

Also contributing to the foundation for funds of knowledge is anthropologists Velez-Ibáñez and Greenberg's (2005) work with families of Mexican origin in the U.S. Their research emphasizes the social capital that these families possess as they have learned survival strategies to act against the hegemonic powers that oppress them. Schools can become part of that social network to modify the resources of social capital to create new knowledge.

This concept of utilizing students' personal, familial and community resources in the classroom was tested as teacher-researchers made home visits in which they entered students' homes to learn about the families' literacies, knowledge, and skills (González et al., 2005). This research shows the transformative potential that can happen in the classroom when teachers are more fully aware and knowledgeable of the wealth of cultural and practical knowledge that resides in students' communities and homes. The researchers emphasize that this approach must be laid on a foundation of an asset-oriented view rather than the traditional deficit view of students' families and communities regardless of race, culture, socio-economic status, language, or country of origin.

Mercado's (2005) work with Puerto Rican families in New York extends the funds of knowledge approach to include language skills. She was the first researcher to emphasize language, particularly students' bilingualism, as a fund of knowledge. Her research demonstrated how adolescents used both Spanish and English in the domains of health, nutrition, law, identity development and spirituality. Zentella (2005) echoes the need for funds of knowledge research to emphasize Latino students' linguistic abilities because "Latino children often communicate their complex reality in bilingual and multidialectical speech patterns that are misunderstood and
devalued" (p. 8). This lays the groundwork for the research that has considered language brokering a primary fund of knowledge for Latino students.

Language Brokering

More recent funds of knowledge research with Hispanic children and adolescents has focused very specifically on language brokering. Language brokering refers to the interpreting and translating that one does to mediate interactions between culturally and/or linguistically diverse people (Tse, 1996). Marjorie Faulstich Orellana (2009) has conducted over a decade of research focused on language brokering and its cognitive, familial, social, academic and even economic effects in individuals, families, communities, and the larger society. She refers to this practice as "para-paragraphing" in order to emphasize the word para in Spanish which means for. This term is used "to name what children do when they 'phrase' things for others, and in order to accomplish social goals" (Orellana, Reynolds, Dorner, & Meza, 2003, p. 15). Although aspects of language brokering are generally foreign in mainstream childhoods, they are a part of the lives of most children of immigrants.

[These children's] skills are called upon for family survival. Language brokering is a cultural practice that is shaped by the experience of being an immigrant. It is a practice in which children take the lead; it is not handed down from parents to children. Rather, it is invented by the necessity in the immigrant context. (Orellana, 2009, p. 3)

Dorner, Orellana, and Jiménez (2008) found that many adolescents of immigrant parents are very nonchalant about their sophisticated translating abilities since it is a regular occurrence. For them, it is an everyday activity that they do to help their family, but despite its common occurrence, it is rarely employed in an academic setting. Not only do the adolescents themselves overlook the great contribution of their linguistic skills, but society does as well. Orellana (2009) posits that the range of children's translating is broad, from commercial to medical to
legal areas that they must learn to negotiate. Through this common practice, they become proficient at reading, hearing, and using different genres and voices with different audiences. They are often exposed to more domains and forms of written text than mainstream children. Moreover, their work can be seen as transcultural as they cross not only linguistic, but also racial, ethnic, and age-related spaces. This is why Guadalupe Valdés (2003) contends that children of immigrants who regularly translate for their parents should be considered gifted due to their abilities. However, teachers, schools, and mainstream society do not appropriately value these students' abilities, nor recognize the large economic contribution for society their frequent translations provide (Orellana, 2009).

Godina (2004) illustrates how Mexican-background youth's bilingual abilities were completely unrecognized by their teachers in his study. Their bilingual literacies were viewed as inferior, irrelevant, and inappropriate by the literacy of power, relegating these students to silent spaces in the classroom. Moreover, the school gave these students such a low status that they were not even employed in tutoring the Anglo students in Spanish classes. Godina reveals the contradictions that occurred between students' in- and out-of-school literacies as they went from being deficit-laden students at school to sophisticated language brokers at home and in their communities. Since the school did not recognize their language abilities, they were silenced in their schools "in a process that devalued their culture and their unique perspective on life, labor, and language" (p. 174).

Denny Taylor (1997) remarks on the irony that being bilingual and biliterate is a social and intellectual resource, yet English-speaking cultures often view fluency in more than one language as a deficit. This solicits the question of why this literacy does not have power in U.S. society. Due to this phenomenon, the present study is grounded in the fashion of the New
Literacy Studies to understand the political power students' out-of-school literacies have. Furthermore, since there is already much literature concerning the range and meaning of the literacy of language brokering, the present study has a broader concentration to include all funds of knowledge newcomer Latina/o adolescents possess, including language brokering. In conclusion, the current study of immigrant students' out-of-school literacies is based on the basic funds of knowledge framework, believing that all students' literacies are valuable and have potential use inside the classroom.

Capital

Research in the funds of knowledge tradition has often focused on young children and their families (Orellana et al. 2003), yet the concept of capital has been applied across ages and cultures. Pierre Bourdieu (1986), a French sociologist, coined the expression *capital* to theorize class domination. He explains that capital equals power or agency one has to effect change in his or her immediate world. Capital, or symbolic power, can manifest itself in three manners: economic, cultural, and social, although "economic capital is at the root of all the other types of capital" (p. 252). In other words, all people possess some form of agency by their: 1) economic capital, money or material possessions; 2) cultural capital encompassing education, language, and traditions; and 3) their social capital which is their network of connections and relationships with others. Capital can be acquired through one's birth or family heritage, or through formal schooling. However, the following section explains why schooling does not often provide the equal opportunity it purports for all members of society.

Closely related to capital in explaining cultural and class domination in societies is the concept of *field*. Bourdieu (1972/1977) explains the relationship of capital and field with the
analogy of a card game. Each individual's life consists of many social fields which are related to separate games, each with its own set of rules. The rules, whether spoken or taken-for-granted, allow for one to acquire resources, creating winners and losers in each game. Bourdieu (1972/1977) explains that capital is the set of cards that each individual player is dealt for any given game or social field. As previously stated, this capital can be in the form of economic, social, or cultural resources.

The field and the capital, that is the game's rules and the cards, are not, however, the only phenomena affecting the final outcome. Bourdieu (1972/1977) also names habitus, the natural tendencies one has to act or think in a certain way, as an influencing factor of the game's outcome. One's habitus is the transfer of the unspoken rules of the game to one's subjective thoughts and thereby, actions. He explains this is how the players in a society often conform to the social order. The field's taken-for-granted rules have formed their habitus which reproduces power relations in that society.

Bourdieu (1972/1977) theorizes that class domination occurs largely due to what he describes as doxa, namely the "universe of the undisussed [and] undisputed" (p. 168). Doxa represents what is considered self-evident in a society and therefore, unquestioned. Through this unquestioned set of rules resulting in hierarchy based on cultural, racial, linguistic, or other determining factors, symbolic violence occurs. Symbolic violence refers to "gentle, hidden exploitation" of one group of people by another when "overt, brutal exploitation is impossible" (p. 192). It is because of doxa that the recipients of the symbolic violence participate in their own oppression as they accept their mistreatment or inequitable opportunities as a way of life.

Nevertheless, the oppressed can refute the structures of their social field by bringing the formerly unspoken rules into the dominant discussion. According to Bourdieu (1972/1977), this
is often preceded by political or economic crises, but needs an "extraordinary discourse" in order for effectual and sustained change to occur. This has led other theorists to examine whose culture has capital in the dominant fields of society today. This is evident in the previous discussion of language brokering. Although language brokering might be a valuable source of capital for immigrant adolescents in some fields, if not recognized as capital in school or mainstream society, it might not allow these students to reap the full benefits of their skills. The present study investigates the multiple, out-of-school literacies of the participants to understand how these literacies are valued or devalued in education and society. Through this analysis of the findings, the present taken-for-granted aspects of society can be discussed in order to conceptualize the extraordinary discourse Bourdieu states is necessary.

Tara Yosso (2005) extends Bourdieu's concept of capital using critical race theory to shift the deficit lens of minority communities to an asset-oriented view that focuses on their full array of skills, knowledge, abilities, and other resources. She conceives six different forms of capital that students of color might possess: 1) aspirational capital which refers to maintaining one's dreams for the future, even in the face of obstacles; 2) linguistic capital which is all language-based skills including communication skills used in art and music; 3) familial capital which represents the cultural wealth one possesses; 4) social capital which is one's networks and community resources; 5) navigational capital which is the ability one has to navigate through different social institutions such as the educational system; and 6) resistant capital which is the knowledge and skills that come from engaging in oppositional behavior. By creating this theory, she provides a framework to discuss which cultures carry the most capital in U.S. society in order to effect change for social justice and racial equality.
In summary, the present study is grounded in sociocultural theory, specifically drawing from the work of funds of knowledge and capital. A fundamental lens of this study is that all students, regardless of their culture, possess many resources that are valuable for academic learning. If appropriately understood, valued, and harnessed, these resources could be used to give immigrant adolescents more power to create a better present and future for themselves and their families. However, using Bourdieu's (1972/1977) theory of class domination, the present study also seeks to understand the present doxa, the unspoken rules, that give one literacy more capital in society than another.

New Literacy Studies

Given its "special emphasis on revealing, understanding, and addressing power relations" (Hull & Schultz, 2001, p. 585), the new literacy studies (NLS) provides a relevant theoretical foundation to this study of adolescent immigrants' out-of-school literacies. Furthermore, the NLS framework contributes to the need for understanding adolescents' full range of literacies, not only those valued in the school setting.

The NLS is based on Street's (1995) ideological model of reading which influences the construct literacies used in the present study. The ideological model states that literacy is not a neutral process, but is always embedded in power relations. Furthermore, it is neither an individual act nor a discreet skill. The ideological model debunks the view that literacy consists of a capital "L" and ends in a "y." Since literacy and language are always linked to various cultural and social practices, there is not one single literacy to master, but rather multiple literacies that are meaningful within their sociocultural traditions. Accordingly, Harste (2003) explains that the construct literacy carries different meanings for different cultural groups and
therefore, to consider literacy as tied to social practices "can be revolutionary" (p. 8). He invites us to ask these questions about literacy teaching and research:

What kinds of social practices are in place and, as a result, how is literacy being defined? Who benefits from this definition of literacy? Who is put at jeopardy? What social practices could I have put in place to make the everyday literacies that students bring with them to school legitimate? What kinds of things would I have to do to show that I honor the home literacies that students bring with them to school? What would I have to do to expand what it means to be literate in the 21st century? (p. 8)

Other researchers also have similar views concerning the definition of literacy. James Gee coined the term new literacy studies in the first addition of his seminal work, *Social Linguistics and Literacies: Ideology in Discourses* in 1990. He explains that literacy is a "socially contested term" because "any view of literacy is inherently political, in the sense of involving relations of power among people" (2008, p. 31). Purcell-Gates (2007) echoes this understanding of literacy as she explains why researchers take political actions when they redefine literacy in nontraditional terms. She writes: “Some literacies provide access to power and material well-being, others are marked as substandard and deficient” (p. 3). Understanding how one’s definition of literacy and politics are inextricably linked provides important underpinnings for the purpose and findings of the present study.

Also pertinent is Gee’s (2008) construct of discourses in which he defines as "saying (writing)-doing-being-valuing-believing combinations" (p. 154). We all acquire a primary discourse which is usually face-to-face oral language. The subsequent ways of making or receiving meaning we acquire become secondary discourses. As a result, Gee defines literacy as the "mastery of a secondary discourse" (p. 171). Therefore, according to Gee, literacy should always be plural because there are multiple discourses. In other words, literacies are ways of being able to send and receive meaning in a certain discourse that could include one's way of dressing or presenting oneself (hairstyle, body piercings), oral language, gestures, playlists,
gaming, and texting. As Gee (2007) studies gaming as a valuable literacy he challenges us to consider that:

> Reading and writing in any domain...are not just ways of decoding print, they are also caught up with ways of doing things, thinking about things, valuing things, and interacting with other people--that is, they are caught up with different sorts of social practices. (p. 19)

The concept of multiliteracies, grounded in Gee's (2008) work of discourses and Street's (1995) work of literacies, was coined by the New London Group (1996) consisting of prominent literacy scholars from various English-speaking countries. Their discussions emerged from concern over the great disparities that exist in education which lead to inequitable economic, political, and social capital. They believe that the conception and teaching of literacy must change in two primary areas in order to give all students equitable access in society. First, the definition of literacy needs to recognize the many multimodal ways of making meaning where the written word is part and parcel of visual, audio, and spacial patterns. Additionally, cultural and linguistic variety characterized by local diversity and global connectedness further adds to the complexity. Therefore, education and research must change to account for the assumption that literacy is indeed multiple. The New London Group asserts that literacy varies within cultural groups and is a dynamic concept that transforms with the advancement of technology and the fluidity of culture.

*NLS: Local Diversity and Global Connectedness*

The New London Group's (2000) first claim is that literacy research should "account for the context of our culturally and linguistically diverse and increasingly globalised societies…the multifarious cultures that interrelate and the plurality of texts that circulate" (p. 9). This is the foundation for the work of NLS using a transnational lens.
To understand the notion of transnational literacy, it is first important to note the term transculturación, or transculturation, pioneered by Fernando Ortiz (2002) in his seminal essay, “Contrapunto Cubano del Tabaco y el Azúcar,” on the historical relationship between the United States and Cuba. He problematizes the then more popular term, acculturation, which he believes is ethnocentric, signifying that one culture is completely replaced by another. Rooted in his research in the history of Cuba, he suggests that transculturation is a more accurate term describing this phenomenon. He explains:

Hemos escogido el vocablo transculturación para expresar los variadísimos fenómenos que se originan en Cuba por las complejísimas transmutaciones de culturas…sin conocer las cuales es imposible entender la evolución del pueblo cubano, así en lo económico como en lo institucional, jurídico, ético, religioso, artístico, lingüístico, psicológico, sexual y en los demás aspectos de su vida. (p. 254)

[We have chosen the term transculturation to express the variety of the phenomena that began in Cuba due to the extremely complex transmutations of cultures…without understanding it, it is impossible to understand the evolution of the Cuban people, in the economic, institutional, judicious, ethical, religious, artistic, linguistic, psychological, and sexual realms, as well as in every aspect of life. (translation mine)]

He uses the term transculturation to demonstrate the fluid, complex flow of one culture to another and the mutual effect they have on one another and the people present. According to Ortiz (2002), to truly understand and study the Cuban people, one must embrace the reciprocal nature of multiple cultures colliding together. One must study not only the impact of outside cultures on Cubans' lives over multiple generations, but also the affect they had on those other cultures. Likewise, Latinos in the U.S. must be understood through the same transcultural lens as they effect and are affected by a myriad of cultures. To view their culture as being replaced by the dominant culture upon emigration is indeed an ethnocentric lens of this people group, their customs, and their practices.
This foregrounds the term transnational which embraces the local diversity and global connectedness referred to by the New London Group (1996). Transnational can be used as a noun, referring to a people who have "moved bodily across national borders while maintaining and cultivating practices tied…to their home countries" (Hornberger, 2007, p. 325), as well as an adjective to "depict social practices, political processes, and cultural phenomena among individuals who do cross geopolitical borders regularly as well as those who do not" (Warriner, 2007, p. 209).

Using a transnational lens, some studies have investigated immigrant youth's "transnational literacies" (Sánchez, 2007) that include their clothing (Bruna, 2007), music (Poveda, 2012), social networking (McGinnis et al., 2007), and language choices (Rubinstein-Ávila, 2007) resulting from the transnational spaces (Moje, 2004) they inhabit in which literacy occurs. In these spaces, individuals construct their identities, demonstrate cultural pride, and stay connected to multiple places. For example, reggaeton music, extremely popular with most Spanish-speaking youth, is known as the first transnational music, representing the crossroads of many communities (Flores, 2009). As Poveda (2012) noted in his study of Latin American immigrants in Spain, this musical genre represents a transnationalism which many immigrant students experience on a personal level. Therefore, reggaeton music itself represents the lived experiences of many nonmainstream students who cross multiple borders on a daily basis.

Researchers have called our attention to these transnational spaces as crucial sites for further investigation (Hornberger, 2007; Jiménez, 2003; Warriner, 2007) because many youth "are constructing hybrid ethnic identities that draw increasingly from multiple texts of multiple spaces" (Moje, 2004, p. 37). Therefore, adopting a transnational lens, the present study will
investigate how immigrant students use their multiple literacies to negotiate their lives that co-exist across various borders.

*New Literacy Studies: Technology*

The second claim of the New London Group (2000) is that literacy "now must account for the burgeoning variety of text forms associated with information and multimedia technologies" (p. 9). This view of literacy is echoed by Leu and colleagues (2011) as they discuss the way that technology has dramatically influenced the notion of literacy. They state that literacy is now deictic, meaning that its very nature and meaning are in constant change. They explain:

To be literate tomorrow will be defined by even newer technologies that have yet to appear and even newer social practices that we will create to meet unanticipated needs. Thus, the very nature of literacy continuously changes. (p. 6)

Nestor García Canclini (1995), an Argentine-born Mexican anthropologist, discusses how technology uniquely affects the hybridization of cultures occurring in transnationalism. He states: "The question is to understand how the dynamic itself of technological development remolds society and coincides with or contradicts social movements" (p. 227). Therefore, the continual influx of technology intersects with the crossroads of the hybridizing cultures, adding another dimension of juxtaposition. He addresses this unique area similarly as the New London Group (1996): Literacy changes as cultures are affected by transnationalism, hybridization, and technology. Hornberger (2007) also recognizes this unique area and calls for more research to investigate online transnational literacies of immigrant people.

Utilizing this view of literacy related to technology and social practices, Lam (2006) has conceptualized her research with immigrant youth in relation to transnational identities and
border crossings. She conceives of educational research that seeks to understand ways that immigrant youth cross borders and develop multilingual and multicultural identities in virtual spaces through the use of a variety of technology. In the same way, McGinnis et al. (2007) used a transnational lens to understand three immigrant youth's social networking practices. Their three participants used digital spaces to reflect cultural pride, express their loyalties to specific groups, and maintain their specific cultural identities while living in the U.S.

Street (1997) claims that the implications of the New Literacy Studies for literacy teaching demands that we reevaluate what counts as literacy in order to re-envision teaching that includes richer and more complex curriculum and assessment tools. Research in the tradition of the New Literacy Studies "has unabashedly valued out of school literacies as distinct from those associated with schools" (Hull & Schultz, 2001, p. 589). Using the NLS framework to conceptualize what counts as literacy, this study purports to understand the participants' full repertoire of multiple literacies used out of school. The findings will be used in order to explore ways to leverage these literacies for academic learning and reconceptualize the notion of literacy in order to provide a more equitable education for immigrant students.

Out-of-School Literacies

Discussions of out-of-school literacies (Hull & Schultz, 2001; Brian Street, 2000) often cite the seminal work of Scribner and Cole (1981) and their comparison of literacy of the Vai people in Liberia. Among their specific investigations was the Vai's original writing system that was not used in school literacy as well as their Qur'anic literacy used in their religion. Scribner and Cole's findings show that different literacies are associated with specialized forms of thinking; for example, Qur'anic literacy improved memory tasks whereas Vai script improved
phonological discrimination. This study allowed for a broader definition of literacy, stating that literacy "is not simply knowing how to read and write a particular script, but applying this knowledge for specific purposes in specific contexts of use" (p. 237). Much like the work of Brian Street (1995) with Iranians to develop the ideological model of reading, Scribner and Cole's (1981) research with the Vai people show the power in studying literacies that are multiple, contextualized, and not part of the dominant definition of literacy.

Therefore, grounded in the framework provided by Street (1995) and Scriber and Cole (1981), the present study aligns with other studies of students’ out-of-school literacies to better understand how these practices connect to academic literacy taught in school. Studies in this vein recognize that not all literacies hold equal value in the academic setting, creating privileged and disadvantaged literacies (Purcell-Gates, 2007). This research examines the notion of power (Franzak, 2006) and the question of whose literacy counts in a society (Moje, Overby, Tysvaer, & Morris, 2008).

In a review of the literature on marginalized adolescent readers, Franzak (2006) concludes that youth who struggle with in-school reading would "benefit from the valuing of the nonschool literacies as they learn that all literacies are contextually bound " (2006, p. 228). This foregrounds the importance of the present study. Although more research is purposefully taking a broader perspective of youth's out-of-school literacies (New London Group, 1996; Brian Street, 2003), most of these studies exclude students from non-dominant communities such as immigrant adolescents (Rubinstein-Ávila, 2007; Yi, 2010). Below is a discussion of research that does exist documenting nonmainstream youth's out-of-school literacies. This includes adolescents from minority, urban, or immigrant backgrounds.
Definitions of out-of-school literacies. Knobel and Lankshear (2003) aptly note that "out-of-school literacies' means different things to different people" (p. 51) as evidenced by the following discussion of the various applications of the construct. They have divided studies of any person's out-of-school literacies into one of four quadrants. The quadrants vary depending on if the study considers any literacy an out-of-school practice based on the location of its occurrence, regardless of its recognition in the formal school curriculum. For example, using this categorizing method, some studies do not consider book reading an out-of-school literacy because it is recognized in school. These studies focus solely on the informal, unrecognized, or unsanctioned out-of-school literacies such as comic book reading and texting. Secondly, they use another categorizer in determining if the person practicing the literacy is of school age or not. They assert that the most beneficial research falls in the quadrant that focuses on "literacies that are defined against the grain of schooled literacies" (p. 54) for school-aged persons. They claim that:

[These studies] advocate for a range of children and their rich literate social practices in relation to narrow, school-based and 'schooled' literacies that privilege particular and normative language and literacy uses -- and to teacher-made claims that there is a 'lack of literacy' in poor/working-class/non-white homes. Such views…work to further disadvantage already-disadvantaged and marginalized children and social groups within a society. (p. 54)

The current study follows the same basis as studies that define out-of-school literacy against the grain, yet does not properly fit into any of their quadrants because I include all out-of-school literacies, regardless of the relation to school-based literacies. In my review of past and more current research than their 2003 analysis permits, I have detected a further distinction of how researchers are defining one's out-of-school literacies: 1) Some studies only investigate forms of reading and writing that take place out-of-school; 2) other studies focus on technology used out-of-school; 3) additional studies demonstrate how a specific out-of-school literacy was
used in the classroom; 4) while yet other research focuses specifically on unsanctioned literacies. In the literature review to follow, I synthesize the findings from research on urban, minority, and immigrant adolescents' out-of-school literacies as defined by the four categories mentioned. Lastly, I demonstrate how the current study fulfills the criteria that Knobel and Lankshear (2003) set forth as the most beneficial area of research, while expanding their definition of literacy.

Studies of out-of-school reading and writing. Some studies with non-dominant youth use the term out-of-school literacies to refer to only the reading and writing that is completed outside of school and not part of any school-based work. In a mixed-methods study of 716 urban adolescents' reading and writing outside of school, Moje et al. (2008) found that these young people read a very wide range of literature outside of school, the most frequent being websites, letters, music lyrics, and email. Throughout the study they found 17 different categories of their participants' out-of-school reading, suggesting that these urban adolescents engaged in a wide variety of reading not related to their school work. Their writing practices conveyed similar results as students wrote emails, letters, lyrics, and graffiti among other less frequent modes. Their motivations for reading and writing were often to develop their racial, cultural, and gendered identities, connect socially, express themselves, and improve themselves in some way. Similarly, Gallagher's (2007) case studies of four urban and at-risk youth reveal that they engaged in much reading and writing outside of school for entertainment and identity development. Specifically, the participants wrote poetry, letters to family members, and to copy cooking recipes. They read hip hop lyrics, letters, and gaming manuals. These studies demonstrate that out-of-school literacy is powerful and significant in urban youth's lives regardless of its recognition in school.
Demonstrating the power of out-of-school writing are Mahiri's (2004b; Mahiri & Sablo, 1996) studies which focus on the prolific nature and range of writing of urban African American youth. He demonstrates that although these youth might be socially constructed as deviant, their literacies actually reveal something quite different. The youth studied engaged in a wide variety of writing outside of school including screenplays, film documentaries, lyrics, and raps which spoke of their political awareness and ability to juxtapose sound, text, word play, and images to convey meaning. Although they were often unmotivated to write in their classrooms, they were ardent writers outside of school much like the Cambodian immigrant youth in Skilton-Sylvester's (2002) case study. Outside of school, the participant prolifically wrote stories and plays which she accompanied with drawings. However, at school, her role as a student in a traditional classroom where the teacher maintains the authority, coupled with her status as a nonnative writer, afforded her a low position of power. Consequently, at school she was a struggling writer whereas she flourished as a competent writer at home.

Also focusing on immigrant students' out-of-school writing is Yi's (2010) study which documents the reciprocal nature of one Korean immigrant teenager's in- and out-of-school writing. The multilingual participant wrote in her diary at home much like she did in her ESL classroom journal. Similarly, she used multiple languages (Korean, English and Chinese characters) across school and home writing contexts, continually developing both L1 and L2 literacy skills. Yi describes in- and out-of-school writing as a "two-way street": they can positively impact each other when recognized, valued, and resourced appropriately. Yi (2007) also calls attention to the multiple literacies students of the 1.5 generation demonstrate in their writing beyond school as they seamlessly cross genres, languages, and internet sites in their
writing. Her participant regularly engaged in transnational digital and journal writing at home to express her bicultural self and develop her writer's identity. Yi explains:

Exploring the kinds of voluntary, out-of-school writing practices that students engage in and the motivating aspects of those practices is especially important to contributing to the understanding of biliterate students...as writers because such studies may help us take into account the full range of activities within their composing world and not just those surrounding academic writing in the L2. (p. 25)

Further demonstrating the transnational component of an immigrant student's out-of-school literacy, Lam (2004a) depicts the construction of a third space of one Chinese student. He engaged in many transnational literacies through his reading of Japanese, Chinese, and English comic books. Although he felt marginalized at school both academically and socially, he thrived in his out-of-school world of comic books as he gained and developed different sociocultural identities through his reading.

Rubinstein-Ávila's (2004, 2006, 2007) studies with immigrant youth differ slightly from the others in this category in that she investigates students' in- as well as out-of-school literacies. The out-of-school literacies she documents include reading, writing, and also translating. The participants in her studies, first-generation Latino adolescents, possessed many rich literacy skills such as reading the Bible, Spanish novels, and popular teenage magazines. They also wrote letters and notes and even used math and reading skills simultaneously to peruse weekly ads and determine the best price for household items. These literacies as well as their language brokering abilities were not, however, validated in school and educators were often unaware of these students' vast funds of knowledge. Yanira, a high school student from the Dominican Republic possessed many transnational literacies in the form of print and oral language (Rubinstein-Ávila, 2007). Through radio, TV, newspapers, and magazines, she continually crossed borders as her bilingual and biliterate repertoire increased. The researcher notes that "students like Yanira, who
in a sense are developing the competencies needed to live in and negotiate 'both worlds' (symbolically or not), ought to be understood and supported” (p. 587).

Rubinstein-Ávila's study (2004) with Miguel, a teenager from Mexico, explains how he had often helped his mother translate complicated court-related documents. She states that students involved in language brokering "may be viewed as 'at risk' in the school setting, [but] their role of cultural and linguistic brokers may turn them into 'saviors'” (p. 299) in an out-of-school setting. Rubinstein-Ávila asserts that unlike most mainstream students, immigrant students possess continually expanding linguistic repertoires due to their bi- or multilingual abilities and literacy for them cannot accurately be viewed through a narrow monolingual lens. Educators and researchers must analyze their literacies through a bilingual, biliterate, and transnational framework. In the case of Miguel, having teachers who understood and supported his bilingual abilities created a turning point in his schooling.

The portrait of Blanca, a middle school student who lacked years of formal education, also gives insight into Latino students' literacies (Rubinstein-Ávila, 2006). A newcomer from Mexico, Blanca faced learning a new language, a new culture, and much content knowledge that she lacked. It was easy for teachers to see her through a deficit lens because they did not learn about her out-of-school literacies. Blanca was actually "an avid reader in Spanish” (p. 38) yet her monolingual teachers were unaware of this practice and therefore, unable to capitalize on it. Rubenstein-Ávila hypothesizes that until Blanca is fully proficient in English, her teachers will have a very limited knowledge base of her actual abilities and the untapped funds of knowledge she brings with her to school. In general, Rubinstein-Ávila's (2004, 2006, 2007) work demonstrates that Latino immigrant students do in fact possess rich literacies that they use
outside of school. We need to discover those practices and understand how to better capitalize on them in the academic classroom.

These studies contribute much to the field of literacy research by documenting the range and form of reading and writing (and language brokering in the case of Rubinstein-Ávila's studies) students do outside of school. Although they even highlight the transnational and political nature of such practices, they employ a more limited definition of literacy than I use in the current study.

