UNDERSTANDING RECENT IMMIGRANT YOUTH THROUGH THEIR DEVELOPING

SENSE OF BELONGING IN INFORMAL LEARNING SPACES

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Understanding Recent Immigrant Youth through Their Developing Sense of Belonging in

Informal Learning Spaces

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This study examines the development of identity, citizenship and sense of belonging among 1.25-generation immigrant youth – those that immigrated to the US between 13-17 years old (Rumbaut, 2004) – in a service-learning oriented afterschool program on the programmatic, local, national, and global-levels using ethnographic and microethnographic methods. Analysis of everyday social interactions between the students, facilitators, and community members of various generational statuses, ethnic backgrounds, and linguistic abilities and their participation in games, team-building exercises, workshops, and service-learning project unmasks the meaning-making process of the educational activities by the students' and its influence on the perceptions of their own notions of belonging, identity, and citizenship. The data includes over 90 hours of recorded video interactions during the weekly afterschool program sessions, focus groups with students, and individual interviews with focal 1.25-, 1.5-, and second-generation immigrant youth and adult facilitators. The findings show the immigrant youth's sense of belonging, within the program and in the wider local community context, being shaped and mediated by factors such as spatial positioning, language, the ethnic context, their future goals,

and the interactional progression of conversations. Furthermore, their sense of belonging to these different spaces revealed the dynamic process of their identity formation and their complicated perspectives towards citizenship in their new US lives as a number of youth saw their futures not being bound to the US. From the findings, this study offers youth workers and other educators' pedagogical and curricular recommendations on how to help recent immigrant youth integrate into the classroom community and create activities that support their transnational lives.

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Chapter One. Introduction

My dissertation research study is the culmination of my own understanding, influenced by my upbringing, as well as my experiences and interactions with recent immigrant high schoolers as a Youth Organizer at ACE, a pseudonym for the afterschool program utilizing service-learning pedagogy. When I began to work at ACE, I started to find nuanced variability in the immigration processes and future trajectories of the more recent immigrants. As a 1.5-generation Chinese American woman, I arrived in the United States after my father immigrated to the US during the 1990s for graduate studies and decided to stay -- it appeared to be the most logical path towards a stable and better future for our family. Since my arrival in the US, at the age of six, I have had very little knowledge and few experiences with China or the Chinese culture outside of my family as I only visited China once during my childhood. Through casual conversation, the recent immigrant high school students at ACE explained that they had spent a large portion of their lives in other countries and came to the US either during middle school or high school on family reunification visas. They spoke of the possibility of returning to their country of origin after graduating from college in the US, an atypical path compared to the decision of my first-generation Chinese parents and the narrative of the American Dream. Their decision on whether to invest their future in the US did not seem as straightforward as it did for my parents. These conversations disrupted my understanding of immigrant assimilation and piqued my interest in the development of a sense of belonging in immigrant youth, different from my own, as they engage in community service projects in neighborhoods to which they do not fully relate. During the spring of 2016, my scholarly curiosity, enabled through my professional experience, led me to conduct my pre-thesis study at ACE.

Research Site

The ACE afterschool program is part of a larger community-based organization, HES (pseudonym), that primarily serves low-income Chinese immigrants with housing and immigration issues. ACE, on the other hand, serves a diverse group of students from different ethnic backgrounds and focuses on college readiness, leadership development, and civic engagement through service-learning projects. The program aims to increase the teamwork, leadership skills, communication skills, and the self-confidence of immigrant students through workshops on specific professional skills topics and implementation of the service-learning projects; students meet after school once a week to work on the different skills and carry out their service-learning projects. Typical examples of projects from the past few years include registering people to vote, beautifying parks, teaching younger children recycling using art, assessing substance abuse in the schools, and raising awareness of available resources for undocumented immigrants.