*Studies of out-of-school digital literacies.* Some studies have purposefully focused on out-of-school digital literacies to understand how immigrant youth are using technology outside of school to foster their transnational identities since borders can easily be crossed through the internet. A mixed-methods study of 262 foreign-born American high school students (Lam & Rosario-Ramos, 2009) showed that these youth inhabit transnational spaces outside of school that often take place on the internet. Through digital networks they were able to develop relationships with people across geopolitical and linguistic borders. The researchers urge educators to consider the transnational resources of these young people and employ them in their literacy education, one specific area that the findings of this study addresses.

Whereas Lam and Rosario-Ramos' (2009) study provides a generally picture of immigrant students' digital literacy practices, it does not investigate these literacies deeply. The extant in-depth research on immigrant youth's digital spaces focuses primarily on Asian students. Lam's (2000, 2004b) studies with Chinese immigrant youth illustrate the many purposes that students' out-of-school digital literacies had on their identity and language (L1 and L2) development. In one of her studies (2000), Almon, a high school senior from Hong Kong, was
frustrated with his English abilities in school and used online pen pals to further develop his L2. The English he learned was not the Standard English taught in school, but contextually bound in adolescent popular culture. Although he felt marginalized in school because he was not a native speaker, his digital literacies allowed him to develop a sense of belonging through using the English language. Paradoxically, we can see that although the school purposed to make him proficient in English, he actually learned more from his out-of-school literacies.

Similarly, in another study (Lam, 2004b) two female Chinese immigrants utilized a Cantonese/English bilingual chat room to develop a specific variety of English and cultivate their ethnic identity with other people from their culture. Outside of school they could enter into a transnational and global space to help them negotiate their multilingual, multicultural identities that are common among many immigrant youth. In studying an immigrant EL's out-of-school online literacies, Black (2006) focused on how online fanfiction allowed this student to develop her transcultural Chinese-American identity. Finally, McLean's (2010) study demonstrates how an immigrant adolescent from Trinidad and Tobago used a host of digital spaces to construct a virtual place to express and develop her transnational identity.

These studies demonstrate how first- and second-generation immigrant youth use a multitude of technology for purposes related to their identity and language development. It is evident that this is an important area to study since technology not only changes, but becomes more widely available every day. However, one key component missing from this research is how Latina/o immigrant youth use digital spaces and the purposes such spaces serve. This represents a crucial need in the literature since Latinos compromise the largest immigrant group in the United States. The present study will help fill that gap by demonstrating how and why the
participants from three different Latin American countries use the digital spaces available to them outside of school.

**Studies of out-of-school literacies used in class.** There is yet another category of studies that demonstrate how specific out-of-school literacies were used in the academic classroom. The literature is replete with accounts that show the importance of utilizing bilingual students' L1s and building upon their linguistic and cultural resources. Martinez and colleagues' (2008) research in a middle school shows that there is great value in translating in the academic environment, but students are conditioned to view their language brokering skills as a strictly out-of-school activity. The researchers created instructional interventions that required students to employ their bilingualism and "draw on language skills that they had for so long been taught to keep out of school" (p. 425). Their study in one classroom suggests that bilingual students' translating abilities can be employed to further their academic literacy and they urge educators, mono- and bilingual, to recognize students' abilities, learn about their language brokering experiences, help them develop an awareness of the strategies they use as they translate, and then apply those skills and strategies in the classroom.

Similarly, middle school teachers and researchers (Wilson, Chavez, & Anders, 2012) of Mexican and Somali immigrants honored their students' home languages and immigrant experiences in the class. They encouraged students to reflect upon their own experiences to develop digital podcasts about their immigrant narratives and bilingual identities. This allowed these English Learners to further their literacy and language acquisition, while receiving validation for their immigrant identities. Other studies show the positive effect of building upon students' bilingual abilities in the academic environment (de la Piedra, 2010; García, 1998;
Jiménez, García, & Pearson, 1996; Pacheco, 2009) and the sociological effect of valuing and developing Latino adolescents' Spanish language abilities (Jiménez, 2000). This research suggests that by bringing this practice into the classroom students can achieve greater academic success as they see the value in a practice they have honed for many years.

Some studies have found the benefit of using hip-hop and rap lyrics in the classroom to further the learning of African American youth. Hallman (2009) states that using elements from the hip-hop culture that are part of many urban youth's vast repertoire of literacies can act as a "cultural bridge' between the out-of-school and the in-school" (p. 47). Her study showed the meaningful literacy activities pregnant and parenting teens engaged in through the use of rap-writing in the academic classroom. Cooks (2004) also documents how one African-American teenager used rap-writing in school to more effectively pursue essay-writing.

Additionally, in one urban high-school, Morrell and Duncan-Andrade (2004) included rap and "hip-hop music as a literacy genre [to] help scaffold and develop the academic literacies of youth who have often been labeled as 'non-academic'" (p. 247). In their poetry unit, they examined texts from the Elizabethan times to modern day America. Students who were well-versed in analyzing rap music used those same skills to analyze canonical poetry. Following Freire's (1970) model of critical pedagogy, the students were empowered to critique the hegemonic devices of society as represented in poetry and lyrics. In doing this they were able to liberate themselves from dominant ideologies. For example, through their critical analysis students discovered the connection between T.S. Elliot's canonical poetry and Grand Master Flash's modern day rap lyrics. Students explained that both authors "looked out into their rapidly deteriorating societies and saw a 'wasteland" (p. 265). In recognizing, valuing, and capitalizing
on these students' out-of-school literacies, the teacher-researchers were able use literacy as a vehicle of empowerment as students rewrote themselves against the dominant narrative.

Pacheco (2009) harnessed Latino sixth graders' translating abilities as well as their political-historical knowledge to garner higher-level academic skills inside the classroom. She notes that when these first-, second-, and third- generation students had the opportunity to discuss immigration issues in school, they demonstrated much "political-historical knowledge…[which] included sophisticated reading of the sociopolitical circumstances of their life and schooling experiences" (p. 19). They aptly applied a critical lens to their low-income communities and the non-dominant status of their families while focusing on the political power tied to race and language. These young adolescents were successfully able to write for different audiences in different voices and genres to share their critiques of U.S. immigration laws. The author urges educators to leverage the political-historical knowledge immigrant students already possess inside the language arts classroom.

Although the present study does not make any interventions to understand the effect of incorporating students' out-of-school literacies in the classroom, these studies show that understanding youth's full range of literacies is indeed valuable. Literacies that are practiced and developed outside of the classroom can be used to engage students in academic learning, promote their higher order thinking, and provide a bridge to the traditional curriculum.

*Studies of unsanctioned and informal literacies.* In the same tradition as the studies mentioned above, the present study will include out-of-school reading, writing, and digital literacies, but will additionally focus on other ways of making and receiving meaning that broaden the definition of literacy. There is a body of scholarship with nonmainstream youth that
embraces a wider definition of out-of-school literacies that moves beyond reading, writing, and technology to include those practices specifically unsanctioned in school. The marginalized students in these studies are much like the "pachucos" which Octavio Paz (1962) wrote about in his famous work, *The Labyrinth of Solitude: Life and Thought in Mexico*. The "pachucos" were people of Mexican origin living in Los Angeles who felt rejected by the Mexican and American cultures. Their behavior, way of dressing, and language use was often misunderstood and even shunned by society, yet very purposeful and sophisticated. Historically, the "pachucos" as well as modern day marginalized youth use literacy in very sophisticated ways. It is unfortunate, however, that because these literacies are unsanctioned and rejected by society, their purposes and meanings are cloaked.

Bruna (2007) focuses on three informal literacies that newcomer Mexican students engaged in at home and school settings. They used tagging (writing of country or state of origin), branding (wearing of Mexican or Spanish-related clothing and accessories), and shouting out (calling out the name of the state where one is from) to reinforce their group identity and honor their homeland. In a historically rural all-White area, these newcomer Mexican youth claimed their transnational identities though these literacies in a school and community that refused to neither recognize nor value them. Furthermore, these unsanctioned literacies often signaled the need for assistance that students were not getting in the academic environment. For example, when students needed teacher assistance to complete an assignment or became bored with their mundane work, they would disengage academically and tag the classroom's board by writing in graffiti fashion the Mexican state of their birth. Also with Latino youth, Cowan (2004) specifically studied the visual literacies prevalent in popular lowrider culture. Lowrider culture centers on the "genre of customized cars associated principally with the Mexican
American community” (p. 47), the style of dress of those who create the cars, and the attitude that accompanies this culture. Through his interviews with students who built, competitively showed, and drew lowrider cars in their notebooks, he discovered that the visual images were always more important than the text. Students used these visuals to send and receive meanings of cultural identity and Latino solidarity. Although viewed as gang symbols from mainstream society, lowrider visuals were sources of pride and cultural affirmation for the Latino students in the study.

Involving the gangsta culture, Moje (2000) demonstrated that even the most unsanctioned literacies are extremely sophisticated, requiring much intelligence and skill. In an urban area she studied the written, body, and oral discourses of five youth from Vietnamese, Laotian, Latino, and Samoan heritages, all self-defined as ganstas. She claims that these marginalized youth used their unsanctioned literacies such as graffiti, word play, and clothing style to convey allegiance to specific gangs, exclude and align, and become part of the dominant story. These literacies were employed for youth to "claim a space, construct an identity, and take a social position in their worlds" (p. 651). Also misunderstood are students whose literacies are seen as dangerous or taboo. May'ayan (2010) evidences the taboo literacies of Erika, a second-generation Latina student who was failing most of her middle school classes. She disengaged academically because topics she wanted to explore further due to her life experiences were seen as dangerous by her teachers. Only during this particular research project did she begin to demonstrate her literacy skills as she was finally allowed to share her connections with a literary character.

Also using a broad definition of literacy, de la Piedra (2010) examined the literacies of Latino students living along the U.S./Mexico border that went unnoticed in the classroom.
Outside of school these students engaged in letter writing, written translation, religious literacy, and helping younger siblings with their homework. They were also engaged in many literacy activities on the internet in both English and Spanish. Unfortunately, these literacies were ignored or not valued as the literacy practice most central to their school was passing the TAKS (Texas Assessment of Knowledge and Skills) test. TAKS is a state-mandated, high-stakes test fulfilling the requirements of No Child Left Behind. Even though the students in this study were exempt from this test for three years, the testing environment of the school already impacted their classroom instruction. Passing the TAKS was the dominant literacy imposed by the school, providing a rigid curriculum and pushing students' rich home literacies out of the academic environment. This confers with what Au (2011) has illustrated in his research on high stakes testing: the higher the stakes, the more teachers will focus their everyday instruction on the test. So although the students in de la Piedra's (2010) study possessed rich literacies, they were never used in the classroom at the expense of testing.

As demonstrated in these studies, even at-risk adolescents bring much knowledge and skills acquired outside the classroom with them into school. Once such literacies are recognized and valued, teachers can transform their teaching and student learning. However, there is a lack of studies that show Latino immigrant youth's full range of out-of-school literacies, including digital, transnational, and unsanctioned literacies, the purposes they serve, and the meanings they have for the individuals.

Specific Gaps Addressed by Findings

The literature review thus far demonstrates how the present study of four newcomer Latina/o youth's out-of-school literacies addresses gaps in the literature because of: 1) its focus
on newcomer Latina/os and 2) its in-depth investigation about what presently takes place out-of-school that moves beyond reading and writing. There are however, other more specific areas that the present study uniquely addresses. These areas are Facebook and workplace literacies, all specifically relating to Latina/o immigrant youth. Figure 2.2 demonstrates the relationship these two areas have within the broader aforementioned theoretical framework.

**Figure 2.2.** Specific gaps findings address.

*Facebook Literacy*

Although it is well-documented that most youth in the U.S. use the social networking site of Facebook, and that it is a phenomenon quickly spreading across the globe (Junco, 2012), most
studies to date address college students' use of Facebook (Reid, 2011; Skerrett, 2010). This excludes not only younger youth, but also immigrant students. Although the popular social networking site was originally created for college students, its purpose can uniquely serve other populations, specifically youth who have recently moved to another country. Reid states:

Facebook is a literacy practice within the domain of social networking, which is governed by certain values, such as establishing and negotiating identity, building relationships, staying connected, and brevity, conciseness and immediacy. Creativity is valued and innovative codes are used. (2011, pp. 59-60)

The purposes of this space touch on key issues of transnationalism with which immigrant adolescents are already negotiating due to the act of immigration (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Suárez-Orozco, et al., 2008) as discussed more extensively previously in this chapter. More recently, with the dynamic growth of the internet to virtually everybody's fingertips through the invention and greater accessibility of smart phones and tablets, immigrant youth have a new venue in which they can negotiate their identities, build and maintain transnational relationships, and stay connected to their place of origin. They can accomplish all of these purposes while remaining in their new country.

Although some studies do address how Asian immigrant youth use digital spaces (Black, 2006; Lam, 2000, 2004b; McGinnis et al., 2007; Yi, 2007), the only study that includes a Latino/a youth is McGinnis's et al. (2007) collective case study that includes one Latina: a second-generation Columbian-American adolescent. This paucity of research addressing Latino immigrant youth's digital social networking is unfortunate because studies at the college level show that when students' Facebook practices are understood and systematically used in the classroom, learning is enhanced. Skerrett (2010) demonstrated how using the venue of Facebook to analyze literature allowed college students to create a unique third space that was neither solely school nor home. She claims that "people's identities and relationships to their literary
practices are fundamentally altered as they move into the third space" (p. 81). This allowed students to move deeper in a literary analysis and also allowed them to examine hegemonic principals that lie within social networking. Through this exercise students thought critically through issues in popular culture such as the most common terms through which we define ourselves and which are emphasized in social networking: gender, age, and relationship status.

Also at the college level, Reid (2011) used Facebook to create a safe space for her students to practice academic discourse, have their voices heard, and shift the traditional power relationships in a class. She claims that Facebook is a "literacy practice [which] creates a space for critical practices in relation to writing" (p.61). Other studies with college students speak to the way youth create social capital through Facebook (Steinfield, Ellison, & Lampe, 2008) and create a sense of community (Reich, 2010). The present study will distinctively address these same social capital and community issues, but with newcomer Latina/o youth.

Workplace Literacy

Another gap in the research this study uniquely addresses is workplace literacies with immigrant youth. Lam and Warriner (2012) specifically call for research that "explore[s] the relation of literacy and workplace transnationalism" (p. 211) of migrant people. Fingeret (1994) states that the term "workplace literacy" refers to "becoming literate about the workplace: reading the world of the workplace" (p. 31). Most studies of workplace literacies address adults and the necessary literacy skills they need to do their jobs effectively and efficiently.

Tannock, (2001b), however, has specifically researched youth in the workplace and the issues they face. In his ethnography of North American youth in the fast food and grocery industries, he determined that the primary complaint youth have in the workplace is high stress
due to the lack of time they have to complete their tasks. In the name of higher profit margins, most youth work within environments where they are not given the amount of time or support to perform with the speed and quality customers desire. He argues against the devaluing of these jobs in society, and explains that youth are working with a proliferation of text and political rules in their workplaces (Tannock, 2001a). The literacies youth use at work are sophisticated and must be mastered in order to be successful in their jobs. The present study of four newcomer Latina/o adolescents' out-of-school literacies includes their workplace literacies, a profound space for them where they can refine their transnational skills. This provides a distinctive contribution to the sparse scholarship on youth's workplace literacy.

Summary

This research employs a sociocultural theory of literacy which is useful in unmasking "the education of people whose language, literacy, and very being have traditionally been marginalized or disenfranchised in schools and societies" (Lewis, Enciso, & Moje, 2007, p. 3). Based on the belief that adolescent immigrants possess many funds of knowledge that can be considered literacies, the present study seeks to better understand the range, purpose, and use of such practices that are not part of academic learning. The literature shows that adolescent immigrants are a population whose literacies often go unnoticed, unrecognized, devalued, misunderstood, or even unsanctioned in the school environment. Nevertheless, a small collection of studies show that these students possess rich literacy skills that they use purposefully, expertly, systematically and transnationally outside of the classroom.

Understanding youth's full range of literacies so they can be employed in academic learning has the potential to help them achieve academic success. Unlike past studies that have
combined students' in- and out-of-school literacies, employed a narrower view of literacy, or only investigated one slice of adolescents' full range of out-of-school literacies, this study creates a fuller and more complete picture of the multiple literacies that Latina/o newcomers possess that are not part of their school work. Some of the practices that will be discussed in the present study, namely Facebook and workplace literacy, further provide a missing component to the scholarship on immigrant youth. It is only after understanding these practices that we can begin to view new pathways for schools to harness all students' potential.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of the present study is to examine the out-of-school literacies of four newcomer Latina/o adolescents in order to understand the strengths they carry with them into the classroom and how these strengths are valued or ignored in academic settings. This section explains the methodology chosen to answer the following research questions:

1). What are the out-of-school literacies of four newcomer Latina/o adolescents?

2). What meanings do these literacies have for the individuals?

3). How do these literacies demonstrate the adolescents' linguistic, cultural, and social resources?

In this chapter, I first describe my personal experiences that have led to the specific lens through which I view this research; then, I explain how a pilot study influenced the design of the current study; and lastly, I clarify the specific methodology practices employed in the present study.

Background and Experiences of the Researcher

The lens through which I view this study is greatly influenced by my past and current life experiences, perceptions, and biases. Growing up, my family always emphasized the importance of education, the one thing nobody could take from you. As a daughter and granddaughter of reading and English teachers, I always had access to vast reading material. As a child and teenager my own out-of-school literacies included reading books and magazines for pleasure, composing poetry, journal writing, and listening to and creating music.

When I was 17-years-old, I had the opportunity to spend the summer away from my family at an inner-city community center that provided food, clothing and children's activities for the primarily Spanish-speaking community it served. Through that cross cultural experience I
began learning Spanish for more than academic purposes and eventually was able to study abroad in Mexico and Spain during college. I continued my language and cultural immersion as a teacher assistant for newcomer children during my last three years as an undergraduate. The children I taught supported my Spanish language acquisition, taught me about their cultures, and made me aware of my own culture.

Upon graduation from college, I began teaching middle school students who were new arrivals to the U. S. and who spoke very little English. The majority of my students were from Mexico though I also had students from other countries in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. After that experience I had the opportunity to teach English as a Second Language to adults at a local community college. These experiences allowed me to gain a better understanding of life experiences that otherwise might have been inconceivable to me. My former students, ranging in age eight to 80, have taught me about life in other countries, government systems, cultures, religions, and economic realities. I have learned why people come to the United States, how they do it, and the rewards and obstacles that await them once they arrive. I have come to appreciate my immigrant students' resilience, hard work, and optimism, even in the face of sometimes insurmountable difficulties. Together with them, I have laughed at our cultural faux pas, gotten angry at wrongs committed against them from people like myself, and cried about our losses. They have celebrated the birth of my first child with me, attempted to teach me how to cook, and helped me with my academic work. More importantly, they have given me their stories as I have given them mine. All of my students have certainly taught me more than I could have ever taught them.

Lastly, I share an episode from my childhood that illuminates me as the researcher, as well as the past experiences, beliefs, and biases I bring to the present study. During the first
semester of my doctoral program as I read Shirley Brice Heath's (2007) *Ways with Words*, I recalled one of the earliest memories I have as a child in Kindergarten. I grew up in a rural community of working class Anglo and African American people as well as a small group of college educated, middle class professionals who were predominantly Anglo, Protestant, and from a line of relatively privileged people. Heath studied the literate lives of three similar groups: working class Anglos and African Americans and more educated townspeople. The townspeople's literacy experiences very closely matched the literacy valued in school just as mine did. In this memory I can vividly see myself skipping through the Kindergarten playground with two other girls because we all shared the same first name. We chanted that name together as we linked arms, innocently thinking we were the same. One of those girls was from the working class African American community while the other was from the working class Anglo community. The three of us represented Heath's three groups nearly perfectly. Although I remember us thinking we had so much in common that one day, our life's trajectories are quite different. Today, I am a doctoral candidate who has nearly always experienced academic success. I lost touch with the other two girls because they were soon held back grade levels or placed in special education, and, as far as I know, did not graduate from high school.

I do not believe my academic success can be largely attributed to any natural intelligence, skills, nor individual traits. As Heath's (1984) work suggests, my family's literacy practices were privileged in the school setting. This memory has brought me to question whose literacy counts in society. Growing up in a community of three distinct groups of people has given me many personal insights into how cultural reproduction takes place as society determines which literacies yield more power. The present study of the out-of-school literacies of four adolescent
English learners is influenced by both my personal history with people of immigrant groups as well as my more recent experience of viewing my own education through a critical lens.

Pilot Study

A study completed in 2010 served as a pilot study for the current investigation in that the guiding questions and the methods were similar (Stewart, 2011). I knew a young man through two community organizations in which we were both involved, a church and a rehabilitation home for former drug addicts. Although I would exchange a few informal words of greeting with him, my husband actually had a deeper relationship with Pablo (pseudonym), the participant. Prior to my investigation I knew that 19-year-old Pablo had a history of crime, drug and alcohol abuse, and stints in jail in both Mexico and the United States, causing him to have many periods of interrupted formal education. I also knew that after having previously dropped out of high school for an entire year, he was now living with his aunt in a different city and trying to obtain his high school diploma. By observing him, I realized he had many advanced language brokering abilities that other bilingual people did not possess. When the church needed a translator to broadcast the sermon on a small AM radio station, there was no question among the bilingual attendees that Pablo would be the official translator. I was amazed as I listened to him simultaneously and spontaneously translate, effortlessly demonstrating an advanced vocabulary in both English and Spanish.

I was further intrigued when my husband came home from seeing Pablo at church one night to tell me about his visibly purposeful outfit. Pablo was wearing green shorts, a white T-shirt, with another red shirt draped across his shoulders, the colors of the Mexican flag. This was his non-verbal protest against the new immigration laws being introduced in Arizona, his home
state. Through the little information I had about him, I was intrigued by his sophisticated literacies, ways of sending and receiving meaning, and how they were used to help him overcome the deficits he faced academically.

Thus, I began my case study of Pablo's out-of-school literacies in the summer of 2010 and collected data for five months. The data involved four interviews about his educational history, parents' and brother's education, reading and writing beyond school, engagement with technology, language brokering, and nonverbal protests. I inquired about his reasons behind each literacy practice and how he determined which language to use. Data sources also included poetry he wrote in a journal outside of school, his two social networking sites, and observations of him in his formal translator role at a church. I learned that he was born in the U.S. yet regularly traveled back to Mexico during the weekends to visit his father throughout his childhood. His mother was a migrant worker which caused him to attend a different school every spring as she moved to another state to follow the crops. His education was almost entirely English-only and his culture was never a large part of the school's curriculum besides celebrating Cinco de Mayo each year. By the time he was in middle school, he had many experiences with criminal life due to the organized crime in which he officially became a leader. At the age of 15 he brought a knife to school which led to spending the next two years going back and forth between juvenile prison and an alternative school. He later dropped out and went to live with his father in Mexico for a year where he once again went to prison. After that low point in his life, he came to live with an aunt in the U.S. to attempt to finish high school and stay out of trouble.

Despite the many factors that might make him at-risk academically, through this study I realized his literacies were even richer than I had first suspected. Apart from his multiple
nonverbal protests and advanced language brokering, the participant was an avid writer of poetry, read Shakespeare, Neruda, Grisham novels, and young adult fiction, and engaged in many digital literacies, all outside of school. However, his out-of-school literacies rarely made their way into his in-school activities, contributing to Pablo's continual academic struggle and his final leaving of high school, only two months away from graduation, shortly after the study commenced. Although he was a prolific writer outside of school, it did not seem to help him in school. He told me "I don't want to write for them" meaning that his writing was not for teachers, but for himself and others.

As I analyzed the data using a constant-comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1968) aided by NVivo software, I realized that not only his writing, but also his reading, language brokering, protest literacies, digital literacies, and all other funds of knowledge, were something Pablo had learned to keep out of school. He saw himself and was viewed by others in his community as a writer, leader, philosopher, protestor, and linguistic genius; yet academically, he did not see himself as a good student nor did he see a connection from his literacies to academic work. Through this study I began to see that from the moment he entered Head Start, through monolingual elementary programs, schooling in juvenile detention, alternative school, and finally to regular high school, the participant’s out-of-school literacies such as his language brokering and love of poetry, were never appropriately harnessed so as to help him achieve academic success. His subtractive schooling (Valenzuela, 1999) experiences coupled with the deficit perspective (González et al., 2005) placed on his Spanish-speaking, immigrant family contributed to his academic difficulties. Furthermore, a narrow view of literacy, privileging those in power and divesting him of his multiple literacies (Gee, 2008), kept Pablo from using his strengths in the school environment.
From the pilot study, I became interested in what other immigrant adolescents’ out-of-school literacies are, how they use them, and if they are cultivated and resourced in the classroom. I also learned valuable lessons that influenced the design of the current study. I uncovered unexpected findings in the pilot study, such as Pablo's prolific poetry writing, that influenced how I continued to gather data. Therefore, during the present study I allowed for the redesigning of the semi-structured interviews at different points in the interview process (Rubin & Rubin, 1995) as well as the collection of secondary data that included a variety of artifacts. Secondly, while I was analyzing data for the pilot study, I completely changed the name and limitations of the seminal constructs for the study as explained below in the definition of terms.

Definition of Terms

It is through this pilot study that I have realized the implications of the choice of constructs I will use and the limitations of such constructs. I concur with Dimitriadis (2008) that in the study of urban youth the "language we use is not neutral or value free…,[but is] packed with often problematic assumptions and connotations, ones we must face up to if we are to advance the field in more ethical ways" (p. 109). I recognize that historically, the term literacy is defined very differently from how I will use it in this study (Street, 1995). However, as I learned through the pilot study as well as other scholarship (Bruna, 2007; Pacheco, 2009), I would be remiss to exclude ways the participants have of making meaning that do not reside under the historical definition of literacy, reading and writing in a manner that mirrors school activities.

Literacies

I use the construct of literacies to mean the multiple forms one uses to make and
represent meaning. This will include the many discourses (Gee, 2008) youth use to convey meaning such as dress, body, written, audio, and oral discourses. In conjunction with the New London Group's (1996) view of literacy, the construct *literacies* will seek to go beyond students' in-school reading and writing to encompass the many media-driven, culturally, and socially based ways of sending and receiving meaning. In the pilot study, if I had narrowly focused on the participant's reading and writing, I would have neglected his way of dressing and behaving that made him a protestor and his oral language brokering that made him a leader in his community. From past research I knew that out-of-school literacies could include reading novels, comics, manuals, newspapers, magazines, store adds, religious material, or books (Moje, et al., 2008; Rubinstein-Ávila, 2007); writing poetry (Yi, 2007), digital messages (Lam & Rosario-Ramos, 2009), lyrics (Mahiri, 2004b), plays (Mahiri, 2004b), notes (Moje, 2000), graffiti (Moje, 2000), letters (de la Piedra, 2010); participating in tagging, branding and shouting out (Bruna, 2007); producing multi-media (Mahiri & Sablo, 1996); drawing (Cowan, 2004); language brokering (Orellana, 2009); statement dressing (Moje, 2000); social networking (Stewart, 2011; Yi, 2007); texting (Stewart, 2011); helping younger siblings with homework (Orellana et al., 2003); reading about, discussing, and watching telenovelas (Pacheco, 2009).

*Out-of-School*

The naming of a construct is heavily value-laden (Dimitriadis, 2008) as I realized while analyzing data from the pilot study. The literature contains different terms to refer to the meaning-making students do that is not an official part of their academic curriculum such as "out-of-school" (Cooks, 2004; Hallman, 2009; Yi, 2010), "informal" (Bruna, 2007), and "unsanctioned" (Moje, 2000) literacies. Although I began using the term *informal literacies* in
the pilot study, while I analyzed data I questioned if I was devaluing such literacies by using that term. Some of the practices the participant used were in fact very formal although they were unnoticed at his school. I realized that using the term informal devalued his literacies that were not part of school and positioned the literacies recognized by teachers above those that were not. Therefore, I chose to use the term out-of-school for all literacies that are not part of the academic curriculum, regardless of whether they might be deemed formal or informal, sanctioned or unsanctioned. An out-of-school literacy practice might even take place in the classroom, hallways, or cafeteria, yet not be part of the school-based literacies.

Overall, the pilot study allowed me to see the limitless possibilities of students' out-of-school literacies to guide me in approaching the current study with an open mind rather than a few preconceived usages of literacy. Although in the present study I attempted to understand the range of literacies participants possess, I concentrated more deeply on understanding the most meaningful or reoccurring practices.

The Research Design

Just as the naming and defining of constructs to be studied carries political weight, so does the choosing and wording of the research questions. Again, while speaking to the study of urban youth, Dimitriadis notes that "one does not simply ask 'neutral' questions. By asking one question and not another, one problematizes a certain issue" (p. 131). Hence, the questions that frame the design for the present study problematize the lack of recognition and value adolescent immigrants' out-of-school literacies receive. Accordingly, the questions assume an asset-lens (Moll et al., 1992) through which one can view immigrant youth, focusing on the many resources they possess. The research design allowed me to gather data on ways in which the participants
effectively made and sent meaning, rather than on deficiencies by focusing on the range, form, and meaning underlying their out-of-school literacies. In the following section I explain the lens, approach, and strategies (Dimitriadis, 2008) used to answer the questions. I also discuss how I established credibility, gave back to the participants, and the constraints of the study.

Qualitative Method

The present study answers the research questions by constructing thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) of the participants’ out-of-school literate lives. Using Bogdan and Bilken's (2007) idea of phenomenological research, I "attempt[ed] to understand the meaning of events and interactions of ordinary people in particular situations" (p. 25). Specifically, I sought to understand the form, range, and meaning of participants’ out-of-school literacies without making any purposeful interventions. I studied what was already naturally occurring. This method follows the Chicago School of Sociology's qualitative lens used to provide rich descriptions of the cultural lives of urban youth in the early to mid 20th century (Dimitriadis, 2008).

Approach and Participants

A collective case study approach (Stake, 1995) consisting of four participants was used to understand the particular phenomena under investigation. The four participants were selected using theoretical sampling to further develop the understanding of this particular population's literacies, not to make large generalizations. The boundaries (Miles & Huberman, 1994) for the purposive sample of participants were Latina/o adolescent immigrants who are students in ESL (English as a second language) classes in the same high school with the same teacher. The sampling was driven by theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1968), as I wanted people inside the special
boundaries who have varying literacies. Table 3.1 shows basic information for the four participants of the study. They are described in more depth in chapter 4.

Table 3.1

*Participants*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Time in U.S. as of January 2012</th>
<th>Current Grade</th>
<th>Level of Education Completed in Country of Origin</th>
<th>Place of Employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valeria</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>20 months</td>
<td>Sophomore</td>
<td>In first year of bachillerato = 10th grade</td>
<td>Sandwich Shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alejandra</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>20 months</td>
<td>Junior</td>
<td>In second year of bachillerato = 11th grade</td>
<td>Sandwich Shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celia</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>18 months</td>
<td>Junior</td>
<td>Finished secundaria = 10th grade</td>
<td>El Taco Loco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miguel</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>9 months</td>
<td>Junior</td>
<td>In third year of universificado = 12th grade</td>
<td>Gutiérrez Tires</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All names of people and workplaces are pseudonyms.

*The Research Setting*

The study takes place in a city in the southwestern region of the U.S. with a population of 127,383 according to 2011 estimates. Owenton, pseudonym, contains two of the state's public universities as well as a community college and is located within a larger metropolis that comprises two major U.S. cities. The three largest racial groups from the 2010 Census data are approximately 62% White, 21% Hispanic, and 10% Black.

Tucker High School, pseudonym, is one of the district's three large high schools and received the state's "Academically Acceptable" rating, which is the third of four possible ratings. Of the approximately 2000 students in the school, 150 are considered limited English proficient
(LEP); however, only 13 total students take the ESL courses because students are encouraged to take regular English classes as soon as they have enough English language proficiency. Table 3.2 demonstrates the racial composition of the school and Table 3.3 shows the percentage of LEP students who met the state standard on the three exit-level tests administered in Grade 10 at the campus, district, and state level.

Table 3.2

Statistics for Campus Racial Composition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>24.3%</td>
<td>510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>60.8%</td>
<td>1,278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>2,101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3

2010-2011 Percentage of LEP Students that Met the Proficiency Standard on Grade 10 Tests.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Campus-Tucker High School</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Math</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Language Arts</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The school is located in a generally middle class section of the city, with many new housing developments surrounding the immediate area. Although the school is large, it is very welcoming, with a beautiful foyer area which leads to the main hall and cafeteria. The hallway is lined with trophies on one side and offices on the other. The walls contain college announcements, posters about student clubs, and yearbook information. Additionally, televisions
in each classroom and the library contain announcements about clubs, sports, special classes, and other school activities that rotate continuously. Visitors are asked to electronically sign in at the main office where they receive a yellow badge that prints from a kiosk. When wearing my visitor's badge, I was sometimes greeted by other staff in the hallways to ask if I needed help finding a room.

_Gaining Entry and Establishing Rapport_

In September of 2011 I began to apply for permission to conduct this study with Owenton ISD at Tucker High School. I was approved in October 2011 and began contacting a teacher I knew at the high school from our involvement in the National Writing Project. This teacher suggested I contact the school's ESL teacher, Ms. Perez, to inquire if any of her students might be interested in the study. After a series of email correspondence with Ms. Perez, I came and met with her before school to explain my research on October 25, 2011. She has a graduate degree in TESOL (teachers of English to speakers of other languages) and was interested in the study. She also thought my involvement with her ESL students could benefit them in many ways, but was concerned, however, that they did not have their own transportation, so would not be able to come to school early or stay late. We discussed the possibility of me conducting interviews during the students' various lunch breaks while volunteering in her classroom during her three ESL blocks. With her permission, I then briefly explained my study to her first ESL block and she later invited me back on January 6, 2012, to meet all the students in each of her three ESL classes. The total number of her ESL students is 13 and many of them take two classes with her.

According to Seidman (1991) it is very important to establish rapport before engaging in
interviews that probe deep into one's cultural and social practices. To do this, I volunteered in the teacher's classrooms prior to selecting participants in order for the students to get to know me. I also met some students before school to help them with their homework and to practice English. Once participants were selected and the appropriate consent was obtained, I allowed them to continue to get to know me as I volunteered weekly in their ESL classes during the three-month data collection period. Table 4.5 shows the times I informally met with students and volunteered in the classroom that were not part of any official data collection. In Ms. Perez's three ESL blocks, Block 1 has only four students, including Miguel. Block 2 has eight students and includes all four of the participants. Block 3 has seven students and includes Valeria, Alejandra, and Celia. The only student who regularly wanted my help in the ESL classes who is not a participant is Celia's younger sister who was in Block 1.

Table 3.4

Informal Interactions with Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Length of Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>October 25, 2011</td>
<td>Met students and ESL teacher. Explained research.</td>
<td>Miguel, two other students not in study</td>
<td>20 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 6, 2012</td>
<td>Talked to students before school. Volunteered in three classes. Helped students with homework</td>
<td>Miguel, Valeria, Alejandra and Celia</td>
<td>4 ½ hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 9, 2012</td>
<td>Helped students with homework before school.</td>
<td>Valeria and Alejandra</td>
<td>45 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Miguel and Celia came the last 10 minutes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 11, 2012</td>
<td>Answered students' questions about college, scholarships, grants, and education in the U.S.</td>
<td>Valeria and Alejandra</td>
<td>45 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Miguel and Celia came the last 10 minutes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 20, 2012</td>
<td>Worked with group of students on vocabulary exercises.</td>
<td>Valeria, Alejandra, Miguel and Celia</td>
<td>1 ½ hours</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(table continues)
Table 3.4 (continued).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Length of Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| January 24, 2012 | Talked informally to students who were using computers to watch music videos. Shared findings from my pilot study. Helped Valeria write a paper. They were not in "class", but were just enjoying free time in the classroom due to a pep rally schedule. | Valeria, Alejandra, Miguel and Celia  
The room was full of other ESL and mainstream students, but I had little interaction with them. | 2 ½ hours       |
| February 3, 2012 | Helped students answer questions about their silent reading books. Worked with all four participants in a group to complete worksheets about a short story they had read. | Valeria, Alejandra, Miguel and Celia | 45 minutes       |
| February 8, 2012 | Sat at girls' table while they worked on a practice test for the upcoming state tests. Primarily helped Valeria. | Valeria, Alejandra and Celia | 1 ½ hours       |
| February 24, 2012 | Helped girls with practice tests left for them to complete by Ms. Perez who was absent. Brought El Salvadorian food for lunch as a thank you for allowing me to interview them. | Valeria, Alejandra and Celia | 1 hour          |
| March 2, 2012    | Ate lunch with students during two lunch blocks and they practiced English with me. | Valeria, Alejandra, Miguel, Celia and their friends | 1 hour 15 minutes |
| March 9, 2012    | Ate lunch with students and their friends during one lunch block. Briefly talked to students and Ms. Perez in ESL class. | Valeria, Alejandra, Miguel, Celia and their friends | 40 minutes       |
| March 30, 2012   | Volunteered in three ESL classes. Helped students with their class work. | Valeria, Alejandra, Miguel, Celia and four other ESL students | 2 ½ hours       |
| April 13, 2012   | Volunteered in three ESL classes. Helped students with their class work. | Valeria, Alejandra, Miguel, Celia and four other ESL students | 2 hours         |
Strategies Used to Collect Data

The primary strategy used to collect data was interviewing. However, in order to triangulate the data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), I used supplementary strategies: artifacts of students’ Facebook pages and drawings, and observational notes from observing them in their workplaces and at school.

Interviews

Interviewing is traditionally used as a primary research strategy with urban youth because it provides a particularly effective way to understand one's experiences and how he or she identifies with each experience (Dimitriadis, 2008). Furthermore, Brenner (2006) states that interviews are appropriate when the researcher is a cultural outsider, like myself, who wants to understand the culturally situated meanings of participants in their own terms. I used open-ended rather than structured interviews "to understand informants on their own terms and how they make meaning of their own lives, experiences, and cognitive processes" (Brenner, 2006, p. 357). In following the constructivist approach to a grounded theory interview (Charmaz, 2003), I developed questions (see Appendix C) to give the interview a shape, but not a predetermined path. Furthermore, the constructivist approach to interviewing insists on allowing the participants to create their own meaning of their out-of-school literacies.

Each participant was interviewed 5 to 8 times to ensure a fuller picture of their experiences using an adaptation of Seideman's (1991) three-part phenomenological interview format, as used in other similar studies (Rubinstein-Ávila, 2004, 2006, 2007). The number of interviews with each participant varies because I was more concerned with the content of the interview rather than the actual time. With Valeria, for example, it took eight interviews to move
through the same content as with other participants due to her detailed stories. I have divided the interview content into three sets. For some participants I conducted multiple interviews in one or all of the sets. Below is the guiding theme for each set of interviews.

- **Interview Set 1: Context** – I established the context of the experiences each youth has with literacy outside of school by understanding their educational background and history with literacies.

- **Interview Set 2: Forms of Literacies** – I had the participant tell me about his or her current literacies. I focused on covering the breadth of these practices, rather than the depth.

- **Interview Set 3: Meaning of Literacies** – By the time I arrived at the third set of interviews, I understood the literacies in which the participants engaged, the historical and current context in which such practices were situated, and also had access to all of their Facebook pages. In these interviews I explored how, when, and why each literacy is used. I asked about the quantity of time each literacy is used, the location in which it takes place, the reasons for using it, and the meaning it carries for the participant. I devoted at least one of these interviews to the participants' Facebook pages and another interview to the questions I had after observing them in their workplaces.

Following Seidman's (1991) recommendation of pacing each participant's interviews three to seven days apart, most interviews are spaced out no more than a few days. This allowed the information gathered from each participant to inform the subsequent interviews while providing an opportunity to follow interesting leads. There are some exceptions to this practice due to schedule conflicts, particularly with conducting Celia and Miguel's workplace interview. Each interview lasted 30-35 minutes and took place during the students’ lunch break. I brought the student lunch from an outside restaurant and sat with him or her on a bench in the hallway,
away from any other people. The exceptions to this are three interviews that I had with Valeria in the library before school that also lasted approximately 30 minutes.

Each participant expressed a desire to speak to me in English because they have very few opportunities to practice English with American, native English-speaking people. They are, however, new to the country and are all classified by their ESL teaching using a state-wide protocol as "beginning" English Learners with the exception of Alejandra who was classified as "intermediate". Therefore, I began each interview by asking them which language they wanted me to use to ask the questions and they almost always responded that they wanted me to use English as much as possible. I adjusted my language to be appropriate for an English Learner, but we quickly changed to Spanish as I took their cues for language choice. Most of the interviews are primarily in Spanish with minimal use of English besides a few greetings. However, approximately 60% of Alejandra's interviews do occur in English and contain much code-switching by both myself and her.

Previous scholarship, as cited above in the definition of literacies, provided a framework for the interview questions, yet each individual had different experiences with literacy. Therefore, each interview followed a distinctive direction based on the participant's unique experiences. Table 3.5 denotes the information for each student's interviews.

I used an open-ended structure to explore the participants' out-of-school literate lives rather than probe for specific information. Each interview started with a "grand tour question" (Brenner, 2006, p. 358) that allowed for a broad description about each interview's focus. (See Appendix A.) In order to build each interview, I then used "minitour" questions that more deeply explored the topic under investigation while avoiding leading questions that could jeopardize the study's credibility (Rubin & Rubin, 1995).
Table 3.5

*Interview Information*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Valeria=8</th>
<th>Alejandra=5</th>
<th>Celia=5</th>
<th>Miguel=6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date and topic of interview</td>
<td>January 17: Set 1</td>
<td>January 13: Set 1</td>
<td>February 1: Set 1</td>
<td>January 13: Set 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>January 18: Set 1</td>
<td>January 18: Set 1</td>
<td>February 3: Set 1</td>
<td>January 20: Set 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>January 19: Set 1</td>
<td>January 20: Set 2</td>
<td>February 8: Set 2</td>
<td>January 25: Set 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>February 2: Set 3</td>
<td>February 15: Set 3/Facebook</td>
<td>February 29: Set 3/Work++</td>
<td>February 8: Set 3/Facebook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>February 3: Set 3/Work</td>
<td>March 5: Set 3/Work++</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>February 6: Set 3/Work+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>February 15: Set 3/Facebook</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+On February 6th I interviewed Valeria and Alejandra together to clarify questions I had about their job and from other interviews that involved both of them. ++Miguel and Celia’s work schedules changed on the original two dates I had arranged to observe them. The workplace interview needed to precede their workplace observation which created the delay.

Valeria and Miguel would usually begin with stories that answered my questions, whereas Alejandra and Celia gave shorter, close to the point answers. In other words, many of the "minitour" questions were not needed for Valeria and Miguel's interviews, but I relied heavily on them for the other participants' interviews.

Following Rubin and Rubin's (1995) guide for forming interview questions, the questions for each topical interview were based off of previous research with immigrant youth, out-of-school literacy in general, and the pilot study. Each participant did not necessarily receive the exact same "minitour" questions because I adjusted my questioning to allow for participants to speak to the specific subject they know best (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). For example, Celia spoke in depth about watching telenovelas in the U.S. with her mother much like she did in Mexico, but Alejandra and Valeria do not have that same experience. Questions also slightly differed as I began to know each participant better and developed questions that fit his or her life experiences.
(Charmaz, 2003) which I had learned about through informal observations and discussions, previous interviews, or my interactions with them on Facebook. Lastly, I purposefully constructed questions that overlapped in order to gain additional information and clarify answers (Charmaz, 2003) which I think was particularly needed in this situation where information was always exchanged in someone's L2: Spanish for myself and English for the participants.

Transcribing the interviews. Each interview was transcribed shortly after the actual interview using the computer software, NVivo 9, which allowed me to hear and visualize the volume level of every few seconds of the interview. This was valuable as I was able to note that Valeria and Alejandra consistently spoke much more softly when discussing their legal issues across four distinct interviews. The combination of the aural and visual cues aided to ensure the transcription tells a fuller picture of the actual interview. Understanding the non-neutral aspect of transcription (Dimitriadis, 2008) such as how the researcher addresses pauses, grammar, repetitions, and intensity, I attempted to represent the spirit of the interview by indicating pauses and intensity in the transcription. I also used mine and the participants' exact words, in English or Spanish, regardless of whether our strand of words was grammatically correct or even coherent.

Artifacts

The artifacts I collected were drawings, text messages, and text, images, and audio from the participants' Facebook pages. This data provided a fuller picture of the meaning and purpose behind salient literacies. I analyzed their Facebook pages which included their message wall, information page, photos, videos, and messages posted on other people's walls. Since this was
not a stagnant document, but one that is in constant change from the participants themselves as well as others, I analyzed the documents continuously over the data collection period. I included data from the time the students created their Facebook pages one to two years ago in the analysis as well. By copying and pasting the digital data into Word documents, I had nearly one hundred pages of digital data available to import to NVivo 9 for coding. During the data collection time period, I checked students’ Facebook activity at least twice a day and received email updates when they made any changes to their pages. Table 3.6 contains all of the artifacts I collected and Table 3.7 gives the number of Facebook posts included in my data analysis for each participant.

Table 3.6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artifacts Collected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drawings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three pictures from Miguel's journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text Messages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copies of a series of text messages from Alejandra's and Celia's cell phones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facebook pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All postings, conversations, photos, and videos on the participants' pages from the time they created them through April 8, 2012.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantity of Facebook Data Analyzed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valeria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alejandra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miguel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Posts include pictures, links, videos, chain messages, and personally written messages and comments.

Observations

Finally, I conducted observations of the participants in their ESL classes, at lunch, and in their workplaces. I was a participant observer regularly in the students' ESL class and lunch as I
constantly interacted with the students. During these times I was able to observe out-of-school literacies related to entertainment as students listened to music on their phones and watched music videos while in class.

Additionally, I conducted a more formal observation in each participant's workplace while he/she was working. I used a modification from Richardson's (1998) recommendations for taking field notes under four distinct categories: observations, methodological, theoretical, and personal notes. The observational notes included solely what I could observe, mainly see and hear, without drawing any conclusions. Although I already knew much about their workplaces from previous interviews, I attempted to leave the observation column void of any bias. The personal notes are where I recorded the assumptions I made based on my observations and prior knowledge. Much of the prior knowledge I had coming into these observations came from my previous interviews, informal interactions, and Facebook pages of the participants. The third column, methodological notes, contains questions I wanted to ask the participants about my observations in their next interview. Lastly, I included a column where I triangulated my observations to what I had learned prior to the observation through interviews and Facebook analysis. What I knew prior to coming into the observation guided my experience and created the lens through which I viewed the workplaces and their observable workplace literacies. Appendix C includes a sample of my observational notes at students' workplaces. I have used a pseudonym for the name of the establishment and disguised any other phrases about the building’s physical appearance that might reveal its exact name.

Analytic Approach

Using a grounded-theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1968), I used inductive coding "to
describe the categories that emerge[d] from the data during the analytical process” (Brenner, 2006, p. 360). As suggested by Charmaz (2003) for constructivist grounded theory interviewing and analysis, I first coded the data with a specific term that denoted the literacy or its purpose. This has allowed me to compare the data acquired from one participant with another. Examples from this step of coding are: writing a Facebook post in English, posting pictures, using codes in Spanish, being tagged in another photo.

Next, I concentrated on more abstract focused coding which allowed for the creation of categories that represent sets of like data. In the previous example, all of the codes from the first step were collapsed into the broader category of Facebook Literacies. I continually adjusted coding schemes, the limitations and definitions of each code to account for the full meaning of the data. To illustrate this point, after analyzing my data under the broader categories of Facebook and Workplace Literacies, I made subcategories under each broader theme to show how English acquisition took place within each of the two literacies.

After I coded each piece of data, I used my coding to inform subsequent data collection, particularly interview directions. For instance, as I realized Alejandra was attempting to use codes in English (i.e. "lol" and "omg") on her Facebook page, I asked her how she learned them, why she used them, and if she thought her Facebook friends understood the message. I also asked Celia if she understood the English code Alejandra regularly posted on her Facebook wall.

Using the constant-comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1968), I recursively compared each incident or artifact against others to indentify similarities and differences, determine its code, and redefine the properties of each individual code (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Because I used a grounded theory approach, I did not specify the codes I used prior to conducting the research; however, from previous research (Godina, 2004; Rubinstein-Ávila, 2007) I assumed
that codes might include the out-of-school literacies of language brokering, digital literacies, sharing music, political discourses, religious reading, and poetry/lyric writing. Some of the codes I identified are similar to earlier studies, but others, specifically under the broader theme of Workplace Literacies were not present in previous scholarship.

Also using NVivo 9, I wrote a descriptive memo about my thought process for each of the more abstract, focused codes. Referred to as "[fracturing] the data", Charmaz, (2003) explains that this is useful to "define the properties of each category; specify conditions under which each category develops, is maintained, and changes; and note the consequences of each category and its relationship with other categories" (p. 323). This allowed me to leave an audit trail for myself as well as another coder to understand the exact properties of each code and why data is coded a certain way. An example of this is seen in how I described the code Remittances.

Remittances: Demonstrates why the literacy practice of supporting oneself is important. The money all of the participants received from the United States while growing up which allowed them to attend básico, universificado, and bachillerato in their home countries. The items that Celia's and Miguel's father brought them from the U. S. such as their electronics and clothes. Includes the benefits they received from a family member's work and earnings in the U. S. The money that Valeria and Alejandra send to their mother and sister in El Salvador.

Credibility

In order to maintain credibility I adhered to three components suggested by Rubin and Rubin (1995): the consistency of the data, the transparency of the analysis, and the communicability of the findings. To verify the consistency of the participants' account of their literacies, I used as many data sources as I had available to me, including multiple artifacts and observations, to support the interview data. The data was checked for contradictory responses from participants and was clarified in subsequent interviews when apparent inconsistencies
arose. Most of the inconsistencies I encountered were due to language issues and were easily resolved. I also checked for coherency of coding terms used across cases by running queries with the NVivo software to review all data in a certain category.

I strived for transparency of the data as I kept detailed memos about the coding process in a notebook that I kept with me during all of my data collection and coding. I wrote notes to myself about the limitations and properties of each focused code regularly since those properties continually evolved during the data collection and analysis process. Finally, addressing Rubin and Rubin's (1995) third principal of communicability, I communicate the findings within their context, striving to remain true to the spirit of each participant's words.

Additionally, member checks (Brenner, 2006) were conducted at the end of my data collection with all participants for the coding of the data that pertains to them as well as their portraits. I met with all of the participants and allowed them to read their portraits, translating for them when necessary. I also shared the themes I developed about their literacies and the purposes of each practice. Lastly, I shared the recommendations I would make to incorporate their literacies into academic work in order to get their feedback. All participants agreed with my data analysis and confirmed that the information in their individual portraits was an accurate representation of themselves. As I shared suggestions I might recommend for educational policy and classroom practices, all of the participants urged me to make these changes soon, assuming I could immediately change their school experiences. During these meetings with the students I spoke primarily in Spanish, their native language, to ensure that they fully understood.

I also used peer debriefing (Brenner, 2006) by teaching my coding scheme to a colleague to establish inter-coder reliability with all of the data. She is a doctoral candidate who has worked with ELs, is fluent in both Spanish and English, and has a good understanding of
educational systems in Latin American countries. She also is familiar with the genre of Facebook and was able to understand the different literacies the students engaged in when they made changes to their individual pages. She read and viewed all of the data I had coded under each specific category. In a few instances she asked for clarification about why I had coded an interview except or Facebook post a certain way. After sharing with her my reasoning she agreed in all instances with my coding of the data. We discussed the boundaries and limitations of the data in that each set with the same code. By discussing the coding with her, I was able to see more clearly the specific characteristics of each individual code. Moreover, she gave me new insights from the data such as the evidence of "survival literacy" that two participants possessed by successfully crossing multiple borders with human smugglers.

How the Participants Viewed Me

Lastly, understanding there is an inevitable power hierarchy in the researcher and participant relationship that has existed historically in the study of urban youth (Dimitriadis, 2008) and is true for any relationship between the actors in an interview (Seidman, 1991). Therefore, I will share how I presume the participants viewed me, the researcher. This serves to situate the findings in socially, culturally, and politically accurate spaces so the results may be put in the appropriate context when read (Brenner, 2006).

At the beginning of the research period, I think that Valeria, Alejandra, Celia, and Miguel saw me as a teacher since my primary interactions with them were in the classroom. Their teacher referred to me as "Mrs. Stewart" as well, although they did not call me anything at that time. As I started meeting with the students individually I told them they could call me "Amanda", which is not a difficult name to say when speaking in Spanish. They mostly called
me Amanda throughout the study although on two occasions on Facebook Valeria addressed me as “Mrs. Amanda” and Miguel addressed me as “Ms. Amanda.” They generally used "Ud." when speaking to me, noting a respect given to elders in Spanish-speaking cultures.

Throughout the data collection process they became very comfortable around me, laughing, joking, and sharing personal information. Valeria regularly called, texted, and sent me Facebook messages to ask a question about homework or school. All of the participants could view my Facebook page where I had posted pictures of my family and they were able to meet my daughter on one occasion. To illustrate the close relationship I developed with each participant, Valeria and Alejandra invited me to accompany them to El Salvador to see their sister graduate in November because they know I understand what this means for their family.

**Reporting the Findings**

The data are reported in two phases; as individual portraits and as a collective description of all the participant's out-of-school literacies. In the first instance, each participant's individual out-of-school literacy description is told using the genre of portraiture. Then, I report the axial codes that cut across participants and data sources to document the phenomena across cases. The participants' out-of-school literacies, their motivation for engaging in such practices, and other saturated codes are discussed.

**Rationale for the Design**

Peter Swanborn (2010) states that case studies are helpful to investigate a particular instance of the phenomena, in this case, the out-of-school literacies of adolescent immigrants. He explains that "if the impetus for our research project lies in some broad, familiarizing
questions about a social process, doing a case study seems to be a fitting approach” (p. 25). Using a qualitative lens in this case study allowed me to more fully understand the depth, breadth, and nuances of each individual's literacies. By coding all data across cases, I could better understand the literacies studied through their parallels and variations across the experiences of multiple people. Although there were certainly connections, I tell each unique case's, or participant's, narrative through portraiture to more fully capture the spirit and humanity of each participant's literate life while still maintaining academic rigor.

Constraints of the Study

This small-scale qualitative study is only using a sample of newcomer Latina/o adolescents and the findings cannot be highly generalized to all immigrant youth. Furthermore, I recognize that the recommendations I make for instructional practices are made from a researcher's and not an actual teacher's perspective who is currently making such interventions in the classroom. I completely agree with Jabari Mahiri (2004a) that when "researchers act as implementers of their own designs, they gain better understandings of the complexities and possibilities inherent in effective teaching” (p. 470). In his critique, the current study could be labeled as "talking the talk" rather than "walking the walk” (p. 467). There are indeed many benefits from researchers negotiating the complexities of implementing their own instructional applications as demonstrated by the work of Mahiri (2004) and Lee (2001). However, this current study is constrained by the researcher's general hypotheses of how educators might better educate immigrant youth which are based on the study's findings and previous scholarship.
Giving Back

Recognizing that the history of the social sciences contains "the powerful studying the less powerful for other powerful people" (Dimitriadis, 2008, p. 5), I was purposeful to use the political power that is inherently mine to benefit the participants. This is what Dimitriadis (2008) refers to as "working the hyphens" (p. 66) as the researcher enters an activist-oriented role. Although the dissemination of the research findings might affect the participants indirectly, I wanted to give them a more direct benefit from participating in the present study. For that reason, reciprocity (Seidman, 1991) took place as I helped the students with their homework, volunteered in their ESL classes, and practiced English with them. During each interview I brought the students food from an outside restaurant and gave each one a T-shirt from the university I attend.

Summary

In this qualitative case study of the out-of-school literacies of four newcomer Latina/o adolescents, I collected data over a three-month period consisting of interviews, artifacts, and observations. I interviewed the participants five to eight times, observed them at work, gained access to their Facebook pages, and collected other supplementary artifacts. The data were analyzed across individual cases for overall themes in the form of participants' literacies, the purposes of each practice, and reasons these practices have meaning. Each person's narrative of his or her literate life outside of school is also told through the use of portraiture.
CHAPTER 4
FINDINGS

In this chapter I present the forms that students' out-of-school literacies take, the places in which they occur, and the meanings they have for the participants. This answers the research questions:

1). What are the out-of-school literacies of four newcomer Latina/o adolescents?
2). What meanings do these literacies have for the individuals?
3). How do these literacies demonstrate the adolescents' linguistic, cultural, and social resources?

In general, the findings demonstrate that:

- Each participant began using Facebook upon arrival to the U.S.
- Each participant has a job outside of school.
- Each participant engages in some form of entertainment media: listening to music and watching music videos and/or telenovelas on TV.
- The literacies that the participants engage in the most outside of school are related to Facebook, their workplaces, and entertainment.
- Each of these is a social space where the participants engage in the literacies with others, either physically or digitally.
- These broad categories of literacies are interconnected by the specific purposes they serve for the individuals which are:
  - Connecting to their home countries
  - Maintaining their Latina/o identities
  - Acquiring English
  - Supporting themselves
  - Establishing a place to succeed
- The following themes demonstrate the importance each literacy has for the participants:
• What they left behind
• To be someone
• Remittances
• More opportunities in the U.S.

Figure 4.1 gives an overview of the themes that are discussed in this chapter. Table 4.1 shows basic information about the participants.

The ovals denote the three main literacies in which the participants engage: Facebook, workplace, and entertainment literacies.

The rectangles designate the purposes that each literacy uniquely fills: connect to home, maintain their latina/o identity, English acquisition, support themselves, and a place to succeed.

The shaded diamonds represent themes from the data that demonstrate why each literacy is important to the students: what they left behind, to be someone, remittances, and more opportunities in the U.S.

Figure 4.1. Relationships of themes.
Valeria Consuelos: A 19-Year-Old Salvadoreña: "Estoy Esforzándome"

The verb *esforzar* in Spanish implies striving for a goal, putting forth great effort, showing strength, courage, spirit and heart. Valeria is truly doing these things to achieve success in her new country. Of all of the participants, I developed the closest relationship with her, regularly receiving her calls, texts, and Facebook messages. For example, Valeria was confused about whether or not she needed to attend school on President's Day when she learned it was a holiday from a coworker Sunday night. She immediately called me, her "go-to" for all things American, to confirm that she did have school the next day. She is warm, friendly, and polite, always thanking me profusely for interviewing her or bringing her lunch. She always replied to my Facebook messages reminding her about our lunch meetings. One such message is: "Hay gracia muy linda muy amable" [Oh thank you very sweet very nice]. Every time I saw her and entered into her life, she made me feel extremely welcome.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Time in U.S. as of January 2012</th>
<th>Current Grade</th>
<th>Level of Education Completed in Country of Origin</th>
<th>Place of Employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valeria</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>20 months</td>
<td>Sophomore</td>
<td>In first year of bachillerato = 10th grade</td>
<td>Sandwich Shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alejandra</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>20 months</td>
<td>Junior</td>
<td>In second year of bachillerato = 11th grade</td>
<td>Sandwich Shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celia</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>18 months</td>
<td>Junior</td>
<td>Finished secundaria = 10th grade</td>
<td>El Taco Loco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miguel</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>9 months</td>
<td>Junior</td>
<td>In third year of universificado = 12th grade</td>
<td>Gutiérrez Tires</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The ESL teacher first suggested Valeria for my study because "she really needed help." As I helped her in class for the first time, I immediately realized what the teacher had meant. Valeria had almost no understanding of the graphic novel for ELs she had chosen to read and struggled to answer any of the questions. Although I tried to help her in both English and Spanish, it did not seem that we were getting anywhere. I considered not even using her for my study, fearful that we would never be able to successfully communicate in any language since she seemed in a state of confusion and disorientation when I spoke to her in the classroom. Fortunately, though, she was eager to meet with me, returning the permission form before anyone else. During our interviews I encountered a completely different person than the one in the classroom. She spoke to me in Spanish with ease and confidence, telling stories to elaborate a point and giving more details about her life than any other participant, resulting in more interviews than I had with the others. Moreover, she truly became my inspiration to finish my study as I saw her hard work, determination, and strong spirit in the face of overwhelming obstacles.

*Life in El Salvador*

The fourth of six sisters, Valeria grew up in a rural area surrounded by family. Even though her father abandoned her family when she was two, others have filled that gap in her life. "La verdad, no conozco el amor del padre. Sólo, con el amor del padre, me dio mi abuelo y un tío que a los dos le digo papá” [The truth is I don't know a father's love. It's just that, about a father's love, my grandfather and an uncle are the two that I call dad]. The specific uncle she speaks of lives in Missouri and sent money back to her mother during most of her life. She was able to know him because like many other family members living in the U.S., he made a few
visits back to El Salvador during her childhood. Her oldest sister came to live in the U.S. when Valeria was seven-years-old and the next two followed suit shortly, all marrying and making their lives in the same area where the study takes place. When someone from her extended family returned to El Salvador for a visit, she would send handwritten letters to her sisters in the U.S.

In El Salvador public education is from Kindergarten through grade nine which is called *primaria*. After that, one pays to attend Grades 10-12, referred to as *bachillerato* and upon graduation from *bachillerato* may continue at the university if desired. Her mother, who did not finish *primaria*, supported her family by making masa, tortilla dough, as well as a variety of dairy products made from her small herd of dairy cows. Valeria describes her grades as *bajas* [low] in El Salvador and states that she really never read much: "Una porque me hacía difícil, la otra porque no me gustaba" [One because it was difficult for me and the other because I didn't like it]. She got further behind in school when she missed over a year due to serious medical issues that she has overcome. She was exposed to English taught through very traditional means throughout school, but she did not enjoy nor learn very much through those classes: "A veces la maestra ponía inglés y nosotros traducíamos. Se hace muy difícil" [Sometimes the teacher put English on the board and we had to translate it. It was very difficult]. As she talked to me about her schooling experiences in El Salvador, the same defeated look I had seen on her face in the classroom when I first met her began to return.

However, her face lit up as she described her involvement in sports. Most of the traditional school activities did not fit her personality because, as she told me, "me gusta mucho las cosa atrativa" [I really like active things]. She thrived in athletic events, playing baseball and soccer with her classmates through childhood and adolescence. In baseball she played pitcher
and catcher, usually without a glove, mask, or other protective equipment. In soccer she told me that they always wanted her to play goalie because "no lo dejaba pasar la pelota" [I didn't let the ball get by]. She also thrived in her role as the primary caretaker for her mother's herd of ten cows.

Bueno, todo el tiempo yo me encargaba de las vacas. Casi todas eran mías porque tenía suerte con las vacas.

[Well, I was always in charge of the cows. Most of them were mine because I had luck with the cows.]

Valeria finished primaria (ninth grade) and began bachillerato with the help of the remittances regularly sent by her older sisters and uncle residing in the U.S. Although she wanted to study to become a customs officer, the school for that track was too far away and her mother said she had to choose another area of study. She went to live with an aunt who needed physical help and studied for her bachillerato there in the area of bookkeeping. Her life in rural El Salvador was very different from her life here as she had time to be outdoors playing sports with her friends and taking care of her mother's cows.

Journey to the U.S.

During her first year of bachillerato (10th grade) at the age of 17, she left to come to the U.S. In May 2010, she left El Salvador with her younger sister, Alejandra, and a coyote, one who smuggles people into other countries, to come to the U.S. and live with her older sisters. During this journey she traveled on foot, bus, in the back of a trailer, and by motorcycle, through El Salvador, Guatemala, and Mexico, arriving in the U.S. 12 days after departing her homeland for the first time. She and her sister were detained on the U.S. side of the border by immigration officials who sent them to a detention center for unaccompanied minors. Valeria's time in the
center was actually a wonderful experience as she explains that she and the others there were like a family. She had English, math, and even cooking classes. She and Alejandra stayed there for one month and 13 days until their sister could complete the process of adopting them. She describes her reaction when she had to leave: "Entonces, me iba a salir de allí y tenía muchas amistades de allí y me hicieron llorar" [Then, I was going to leave there and I had many friendships from there and I began to cry].

*Her New Life*

Shortly after coming to live with one of the older sisters, Valeria began her first job working in the kitchen at low-end fast food chain, Burgers N Fries. She says she worked with people from Mexico who were loyal to each other and never fully accepted her. At one point a man came in who owned some local Sandwich Shops and saw how efficiently she did her job. He approached her about coming to work for him because he said he liked the way she worked. The two locations he owned were in different cities and the sister she was living with was not willing to drive her that distance, so she continued at Burgers N Fries for a total of one and a half years. However, her sister, Alejandra, who was living with a different older sister, was able to take advantage of Valeria’s offer. Much to her delight, Valeria has recently started working for this man in the Sandwich Shop because he has opened up a new location in the city she lives. She explains:

Me dijo que iba a abrir una tienda aquí en [Owenton]. Entonces él tenía la esperanza que me iba a pasar con él a trabajar. Entonces él contaba conmigo y Alejandra.

[He told me that he was going to open a store here in Owenton. So he hoped that I would go work with him. So he counted on me and Alejandra.]
She thrives in her work environment, getting a raise to eight dollars an hour, much more than most of the other workers. She works in the kitchen where she has become adept at reading the tickets in English to quickly make the specified sandwich. My observations of her attest to the fact that she works hard, never resting or slacking off. She says, “Yo trato esforzarme, hacer las cosas bien rápido” [I try to work hard, do things really quickly]. Work has given her a place to succeed and even practice her English with the primarily English-speaking staff. She currently works 35-40 hours a week in order to cover her many expenses: “Tengo gastos. El pago de la renta, una parte de gas, y para ayudarle a mi mamá, y tengo también el pago de los papeles de mi abogada” [I have expenses. The rent payment, a part of the gas, to help my mom, and I also have to pay my lawyer]. She has lived with two different sisters in Owenton but is not welcomed by either, so she now lives with a friend. Even while living with her sister who has officially adopted her, she has always had to cover her expenses including fees for a lawyer who is working for her to get her green card. One condition upon her sister legally adopting her was that she must be financially supported because she is not allowed by law to work. However, that is not the case and she and Alejandra must work under different names until they receive their green cards. They regularly collect their remaining earnings to send to El Salvador to pay for their youngest sister to attend bachillerato and to help their mother with her needs.

Valeria began her Facebook page when moving to Owenton with her sister. In less than 18 months she has accrued 241 friends, mostly from El Salvador. Although at school and work she is quiet and introverted, her social networking activity is dynamic. She regularly posts how she feels, shares pictures taken at school or work, and leaves messages on others' pages. Because she has internet access on her iPod, she is able to access her account regularly in school and at home. It is a space that allows her to continue her relationship with her younger sister. She says
that due to her busy schedule it is very difficult to talk to her sister on the phone so they use Facebook.

Bueno, ahora en la mañana, tuve un test de química. Yo lo terminé rápido y de allí no hicimos nada y me metí [en Facebook] para ver si estaba mi hermana.

[Well, this morning I had a chemistry rest. I finished it quickly and we weren't doing anything so I got on [Facebook] to see if my sister was there.]

Valeria's Facebook information page is full of Latin American artists who sing bachata and reggaeton. She usually has her ear plugs in, listening to music from her phone, when she is working in class or walking through the halls at school. She says "todo el día pasa con música" [I have my music all day].

Although Facebook and her music have given Valeria a way to keep something from home, her life in the U.S. is completely different from the quiet, rural life to which she was accustomed. Many days she obviously appears tired from her long work weeks, school days, extremely difficult homework, and the many household chores she must perform. On a typical week she works after school Monday through Thursday until 10:30 p.m., cleans the house after school on Friday, attends church all day Saturday, and works all day on Sunday. She must do all of this while receiving homework assignments she barely understands, including her Spanish homework. She has traded in her beloved family, rural life, and regular sports activities to have the responsibilities of an adult. As she describes her life in El Salvador with much fondness I am struck by why she would want to exchange that life for the one she has now. When I ask, she becomes pensive: "Yeah….Pero, um, vale la pena porque hecho así valoro que yo estoy esforzando y lo que yo estoy haciendo" [Yeah….But, um, it's worth it because I appreciate that I am working hard and what I am doing]. She knows that her mother is proud of her too.

Ahórita me dice que se siente orgullosa porque estoy estudiando, estoy trabajando, pagando mis gastos, todo. Y si ella necesita algo, yo le ayudo.
[Now she tells me that she is proud of me because I am studying, I am working, paying for my expenses, everything. And if she needs something, I help her.]

Her plans are to keep working hard, remain in the U.S. and finish school. "Y aquí he decido graduarme, estudiar, prepararme" [And here I have decided to graduate, study and prepare myself for the future]. After graduating high school she wants to attend college to become a detective. However, since she is already 19, only in the 10th grade, and speaks little English, graduating is a lofty goal, considering she must get all of her credits and pass the state mandated tests before she turns 21. I asked her about this and she said "Entonces me han dicho que tengo que aprender más rápido el inglés para poderme graduar junto con Alejandra" [Then they told me I have to learn English faster to graduate with Alejandra (who is in the 11th grade)]. I do not know exactly how that will happen since she has also been told there are no summer school classes for her since her teachers are giving her passing grades. Nevertheless, she takes one day at a time, working hard to support herself and her family in El Salvador, and taking smalls steps each day to create a better future for herself and her family.

Alejandra Consuelos: A 17-Year-Old Salvadoreña: "What's up?? omg!!!!! lol!!!!"

Alejandra’s Facebook page is filled with youth expressions she has learned in English, many pictures of her confidently posing for the camera, and tributes to her beloved El Salvador. Her exuberant personality hides her struggles as she appears very confident in person as well, whether speaking in English or Spanish. Alejandra is Valeria's younger sister by about two years, yet is the obvious leader of the two. She often speaks on her sister's behalf in both languages and helps others in her ESL classes. Of all of the participants, she spoke to me the most in English and is trying on her new English-speaking identity in her social networking space. I interviewed her primarily in English, using Spanish for clarification purposes.
School in El Salvador

Alejandra's family situation is the same as Valeria's (their sister in El Salvador is Alejandra's twin), but her memories of school are quite different. She excelled in school, preferring science and math classes. She has always been determined to succeed, even attending an optional summer school in El Salvador to further her learning although she says hardly anyone one else wanted to take advantage of that opportunity. Teachers in El Salvador recognized her academic abilities and desire to succeed. She says of her favorite teacher: "He explain me a lot during the summer I go to school summer. And he explain me and he say you will go to high school so you need to do this also. He explain me everything so I understand better." She also performed bi-yearly in her school's baile folklórico, traditional dance, presentations through bachillerato, enjoying getting dressed up and performing for others.

More Opportunities "Aquí"

Alejandra came to the U.S. four days before her 16th birthday. She tells me the trip cost her five thousand dollars, money that she is still paying back. I asked why she came while her twin sister stayed back in El Salvador with her mother, and she explained that someoneneeded to stay and take care of her mother, but she thinks they will join her in a few years. She was only a year and a half away from graduating high school in El Salvador with a focus on bookkeeping, but chose to come here when given the opportunity "cause here is better, more jobs." She explains that although one gets a good education in her country, there are still very limited opportunities. When I asked if the situation was changing in El Salvador, she responded "para peor" [for the worse].
Desire to Learn English

Despite living in the U.S. for only 18 months, she is already translating for one older sister who has lived here for years: "When I go to the shopping or something. Sometime I translate my sister because I understand more than she." She explains that she learns by reading children's books in English from the library and reading her English/Spanish Bible regularly. Her outgoing personality has also allowed her to experience optimal growth for acquiring English at work. "My friends of my job, they help me. I say ask me whatever you want, I want to learn English. Sometime learning, say no, you say bad so is like he tell me how I can say better." On her Facebook wall she posts many messages and codes in English regularly, especially "omg" (oh my god) and "lol" (laughing out loud.) Through Facebook she also tries out phrases she has learned such as "What's up" and "i love you" because she wants to use every opportunity to practice her English. Celia, another participant in the study, has even asked Alejandra to text her in English so she can learn: "Well, I just, escribo a Celia porque siempre dice, 'escribeme en inglés. Siempre, siempre'" [Well, I just write Celia because she always tells me “write me in English. Always, always”]. For this group of ELs, Alejandra is recognized as the one with the greatest English skills and all four participants regularly ask her for help in class.

Advancement at Work

Like Valeria, Alejandra began working at Burgers N Fries, her first job, shortly after being released from the detention center. The first day she had to cook the hamburger patties and she hated it because of the fast pace. She kept up with it, though, and eventually became very proficient.
Yeah and I say like, my first day in [Burgers N Fries] is so bad because I'm so slow. And I only work like slow and I say what? And everybody fast. Is like corriendo. (running) And I say what happened? But before two months, I so fast. And they say wow! I think you slow! So fast!

Because she was living with a different sister who was willing to drive her farther for work, she was able to take advantage of the offer Valeria received to work at the Sandwich Shop at two different locations, Mainville and Smithville. For a few months Alejandra worked at both Sandwich Shop locations and also kept her job at the Burgers N Fries, all while attending school and bi-weekly church services lasting many hours. She realized that although she needed the money, she could not keep up that schedule so she quit Burgers N Fries and focused her 35-hour work week at the two Sandwich Shop locations. Working there with mainly English-speaking people has allowed her many opportunities to practice her English, learn new phrases, and gain confidence interacting in English. She explains that at Burger N Fries she only spoke Spanish because everybody that worked there was from Mexico, but working at the Sandwich Shop allows her the opportunity to speak English regularly with co-workers and customers. When the new Sandwich Shop opened in Owenton where she and Valeria currently work, she became in charge of training new employees. Because there is no one else in this location who knows everything about both the kitchen and the front, she has become indispensable to the manager. She explains: "Only me, I know everything. Only I, I know everything." Her manager would even like for her to consider becoming assistant manager, but she questions whether her English is truly good enough to regularly work in the front with English-speaking customers. She currently is in charge of the kitchen and wears a headset to hear the drive thru orders and make them quickly.

Her 79 Facebook friends are mainly from El Salvador but also include American co-workers. By looking at her page with many pictures, references, and icons from El Salvador
(See Figure 4.2.), it is obvious she is proud of her heritage, yet is also trying on a new American identity in using English codes and phrases. She is a proud Salvadoreña who is determined to take the U.S. by storm to achieve goals that she believes would not have been possible in her own country.

![Image of a Salvadorean flag and icon]

Figure 4.2. Example of Alejandra's El Salvador icon photos on Facebook.

Celia Flores: A 17-Year-Old Mexicana: OMG "Hola mi amiga? No??"

Celia wants Facebook messages and texts in English, but cannot fully interpret the codes Alejandra sends her, leading to comical conversations. Celia told me she thought Alejandra's post to her wall, "omg" meant "hola, mi amiga," because she could not think of anything else. When I ask her how old she is she makes it a point to tell me she is "casi dieciocho," almost eighteen, not to be confused with the much younger seventeen. She has a blonde streak through her dark brown hair and often dresses stylishly and youthfully. Even before getting to know me she was quick to come and sit by me in her ESL class to ask me to translate something from her book or help her answer a question. Her English is improving, yet she does not have much confidence to use what she knows orally or in writing. The only participant who lives with her nuclear family intact in the U.S., she reaps the benefits of that support system while trying to forge her way in this new land. Because Celia really wanted to practice her English with me, I
asked her questions primarily in English during our interviews, yet she usually responded in Spanish. I would also switch to Spanish when she did not understand the question in English, but she generally understood.

*Life in Mexico*

Celia lived her entire life surrounded by family in her hometown in Mexico, financially supported by her father who lived in the U.S. her entire life, coming only a few times a year to visit and bring gifts. She is number four of six siblings and had just graduated from *secundaria* (9th grade) when she came to the U.S. 18 months ago. In Mexico *primaria* takes place from Kindergarten to 6th grade followed by three years of *secundaria*. Public education ceases after that as students must pay to attend the *preparatoria* which is equivalent to Grades 10-12. Although she had English classes in Mexico, she never thought she would join her father in the U.S. so she was very uninterested, a fact she now regrets. In Mexico, Celia's favorite class was physical education because she competed in track and soccer. From the time she was 6 years old through the *secundaria* she played on her school's soccer team, practicing almost every day and even traveling to compete in tournaments. She also competed in track, winning many medals she is very proud of: "Yo tengo medallas. Sí. Muchas!...Ora era uno, plata dos, y bronce tres" [I have medals! Yes. Many! There was one gold, two silver and three bronze]. Sadly, all of her sports trophies and medals were left in her house in Mexico where she states she had to leave all of her "recuerdos/memories."

Her mother was able to finish *secundaria*, but her father left school in the fourth grade to work. He currently works in construction and had always wanted to bring his family with him to the U.S., but was just able to recently. Celia is acutely aware that her family moved here for her
and her two younger sisters to go to school. During her childhood she reaped the benefits of her father's U.S. jobs: “Mi papá la [computadora] nos llevó. Era de aquí. La computadora, y como cosas como dvds, televisión...o ropa, también como zapatos” [My father brought it [the computer] to us. It was from here. The computer and like things like dvds, television...or clothes, also like shoes].

*Staying Tied to Mexico*

Although she is from a Mexican state far from the border, Celia is able to constantly text her friends in Mexico since she has unlimited texting on her cell phone for both countries. She also started a Facebook page when she arrived in the U.S., but explains that it is easier to stay in touch with her friends through texting because they only have internet access in cafes, whereas they always have their phones with them. In Mexico, Celia loved watching telenovelas with her family and continues to do that here on days she does not work. Her friends in Mexico are usually watching the same novelas, just a month ahead which allows her to text them to find out what is going to happen before the show airs in the U.S. Being able to continue this activity with her family and friends helps ease the transition to a new life. She says while getting lost in the hour-long drama of the novelas that "a veces pienso que estoy en México” [sometimes I think that I am in Mexico]. She also keeps all her Spanish music on her phone where she can listen to it regularly. She gets free music from Alejandra and watches YouTube music videos of Latin American artists on the computers at school during free time. She says of her music: "Allá los escuchaba y luego aquí pues pienso que estoy en México” [I listened to it over there and then later here I think that I am in Mexico].

Since she moved to Owenton 18 months ago, she has been able to return to Mexico three
different times during summer and winter breaks to visit family and friends. She realizes this is a
privilege and that many people she knows here do not have the legal papers that allow them to
return home so easily. Her family still has their same house in Mexico with all of their
belongings and she keeps her room with her novela star posters and sports memorabilia just like
it was before. She is very close to her Mexican heritage stating:

Yo soy mexicana….porque como nací en México, y viví toda mi vida en México sin
conocer aquí nada. Ya me vine cuando ya estaba grande. Bueno, 15 años. Ya conocí
todo como es México y nunca voy a olvidar como es.

[I am Mexican….because like I was born in Mexico and I lived all of my life in Mexico
without coming here or anything. I came when I was already big. Well, 15-years-old. I
already knew everything about Mexico and I will never forget how it is.]

Work

Celia waited for seven months before getting a job in Owenton which her father actually
discouraged. She did not need the money to support herself or her family, but wanted to be able
to buy things for herself. Her cousin worked at El Taco Loco, a fast food chain, and got Celia
her first job. She started only making food designated by the screen, but now understands
enough English that she listens to customers' orders in the drive thru with a head set so she can
fill them more quickly. Although she initially found it difficult to understand the orders, she now
has no problem understanding customers in English. She works 25 hours a week, quite a lot for
someone who does not have to support herself, but she explains: "Porque pues así cuando trabajo
más horas, gano más dinero, y pues guardo más" [Because this way, when I work more hours, I
make more money, and then I save more]. She proudly takes out her credit card from El Taco
Loco to show me where her earnings are automatically deposited. She tells me that all of her
money is on that card, but she would like to open up a savings account soon so she can buy a car
Desire to Use English

Celia recognizes that she has very few authentic opportunities to practice English which is one reason why she was so excited to talk to me. She speaks Spanish at home with her family, at school with her friends, and at work in El Taco Loco. She did mention two americanas at work that she can sometimes speak to in English when they work together and is friends with one of them on Facebook. However, other than those sparse opportunities, she rarely gets to practice. She recognizes that Alejandra knows a lot of English and asks her to text her and post Facebook messages to her in English.

One day she told me about a girl she and Alejandra met in their U.S. history class who they could speak to in English. She and Alejandra were practicing words this girl had taught them and wanted to clarify their meaning with me: eye, eyebrow, eyelash, earring, ring, mole, freckle. They were both excited to have learned from this americana and to have taught her some words in Spanish. The next day, while eating lunch with me, Celia began staring at something off in the distance. She said, "Es ella. Es ella. Ella que nos dice" [It's her. It's her. It's her that tells us things]. As this girl walked by with her class returning from a field trip, Celia shyly waved, eagerly waiting to be recognized. Time stood still as I saw the desire in Celia's face to be acknowledged and accepted by a true americana at her school. After many seconds passed, the girl finally gave a brief and unenthusiastic wave, then continued on her way as Celia looked relieved to have just been acknowledged, yet longing for so much more. In that moment I saw the yearning Celia has to make American friends, speak English, and fully feel accepted in her new country.
The person she admires most is a cousin who emigrated at fifteen, the same age as Celia when she came, has learned English and graduated from college. "Un primo. Hace él vino como yo. Y también, él, como, él aprendió inglés, después fue a la escuela, después eso, un arquitecto" [A cousin. Since he came like me. He also learned English, and after that went to school and after that, an architect]. She wants to be like him and learn English well, graduate from high school, receive a college degree, and become a successful professional. The first step to achieving her goals is learning English.

Celia started her Facebook page when she came to the U.S., but has hardly written anything on her wall besides a bilingual greeting: "HAPPY VALENTINE DAY !, FELIZ DIA DEL AMOR Y DE LA AMISTAD" and a response to a question in Spanish about her trip to Mexico. She replied "Hoo was beautiful in mexico." When I asked her why she did not hardly post anything on her wall despite the fact that her friends do, she responded: "Es que quiero escribir en inglés pero no puedo" [It's because I want to write in English but I can't]. Celia understands most of what she hears in English, but does not consider herself able to produce it because she knows it is not perfect. She knows that she needs authentic opportunities to use English and is desperate to do so as she views it as the first step in achieving her ultimate dream of becoming a pediatrician in the U.S. With her family's support, positive outlook on life, and strong mexicana identity, she believes she will achieve all of her goals. One of her accomplishments she was proud of at the end of the data collection period was finally posting "omg" on her Facebook page in the post "omg i have test tomorrow." When I saw her and told her I had noticed, she beamed with pride.
Miguel Zapata: A 20-Year-Old Guatemalteco: "Me Dicen Pollo Loco"

Miguel's nickname from his classmates in Guatemala, the crazy chicken, is quite fitting. You cannot be around him for very long without smiling. This joyful young man, who looks much younger than 20 with his thin frame and boyish face, is always smiling, happy to see you, and ready to make you laugh. From the moment I began to volunteer in Miguel's ESL class, he became my shadow. When I first arrived in his class and others were too shy to ask for my help, Miguel came right over to get me to translate something for him. He always had a question for me about the book he was reading or wanted me to help him with his homework. I would often go and sit by Valeria, but Miguel would always move from his table of boys to join us. He has been in the U.S. for only nine months, a year less than anyone else in his ESL classes, yet he is determined to succeed. He expressed his desire for me to interview him in English, but he always slipped right into Spanish and I followed suit because he rarely understood my questions in English. As an emergent bilingual person, he is doing well in all of his classes and is well liked by all who know him, students and teachers.

Life in Guatemala

An obvious point of sorrow in Miguel's life is his mother who abandoned him, his two younger siblings, and his father when he was only five. At that point his father left Guatemala to work in the U.S. while sending Miguel and his siblings to live with an aunt and two cousins. He shared drawings he had in his notebook featuring a broken heart and a rose which he explained were both for his mother: "No sé de mi mamá" [I don't know anything about my mom]” (see Figure 4.3). For the next 14 years, his father worked in the U.S. and sent money back to support all six of them since his aunt did not work. During the rest of Miguel's life in Guatemala, his
father returned only one time when he was 12-years-old.

In Guatemala one enters public school at kindergarten and continues to Grade 6. After that is básico (Grades 7-9) which lasts for three years, followed by three more years of universificado (Grades 10-12). Básico and universificado cost money and Miguel said he had to pay the equivalent of $300 a month in order to attend. During school he particularly enjoyed Guatemalan history and Spanish. In básico, he wrote love letters to a girlfriend and composed riddles with his friends. He recounted one of these riddles: "¿Cuál es el colmo de hombre electrista? Que su esposa se llama Luz, y que sus hijos le decían la corriente" [What is the saying of an electrician? That he calls his wife, Light and his children, the current].
After he finished básico, he went on to study electronics in the universificado where he had an unpaid internship at a store that fixed small appliances. He chose to study electronics "porque para electrónica tiene que tener paciencia. Estar graficando y si no se sale bien el proyecto que estás haciendo, tú tiene que repetir otra vez" [because for electronics, you have to have patience. If you're graphing and something doesn't turn out right in the project you're doing, you have to repeat it again]. His plan was to finish universificado and continue studying at the university to become an electrical engineer before his father arranged for him to come live in Owenton. "My father dice que había más oportunidades aquí. En mi país hay más pobreza. Está como…no sale de donde está. Como una persona se gradúa, a veces trabaja de que no se gradúa porque no hay oportunidades" [My father says that there are more opportunities here. In my country there is more poverty. It's like…you can't improve yourself. Like a person graduates but sometimes works in a job like he didn't graduate because there aren't opportunities].

A New Family, A New Life

Miguel states that joining his father in the U.S. was "como un deseo o no sé…un…algo que, yo voy a ir allá con mi papá" [like a dream or I don't know, a….like, I will go over there with my father]. Unlike the other participants, Miguel came to this country alone. He joined a father he barely knew and a new stepmother, a half brother and a half sister. Despite barely knowing his father and stepmother he cites them as the people he admires the most due to their work ethic: his father because he started at the bottom of the labor market as an undocumented immigrant, but worked his way up; his stepmother because she worked hard to raise children at a very young age. Although he clearly misses all of his family and friends in Guatemala, he is still enamored with all of the excitement he has come to know here: amusement parks, water parks,
3D movies, Sea World, large malls. In the short time he has lived here, he has had many new experiences with his new half brother and sister that he likes to talk about.

He uses Facebook to maintain contact with his friends, brothers, and cousins in Guatemala. His 83 friends that he has acquired since starting his Facebook page nine months ago are mainly people in Guatemala who send him friendly messages and pictures of themselves. Miguel proudly displays pictures of himself with his new family on his information page.

Sometimes he watches the *telenovelas* his stepmother has on TV, but also watches *Sponge Bob* and *Dora* in English with his brother and sister. His new family is very involved in a church which they attend weekly. Although he did not consider himself that religious previously, he now enjoys attending each week and claims that it has made a big difference in his life, helping him to remain positive at all times. Shortly after Miguel's first semester in school, his father arranged for him to work on Saturdays at a tire shop owned by a man from El Salvador. Miguel has this job to learn a skill, but it also gives him an occasional opportunity to practice English. Sometimes he asks English-speaking customers: "'Where?' 'En dónde?' 'What is that?' 'Cuál es eso?' O 'What do you need?' O a veces me piden números como en llantas hay números" [or sometimes they ask me numbers like on tires there are numbers].

*Making Plans*

Although Miguel's original plans of studying to become an electrical engineer in Guatemala have changed, he still has definite plans for his life. He has thought things through and understands the steps he needs to take in order to achieve his goals, realizing that learning English is extremely important. As soon as Miguel arrived in the U.S., he took advantage of summer adult ESL classes offered by the school district since he was eligible until he officially
enrolled in August. He started the school year as a junior and will have one more year in order to get the credits he needs and pass the state mandated tests to graduate before he is 21 and too old to be in school. He is worried about the tests coming in the spring and says his parents expect him to pass the first time. Although his ESL teacher realizes he is still in the beginning stages of English acquisition, she thinks the academic skills he has from Guatemala might help him pass eventually. Miguel has given himself a small timeframe to learn English and does extra work such as reading children's stories in English "para [to] learn."

He also realizes that he needs a financial plan in order to achieve his goal of becoming a defense attorney in the U.S. He said he saves his $30 that he makes each week from working Saturdays at the tire shop "porque va a ...universidad, pienso que es caro para pagar para la Universidad" [because going to college, I think that it's expensive to pay for college]. He has told me on other occasions that he is saving that money in his piggy bank to visit Guatemala this summer and to buy a cell phone. He hopes that once he has accomplished this skill, he can make more money with another mechanic. Additionally, he plans to get a medical assistant degree immediately after high school to support his future studies. The pollo loco is positive, determined, hard working, and goal-oriented. He envisions a bright future for himself in his new country and plans to enjoy himself on the way there.

The four portraits provide a context through which to view the subsequent findings. They demonstrate the historical, cultural, social, and linguistic spaces that each literacy practice inhabits.

Themes

Research Question 1 states: What are the out-of-school literacies of four newcomer Latina/o adolescents? The literacies that the participants engage in the most outside of school
are related to Facebook, their workplaces, and entertainment. Each of these is a social space where the participants engage in the literacies with others, either physically or digitally.

Moreover, these broad categories of literacies are interconnected by the purposes they have for the individuals. The purposes specifically address Research Question 2: What meanings do these literacies have for the individuals? The purposes that the participants have for their specific literacies are 1) connecting to their home countries, 2) maintaining their Latina/o identities, 3) acquiring English, 4) supporting themselves, and 5) establishing a place to succeed. Table 4.2 illustrates an overview of the specific literacies within their broad categories and the purpose of each practice.

Table 4.2

*Themes and Specific Examples of Literacies Intersecting with Their Purposes*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Facebook Literacies</th>
<th>Workplace Literacies</th>
<th>Entertainment Literacies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Connect to Home</td>
<td>1A. Maintain relationships from home, communicate with family and friends</td>
<td></td>
<td>3A. Watch same telenovelas, listen to same music as in home country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Maintain Latina/o Identity</td>
<td>1B. Post pictures, videos, and messages displaying Latino theme</td>
<td></td>
<td>3B. Listen to/view music and videos of Latino artists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. English Acquisition</td>
<td>1C. Post/receive messages in English, &quot;friend&quot; English-speaking co-workers on Facebook</td>
<td>2C. Acquire English-speaking Facebook &quot;friends&quot;, speak in English for authentic purposes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Support Themselves</td>
<td></td>
<td>2D. Make money for current expenses, send to family in home country, save for college</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Place to Succeed</td>
<td></td>
<td>2E. Receive raises, advance positions, perform crucial tasks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Facebook Literacies

Although it was not part of the selection criteria, each participant has a personal Facebook page that he or she started immediately upon arrival to the United States. This is the space where most of their out-of-school reading and writing that is not for school purposes takes place. Valeria uses Facebook the most since she can look at her page on her iPod or her cell phone. "Pase la página mía día y noche” [I'm on my page night and day]. Celia uses Facebook the least, but looks at her friends' pages daily to see what is new: "Es que meto y miro lo nuevo y ya me salgo” [I just get on, look at what’s new and I get off]. Within this social and cultural space, they give information about themselves on their individual information pages as well as choose a picture or icon for their profile. Additionally, their information pages contain a "likes" section where they can express their fondness for certain products, television shows, movies, and music artists. On their walls they post pictures, videos from YouTube, websites, personal updates, and chain messages (see Figure 4.4 for an example.) Their friends also post similar things on the participants' walls which can create a series of messages. The other public places they have on Facebook are the pictures they upload under the picture tab and the comments they make on other people's pictures. They are also able to send personal messages to friends via Facebook, but these conversations are not public: they are only visible to the sender and recipient. Evident in all of the students' Facebook use were the themes of utilizing this social networking site to stay connected to their home countries, maintain their Latina/o identities, and acquire English.
**Merry Christmas**
paste it on the walls of those you want to wish a merry christmas to and if 1 is returned you will have a bad christmas if 3 are returned, you will have a merry christmas and if 5 are returned you will have a very merry christmas

Figure 4.4. Example of chain message on students' Facebook walls.

Facebook: Connect to Home

Of the participants' many Facebook friends, the vast majority of them are from their home countries. (See Table 4.3 for Facebook initiation and friends.) Even most of the few friends they have who live in the U.S. are people they know from their home countries.

Alejandra says of one friend who had posted on her wall: "Era mi vecina antes, pero ella vive aquí ahora" [She was my neighbor before (in El Salvador), but she lives here now]. Similarly, Celia says of a Facebook friend: "Ella está aquí, pero era mi vecina en México" [She is here, but she was my neighbor in Mexico]. In each instance, the person does not live "here" in the sense of the same city or state, but in the United States although they know that person from their home countries.
Table 4.3

*Basic Facebook Information*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Date Started</th>
<th>Number of Facebook Friends</th>
<th>All Posts by the Participant</th>
<th>All Posts to the Participant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valeria</td>
<td>January 2011</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alejandra</td>
<td>December 2010</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celia</td>
<td>August 2011</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miguel</td>
<td>May 2011</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Facebook is the primary means they have to stay connected to their friends and family that they left behind. All of Alejandra's *recuerdos* [memories] were left behind, including her mother and twin sister. However, she communicates regularly with her family through Facebook, exchanging pictures and messages from the two countries. When asked why she started her page upon arriving here when she never saw the need in her home country, her answer was very clear: "For my sister and my mom." Her twin sister in El Salvador sends both Alejandra and Valeria messages and pictures of herself and their friends they left behind on a daily basis. Valeria explains that she communicates with her sister this way since her schedule does not permit her to talk to her on the phone. It is also a way for the sisters to share their new life in the U.S. with their mother. Their pages contain pictures of science experiments at school, working at the Sandwich Shop, and trips with their older sisters around the state. Through Facebook, Valeria can keep a somewhat normal relationship with her mother and sister. She becomes the protective big sister in a series of messages regarding a picture as she responds to one man: "Hey victor mucho respeto a mi hermana ok" [Hey victor respect my sister ok]. Her mother can even scold her and maintain some parental control through Facebook. "El otro día me regañó [mi mamá] porque eso, había una foto donde tenía el cabello todo arreglado y me gusta que lise el cabello. Se enojó por eso" [The other day she got onto me because there was a picture
of me with my hair all done up and she likes my hair straight. She got angry because of that. Shortly after that incident Valeria changed her profile picture to please her mother.

Similarly, Miguel left everything and everyone he knew behind to come to the U.S. to live with a father he had rarely seen during his childhood. Nevertheless, he has maintained the relationships dominant during the first nineteen years of his life through Facebook. "[Lo uso para mantener] contacto con mis amigos en Guatemala. Con mis primos. Mis hermanos también" [(I use it) to keep in touch with my friends in Guatemala. With my cousins. With my brothers also]. On his birthday, his first one away from Guetemala, his wall contained many posts from his friends back home: “feliz cumple pollo” [happy birthday chicken], "feliz cumple aki en guatemala lo queremos muxo bendiciones muaa ..!! cuidece” [happy birthday here in guatemala we love you many blessings mwaas ..!! take care].

Celia does not use Facebook as much as the others because her cell phone plan includes unlimited calling and texting in the U.S and Mexico. She explains that her friends must go to internet cafes in Mexico in order to access their Facebook pages, but they always have their phones. Therefore, her page is used to initiate contact with someone she knew in Mexico and share pictures. One recent picture a friend posted on Celia's wall contains all of her best friends in Mexico. She looks at the picture and says is makes her sad because “falta yo” [it's missing me]. Although she is not on this group outing with her friends, she can see their pictures through Facebook.

Facebook: Maintain Latina/o Identity

Each student's information page contains an array of images associated with Latin America, if not their specific country, such as Alejandra's profile picture of the words "El
Salvador" in flames (see Figure 4.5). Pictures of Latin American music artists from the popular genres of *bachata* and *reggaeton* fill their "likes" section along with soccer teams and Spanish television programs (see Figure 4.6).

*Figure 4.5. Alejandra's Facebook profile picture demonstrating her Salvadoreña identity.*

*Figure 4.6. Examples of Latin Artists on students' "like" section of Facebook.*

They have many digitally mastered pictures featuring themselves, their family, and friends juxtaposed against their countries' name, flag and Spanish words. The examples in Figure 4.7 show pictures using the flag of El Salvador that Alejandra and Valeria post on their pages and receive as posts from others. One picture on Miguel's page created by a friend in Guatemala features a collage of people with the caption: "si tas aqui es xk TQM" [if you are here it is because I love you a lot] (see Figure 4.8). In addition to the visual images, using the nontraditional spelling and youth codes in Spanish gives the students an avenue to maintain their identities as Latin American youth while beginning new lives in another country. For example, the participants write "tqm" for *te quiero mucho* [I love you], "x" for *por* [for] and "xk" for *porque* [because]. The students' information pages as well as their walls and pictures
demonstrate that they are Latinos who are proud of their roots and identities.

Figure 4.7. Images of Salvadoran pride on students' Facebook pages.

Figure 4.8. Collage on Miguel's Facebook page.
Facebook: English Acquisition

Even though three of the participants are in their third semester in a U.S. school of predominantly native English-speakers, they rarely talk to "American people." Valeria states: "Aquí en la escuela casi no tengo amigos de americano, así que los tengo en Facebook” [Here in school I really don't have American friends, so I have them on Facebook]. Valeria goes through most of the school day hardly speaking a word in English, speaking Spanish in her ESL classes and choosing not to speak at all in her mainstream classes. She is shy and lacks confidence to use enough language in order for effective second language acquisition to occur. However, she has almost 300 Facebook friends, some of whom she knows from work and communicates with in English. Some of the phrases she tries out as she responds to other people's posts are: "i love you" to her sister, "i love" referring to a picture, "me too" and "what up." Even though these are simple phrases she is trying out, I observed that she uses more English on Facebook than during school.

Like Valeria, Facebook has become a primary space in which Alejandra can safely develop her English. She practices using every English code she learns and regularly posts "omg!" (oh my god) and "lol!" (laughing out loud) on others' pages. She explains how she learns what the codes mean in English: "Cuando yo leo, yo pregunto que es esto, y ellos me dicen" [When I read it, I ask what is this and they (co-workers) tell me]. She also writes longer phrases in English such as "They are sooo precious!" and "yes i know >>they are Hilda's baby" in a series of messages about her friend's babies. Additionally, Alejandra has posted music videos on her wall that include American music in English such as the popular Party Rock Anthem.
Although Miguel does not speak much English, he often receives posts in English from relatives who have lived in the U.S. for many years. His brother posted a picture to his wall with the caption "Ava in a shopping cart laughing lol B-)") and his cousin sent him a message saying "Having a pre-thanksgiving celebration with the in laws :)." He does not understand the full nature of all of the English posts, but tries to figure them out enough to get the main idea. Celia tells me that she only wants to post on her wall in English, but it is difficult for her to do so. "Es que quiero escribir en ingles, pero no puedo" [It's because I want to write in English, but I can't]. She does receive some posts in English from her English-speaking co-workers such as "Work, work, and dancing!" which she does understand. She also responds to a message from me wishing her a happy Valentine's Day: "you to happy valentines day."

In conclusion, the many specific literacies that take place on Facebook allow the participants avenues to connect to home, maintain their Latina/o identities, and acquire English. This social and cultural space has meaning for the students because of the unique purposes it serves in their lives. The affordability of smart phones and internet access allows them to maintain close relationships with friends and family in their home countries through Facebook that would not have been possible even a few years ago. Through this one site they can send regular messages, engage in conversation, and share pictures, video, and links with others in their countries. They are also able to design their individual pages to represent their Latina/o identities and further develop these identities by the sharing of Spanish youth codes, pictures, music, and videos from the Latino culture. Lastly, Facebook provides the participants a unique space to authentically acquire English in a low risk environment. They receive messages and even attempt to use youth codes and other phrases in English.
Workplace Literacies

In the students' workplaces they have a social and cultural environment where many literacies are developed and refined. Much like Facebook, although it was not a selection criterion, all four participants have jobs in the U.S., but never had a job in their home countries. Table 4.4 illustrates specific information about each participant's job. In general, their workplaces literacies allow them to acquire English, support themselves, and create a place to succeed.

Table 4.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Responsibilities</th>
<th>Earnings</th>
<th>Hours per Week</th>
<th>Previous Jobs in U.S.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valeria</td>
<td>Sandwich Shop</td>
<td>$8/hour</td>
<td>35-40</td>
<td>2 Burgers N Fries locations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reads tickets, makes sandwiches in kitchen, cleans kitchen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alejandra</td>
<td>Sandwich Shop</td>
<td>$8/hour</td>
<td>35-40</td>
<td>1 Burgers N Fries location and 2 other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Listens to drive thru orders in headset, fills orders, cleans kitchen, trains</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sandwich Shop locations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>new employees</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celia</td>
<td>El Taco Loco</td>
<td>$7.25/hour</td>
<td>25-30</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Listens to drive thru orders in headset, fills orders, cleans kitchen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miguel</td>
<td>Gutiérrez Tires</td>
<td>$30/day (cash)</td>
<td>9 hours (only</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Apprentice: Learns how to change tires, helps customers, assists mechanics</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saturdays)</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Workplace: English Acquisition

This theme is tied directly to the students' English acquisition on Facebook since they all stated that 100% of their *americano* friends to whom they write in English are current or former co-workers. Although they attend most classes with a primarily Anglo, English-speaking student body, they have not made any friends that do not speak Spanish. They sit with other Spanish-speakers at lunch and work with them in class every day. They are virtually segregated from most of the students who speak English as their dominant or only language even though they might be in the same room with them. Although I speak Spanish, because I am Anglo, they associated me with the *americanos* and all four of them stated that I was the only *americano* they knew who was not a co-worker or a teacher.

All of the female participants clearly stated that they have more opportunities to practice their English when they are working than when they are at school. At school, they rarely speak to anyone in English besides their teachers, but at work they are in positions where they have to speak to co-workers, managers, and customers in English in order to communicate. I observed that Valeria goes through much of the school day without saying a word in English, yet she explains that at work in the Sandwich Shop "casi es todos americanos allí" [it's mainly all Americans there] so she speaks in English out of necessity. She also reads the tickets in English to fill the orders. Alejandra's English acquisition has benefitted greatly from her work environment as she must listen to the drive thru orders in English through her headset. Sometimes she even corrects the cashiers when they put the orders into the computer incorrectly: "And sometimes when the cashier put something wrong I say her, the customer say that." She is also in charge of training new employees, all who speak only English. She has developed good
relationships with her co-workers and says "I tell they I want to learn English so she, uh, they help me."

Like Alejandra, Celia listens to drive thru orders in English on her headset. She explains that although this was difficult when she first started, she now can understand almost everything and even translates for her co-workers. Some of her co-workers and managers only speak English. She has developed good relationships with some of these people and feels comfortable practicing English with them, although she would rarely speak to me in English. She tells me about her friend at work, Sandy:

Ella me dice, cuando yo le hablo en español, ella me dice, háblame en inglés. Yo le digo, yo no sé, pero dice sí, tú sabes porque tú siempre entiendes y contestas en español.

[She says, when I speak to her in Spanish, she tells me, speak to me in English. I tell her I don't know, but she says yes, you know because you always understand and answer in Spanish.]

This is very similar to the format my interviews had with Celia. I asked her questions in English and she generally understood, but did not feel confident to answer in English. Sandy and other co-workers encourage her to use the English she knows in her interactions with them.

Workplace: A Place to Succeed

All of the participants were put back at least one grade when they emigrated due to their lack of English credits. They also face state mandated tests and core subject coursework developed and delivered for native English-speakers. This makes them feel unsuccessful in school, but at work they have all created a place where they can succeed. Valeria struggles the most in school, but thrives in her work environment, making more money than most of the other workers. It was her work at Burgers N Fries that paved the way for her and her sister to have the good jobs they have now. Alejandra has also excelled in her position at the Sandwich Shop.
where she is now training new employees. Because she has become indispensable to her manager at the new location, he expressed his appreciation: "My manager, he say probably like I get more money because I help a lot." He would even like for Alejandra to consider becoming an assistant manager.

Celia began working at El Taco Loco in her cousin's shadow as another Spanish-speaking kitchen employee, but has had much success of which she is very proud. She has received a raise and was given the headset to hear the drive thru orders. She works with some people who only speak Spanish and some who only speak English, which has made her improving bilingualism very essential during her shifts. She regularly translates between the two groups, as well as for Spanish-speaking customers and cashiers, an activity she enjoys as is evident in an excerpt from an interview with her.

Celia: Si como a veces no hay a nadie que hable español de manager y hablan a veces en español por el drive thru y yo tengo que hacerlo. O me dice, cuando habla español, Bob dice "que quieren, Celia?" Yo hago esto.

[If sometimes there is not anyone that speaks Spanish, a manager, and they speak sometimes in Spanish in the drive thru, I have to do it. Or he tells me when they speak Spanish, Bob says, "What do they want, Celia?" I do that.]

Mandy: Y te gusta hacer esto? [And you like to do that?]

Celia: Si! Mucha! [Yes! A lot!]

At school, Celia remains in Alejandra's shadow, dependent upon her frequent translations, but she has become the crucial translator at work. She desires to eventually become a cashier so she can make more money, but needs to continue to improve her English to do that. However, she is very proud of the important position she has made for herself at EL Taco Loco. Bob, a middle-aged Anglo assistant manager, who was obviously in charge when I observed, has especially noticed Celia's burgeoning contributions at work. Celia laughs as she tells me:
Cada vez me preguntan más, como cada vez, como a veces las señoras de la cocina le preguntan algo a Bob y Bob no entiende, Y Bob"Celia! Celia!!! Necesito tu ayuda!

[Every time they ask me, like every time when the ladies in the kitchen ask Bob something and Bob (shouts) "Celia! Celia!!! I need your help!]  

Workplace: Support Themselves

For each of the participants it is important to make money to support themselves and not rely on others. For Valeria and Alejandra, it is a necessity even though they are not supposed to be working in the U.S. and should be supported by their legal guardian; however, their reality is much like that of an adult. They need to pay for 100% of their own expenses, including rent, food, and transportation, as well as their lawyer fees. Furthermore, they send money to support their mother and pay for their sister to attend bachillerato in El Salvador. Alejandra also explains that they are still repaying their aunt for money she lent them to pay someone to smuggle them across multiple borders in order to come to Owenton. During the data collection period they bought themselves cell phones for the first time and carried them visibly with them everywhere they went at school. Both girls were obviously proud of their new piece of technology that they bought for themselves. Their normal workweek is about 35 hours, but they sometimes work 40 or more. When I asked Valeria why she was working extra shifts the week of the important state test in which they must pass to graduate, she told me plainly in a one word answer, one of the few words she ever said to me in English: "money." Her lawyer has given her reason to believe that it is possible that in less than a year, she could have the necessary documents to bring her mother and sister to the U.S. legally. Although this is good news, Valeria realizes that more money is needed for lawyer fees and future plane tickets.
Celia and Miguel do not have to work in order to cover their living expenses, but both want to be able to buy things for themselves. Celia says about wanting to go to work:

Mi papá no quería pero me dice que no, y yo digo así. Y yo quería porque no le tengo que pedir pues, como, como quiero unas zapatas, quiero esa blusa.

[My father didn't want me to, but he said no and I said yes. And I wanted to because I don’t have to ask him for, like, like I want some shoes. I want that shirt.]

Although Miguel only makes $30 a day for his internship arrangement, he is doing it so he can learn and get a better job. He wants to save money "porque va a universidad, pienso que es caro” [because to go to college, I think it's expensive].

In conclusion, the participants' workplaces are important spaces in their lives where many literacies take place. Through their jobs they are able to further their English acquisition, create a place to succeed and feel successful, and support themselves financially. Like Facebook, they have the opportunity to acquire English more authentically and arguably more effectively than through the school. Furthermore, the workplace provides them the unique opportunity to be successful, something they often do not feel at school. Their success resulting from their workplace literacies also leads to economic gains that allow them to support themselves as well as other family members, leading to an even greater psychological feeling of success.

Entertainment Literacies

The theme of entertainment consists of the students' music and television choices. Even these are social spaces as they share their music with each other, listen together in class by sharing ear plugs, watch videos together, and watch telenovelas with family members. Celia explains to me that she has all of her music on her cell phone, but has not bought any of it. Alejandra and Valeria share their music with her through an application. "No he comprado. Sólo
de las que tienen, me pasan” [I haven't bought any (songs). Only those that they send me]. Valeria and Alejandra always had their phones with them whenever I saw them in school: in their ESL classes, the hallways, and the cafeteria. Their ear plugs were always connected and they would usually have one in while sharing the other with Miguel or Celia's younger sister. When they had free time at school and even other times when they were supposed to be completing assignments, they would go to the computers to look for music videos of Latino artists. Since there were only two computers in the classroom, they inserted one set of ear plugs to be shared between two people.

Entertainment: Connect to Home

The music they listen to is primarily Latin American genres: *reggaeton, bachata, cumbia* and Latin pop. All of the artists they list on their Facebook information pages are Latin American artists and they said they listen to the exact same music here as they did in their home countries. Celia explains how she connects to her home country through music: ”Me recuerda de México allá los escuchaba y luego aquí, pues pienso que estoy en México” [It reminds me of Mexico (because) I listened to it there and then here, well, I think that I am in Mexico]. Miguel explains that while many things in his life have changed in the past nine months since he moved from Guatemala, the music he listens to has not changed at all.

Entertainment: Maintain Latina/o Identity

I asked them if they listen to music in English and their responses were similar. They generally only listen to music in English if it is by a Latin American artist who also sings in Spanish such as Jennifer Lopez and Enrique Iglesias. Alejandra was the only participant who
ever listened to popular American music, yet she preferred music in Spanish. Her Facebook information lists Los Hermanos Flores as her favorite artist, a musical group from El Salvador, and *reggaeton* as her favorite genre of music. Valeria listed a popular *reggaeton* group as her favorite musicians, Wisin y Yandel, and told me she really liked Aventura, a group that sings *bachata*. In his Facebook "likes" section, Miguel included a TV program called *Mun2*, which is about popular Latin American music videos that he is able to watch weekly.

Despite Alejandra not having much time to watch TV, she includes a TV station from El Salvador in her "likes" section called *Mi Cultura* [my culture]. Celia and Miguel are able to watch television some days after school and enjoy the telenovelas with their families. Miguel watches *La Rosa de Guadalupe* with his stepmother and Celia is able to watch the same shows that come on in Mexico, just one month behind. She regularly watches two different telenovelas with her mother and sisters each night she is not working. During the data collection her favorite telenovela star began regular appearances on the American TV program *Dancing with the Stars*, but because she did not engage in any non-Spanish entertainment, she was unaware of this until I told her. Much like their music preferences, their television preferences constitute a choice they make to maintain their Latina/o identities.

Entertainment choices for these students fulfill similar purposes as their social networking. They are able to keep something from home that provides a sense of stability in their lives that have changed so drastically since moving to the U.S. Furthermore, they maintain their identity as Latina/o youth while learning and living within a new culture. Music and television constitute an area where their literacies serve unique purposes in their emotional, cultural, and identity status.
Themes for the Importance of the Literacies

In addition to the themes for the literacies and their purposes, other themes emerged in the data as participants talked about their pasts, present, and futures. After a careful analysis of the data, I determined that these well-saturated themes across cases demonstrated why each literacy practice is important for the individual. These themes are 1) what was left behind, 2) to be someone, 3) remittances, and 4) more opportunities in the U.S. Figure 4.9 demonstrates their relationship with the previously discussed themes.

The ovals denote the three main literacies in which the participants engage: facebook, workplace, and entertainment literacies.

The rectangles designate the purposes that that each literacy uniquely fills: connect to home, maintain their latina/o identity, english acquisition, support themselves, and a place to succeed.

The shaded diamonds represent themes from the data that demonstrate why each literacy is important to the students: what they left behind, to be someone, remittances, and more opportunities in the U.S.

Figure 4.9. Relationship of themes.
What They Left Behind

None of the students were able to bring many of their possessions with them into the U.S. Even Celia, who came by bus and has returned to Mexico three times since emigrating, informs me that all of her recuerdos [keepsakes] from her childhood and adolescence are in Mexico including her celebrity posters, sports trophies, and medals. Valeria and Alejandra brought hardly more than the clothes on their back. Valeria tells me: "Lo único que yo traía era mi pasaporte, mi ropa la que andaba puesta y traía una mochila" [the only thing that I brought was my passport, the clothes I was wearing, and I brought a backpack].

They not only left behind possessions, but immediate family members and friends as well. All of them left classmates with whom they had attended school since kindergarten. Valeria and Alejandra left their mother and sister in El Salvador, Alejandra's twin. Miguel left the aunt who raised him, his younger siblings, and cousins: the only family he had ever known. Celia is the only participant who came to the U.S. with her nuclear family intact.

More importantly, these students left a way of life behind in their home countries and embraced a new life that differs strikingly from their old lives. In their home countries they did not work, but had time for extracurricular activities that they enjoyed. Valeria, Celia, and Miguel all loved to play sports in their countries, but have not done that on a team nor recreationally since coming to the U.S. Valeria excelled in soccer and softball and played on her school's teams her entire life. Sports was an area she enjoyed and experienced success until she came here. "Siempre he jugado. Nada más aquí. Nunca me he metido en un deporte" [I have always played. Just never here. I have never played sports here]. Alejandra participated in her school's baile folklorico, cultural dance, performances twice a year from a very young age up until coming to the U.S. Like the others, she has not engaged in this activity in her new home.
Because they did not work or struggle as much in school, they had free time to play outside, go to internet cafes, and hang out with their friends. Since Valeria and Alejandra work nearly 40 hours a week in addition to school, they do not have time to watch television, go to the movies, or do other typical teenager activities. Celia tells me she used to drive in Mexico although she did not have a license because it did not really matter there. However, she realizes that there are dire consequences for driving without a license in the U.S. and has not driven since, making her, like the three others, dependent upon others for transportation. In their countries, public transportation was readily available, yet is not in Owenton. To demonstrate the simpler way of life they left behind, Valeria tells me: "En El Salvador yo entraba a siete y media de la mañana a la escuela y salía a las doce. Y el resto del día, me pasaba en casa” [In El Salvador I started school at seven thirty in the morning and left at twelve. The rest of the day I spent at home]. This contrasts strikingly to her new schedule of school from 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. directly followed by work until 10:30 p.m.

To Be Someone

In one interview Celia explained why she so desperately desires to learn English and be successful in this country: "Para ser alguien” [to be someone]. All of the students indicate that they are striving for something they do not yet have: English fluency, a high school diploma, college scholarships, and a professional job. However, literacies they demonstrate in the areas of Facebook, workplace, and entertainment allow them to "ser alguien” [be someone] already.

Maintaining their Latina/o identities through Facebook and entertainment allow them to have confidence that they are someone: Latina/o. They are not striving to learn their culture and language, but already own them completely. They are experts when it comes to Latino music
artists, telenovelas, and the latest Spanish youth codes used on Facebook and in texting. In my informal visits with them, they taught me about themselves, their countries, their music, and their cultures with much enthusiasm. When it comes to being Latinas/os, they already are.

Likewise, the workplace has provided them a place to succeed which allows them to be someone in the present. They are advancing in positions, receiving raises, and experiencing success at work as they perform crucial tasks that only they can do. They have official positions with specific jobs they can execute well. They already have achieved becoming someone at work. These areas are pertinent to their lives because so much of their efforts and hopes are spent on being someone in the future, striving to be someone they are not yet. However, in the aforementioned areas, they have something that allows them to be someone in the present.

Remittances

Remittances are the money and goods earned in the host country, but sent back to the sending country, and have become central to transnational families' survival (Abrego, 2009). Each participant benefitted greatly while growing up from remittances sent from family members working in the U.S. Valeria and Alejandra's mother received money from her brother in Missouri in order to "salir adelante" [get ahead]. This not only provided for their basic needs since their mother did not have a regular job and their father had left them, but also allowed them to attend bachillerato, equivalent to Grades 10-12, which is not funded by the government. Celia's father lived and worked in the U.S. her entire life, going back to Mexico to visit only during his vacations from work. She explains that her father's remittances allowed her family to have more than others in her town in Mexico. "Más que algunas. Sí, porque mi papá nos llevaba ropa o también como zapatos" [(we had) more than others. Yes, because my father sent us
clothes or like shoes too]. Miguel says that his aunt, who raised him, his two younger siblings, and her own two children, did not have to work because his father sent money from the U.S. His father made enough money “para apoyar todos” [to support everyone]. This allowed Miguel to attend básico and universificado which cost a lot of money in Guatemala, making them inaccessible to many families. He is keenly aware that this would not have been possible if it were not for the remittances sent by his father.

Although Celia and Miguel work to help support themselves and save for their futures, they do not have to send money back to their home countries like their fathers did. Valeria and Alejandra, however, work to send money to financially support their mother and sister until they can get the paperwork to bring them to Owenton. Alejandra explains: “Yo le doy dinero para que estudie” [I give her money so she can study]. She and Valeria are paying for their sister to finish high school and expect to return to El Salvador in the coming months to joyfully attend her graduation, an accomplishment for all three of them.

Remittances sent to them growing up explain why their workplace literacies are so important. They benefitted greatly from someone else’s work in the U.S. and feel an obligation to give back, understanding that work in this new country provides better lives for themselves and their families. This is evident by them supporting themselves, saving for their futures, and for Alejandra and Valeria, providing for their family back home.

More Opportunities in the U.S.

All of the participants seemed to have nice, relatively middle-class lives in their home countries. They went to school, had plans to attend universities, and enjoyed many activities with their friends. I asked them why they wanted to come to the U.S. to be set back grade levels,
face the challenge of learning English, and have to maintain a regular job. Their answers were all very clear. They came here for opportunities that they believe they would never have had in their home countries. They explain the situation for people in their countries: "no hay oportunidades" [there are no opportunities], "no sale de donde está" [you cannot get ahead] and "is hard for job right now…you can't find." Alejandra explains the dilemma she had because she was only months away from finishing high school in El Salvador when she left:

I confused because I want to come here but I want to finish my bachillerto. But my mom say if you want to learn English is better here. And I get for the better option….I think so….Cause here is better. More jobs.

This theme that is apparent throughout all four cases explains the high significance of their Facebook and workplace literacies that provide an avenue for English acquisition. All of them have a very strong desire to speak proficient English and do everything they can in and outside of school to learn. Alejandra tells me she tries to post in English "because I want to learn. I want to practice." Miguel says he tries to read his brother's books in English "para learn." They believe they can achieve goals that were never possible in their countries by first acquiring English. To these newcomers, they envision a bright future for themselves and their families, but must first conquer the English language in order for their dreams to come true.

Conclusion

The four participants' out-of-school literacies occur primarily under the areas of Facebook, their workplaces, and entertainment. The specific literacies occurring in each space often intersect and share some of the same purposes. The particular purposes of the literacies demonstrate how these literacies fill a unique space in the students' lives. They use them to connect to their home countries, maintain their Latina/o identities, acquire English, support
themselves, and establish a place to succeed. Further data suggest why these literacies and the purposes behind them hold much value for the individuals. On separate occasions, the participants discussed everything they had to leave behind in their countries, their desire to be someone in their new country, the more opportunities they perceive to exist in the U.S., and the importance of remittances on their lives. These four additional themes explain the context for the literacies and their significance in students' lives.
APPENDIX A

"BECAUSE I WANT TO LEARN. I WANT TO PRACTICE": THE PURPOSES
OF ADOLESCENT ENGLISH LEARNERS' TRANSNATIONAL,
OUT-OF-SCHOOL LITERACIES ON FACEBOOK, AT WORK,
AND THROUGH ENTERTAINMENT

(Journal Article for Submission)
"Para learn." That is why Miguel tells me he reads children's books in English, why Celia wants a real "americana" friend to talk to in English, why Alejandra writes the English codes "lol" and "omg" repeatedly on her Facebook page, and why Valeria, a 19-year-old sophomore, keeps forging through her difficult classes, although it is unlikely she will have the credits to graduate before she turns 21. The four newcomer Latina/o youth in the present study demonstrate a strong desire to learn English, graduate from high school, receive college degrees, and have professional careers. They are foregoing traditional teenager activities to work and study. It is now the responsibility of educators to understand their full repertoire of literacies so we can envision a literacy pedagogy that provides them the fertile soil they need "para learn."

Studies indicate that Latino immigrant youth engage in a wide range of sophisticated literacies outside of school (de la Piedra, 2010; Godina, 2004; Rubinstein-Ávila, 2004, 2006) that are often transnational (Bruna, 2007; McGinnis, Goodstein-Stolzenberg, & Saliani, 2007; Rubinstein-Ávila, 2007; Sánchez, 2007), crossing various linguistic, cultural, and social spaces. In a longitudinal study with immigrant students, Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova (2008) explain how this population's unique transnational abilities are rare in the mainstream population, yet needed in the 21st century of global connectedness. This study reveals how first-generation youth come with much energy and optimism about their futures and present themselves to be a great national resource. The research findings claim that we can create the conditions for immigrant youth "to constructively unleash their full potential to the benefit of all Americans" (p. 377).

However, these students' abilities are not being harnessed by the U.S. educational system as Latinos are more likely to drop out of high school than any other ethnic group (Gándara, 2010; Godina, 2004). The deficit perspective (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005), which views students
from minority cultures as possessing substandard cultural practices which lead to their educational failure, may provide an explanation. This lens is extremely harmful because it overlooks the vast linguistic capital (Yosso, 2005) and funds of knowledge (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992) that immigrant students possess.

Stereotypes resulting from this lens often move stealthily into educational policy and research frameworks. In order to reframe this perspective (Kiyama, 2010) we must understand who these students are and the many forms of capital (Yosso, 2005) they bring into the academic environment. Moje (2002) claims that research needs to examine youth's everyday literacies in order to understand how these literacies connect to the academic literacy taught in school. She explains: "popular assumptions, rather than careful research or well-articulated theoretical arguments, tend to dominate perceptions about young people and their literacies" (p. 212). Consequently, she challenges the notion of solely studying in-school literacies because it masks the immense potential that exists to build on students' vast literacy experiences. Furthermore, Christenbury, Bomer, and Smagorinsky (2009) state that understanding the individual literacies of marginalized youth to provide them a more equitable education is a crucial issue of social justice today. They call for imagination and courage from researchers to better educate all youth, paving the way for a more just society. Alvermann (2009) echoes their exhortation, stating that the literacy field is in need of more research on multiliteracies and New Literacy Studies including the many ways youth make meaning outside of school. Despite a growing body of work on out-of-school literacies (Hull & Schultz, 2001, 2002; Knobel & Lankshear, 2003), there are still gaps about nonmainstream adolescents' out-of-school, informal, and unsanctioned literacy practices (Rubinstein-Ávila, 2007; Yi, 2010).
Jiménez's (2000) research with bilingual Latina/o students draws our attention to the "cultural borderlands" which consists of their bilingual and cross-cultural interactions that contribute to their identity development. He recommends that literacy researchers focus their efforts in these spaces as they "may in fact be the most culturally and linguistically productive spaces in contemporary society" (p. 996). Similarly, scholars (Hornberger, 2007; Jiménez, 2003; Lam, 2006; Warriner, 2007) have called for more research to address the transnational literacies immigrant youth use to negotiate the many different spaces in their lives, particularly the new digital spaces afforded by technology.

Therefore, drawing from these recommendations, the present study investigates the range, form, and purpose of the out-of-school literacies of four Latina/o adolescents who are English Learners. The research questions used to guide the present study are:

1). What are the out-of-school literacies of four newcomer Latina/o adolescents?
2). What meanings do these practices have for the individuals?
3). How do these practices demonstrate these adolescents' linguistic, cultural, and social resources?

Theoretical Framework

The New Literacy Studies, based on Brian Street's (1995) ideological model of reading, influences the construct *literacies* used in the present study. This model states that literacy is not a neutral process, but is always embedded in power relations. Furthermore, since literacy and language are always linked to various cultural and social practices, there is not one single literacy to master, rather there are many literacies that are meaningful within their sociocultural traditions. Accordingly, Harste (2003) explains that the construct *literacy* carries different meaning for different cultural groups and therefore, to consider literacy as tied to social practices
"can be revolutionary" (p. 8). He invites us to ask these questions about literacy teaching and research:

What kinds of social practices are in place and, as a result, how is literacy being defined? Who benefits from this definition of literacy? Who is put at jeopardy? What social practices could I have put in place to make the everyday literacies that students bring with them to school legitimate? What kinds of things would I have to do to show that I honor the home literacies that students bring with them to school? What would I have to do to expand what it means to be literate in the 21st century? (p. 8)

Purcell-Gates (2007) echoes this understanding of literacy as she explains why researchers take political actions when they redefine literacy in nontraditional terms. She writes: “Some literacies provide access to power and material well-being, others are marked as substandard and deficient” (p. 3). Gee further explains that literacy is a "socially contested term" because "any view of literacy is inherently political, in the sense of involving relations of power among people" (2008, p. 31). The present study is purposefully aligned with other scholarship that recognizes and values the literacies that do not traditionally hold power in the classroom or in society. Embracing the political nature of literacy, the working concept of literacy is based on Gee’s (2008) construct of discourses which he defines as "saying (writing)-doing-being-valuing-believing combinations" (p. 154). Everyone acquires a primary discourse which is usually face-to-face oral language, and the subsequent ways of making or receiving meaning we acquire become secondary discourses. As a result, Gee defines literacy as the "mastery of a secondary discourse" (p. 171) and consequently, literacy should always be plural because there are multiple discourses, multiple ways of sending and receiving meaning within a particular discourse pattern.

Based on Gee’s (2008) and Street's (1995) work, the New London Group (1996) developed the concept of multiliteracies as the members grew concerned over the great disparities that exist in education which lead to inequitable economic, political, and social capital. They believe that the conception and teaching of literacy must change in two primary
areas in order to give all students equitable access in society. First, the definition of literacy that guides literacy research and pedagogy needs to recognize cultural and linguistic variety characterized by local diversity and global connectedness. Second, the New London Group (1996) emphasizes an additional layer to literacy pedagogy which includes the many multimodal ways of making meaning. The written word is simply one component of visual, audio, and spacial patterns, largely due to the burgeoning availability of digital spaces. Therefore, literacy is indeed multiple, varies within cultural groups, and is a dynamic concept that transforms with the advancement of technology and the fluidity of culture.

New Literacy Studies: Local Diversity and Global Connectedness

The New London Group’s (2000) first claim that literacy research should "account for the context of our culturally and linguistically diverse and increasingly globalised societies" (p. 9) is the foundation for the work of NLS using a transnational lens (Hornberger, 2007). To understand the notion of transnational literacy, it is first significant to note the term transculturación, or transculturation, pioneered by Fernando Ortiz (2002) in his seminal essay, Contrapunto Cubano del Tabaco y el Azúcar, about Cuban culture. He problematizes the term acculturation, which he believes is ethnocentric, signifying the transmutation of one culture by another. He suggests that transculturation is a more accurate term describing the fluid, complex flow of one culture to another in a dialectical relationship.

Transculturation foregrounds the term transnational which embraces the local diversity and global connectedness referred to by the New London Group (1996). Transnational can refer to people who have "moved bodily across national borders while maintaining and cultivating practices tied…to their home countries" (Hornberger, 2007, p. 325), as well as an adjective to
"depict social practices, political processes, and cultural phenomena among individuals who do
cross geopolitical borders regularly as well as those who do not" (Warriner, 2007, p. 209). This
affects the nature of literacies as they can be described as having transnational attributes being
practiced by transnational individuals.

**New Literacy Studies: Technology**

The second claim of the New London Group (2000) is that literacy "now must account
for the burgeoning variety of text forms associated with information and multimedia
technologies" (p. 9). This view of literacy is echoed by Leu and colleagues (2011) as they
discuss the way that technology has dramatically influenced the notion of literacy. They state
that literacy is now deictic, meaning that its very nature and meaning are in constant change.
They explain:

> To be literate tomorrow will be defined by even newer technologies that have yet to
appear and even newer social practices that we will create to meet unanticipated needs.
Thus, the very nature of literacy continuously changes. (p. 6)

Utilizing this view of literacy related to technology and social practices, Lam (2006)
advocates for educational research that seeks to understand ways that immigrant youth cross
borders and develop multilingual and multicultural identities in digital spaces. Consequently, the
present study purposefully seeks to understand how immigrant youth are engaging in
transnational literacies through technology.

**Out-of-School Literacies**

A second perspective that informs the present study is the scholarship on out-of-school
literacies. Research in the tradition of the New Literacy Studies "has unabashedly valued out of
school literacies as distinct from those associated with schools” (Hull & Schultz, 2001, p. 589). However, Knobel and Lankshear (2003) aptly note that the construct out-of-school literacy is used in a variety of ways in literature. They have divided studies of any person's out-of-school literacies into one of four quadrants based on the practice itself and the age of the practitioner. They assert that the most beneficial research focuses on "literacies that are defined against the grain of schooled literacies” (p. 54) for school-aged persons. They claim that:

[These studies] advocate for a range of children and their rich literate social practices in relation to narrow, school-based and 'schooled' literacies that privilege particular and normative language and literacy uses - and to teacher-made claims that there is a 'lack of literacy' in poor/working-class/non-white homes. Such views…work to further disadvantage already-disadvantaged and marginalized children. (p. 54)

The current study is aligned with research that defines out-of-school literacies as those not valued in school. In my review of additional, more current research, I have detected a further distinction of how researchers are defining one's out-of-school literacies. Some studies only investigate forms of reading and writing that take place out-of-school, others focus on technology, while others align with the former category of focusing only on informal literacies. In the literature review to follow, I will synthesize the findings from research on urban, minority, and immigrant youth's out-of-school literacies as defined in various ways.

Studies Focusing on Reading and Writing Outside of School

Some studies with non-dominant youth use the term out-of-school literacies to refer to only the reading and writing that is completed outside of school and not part of any school-based work. In a mixed-methods study of 716 urban adolescents' reading and writing outside of school, Moje and colleagues (2008) found that these young people read and wrote a very wide range of literature outside of school, the most frequent being websites, letters, music lyrics, email, and
Their motivations for reading and writing were often to develop their racial, cultural, and gendered identities, connect socially, express themselves, and improve themselves in some way. Similarly, Gallagher's (2007) case studies of four urban youth reveal that they engaged in much reading and writing outside of school for entertainment and identity development. Specifically, the participants read and wrote poetry, hip hop lyrics, and letters to/from family. These studies demonstrate that out-of-school literacy is powerful and significant in urban youth's lives regardless of its recognition in school.

Illustrating the power of out-of-school writing are Mahiri's (2004; Mahiri & Sablo, 1996) studies which focus on the prolific nature and range of writing of urban African American youth who wrote screenplays, film documentaries, and raps demonstrating their political awareness. Although they were often unmotivated to write in their classrooms, they were prolific writers outside of school much like the Cambodian student in Skilton-Sylvester's (2002) case study. Outside of school, the participant frequently wrote stories and plays; however, at school, her role in a teacher-centered classroom and her status as a nonnative writer afforded her a low position of power. Also focusing on immigrant students' out-of-school writing are Yi's (2007, 2010) studies demonstrating the reciprocal nature of in- and out-of-school writing to develop L1 and L2 literacy skills. Yi calls attention to the multiple literacies immigrant students demonstrate in their writing beyond school as they seamlessly cross genres, languages, and digital spaces in their transnational writing.

Further illustrating the transnational component of an immigrant student's out-of-school literacy, Lam (2004b) depicts the construction of a third space of one Chinese student. This student engaged in many transnational literacies through his reading of Japanese, Chinese, and English comic books. Although he felt academically and socially marginalized at school, he
thrived in his out-of-school world of comic books as he gained and developed different sociocultural identities through his reading. Rubinstein-Ávila (2004, 2006, 2007) further illustrates the out-of-school, transnational literacies of immigrant youth including their reading, writing, and translating. The participants, first-generation Latina/o adolescents, possessed many rich literacy skills such as reading the Bible, Spanish novels, and popular magazines. They also wrote letters and used math and reading skills simultaneously to peruse weekly ads and determine the best price for household items. These practices as well as their language brokering abilities were not, however, validated in school and educators were often unaware of these students' vast funds of knowledge.

Studies Focusing on Out-of-School Digital Literacies

Some studies have purposefully focused on out-of-school digital literacies to understand how immigrant youth are using technology outside of school as literacies that foster their transnational identities since borders can easily be crossed through the internet. A mixed-methods study of 262 foreign-born American high school students (Lam & Rosario-Ramos, 2009) showed that these youth inhabited transnational spaces outside of school that often took place on the internet. Through digital networks they were able to develop relationships with people across geopolitical and linguistic borders. The researchers urge educators to consider the transnational, digital resources of these young people and employ them in their literacy education, one specific area that the findings of the present study will address.

The extant in-depth research on immigrant youth's digital spaces lacks broad representation from Latina/o youth. Lam's (2000, 2004b) studies of Chinese immigrant youth's out-of-school digital literacies in chat rooms demonstrate the impact these literacies had on their
identity and language (L1 and L2) development. The participants could develop a specific
variety of English in a low anxiety environment and cultivate their ethnic identity with other
people from their culture through these digital spaces. Similarly, in studying an Asian immigrant
student's online literacies, Black (2006) focused on how online fanfiction allowed the participant
to develop her transcultural identity. While focusing on a diverse cluster of students, McGinnis
and colleagues (2007) investigated how three transnational youth of Bengali, Colombian, and
Jewish descent used social networking to reflect their cultural pride, narrate their own identities,
and show group loyalty. McLean's (2010) study of an immigrant adolescent from Trinidad and
Tobago used a host of digital spaces to construct a virtual place to express and develop her
transnational identity.

Studies Demonstrating Out-of-School Literacies Used for Academic Purposes

There is yet another category of studies that demonstrates how specific out-of-school
literacies were systematically used in the academic classroom. The literature includes accounts
that show the positive academic and sociological effect of building upon students' bilingual
abilities and identities in the classroom (de la Piedra, 2010; García, 1998; Jiménez, 2000;
Jiménez, García, & Pearson, 1996; Martínez, Orellana, Pacheco, & Carbone, 2008; Pacheco,
2009; Wilson, Chavez, & Anders, 2012). This research suggests that utilizing students' L1s in
the classroom can help them achieve greater academic success as they see the value in a practice
they have honed for many years.

Some studies have found the benefit of using hip-hop and rap lyrics in the classroom to
that using elements from the hip-hop culture which are part of many urban youth's vast repertoire
of literacies can act as a bridge to academic tasks. Additionally, in one urban high-school, Morrell and Duncan-Andrade (2004) encouraged students to use their skills of analyzing rap music with canonical poetry. Students were empowered to critique the hegemonic devices of society as represented in the lyrics and poetry.

Studies Focusing on Unsanctioned and Informal Literacies

There is a body of scholarship with marginalized youth which embraces a wider definition of out-of-school literacies that moves beyond reading, writing, and digital literacies to include those practices specifically unsanctioned in school. Ives (2011) draws our attention to the hidden literacies that middle school African American students used in their language arts classroom. She calls for educators to consider the possibilities that might be available if we embraced the literacies that some students have become adept at hiding. Bruna (2007) focuses on three informal literacies that newcomer Mexican students engaged in at home and school settings. They used tagging (writing of country or state of origin), branding (wearing of Mexican or Spanish-related clothing and accessories), and shouting out (calling out the name of their state of birth) to reinforce their group identity and honor their homeland. These unsanctioned literacies often signaled the need for assistance that they were not getting in the academic environment. Cowan (2004) also studied Latino youth, specifically the visual literacies prevalent in lowrider culture which centers on the "genre of customized cars associated principally with the Mexican American community" (p. 47), the style of dress of those who create the cars, and the attitude that accompanies this culture. Although viewed as gang symbols from the mainstream society, lowrider visuals were sources of pride and cultural affirmation for the Latino students in the study.
Involving the *gangsta* culture, Moje (2000) demonstrated that even the most unsanctioned literacies are extremely sophisticated, requiring much intelligence and skill. In an urban area she studied the written, body, and oral discourses of five youth from Vietnamese, Laotian, Latino, and Samoan heritages, all self-defined as ganstas. She claims that these youth used their unsanctioned literacies such as graffiti, word play in note writing, and clothing style to "claim a space, construct an identity, and take a social position in their worlds" (p. 651).

These studies have illustrated that marginalized adolescents bring much knowledge and skills acquired outside the classroom with them into school. Once such literacies are recognized and valued, teachers can transform their teaching and student learning. However, few studies highlight adolescent Latina/o English Learners' full range of out-of-school literacies, including digital and transnational literacies, and the purposes they serve. The present study specifically addresses each of these areas.

**Method**

*Definition of Terms*

In the study of urban youth Dimitriadis (2008) claims that the "language we use is not neutral or value free…,[but is] packed with often problematic assumptions and connotations, ones we must face up to if we are to advance the field in more ethical ways" (p. 109). I recognize that historically, the term literacy is defined differently than how I will use it in the present study (Street, 1995). However, as demonstrated in previous scholarship (Bruna, 2007; Pacheco, 2009), I would be remiss to exclude ways the participants have of making meaning that do not reside under the historical definition of literacy, reading and writing in a manner that mirrors school activities. Therefore, I use the construct *literacies* to mean the multiple forms one
uses to make and represent meaning, assuming the many discourses (Gee, 2008) youth use to convey meaning such as dress, body, written, audio, and oral discourses. In conjunction with the New London Group's (1996) view of literacy, the construct literacies will seek to go beyond students' in-school reading and writing to encompass the many culturally and socially based ways of sending and receiving meaning. The term out-of-school denotes all literacies that are not part of the academic curriculum, regardless of whether they might be deemed formal or informal, sanctioned or unsanctioned. For the present study, an out-of-school literacy practice might even take place in the classroom, hallways, or cafeteria, yet not be part of the school-based literacies, such as texting in class.

**Qualitative Method**

The present study answers the research questions with a collective case study approach (Stake, 1995) consisting of four participants. The boundaries (Miles & Huberman, 1994) for the purposive sample of participants were Latina/o adolescent immigrants who are students in ESL (English as a Second Language) classes in the same high school. The sampling was driven by theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1968) in order to study individuals with varying literacies inside the special boundaries.

**Setting and Participants**

The study takes place in a city in the Southwestern region of the U.S. with a population of 127,383 according to 2011 estimates. Owenton contains two of the state's public universities as well as a community college and is located within a larger metropolis that comprises two major U.S. cities. The three largest racial groups from the 2010 Census data are approximately
62% White, 21% Hispanic, and 10% Black with the remaining 7% being Asian, American Indian, Pacific Islander or multiple races.

Table A.1

Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Time in U.S. as of January 2012</th>
<th>Current Grade</th>
<th>Level of Education Completed in Country of Origin</th>
<th>Place of Employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valeria</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>20 months</td>
<td>Sophomore</td>
<td>In first year of bachillerato = 10th grade</td>
<td>Sandwich Shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alejandra</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>20 months</td>
<td>Junior</td>
<td>In second year of bachillerato = 11th grade</td>
<td>Sandwich Shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celia</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>18 months</td>
<td>Junior</td>
<td>Finished secundaria = 10th grade</td>
<td>El Taco Loco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miguel</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>9 months</td>
<td>Junior</td>
<td>In third year of universificado = 12th grade</td>
<td>Gutiérrez Tires</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All names of people and workplaces are pseudonyms.

Tucker High School, one of the district's three large high schools, is primarily White and located in a middle class area of the city. Of the approximately 2,000 students in the school, 150 are considered Limited English Proficient; however, only 13 total students take the ESL courses because students are encouraged to take regular English classes as soon as they have enough language proficiency. Each participant was set back at least one grade level when he or she arrived in the U.S. and is taking two ESL classes each semester in order to get the number of English credits needed to graduate before turning 21.

Two of the participants, Valeria and Alejandra, are sisters from El Salvador who came to the United States alone at the ages of 15 and 17 with a coyote, a human smuggler. They left their mother and Alejandra's twin sister behind in El Salvador to attempt to reunite with their three
older sisters living in Owenton. They were apprehended in the U.S. and spent one month in a juvenile detention center for unaccompanied and undocumented minors before being legally adopted by one of their sisters who has become an American citizen. They lived with this sister for one year, but were then kicked out of the house. They now live with a friend in a neighborhood close to the high school.

Celia's father lived and worked in the United States her entire life, only returning to Mexico a few times a year to visit his family. After years of waiting, he was able to arrange for the necessary paperwork to bring his entire family to live in the United States in 2010. This happened just days after Celia graduated from secundaria in Mexico, the end of compulsory schooling. Celia lives with her nuclear family in Owenton and has returned to her home in central Mexico three times to visit her friends and extended family in the 18 months she has lived in the U.S.

When Miguel was five, his mother abandoned their family and his father left Guatemala to come work in the U.S. He and his siblings were raised by his aunt and they were all supported by the money his father regularly sent them. He only saw his father two times during the remainder of his childhood and adolescence. After his father secured the necessary approvals from the Guatemalan embassy, Miguel came to the U.S. without his younger siblings to live with his father, step-mother, and two half-siblings at the age of 19.

_data collection_

The data collection took place from January 6 through April 8, 2012. The primary strategy used to collect data was interviewing, however, in order to triangulate the data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), students’ Facebook pages, drawings, text messages, and observational notes
from their workplaces and at school were collected. This multi-faceted approach to data collection is suggested (Hornberger, 2007) and used (McGinnis et al., 2007) by other researchers when investigating immigrant students' transnational literacies.

Brenner (2006) states that interviews are appropriate when the researcher is a cultural outsider, like myself, who wants to understand the culturally situated meanings of participants in their own terms. (I am a Anglo female in my early thirties, whereas my participants were Latina/o newly-arrived immigrant adolescents.) I used open-ended interviews "to understand informants on their own terms and how they make meaning of their own lives, experiences, and cognitive processes" (Brenner, 2006, p. 357). The participants were interviewed five to eight times during their 30-35 minute lunch break using an adaptation of Seideman's (1991) three-part phenomenological interview format, as used in similar studies (Rubinstein-Ávila, 2004, 2006, 2007). I have divided the interview content into three sets of agendas rather than three particular interviews. For some participants I conducted multiple interviews in one or all of the sets. Below is the agenda I had for each set of interviews.

- Interview Set 1: Context – I established the context of the experiences the participants had with literacy outside of school by understanding their educational background and history with literacies in their home countries.
- Interview Set 2: Forms of Literacies – I asked the participants about their current literacies. I focused on covering the breadth of these practices, rather than depth.
- Interview Set 3: Meaning of Literacies – By the time I arrived at the third set of interviews, I understood the literacies in which the participants engaged, the historical context in which such practices were situated, and also had access to their Facebook pages. In these interviews I explored how, when, and why each practice is used. I asked about the quantity of
time each practice is used, the location in which it takes place, the reasons for using it, and the meaning it carries for the participants. I devoted at least one of these interviews to the participants' Facebook pages and another to the questions I had after observing them in their workplaces.

Previous scholarship provided a framework for the interview questions, yet each individual had different experiences with literacy; thus, each interview followed a distinctive direction based on the participant's unique experiences. I asked them if they would like me to interview them in English or Spanish and they all wanted me to use as much English as they could understand in order for them to practice. However, due to their levels of English acquisition, the interviews were primarily in Spanish.

Table A.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Valeria=8</th>
<th>Alejandra=5</th>
<th>Celia=5</th>
<th>Miguel=6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date and topic of interview</td>
<td>January 17: Set 1</td>
<td>January 13: Set 1</td>
<td>February 1: Set 1</td>
<td>January 13: Set 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>January 18: Set 1</td>
<td>January 18: Set 1</td>
<td>February 3: Set 1</td>
<td>January 20: Set 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>January 19: Set 1</td>
<td>January 20: Set 2</td>
<td>February 8: Set 2</td>
<td>January 25: Set 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>February 2: Set 3</td>
<td>February 15: Set 3/Facebook</td>
<td>February 29: Set 3/Work</td>
<td>February 8: Set 3/Facebook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>February 3: Set 3/Work</td>
<td></td>
<td>March 5: Set 3/Work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>February 5: Set 3/Work+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>February 15: Set 3/Facebook</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+On February 6th I interviewed Valeria and Alejandra together to clarify questions I had about their workplace environment.

Each interview started with a "grand tour question" (Brenner, 2006, p. 358) that allowed for a broad description about each interview's focus. In order to build each interview, I then used
"minitour" questions that more deeply explored the topic under investigation while avoiding leading questions that could jeopardize the study's credibility (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Valeria and Miguel would usually begin with stories that answered my initial question, whereas Alejandra and Celia gave shorter, more direct answers. Therefore, many of the "minitour" questions were not needed for Valeria and Miguel's interviews, but I relied more on them for the other participants' interviews.

Artifacts

The artifacts I collected consisted of drawings, text messages, and text, images, videos, and audio from their Facebook pages. This data supplemented the interview data by providing a fuller picture of the forms, meanings, and purpose of their salient literacies. I analyzed their entire Facebook pages which included their walls, information pages, photos, videos, and messages posted on other people's walls. Since their Facebook pages are not stagnant documents, but in constant change from the participants themselves as well as others, I analyzed the documents continuously over the data collection period. I included data from the time the students created their Facebook pages in the analysis.

Table A.3

Artifacts Collected

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Drawings</strong></th>
<th>Three drawings from Miguel's journal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Text Messages</strong></td>
<td>Copies of a series of text messages from Alejandra's and Celia's cell phones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Facebook pages</strong></td>
<td>All postings, photos, and videos on the participants' pages from the time they created them in 2010 or 2011 through April 8, 2012 totaling 2,085.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Finally, I conducted observations of the participants in their ESL classrooms, at lunch, and in their workplaces. I was a participant observer in the students' ESL classes for 14 class periods of about 45 minutes each. During this time I helped the participants with their homework, worked with small groups to complete an activity assigned by the teacher, and translated for them when they requested it. On five occasions I had an informal lunch with the participants and their friends in the school cafeteria and on three days I met Valeria and Alejandra before school for 45 minutes. During these times at lunch and before school when I was not conducting an interview, I was able to interact with the participants socially, help them with homework, and allow them to practice their English by telling me about their lives and asking me questions about mine. I also engaged in participant observation in my interaction with them on Facebook as other researchers have done (McGinnis, et al., 2007). We sent each other messages, posted on each other's walls and shared pictures. This was the primary way I communicated with them outside of school.

Additionally, I conducted a more formal observation in each participant's workplace while he or she was working. I used a modification of Richardson's (1998) recommendations for taking field notes under four distinct categories. For my purposes I refined the categories to include observations, personal notes, methodological notes, and triangulation. (See Table 4.) The observational notes include solely what I could observe, mainly see and hear, without drawing any conclusions. The personal notes are where I recorded the assumptions I made based on my observations and the prior knowledge I had from my previous interviews, informal interactions, and viewing of the participants' Facebook pages. The third column, methodological notes, contains questions I wanted to ask the participants about my observations in their next
interview. Lastly, I included a column where I triangulated my observations with what I had learned prior to the observation from previous data collection with the participant. What I knew prior to coming into the observation guided my experience and created the lens through which I viewed the workplaces and the observable workplace literacies.

Table A.4

*Example of Workplace Observation*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Observational Notes</th>
<th>Personal Notes</th>
<th>Methodological Notes</th>
<th>Triangulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A man assists me at the cash register with a name tag that says assistant manager, Bob.</td>
<td>He is Celia’s boss. He communicates with her in English because he does not speak Spanish.</td>
<td>Did he hire her? What kind of relationship does she have with him? Does she like him? What language do they speak in?</td>
<td>Interview: Celia had an interview before she was hired. It was in English and someone translated.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Data Analysis*

Using a grounded-theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1968), I used inductive coding in a manner suggested by Brenner (2006): "to describe the categories that emerge from the data during the analytical process" (p. 360). I analyzed each data piece (interview transcript, artifact, or observational note) immediately after acquisition (Rubin & Rubin, 1995a) following a two-step process: open and focused coding (Charmaz, 2003). As suggested by Charmaz (2003) for constructivist grounded theory interviewing and analysis, I first coded the data with a specific term that denoted the literacy or its purpose. This allowed me to compare the data acquired from one participant with another. Examples from this step of coding are: writing a Facebook post in English, posting pictures, using codes in Spanish, and being tagged in another posted photo. Next, I concentrated on more abstract and focused coding which allowed for the creation of categories that represent sets of like data. In the previous example, all of the codes from the first
step were collapsed into the broader category of Facebook Literacies. I continually adjusted coding schemes, the limitations, and definitions of each code to account for the full meaning of the data. To illustrate this point, after analyzing my data under the broader categories of Facebook and Workplace Literacies, I made subcategories under each broader theme to show how English acquisition took place within each of the two categories.

Using the constant-comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1968), I recursively compared each incident or artifact against others to identify similarities and differences, determine its code, and redefine the properties of each individual code (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Because I used a grounded theory approach, I did not specify the codes I used prior to conducting the research, but allowed them to emerge from the data. After I coded each piece of data, I used my coding to inform subsequent data collection, particularly interview directions.

Findings

The literacies that these participants engaged in the most outside of school were related to Facebook, their workplaces, and entertainment. Each of these is a social space, where the participants engage in the literacies with others, either physically or digitally. Moreover, these broad categories of literacies are interconnected by the specific purposes they serve for the individuals which are 1) connecting to their home countries, 2) maintaining their Latina/o identities, 3) acquiring English, 4) supporting themselves, and 5) establishing a place to succeed.

Facebook Literacies

Each participant has a personal Facebook page that he or she started upon arrival to the United States. This is the space where most of their out-of-school reading and writing that is not
for school purposes takes place. Valeria uses Facebook the most since she can look at her page on her iPod or her cell phone: “Pase la página mía día y noche” [I'm on my page night and day].

Table A.5

*Themes and Specific Examples of Literacies Intersecting with Their Purposes*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1. Facebook Literacies</th>
<th>2. Workplace Literacies</th>
<th>3. Entertainment Literacies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Connect to Home</td>
<td>1A. Maintain relationships from home, communicate with family and friends</td>
<td></td>
<td>3A. Watch same telenovelas, listen to same music as in home country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Maintain Latina/o Identity</td>
<td>1B. Post pictures, videos, and messages displaying Latino theme</td>
<td>3B. Listen to/view music and videos of Latino artists</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. English Acquisition</td>
<td>1C. Post/receive messages in English, &quot;friend&quot; English-speaking co-workers on Facebook</td>
<td>2C. Acquire English-speaking Facebook &quot;friends&quot;, speak in English for authentic purposes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Support Themselves</td>
<td>2D. Make money for current expenses, send to family in home country, save for college</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Place to Succeed</td>
<td>2E. Receive raises, advance positions, perform crucial tasks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Celia uses Facebook the least, but looks at her friends' pages daily to see what is new: "Es que meto y miro lo nuevo y ya me salgo” [I just get on, look at what's new, and I get off]. Within this social and cultural space, they give information about themselves on their individual information pages and post pictures, videos from YouTube, websites, personal updates, and chain messages. (see Figure A.1). Their friends also post similar things on the participants' walls which can create a thread of messages related to the post. Evident in all of the students' Facebook use were
the themes of utilizing this social networking site to stay connected to their home countries,
maintain their Latina/o identities, and acquire English.

"*[**Feliz Inicio de Navidad**]*

pegalo en los muros que les decías una felixx navidad si te regresan 1 vas a tener una mala navidad si te regresan 3 vas a tener una feliz navidad y si te regresan 5 vas a tener una pero muy feliz navidad

["**Merry Christmas**: paste it on the walls of those you want to wish a merry christmas to and if 1 is returned you will have a bad Christmas if 3 are returned, you will have a merry christmas and if 5 are returned you will have a very merry Christmas]

*Figure A.1. Example of chain message on students' Facebook walls.*

Facebook: Connect to Home

Of the participants' many Facebook friends, the vast majority of them are from their home countries although many now reside in the U.S. Alejandra says of one friend who had posted on her wall: "Era mi vecina antes, pero ella vive aquí ahora" [She was my neighbor before (in El Salvador), but she lives here now]. Similarly, Celia says of a friend on Facebook: "Ella está aquí, pero era mi vecina en México” [She is here, but she was my neighbor in Mexico]. In each instance, the person does not live "here" in the sense of the same city, but in the United States although they know that person from their home countries.

Facebook is the primary means they have to stay connected to their friends and family that they left behind. Since Alejandra traveled from El Salvador with nothing more than her backpack, passport, and a few clothing articles, all of her "recuerdos/memory"c" were left behind, most importantly her mother and twin sister. However, she communicates regularly with her family through Facebook, exchanging pictures and messages from the two countries.
### Table A.6

**Basic Facebook Information**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Date Started</th>
<th>Number of Facebook Friends</th>
<th>All Posts by the Participant</th>
<th>All Posts to the Participant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valeria</td>
<td>January 2011</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alejandra</td>
<td>December 2010</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celia</td>
<td>August 2011</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miguel</td>
<td>May 2011</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When asked why she started her page upon arriving here when she never saw the need in her home country, her answer was very clear: "For my sister and my mom." Her twin sister in El Salvador sends both Alejandra and Valeria messages and pictures of herself and their friends that they left behind on a daily basis. It is also a way for the sisters to share their new life in the U.S. with their mother. Their pages contain pictures of science experiments at school, working at the Sandwich Shop, and trips with their older sisters around the state. Through Facebook, Valeria can keep a somewhat normal relationship with her mother and sister. She becomes the protective big sister in a series of messages regarding a picture as she responds to a man: "Hey victor mucho respeto a mi hermana ok" [Hey victor respect my sister ok]. Her mother can even scold her and maintain some parental control through Facebook. "El otro día me reganó porque eso, había una foto donde tenía el cabello todo arreglado y me gusta que lise el cabello. Se enojó por eso" [The other day she (my mom) got onto me because there was a picture of me with my hair all done up and she likes my hair straight. She got angry because of that]. Shortly after that incident Valeria changed her profile picture to please her mother.
Similarly, Miguel left everything and everyone he knew behind to come to the U.S. to live with a father he had rarely seen during his childhood. Nevertheless, he has maintained the relationships dominant during the first nineteen years of his life through Facebook. "Contacto con mis amigos en Guatemala. Con mis primos. Mis hermanos también" [(I use it) to keep in touch with my friends in Guatemala. With my cousins. With my brother and sister also]. On his birthday, his first one away from Guatemala, his wall contained many posts from his friends back home: "feliz cumple pollo" [happy birthday chicken], "feliz cumple aki en guatemala lo queremos muxo bendiciones muaa ..!! cuidece" [happy birthday here in guatemala we love you many blessings mwaaa ..!! take care].

Celia does not use Facebook as much as the others because her cell phone plan includes unlimited calling and texting in the U.S and Mexico. She explains that her friends must go to internet cafes in Mexico in order to access their Facebook pages, but they always have their phones. Therefore, her page is used to initiate contact with someone she knew in Mexico and share pictures. One recent picture a friend posted on her wall contains all of her best friends in Mexico. She looks at the picture and says it makes her sad because "falta yo" [it's missing me].

Facebook: Maintain Latina/o Identity

Each student's information page contains an array of images associated with Latin America, if not his or her specific country, such as Alejandra's profile picture of the words "El Salvador" in flames (see Figure A2). Pictures of Latin American music artists from the popular genres of bachata and reggaeton fill their "likes" section along with soccer teams and Spanish television programs. They have many digitally mastered pictures featuring themselves, their family and friends juxtaposed against their countries' name, flag and Spanish words. One picture
on Miguel's page created by a friend in Guatemala features a collage of people with the caption: "si tas aqui es xk TQM" [if you are here, it is because I love you a lot]. In addition to the visual images, using the nontraditional spelling and youth codes in Spanish gives the students an avenue to maintain their identities as Latin American youth while beginning new lives in another country. For example, the participants write "tqm" for te quiero mucho [I love you], "x" for por [for], and "xk" for porque [because]. The students' information pages as well as their walls and pictures demonstrate that they are Latinos who are proud of their Latin roots and identity.

Figure A.2. Alejandra's Facebook profile picture demonstrating her Salvadoreña identity.

Figure A.3. Examples of pictures on students' Facebook pages demonstrating their Latina/o identities.

Facebook: English Acquisition

Even though three of the participants are in their third semester in a U.S. school of predominantly native English-speakers, they rarely talk to "American people." Valeria states: "Aquí en la escuela casi no tengo amigos de americano, así que los tengo en Facebook" [Here in school I really don't have American friends, so I have them on Facebook]. Valeria goes through
most of the school day hardly speaking a word in English, speaking Spanish in her ESL classes and choosing not to speak at all in her mainstream classes. She is shy and lacks confidence to use enough English in order for effective second language acquisition to occur. However, she has almost 300 Facebook friends, some of whom she knows from work and communicates with in English. Some of the phrases she tries out as she responds to other people's posts are: "i love you" to her sister, "i love" referring to a picture, "me too" and "what up." Even though these are simple phrases she is trying out, I observed that she uses more English on Facebook than during school.

Like Valeria, Facebook has become a primary space in which Alejandra can safely develop her English. She practices using every English code she learns and regularly posts "omg!" (oh my god) and "lol!" (laughing out loud) on others' pages. She explains how she learns what the codes mean in English: "Cuando yo leo, yo pregunto que es esto, y ellos me dicen" [when I read it I ask what is this and they [co-workers] tell me]. She also writes longer phrases in English such as "They are sooo precious!" and "yes i know >>they are Hilda's baby" in a series of messages about her friend's babies.

Although Miguel does not speak much English, he often receives posts in English from relatives who have lived in the U.S. for many years. His half-brother posted a picture on his wall with the caption "Ava in a shopping cart laughing lol B-)") and his cousin sent him a message saying "Having a pre-thanksgiving celebration with the in laws :)." He does not understand the full nature of all of the English posts, but tries to decipher them to get the main idea. Celia tells me that she only wants to post on her wall in English, but it is difficult for her to do so. "Es que quiero escribir en ingles, pero no puedo" [it's because I want to write in English, but I can't]. She receives some posts in English from her English-speaking co-workers and responds to a message
wishing her a happy Valentine's Day: "you to happy valentines day." She has told Alejandra to post messages and text her in English so she can learn. Alejandra posted "omg!!!!!!" on Celia's wall and I asked her if she knew what it meant. Celia responded, "omg? Hola mi amiga?" trying to find a Spanish phrase that would fit the popular English code for "oh my god." Weeks later she gained the confidence to use "omg" on her page posting "omg tomorrow i have test."

In conclusion, the many specific literacies that take place on Facebook allow the participants avenues to connect to home, maintain their Latina/o identities, and acquire English. This social and cultural space has meaning for the students because of the unique purposes it serves in their lives.

**Workplace Literacies**

In the students' workplaces they have a social and cultural environment where many literacies are developed and refined. Much like Facebook, although it was not a selection criterion, all four participants have jobs in the U.S., but never had a job in their home countries. In general, their workplace literacies allow them to acquire English, support themselves, and establish a place to succeed.

**Workplace: English Acquisition**

This theme is tied directly to the students' English acquisition on Facebook since they all stated that 100% of their *americano* friends to whom they write in English are current or former co-workers. Although they attend most classes with a primarily English-speaking student body, they have not made any friends that do not speak Spanish. They sit with other Spanish-speakers at lunch and work with them in class every day. They are virtually segregated from the majority
of the student body who speaks English as their dominant or only language even though they might be in the same room with them. Although I speak Spanish, because I am Anglo, they associated me with the *americanos* and all stated that I was the only *americano* they knew that was not a co-worker or a teacher.

Table A.7

*Workplace Information*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Responsibilities</th>
<th>Earnings</th>
<th>Hours per Week</th>
<th>Previous Jobs in U.S.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valeria</td>
<td>Sandwich Shop&lt;br&gt;Reads tickets, makes sandwiches in kitchen, cleans kitchen</td>
<td>$8/hour</td>
<td>35-40</td>
<td>2 Burgers N Fries locations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alejandra</td>
<td>Sandwich Shop&lt;br&gt;Listens to drive thru orders in headset, fills orders, cleans kitchen, trains new employees</td>
<td>$8/hour</td>
<td>35-40</td>
<td>1 Burgers N Fries location and 2 other Sandwich Shop locations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celia</td>
<td>El Taco Loco&lt;br&gt;Listens to drive thru orders in headset, fills orders, cleans kitchen</td>
<td>$7.25/hour</td>
<td>25-30</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miguel</td>
<td>Gutiérrez Tires&lt;br&gt;Apprentice: Learns how to change tires, helps customers, assists mechanics</td>
<td>$30/day in cash</td>
<td>9 hours (only Saturdays)</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of the female participants clearly stated that they have more opportunities to practice their English when they are working than when they are at school. At school, they rarely speak to anyone in English besides their teachers, but at work they are in positions where they have to speak to co-workers, managers, and customers in English in order to communicate. I observed
that Valeria goes through much of the school day without saying a word in English, yet she explains that at work in the Sandwich Shop "casi es todos americanos allí" [it's mainly all Americans there] so she speaks in English out of necessity. She also reads the tickets in English to fill the orders. Alejandra's English acquisition has benefitted greatly from her work environment as she must listen to the drive thru orders in English through her headset. Sometimes she even corrects the cashiers when they put the orders into the computer incorrectly: "And sometimes when the cashier put something wrong I say her, the customer say that." She is also in charge of training new employees, all who speak only English. She has developed good relationships with her co-workers and says "I tell they I want to learn English so she, uh, they help me."

Like Alejandra, Celia listens to drive thru orders in English through her headset. She explains that although this was difficult when she first started, she can now understand almost everything and even translates for her co-workers. Some of her co-workers and managers only speak English. She has developed good relationships with some of the girls and feels comfortable practicing English with them, although she would rarely speak to me in English. She tells me about her friend at work, Sandy:

Ella me dice, cuando yo le hablo en español, ella me dice, háblame en inglés. Yo le digo, yo no sé, pero dice sí, tú sabes porque tú siempre entiendes y contestas en español.

[She says, when I speak to her in Spanish, she tells me, speak to me in English. I tell her I don't know, but she says yes, you know because you always understand and answer in Spanish.]

This is very similar to the format my interviews had with Celia. I asked her questions in English and she generally understood, but did not feel confident enough to answer in English. Sandy and other co-workers encourage her to use the English she knows in her interactions with them.
Although Miguel works with other men from Guatemala and Mexico, the tire shop has about half English-speaking customers. The other workers have more English proficiency than Miguel, who has lived in the U.S. for less than a year, yet sometimes he must help customers alone when the others are busy. He makes a decision to talk to them in English or Spanish based on their appearance. I asked him what he would say if I were there and he responded:

Miguel: Can you help me? No es "Can you help me?" [It's not "Can you help me?"]
Mandy: Can I help you?
Miguel: Sí. Es que ya me olvida esas palabras. Can I help you? [Yes. It's that I sometimes forget those words. Can I help you?]

He goes on to explain that he gets nervous when he has to speak to customers in English because of his pronunciation, but knows he must do it for the sake of his job. When he is working on a car, he sometimes asks his co-workers to help him with a phrase he knows he might need with customers.

Workplace: A Place to Succeed

All of the participants were put back at least one grade when they emigrated due to their lack of English credits. They also face state mandated tests and core subject coursework developed for native English-speakers. This makes them feel unsuccessful in school, but at work they have all created a place where they can succeed. Valeria struggles the most in school, but thrives in her work environment, making more money than all of the other non-managerial staff. It was her work at a previous job, Burgers N Fries, which paved the way for her and Alejandra to have their current jobs. Alejandra has also excelled in her position at the Sandwich Shop where she is now training new employees. There is no one else in this location who knows everything about the kitchen and the front so she has become very important to the manager. She explains:
"Only me, I know everything. Only I, I know everything." Because she has become indispensable to her manager at the new location, he expressed his appreciation: "My manager, he say probably like I get more money because I help a lot." He would even like for Alejandra to consider becoming assistant manager.

Celia began working at El Taco Loco in her cousin's shadow as another Spanish-speaking kitchen employee, but has had much success of which she is very proud. She has received a raise and was given a headset to hear the drive thru orders. She works with some people who only speak Spanish and some who only speak English, which has made her improving bilingualism very essential. She regularly translates between the two groups as well as for Spanish-speaking customers and cashiers, an activity she enjoys as evident in an excerpt from an interview with her.

Celia: Si como a veces no hay a nadie que hable español de manager y hablan a veces en español por el drive thru y yo tengo que hacerlo. O me dice, cuando habla español, Bob dice "que quieren, Celia?" Yo hago esto.
[If sometimes there is not anyone that speaks Spanish, a manager, and they speak sometimes in Spanish in the drive thru, I have to do it. Or he tells me when they speak Spanish, Bob (the assistant manager) says, "What do they want, Celia?" I do that.]

MANDY: Y te gusta hacer esto? [And you like to do that?]

CELIA: Si! Mucha! [Yes! A lot!]

At school, Celia remains in Alejandra's shadow, dependent upon her frequent translations, but she has become the crucial translator at work. Bob, a middle-aged Anglo assistant manager who was obviously in charge when I observed, has especially noticed Celia's burgeoning contributions at work. Celia laughs as she tells me:

Cada vez me preguntan más, como cada vez, como a veces las señoras de la cocina le preguntan algo a Bob y Bob no entiende, Y Bob "Celia! Celia!!! Necesito tu ayuda!
[Every time they ask me, like every time when the ladies in the kitchen ask Bob something and Bob doesn't understand and Bob [shouts] "Celia! Celia!!! I need your help!"

She desires to become a cashier in the next few months so she can make more money, which is a job that requires fluency in oral English.

Workplace: Support Themselves

For each of the participants it is important for them to make money to support themselves and not rely on others. For Valeria and Alejandra it is a necessity even though they are not legally allowed to work and should be supported by their legal guardian, their sister. However, their reality is much like that of an adult. They need to pay for 100% of their own expenses, including rent, food, transportation, as well as their lawyer fees. Furthermore, they send money to support their mother and pay for their sister to attend high school in El Salvador. They are also still repaying their aunt the money she gave them be smuggled across multiple borders in order to come to Owenton. During the data collection period they bought themselves cell phones for the first time and carried them visibly with them everywhere they went at school, obviously proud of their new piece of technology that they bought for themselves. Their normal workweek is 35-40 hours, but sometimes they even work more. When I asked Valeria why she was working extra shifts the week of the important state English test, she told me plainly in a one word answer, one of the few words she ever said to me in English: "money."

Celia and Miguel do not have to work in order to cover their living expenses, but both want to be able to buy things for themselves. Celia says about wanting to go to work:

Mi papá no querría pero me dice que no, y yo dice a sí. Y yo querría porque no le tengo que pedir pues, como, como quiero unas zapatas, quiero esa blusa.
[My father didn't want me to, but he said no and I said yes. And I wanted to because I don’t have to ask him for things, like, like I want some shoes. I want that shirt.]

Although Miguel only makes $30 a day for his internship arrangement, he is doing it so he can learn and get a better job. He wants to save money "porque va a universidad, pienso que es caro” [because to go to college, I think it's expensive].

In conclusion, the participants' workplaces are important spaces in their lives where many literacies take place. Through their jobs they are able to further their English acquisition, support themselves financially, and create a place to succeed and feel successful.

Entertainment Literacies

The theme of entertainment consists of the students' music and television choices. Even these are social spaces as they share their music with each other, listen together in class by sharing ear plugs, watch videos together, and view telenovelas (Spanish soap operas) with family members. Celia explains to me that she has all of her music on her cell phone, but has not bought any of it. Alejandra and Valeria share their music with her through an application.

Valeria and Alejandra always had their phones with them whenever I saw them in school: their ESL classes, in the hallways, and in the cafeteria. Their ear plugs were always connected and they would usually have one in while sharing the other with Miguel or Celia's younger sister. When they had free time at school and even other times when they were supposed to be completing assignments, they would go to the classroom computers to look for music videos of Latino artists. Since there were only two computers in the classroom, they inserted one set of ear plugs to be shared between two people.
Entertainment: Connect to Home

The music they listen to is all Latin American genres, primarily reggaeton and bachata. All of the artists they list on their Facebook pages are Latin American artists and they said they listen to the exact same music here as they did in their home countries. Celia explains how she connects to her home country through music: "Me recuerda de México allá los escuchaba y luego aquí, pues pienso que estoy en México" [It reminds me of Mexico (because) I listened to it there and then here, well, I think that I am in Mexico]. Miguel explains that while almost everything has changed in his life over the past nine months since he moved from Guatemala, the music he listens to has not changed at all.

In Mexico, Celia loved watching telenovelas with her family and continues to do that here on days she does not work. Her friends in Mexico are usually watching the same novelas, just a month ahead which allows her to text them to find out what is going to happen before the show airs in the U.S. Being able to continue this activity with her family and friends helps ease the transition to a new life. She says while getting lost in the hour-long drama of the novelas that "a veces pienso que estoy en México" [sometimes I think that I am in Mexico].

Entertainment: Maintain Latina/o Identity

I asked them if they listen to music in English and their responses were similar. They generally only listen to music in English if it is by a Latin American artist who also sings in Spanish such as Jennifer Lopez and Enrique Iglesias. Alejandra was the only participant who ever listened to popular American music, yet she preferred music in Spanish. Her Facebook information lists Los Hermanos Flores as her favorite artist, a musical group from El Salvador, and reggaeton as her favorite genre of music. Valeria listed a popular reggaeton group as her
favorite musicians, Wisin y Yandel, and Miguel listed the *reggaeton* artist Daddy Yankee as his favorite musician on his Facebook page. Their primary music choice, *reggaeton*, represents their transnational lives (Flores, 2009) and allows them to express their transnational Latina/o identities through their music.

Entertainment choices for these students fulfill similar purposes as their social networking. They are able to keep something from home that provides a sense of stability in their lives that have changed so drastically since moving to the U.S. Furthermore, they maintain their identity as Latina/o youth while learning and living within a new culture. Music and television constitute an area where their literacies serve unique purposes in their emotional, cultural, and identity status.

*Themes for the Importance of the Literacies*

In addition to the themes for the literacies and their purposes, other themes emerged in the data as participants talked about their pasts, present, and futures. After a careful analysis of the data, I determined that these well-saturated themes across cases demonstrated why each literacy practice is important for the individual. These themes are 1) what was left behind, 2) to be someone, 3) remittances, and 4) more opportunities in the U.S.
The ovals denote the three primary literacies in which the participants engage.

The rectangles designate the purposes that each literacy uniquely fills.

The shaded diamonds represent themes from the data that demonstrate why each literacy practice is important to the students. This is demonstrated through the unique purposes within each literacy.

Figure A.4. Relationship of literacies, their purposes, and importance.

What They Left Behind

None of the students were able to bring many of their possessions with them to the U.S. Even Celia, who came by bus and has returned to Mexico three times since emigrating, informs me that all of her recuerdos [keepsakes] from her childhood and adolescence are in Mexico, including her celebrity posters, sports trophies, and medals. Valeria and Alejandra brought
hardly more than the clothes on their back. Valeria tells me: "Lo único que yo traía era mi pasaporte, mi ropa la que andaba puesta y traía una mochila" [the only thing that I brought was my passport, the clothes I was wearing and I brought a backpack].

They not only left behind possessions, but immediate family members and friends as well. All of them left classmates with whom they had attended school since Kindergarten. Valeria and Alejandra left their mother and sister in El Salvador, Alejandra's twin. Miguel left the aunt who raised him, his younger siblings, and cousins: the only family he had ever known.

Additionally, these students left a way of life behind in their home countries and embraced a new life that differs strikingly from their old lives. In their home countries they did not work, but had time for extracurricular activities that they enjoyed. Valeria, Celia, and Miguel all loved to play sports in their countries, but have not done so on a team nor recreationally since coming to the U.S. Valeria excelled in soccer and softball and played on her school's teams her entire life. Sports were an activity in which she enjoyed and experienced success until she came here. "Siempre he jugado. Nada más aquí. Nunca me ha metido en un deporte" [I have always played. Just never here. I have never played sports here]. Alejandra participated in her school's baile folklorico, cultural dance, performances twice a year from a very young age up until coming to the U.S. Like the others, she has not engaged in this activity here.

Because they did not work nor struggle as much in school in their countries, they had free time to play outside, go to internet cafes, and hang out with their friends. Since Valeria and Alejandra work nearly 40 hours a week in addition to school, they do not have time to watch television, go to the movies, or do other typical teenager activities. Celia tells me she used to drive in Mexico although she did not have a license because it did not really matter there.
However, she realizes that there are dire consequences for driving without a license in the U.S. and has not driven since, making her, like the three others, dependent upon other people for transportation. In their countries, public transportation was readily available, yet is not in Owenton. To demonstrate the simpler way of life they left behind, Valeria tells me: "En El Salvador yo entraba a siete y media de la mañana a la escuela y salía a las doce. Y el resto del día, me pasaba en casa” [In El Salvador I started school at seven thirty in the morning and left at twelve. The rest of the day I spent at home]. This contrasts strikingly to her new schedule of school from 8:30 am to 4:30 pm directly followed by work until 10:30 pm.

They left much behind when they came to their new countries. The literacies they engage in through Facebook and their workplace that allow them to connect to home are extremely valuable, because they allow them to keep something from their former lives.

To Be Someone

In one interview Celia explained why she so desperately desires to learn English and be successful in this country: "Para ser alguien” [to be someone]. All of the students indicate that they are striving for something they do not yet have: English fluency, a high school diploma, college scholarships, and a professional job. However, the literacies they demonstrate in the areas of Facebook, workplace, and entertainment allow them to "ser alguien” [be someone] already.

Maintaining their Latina/o identities through Facebook and entertainment allow them to have confidence that they are someone: Latina/o. They are not striving to learn their culture and language, but already own them completely. They are experts when it comes to Latino music artists, telenovelas, and the Spanish youth codes used with Facebook and texting. In my
informal visits with them, they taught me about themselves, their countries, their music, and their
cultures with much enthusiasm. When it comes to being Latina/o, they already are.

Likewise, the workplace has provided them a place to succeed which allows them to be
someone in the present. They are advancing positions, receiving raises, and experiencing
success at work. They have official positions with specific jobs they can execute well. They
already have achieved "being someone" at work. These areas are pertinent to their lives because
so much of their efforts and hopes focus on striving to be someone they are not yet. However, in
the aforementioned areas, they have something that allows them to be someone in the present.

Remittances

Remittances are the money and goods earned in host country, but sent back to the sending
country. Each participant benefitted greatly while growing up from remittances sent from family
members working in the U.S. Valeria and Alejandra's mother received money from her brother
in Missouri in order to "salir adelante" [get ahead]. This not only provided for their basic needs
since their mother did not have a regular job and their father left, but also allowed them to begin
attending bachillerato, equivalent to Grades 10-12, which is not funded by the government in El
Salvador. Celia explains that her father's remittances allowed her family to have more than
others in her town in Mexico. "Más que algunas. Sí, porque mi papá nos llevaba ropa o también
como zapatos" [(we had) more than others. Yes, because my father sent us clothes or like shoes
too]. Miguel says that his aunt, who raised him, his two younger siblings, and her own two
children, did not have to work because his father sent money from the U.S. His father made
enough money "para apoyar todos" [to support everyone]. This allowed Miguel to attend básico
and universificado, Grades 7-12, which cost large sums of money in Guatemala, making them
inaccessible to many families. He realizes that this would not have been possible if it were not for the remittances sent by his father.

Although Celia and Miguel work to help support themselves and save for their futures, they do not have to send money back to their home countries like their fathers did. Valeria and Alejandra, however, work to send money to financially support their mother and sister until they can get the paperwork to bring them to Owenton. Alejandra explains how she helps her sister: "Yo le doy dinero para que estudie” [I give her money so she can study]. She and Valeria are paying for their sister to finish high school and expect to return to El Salvador in the coming months to attend her graduation, an accomplishment in which all three of them have a part.

Remittances sent to them growing up explain why their workplace literacies that allow them to support themselves are so important. Throughout their lives, they benefitted greatly from someone else's work in the U.S. and feel an obligation to give back; keenly understanding that work in this new country provides better lives for themselves and their families. This is evident by them supporting themselves, saving for their futures, and for Alejandra and Valeria, providing for their family back home.

More Opportunities in the U.S.

All of the participants seemed to have nice, relatively middle-class lives in their home countries. They went to school, had plans to attend universities, and enjoyed many activities with their friends. I asked them why they wanted to come to the U.S. to be set back grade levels, face the challenge of learning English, and have to maintain a regular job. Their answers were all very clear. They came here for opportunities that they believe they would never have had in their home countries. They explain the situation for people in their countries: "no hay
oportunidades” [there are no opportunities], “no sale de donde está” [you cannot get ahead], and "is hard for job right now…you can't find.” Alejandra explains the dilemma she had because she was only months away from finishing high school in El Salvador when she left:

I confused because I want to come here but I want to finish my bachillerto. But my mom say if you want to learn English is better here. And I get for the better option….I think so….Cause here is better. More jobs.

This theme, apparent throughout all four cases, explains the significance of their Facebook and workplace literacies that provide an avenue for English acquisition. All of them have a very strong desire to speak proficient English and do everything they can in and outside of school to learn. They believe that they can achieve goals that were never possible in their countries by first acquiring English. To these newcomers, they envision a bright future for themselves and their families, but must first conquer the English language in order for their dreams to come true. This is the first step to reaching the endless opportunities they envision to be "aquí” [here].

Discussion

The New London Group (1996, 2000) stresses that literacy pedagogy must change in response to local diversity, global connectedness and technology. The present study emphasizes that importance by demonstrating the many meaningful, sophisticated, multimodal, and transnational ways the participants engage with literacy out of school. Although they might struggle with school-related tasks, they thrive in their out-of-school literate lives on Facebook, in the workplace, and when engaging with entertainment. The following section provides a discussion of how we might reconceptualize literacy pedagogy for immigrant adolescents in light of these findings.
First, their literacies are social, unlike school-related assignments that often require individual tasks. Their Facebook interactions occur through a web of relationships, they must accomplish tasks at work by interacting with others, and they engage in all of their entertainment activities with others of like interests. Because of these social spaces they are able to acquire English outside of school and define themselves as Latina/os with, for, and by the assistance of others.

Second, their literacies are transnational, enabling them to seamlessly cross borders while staying in the same physical location. Through these literacies these newcomers are able to begin the process of transcultural repositioning (Guerra, 2007) as they learn how to negotiate interactions with other people from different countries, language backgrounds, and cultures through work and Facebook. Additionally, within the social and transcultural component of their literacies are layers of multilingualism, multiculturalism, and multimodality. On Facebook they post and receive messages in English and Spanish. They also use codes in both languages to communicate with their friends such as "tqm" in Spanish (te quiero mucho [I love you a lot]) and "lol" in English (laughing out loud). In their workplaces they serve as vital language brokers for customers, managers, and co-workers, using their burgeoning bilingual abilities for authentic purposes. In all three of the literate spaces examined, Facebook, work, and entertainment, they continual engage with multiple cultures on a daily basis: connecting with friends in multiple countries on Facebook, interacting with americanos and Latinos at work, and listening to reggeaton music which is transnational in its nature as it merges Latin American, Hip Hop, and Caribbean influences (Flores, 2009).

What implications do their literacies have for educators? In order to answer this question, I want to revisit Harte's (2003) poignant questions about the definition of literacy in light of the
literacies the participants possess. He asks of the literacy pedagogy in our schools: "What kinds of social practices are in place and, as a result, how is literacy being defined? Who benefits from this definition of literacy? Who is put at jeopardy?" (p. 8). The literacy practice central to the participants' U.S. schooling centered on high-stakes, state-mandated testing, concurring with other research with high school English Learners (de la Piedra, 2010). The participants feel great pressure to pass these tests created for native English-speakers and spend much of their school day in efforts to prepare for these tests. Their in-school literacy is defined as monolingual and monocultural, benefitting mainstream students on a surface level, yet creating an atmosphere where newcomer adolescents are relegated to near certain failure. Their ESL teacher believes it is highly unlikely that they will pass all of the state tests before they are 21, which will essentially make them high school drop-outs. Ironically, society needs the skills the participants already possess or are developing. These Latina/o youth greatly want to fully use those skills to the benefit of the U.S. education, medical, legal, and justice systems as a teacher, pediatrician, defense attorney, and detective. However, they are being pushed out of mainstream society by the school itself. It is the very institution of education that is preventing them from achieving success as highly productive and contributing members of society.

Harste (2003) further challenges us: "What social practices could I have put in place to make the everyday literacies that students bring with them to school legitimate? What kinds of things would I have to do to show that I honor the home literacies that students bring with them to school?" (p. 8). To account for the new era of diversity we experience due to global connectedness, our literacy pedagogy should recognize, legitimize, and embrace the multiple worlds students inhabit through their literacies outside of school.
For the participants of this study, educators could leverage their entertainment choices and their language skills in the classroom. Specifically, telenovelas and *reggaetón* music not only allow students to connect to their home countries, but also provide a pathway for them to maintain, further develop, and show loyalty to their Latina/o and transnational identities. *Reggaetón* music is often portrayed by mainstream societies as delinquent in some form, but is a genre of music that represents the transnational identity that many of our immigrant students adopt (Flores, 2009; Poveda, 2012). As other researchers have used elements of hip-hop culture, specifically rap music, in classroom assignments (Cooks, 2004; Hallman, 2009; Mahiri, 2004; Morrell & Duncan-Andrade, 2004), I suggest allowing immigrant students to explore their transnationalism and modern day issues of immigration, power, and racism through their music and television choices.

Much like the participants in this study, many Latina/o immigrant students watch music videos that overtly speak to unjust immigration laws such as popular reggaeton artists, Wisin & Yandel's, *Estoy Enamorado* music video widely available on the internet (El Nasi & Gómez, 2010). Many of these students also regularly watch telenovelas that illustrate generations of class domination. Through these literacies, Latina/o students possess political-historical knowledge (Pacheco, 2009) that can aide them in engaging in critical literacy.

Furthermore, in a new era where we are all inextricably linked together across borders, there is a greater need for all students to develop transcultural skills. Education should capitalize on the increasing diversity in many schools, and advocate for what Paris (2010) refers to as "shared funds of knowledge" in which students "share their linguistic repertoires with each other" (p. 153). It is a paradox that at Tucker High School most of the English-speaking student body take a foreign language class such as Spanish, yet have hardly any interaction with those
who could be their greatest teachers. Spanish language and cultural knowledge could be the participants' greatest resources and provide them an opportunity to create cross-cultural friendships and language exchanges. Latina/o immigrant students have linguistic capital (Yosso, 2005) that many mainstream students desire. Similarly, the participants deeply desire to acquire English and recognize its vital importance on their future success in the United States. Sharing funds of knowledge would involve the two groups of students to become each other's teachers, formally or informally, in the classroom, cafeteria, or online, acquiring language in a social and meaningful way (Cummins, 1994; Krashen, 1994).

Lastly, in order to demonstrate that we honor students' literacies, literacy pedagogy should embrace the new technologies available to students. Although using new technologies such as Facebook for educational purposes is a controversial issue among students and instructors (DePew, 2011; Selwyn, 2009), educators would be remiss to not explore how to harness the limitless possibilities of social networking for educational purposes, much as the business world has successfully accomplished for its advancement (Siegle, 2011). The participants use their Facebook pages for the specific purpose for others to view and respond to their multimodal postings in multimodal ways. In a short amount of time, they have become adept at using the variety of features Facebook offers to maintain relationships with their family and friends back home, define their own identities as Latina/os, and to acquire English. However, because Facebook is one of the many internet sites blocked at their school, they never use these literacies for academic purposes, essentially pushing social networking out of the recognized legitimate literacies required to become educated. Much like the nonmainstream individuals in other studies of technology use (DePew, 2011; Lam, 2000, 2004b; Lam & Rosario-Ramos, 2009; McGinnis et al., 2007), the participants in this study used multimodal
features, a variety of linguistic devices, and multiple languages to define, maintain, and develop their identities. Other studies at the college level (Lampe, Wohn, Vitak, Ellison, & Wash, 2011; Reid, 2011; Skerrett, 2010) where classrooms are not stifled by strict internet restrictions, have shown the relevance and benefit of using Facebook as an instructional tool and as a means to encourage student collaboration. Literacy pedagogy should embrace social networking and other digital tools that newcomer youth are already using for meaningful purposes.

Harste's (2003) final question draws into stark contrast the sophisticated, transnational literacies these newcomer youth possess, and the ones they lack. He asks "What would I have to do to expand what it means to be literate in the 21st century?" (p. 8). The findings demonstrate that Valeria, Alejandra, Celia, and Miguel already possess 21st century literacy skills: multilingualism, multiculturalism, and transnational literacies needed in our society, yet rare in mainstream populations (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). However, they lack the English skills needed in order to be considered highly literate in school. My answer to Harste's final question is to recognize, value, and use our immigrant students' strengths in the aforementioned ways to not only their benefit, but to the benefit of all students. I do not think we need to forego new areas of research to determine what must be done to prepare immigrant students for 21st century literacy. I believe our immigrant students already possess those skills, we just need to capitalize on them.

Lastly, I want to consider Bourdieu's (1972/1977) theory of cultural and social domination in societies in light of these students' present situation. According to their ESL teacher and concurring with my observations, it is unlikely that all of them will receive a high school diploma because they will not be able to pass the state-mandated tests in all content areas before turning 21. The irrelevant, low-level, testing-centered instruction they receive for most of
the school day actually does very little to help them acquire English, learn content knowledge, or
develop higher-order thinking skills. They will likely receive all of the credits they need from
attending and putting forth effort in their English-only classes, but might not possess the literacy
skills needed to satisfy No Child Left Behind's (NCLB) requirements as demonstrated by their
state. In examining their circumstances, I believe that the "doxa", "the universe of the
undiscussed [and] undisputed" that Bourdieu (1972/1977) espoused is the narrow monolingual,
monocultural principal evident in the testing culture in the educational system and anti-
immigrant discourse in society. This explains why English-speaking nations such as the U.S.
have come to glorify the idea of regurgitating lower-level knowledge in one language as defined
by a slight view of literacy and being literate. I believe we need to "bring the undiscussed into
discussion" (p. 168) in order to examine long and deeply held beliefs of many societies such as
the U.S.

In order for change to occur, for the multiple literacies immigrant students possess to
receive their due value in school and in mainstream society, we need an "extraordinary
discourse" that Bourdieu (1972/1977) calls for in order to disrupt the status quo. I believe that
NCLB's extremely narrow focus of literacy and educational attainment enacts the "gentle, hidden
exploitation" (p. 192) that occurs for those with power to maintain their domination over others.
In her modern day discussion of the Bourdiesusian concept of capital, Yosso (2005) claims that
"one of the most prevalent forms of contemporary racism in US schools is deficit thinking" (p.
75) which devalues the capital of communities of color. It is this very racism that devalues the
multiple, sophisticated literacies immigrant students possess. Like subtractive schooling
(Valenzuela, 1999), racism divests immigrant students of their own, and arguable the country's,
greatest resources in order to keep them in the lower echelons of society.
While the participants of this study face seemingly insurmountable odds to become the well-educated professionals they desire to be, their monolingual, monoliterate, and monocultural counterparts who do not possess the transnational abilities of these students, graduate from high school, go to college, and become productive members of a society that glorifies assimilation.

I contend that not only literacy pedagogy and literacy research must change in order for this symbolic violence to cease, but society's perception of what it means to be literate must be revolutionized. Luke (2008) explains that literacy pedagogy alone will not create sustained change in society, but a larger paradigm shift must occur. I believe that now is the time for literacy researchers to challenge the monocentric, hegemonic norms in society and to question what it means to be literate, to be educated, to be a productive citizen. This is the "extraordinary discourse" we must adopt to disrupt years of doxa that should be brought into the discussion.

Areas for Future Research

One area of needed research this study demonstrates is changing in-school curriculum for immigrant students in ways that value their multiple literacies. Research that employs students' linguistic, digital, transnational, or political literacies should document the long-term affect it has on students' psychological well-being and academic performance. However, the standard of measurement should not be standardized tests that employ a narrow view of literacy. Therefore, research needs to understand what the implications are for the current culture of accountability in light of true 21st century literacies all students need to possess. Lastly, I believe research needs to continue to question the doxa present in our policies, schools, and society that has given us a tendency toward monocentric, assimilationist ideas of literacy, education, and life.
Conclusion

Like other first-generation immigrant students (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008; Suarez-Orozco, 1987), the four newcomer Latina/o youth in the study have a tremendous desire to learn English, do well in school, and be successful in their new countries. They come into the classroom with a large repertoire of literacies, some refined, others still developing, but all purposeful and meaningful. These literacies, that are often transnational, multilingual, multimodal, and tied to their developing identities, have much use in academic learning if they can be understood and appropriately harnessed. Our literacy pedagogy must not impose a narrow monolingual, monocultural, monoliterate, and monomodal view of these students which essentially divests them of their greatest sources of capital. They are transnational, transcultural, emergent bilinguals who engage in multimodal ways of communication. Therefore, our literacy pedagogy and policy must change in order to provide them a more equitable education.

Furthermore, we must begin to question what it really means to be literate and educated.

Valeria, Alejandra, Celia and Miguel are working hard, doing everything they can to succeed, and now we must revolutionize our definition of literacy in order to give them greater opportunities "para learn."
APPENDIX B

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS
Interview Set 1: Context

The purpose of this interview was to establish the context of the experiences each youth has with literacy outside of school. This includes the participant's educational background and history with reading, writing, technology, extra-curricular activities, entertainment, or any other way of making meaning.

Grand Tour Question: Describe your background in your home country relating to your family and school.

1. Where were you born?
2. Do you have any brothers or sisters?
3. What are all of the places in which you have lived?
4. When did you begin school? Where?
5. What schools have you attended?
6. What classes were available in your school?
7. What kind of grades did you make?
8. What kind of relationships have you had with your teachers?
9. Did you enjoy school?
10. What were your favorite and least favorite classes? Why?

Grand Tour Question: Describe the reading, writing, art, music, extra-curricular activities, household chores, or technology you used as a child when you were not doing school work.

1. What reading did you enjoy as a child? (Comics, books, religious material)
2. Writing? (Letters, emails, stories, diaries, journaling, lyrics, poetry)
3. Art? (Pictures, drawing, sketching, tagging, graffiti, symbols)
4. Music? (Listening, playing, creating digitally, mixing, creating playlists, dance)

5. TV/Movies? (Watching at home, in what language, with whom)

6. Technology? (Computers, cell phones, music, email, texting, gaming, social networking)

7. Extra-Curricular Activities? (Sports, family activities, dance, teams)

8. Household Chores? (Taking care of animals, helping parents with job, making money)

**Grand Tour Question: Describe your family.**

1. Where were your parents born?

2. When and why did they move to the U.S.? (if applicable)

3. What kind of education do they have?

4. What do they do now?

5. Do/did you ever see them read? Write? Watch TV? Listen to music? Use technology?
   a. How often? Do/did you ever do these things together?

**Interview Set 2: Forms of Literacies**

During this interview I had the participant tell me about his or her current literacies. I focused on covering the breadth of these practices, rather than the depth. I asked for details about how one engages in each experience.

**Grand Tour Question: What do you do when you are not doing school work?**

1. What do you read that is not for school? (Comics, magazines, books, religious material, internet sites, manuals, texts, letters)

2. Writing? (Letters, emails, stories, diaries, journaling, lyrics, poetry)
3. Art? (Pictures, drawing, sketching, tagging, graffiti, symbols)

4. Music? (Listening, playing, creating digitally, mixing, creating playlists, dance)

5. Technology? (Computers, cell phones, music, email, texting, gaming, social networking)

6. TV? (Movies, weekly shows, news)

7. Chores? (Work outside of home, household chores)

8. Do you try to communicate anything by the way you dress? (Branding, soccer attire, Virgen de Guadalupe, lowrider culture, identity, activism)

**Interviews 3: Meaning of Literacies**

After I felt confident I had gathered enough information to understand what literacies in which the participant engages, and also the historical and current context in which they are situated, I continued with the third set of interviews. I explored how, when, and why each practice is used. I asked about the quantity of time each practice is used, the location in which it takes place, the reasons for using it, and the meaning it carries for the participant. For each practice he/she mentioned in interview Set 2, I went through the following process:

**Grand Tour Question: Can you explain all of the reasons that you ___________?**

1. Tell me about how you got involved in __________?

2. How often do you engage in it?

3. Where?

4. When?

5. Why?

6. What language/s do you use?
7. How do you determine the language?

8. What language do you prefer? Why?

9. Do you enjoy it?

10. Is this something you choose to do or have to do?

11. Is there anyone with you?

12. How does it make you feel?

13. Are you ever able to use this in school? (Read comics, etc.)

Additionally, in interview Set 3, I asked the participants about their Facebook pages, including their information page, likes, pictures, videos, and posts by them and others to each other’s walls. Examples of these questions are:

1. Who are your “friends?”

2. Are they mainly in your home country or the U.S.?

3. How did you meet them?

4. What language do you message each other in?

5. Tell me about this picture on your wall?

6. What does it mean to you?

7. Who sent this specific message to you? Why?

8. Why did you respond in this way?

9. Why did you post this?

10. Why did you choose that language?

Lastly, I asked each participant about the questions I wrote down after observing them at work. These questions varied by participant. An example can be seen Appendix C.
APPENDIX C

EXAMPLE OF WORKPLACE FIELD NOTES
## Observation of Valeria and Alejandra at the Sandwich Shop

**Date:** January 31, 2012  
**Time:** 8:00pm - 10:00pm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Observation Notes</th>
<th>Personal Notes</th>
<th>Methodological Notes</th>
<th>Triangulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The restaurant looks very new, clean, and upscale. It is a Sandwich Shop and Muffin Madness. They serve coffee drinks. There are TSU and OSU logos on the wall.</td>
<td>It opened recently and caters to a college-based clientele.</td>
<td>How long has the restaurant been open? Do they have many Spanish-speaking customers? Are most customers young college students?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has two large flat screen TVs showing the Republican primary coverage. Three computers are set up for customer use.</td>
<td>Customers are encouraged to buy beverages and food and stay to watch TV, use the computers, or study.</td>
<td>Can employees use the computers? How often? What is blocked? Do Alejandra and Valeria ever watch the TV? Who chooses the channel? Are they aware of election news through the information at their work?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Print is all around the restaurant. Many grammatically incorrect, catchy phrases are on the walls using the term &quot;XXXX&quot; derived from the restaurant's name, &quot;Sandwich Shop&quot;. &quot;Every Bite Xxxx Better&quot; is on the logo many times throughout the store. The front has &quot;Making Owenton Xxxx Better&quot; largely</td>
<td>This gets customers attention. It is a clever way to advertise because it is memorable.</td>
<td>Do Alejandra and Valeria understand the use of &quot;Xxxx&quot;?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The restaurant wants to make it clear to their customers that they have more than</td>
<td></td>
<td>Have Alejandra and Valeria noticed and understand the phrase &quot;xxx xxxx&quot;? Do they</td>
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displayed by the order-placing area. "Xxxx on the Rocks" is above the drink and condiment area. "We're xxx xxxx" is on the wall to promote their cinnamon rolls and on an advertisement that is placed on every table.

There are 2 large black and white pictures with captions on either side of the entrance. One is a longhorn with the caption "Last one to Sandwich Shop ends up on the front end of a Cadillac." The other is a bull and a rodeo cowboy. The bull is saying "Who's buying lunch now, funny boy!"

Light rock music is playing on the speakers.

There are two workers in red shirts in the front who take orders, bring out food, and clean up the eating sandwiches. They serve breakfast items such as their featured cinnamon rolls.

This brings in the Western/rodeo culture prominent in the city and surrounding area.

Have Alejandra and Valeria noticed these pictures? Do they understand the Western/rodeo culture? Do they understand the humor?

Do they have the same music playing in the kitchen?

Interview Valeria: Sometimes Alejandra puts English music on in the kitchen. Interview Alejandra: Says there is sometimes Mexican music on in the kitchen but she also puts the radio on 102.1 FM (Top 40 music)

Interview Alejandra: They asked her if she would be interested in the assistant manager position. She is
One Latina girl in a red Sandwich Shop shirt comes from the back. She refills her drink from the drink station then sits in a booth to do something on her cell phone. Then she returns to the kitchen.

An older Latina lady walks in and says something to one of the workers out front. Worker goes to the kitchen and the same Latina girl returns and speaks to this lady in Spanish. They then proceed to the cash register where the older lady makes an order.

The only people ever seen working in the area who appear to be college-age. One worker in a blue shirt takes my order. All are Anglo and speak to customers in English.

and Valeria because of their English-speaking abilities.
front (taking orders, bringing out orders, replenishing lids and condiments, taking out the eat-in area trash, sweeping the front, wiping down tables) are the two Anglo girls and the manager.

At 9:00 pm Valeria is sweeping the corridor that separates the kitchen and the eating area. She notices me, waves and says hi. She quickly sweeps the small amount of floor behind the registers then returns to the kitchen.

Valeria comes out of the kitchen without her broom to talk to me. She is wearing black pants, a red Sandwich Shop shirt, a hat, and an apron. She asks me how long I've been there and if I'd like to see the kitchen. I ask many times if it's OK stating I don't want her to get into trouble. She says the manager is in the office. She says "María" is in the kitchen also and I can see her.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>might be divided by race and language.</th>
<th>She is in charge of sweeping the back. The Anglo girl is in charge of sweeping the front. This might be because customers ask questions to employees located in the front and Valeria might not understand or be able to reply in English.</th>
<th>Does Valeria ever sweep the front of the store? Has a customer ever asked her something in English?</th>
<th>money as the assistant manager but is unsure if she should do it.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>She has to change clothes when she arrives to work each day since I’ve only seen her wearing jeans at school. Kitchen employees must wear hats.</td>
<td>She knows I’m interested in what she does at work.</td>
<td>Do they change at school or work?</td>
<td>Interview Valeria: She sometimes speaks to people in English at work but they often don't understand her.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Her sister, Alejandra, is working under a different name. Valeria is accustomed to calling her something different at work.</td>
<td>Why does Alejandra work under a different name and not Valeria? Do they ever slip up and say the wrong name? How does &quot;friend&quot; co-</td>
<td>Interview Alejandra: Tells me she is Maria at work because she is still working out some immigration issues with a lawyer.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alejandra is in the kitchen with a headset on and uniform like Valeria’s. Alejandra’s headset is the same as the one I have noticed three other workers wearing (the worker in blue, one of the Anglo girls in front, and the Latina girl). Alejandra is putting soup into a container and making a sandwich.</td>
<td>Alejandra must speak and listen in English regularly if she is wearing the headset. She is filling a drive-thru order.</td>
<td>workers play into this issue? When did Alejandra start wearing the headpiece? Does she always? Who is she communicating with? Is communication always in English? Does she always understand? What about when they are very busy? Does that make it more difficult?</td>
<td>Interview Alejandra: After just a few week of working at Burgers N Fries she became very fast in the kitchen.</td>
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<td>There are two large charts in English by Valeria’s station which consists of meat, cheese, and vegetables. There are many signs on the bulletin board, a drive through window and a large oven in which the sandwiches go through.</td>
<td>Valeria must be very adept at reading the chart in English. It tells her what to put on different kinds of sandwiches and salads.</td>
<td>Does Valeria feel confident in her English reading abilities at her job? Do they have food service handler permits? Do they understand everything on these signs? What do the signs say?</td>
<td>Interview Valeria: Most of her reading out-of-school takes place at work where she must read the tickets. She learned food words quickly and does not have problems understanding the tickets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I greet Alejandra purposefully not saying her name. I do not say &quot;María&quot; either. I accidentally say &quot;Alejandra&quot; when asking Valeria about Alejandra’s headset. A worker from the front</td>
<td>I am nervous about getting Alejandra in trouble. I stay with Valeria to be safe but still make the mistake of saying Alejandra.</td>
<td>What would happen if the manager knew &quot;María&quot; was not Alejandra's name?</td>
<td>Interview Alejandra: They received a thick handbook all in English when they started working. It is not translated into Spanish.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
comes back to the kitchen and gives Alejandra a ticket.

By 9:15 p.m. the few other customers have left and I am the only one there. A family comes in at 9:30 p.m. They ask an Anglo worker sweeping the front how much longer the restaurant is open. She replies 30 minutes. The family places their order then the woman returns to say something about an item they received. A few minutes later the man goes and asks one of the workers about salad dressing. At 9:40 p.m. Alejandra has removed her hat and headset and is mopping the floor behind the cash registers. She does not come out in front, but smiles at me.

The Anglo worker who has been in the front the whole time sits down at a booth with food and a drink.

As I get up to refill my drink I hear

The workers begin their clean up by 9:00 because there are not many customers.

There is a problem with the order.

Alejandra mops the back area. Another worker mops the front where she can field questions from customers.

This is her break.

Interview Alejandra: They were approached to come to work at Sandwich Shop from a previous manager at their former Burgers N Fries jobs because he "liked how Valeria worked" and asked if she would come work for him and if she had any sisters.

Interview Alejandra: She is in charge of the kitchen.

Are they normally not very busy at this time?

Do Alejandra and Valeria ever have to deal with customers' questions about their orders?

Do they get free food? When do Alejandra and Valeria eat? Do they sit out in front? Do they eat together or sometimes with other coworkers?

Which people does Alejandra speak to in

Interview Alejandra: They were
Alejandra saying something to Valeria from the kitchen in Spanish.

I see someone walking around the side of the building. Valeria enters through the front door.

It is time to close and I need to leave. I ask a worker out front to get Valeria from the kitchen for me. I say bye to the girls in Spanish and tell them I will see them Thursday morning to help with their homework.

kitchen area is clean.

Valeria is taking out the trash.

I am very tired because I have been working since 11 am. The girls start school at 8:45 a.m. and have the same school/work schedule Monday-Thursday. They also work Sundays.

Spanish? Does the manager ever not want them to speak in Spanish? Has Alejandra ever been praised for her bilingualism at work? Has she ever needed to speak to a customer in Spanish?

Do they get really tired during the week? How does this affect their school work?

Interview Alejandra: They used to work from open until close on Sundays but it was too much. They also used to work at Burgers N Fries and Sandwich Shop at the same time but it was too much with their school work. They now work about 35 hours a week. Interview Valeria: She does not watch much TV on her day off, Saturday, because she is so tired, she just wants to sleep.
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