While ACE is open to all 11th and 12th grade students, it is primarily aimed at students who are either immigrants or children of immigrants. Each year, the demographics of the students are slightly different depending on the recruitment methods of the facilitators. In the past, a majority of the students tended to be English Language Learners (ELL) or former ELL labelled students who have tested out. During the 2018-2019 academic year, a majority of the students were native English speakers whose parents were immigrants. Since ACE is a sub-program under HES that primarily serves Asian individuals, a majority of students in the past have been Asian, predominantly of Chinese descent with a few Latinx and African immigrant students as well. During the 2018-2019 academic year, there were less Chinese students and more Latinx and South Asian students. Some students have been involved with the HES for

many years through its sister program, SACE (pseudonym), for 9ᵗʰ and 10ᵗʰ graders and others are newer to the organization.

Pilot Study

My pre-thesis study in the spring of 2016 examined the role of service-learning pedagogy on students' sense of belonging and citizenship. Using a grounded theory approach for data analysis and theory building, I conducted participant observation of the weekly sessions and interviewed current participants, alumni of the program, program facilitators, and parents. The findings from my pre-thesis study indicated that students felt a stronger sense of belonging and connection to the local community through the process of creating, organizing, and implementing service-learning projects (He, 2019). These structured activities decreased the students' fear of unfamiliar places and of speaking a new language through increased knowledge of their local community and facilitation of positive interactions with its community members.

Many of the pilot study participants felt they lived more isolated lives in the US compared to China where they knew more people and felt safer walking around town or taking public transportation. In contrast, in the US, they tended to go to school, then either straight back home or to work before heading home and repeating this cycle endlessly without exploring much of the local community. Their parents also had working-class jobs that required long hours and allowed little time for deviation from this routine. Among the students I interviewed, most of them felt the expectation to return home after school or work even if the parents were not there. They would often play video games or watch TV shows online before or after the completion of their homework assignments. Ximei, a participant at ACE, articulated how volunteering helped her feel more connected:

> I do these things that connect to the community I feel I know more about the community.
> Like before, I didn't know like many thing like many events or activities about the

community and now because I am doing the voter registration like each Saturday they have event or something. We go there and do the voter registration. So I going there, I know they have this event and they help people with this thing or that things. (He, 2016)

Ximei mentioned not being aware of the community resources and local events before joining ACE, but through her active involvement, she found herself going to new places and attending events in the neighborhood with less fear. She expanded her social world both physically and mentally; she now had new places around the neighborhood with which she became familiar. Similarly, other students suggested they felt more empowered with their expanded knowledge of local organizations or advocacy groups through collaborations between ACE and other non-profits, guest speakers, or trips taken to visit special exhibits as part of the service-learning projects. As students became more aware, they reported that they felt they understood the local community better which made it seem less foreign and, as a consequence, less scary; they gained practical experience and confidence that they could figure out bus routes or felt empowered to find and talk to the appropriate organizations for any issues they faced.

Moreover, ACE facilitated positive social interactions between its participants and their peers and strangers which reduced the participants' fears of isolation and otherization from native English speakers due to the language barrier, possibly cultivating a greater sense of belonging. Jenny, an alumni of the program who came to the US when she was 13 years old, said, "their [native English speaking peers'] first impression is that Asians don't understand English so they thought if they talk about you they think you cannot understand it" (He, 2016). She often felt bullied and reluctant to share her ideas - the fear of not being understood or being ridiculed for her accent was too great. However, through the combination of giving several group presentations and frequently interacting with strangers during voter registration projects at ACE, she built friendships and in time became less fearful of speaking in English. In contrast to the

bullying she experienced at school, these structured programmatic and service-learning experiences gave her more opportunities for positive interactional experiences while speaking English to native English speakers. This helped build up her confidence and lowered her fear around communicating and interacting with others in English. Other participants also appreciated how supportive fellow students and facilitators were at ACE; when someone made a mistake in speaking, no one shamed them, unlike in their regular classes at school. Some of the students expressed the need for more social interactions during service-learning projects, since some of the projects solely focused on park beautification and cleanup without any community member interaction. My pilot study revealed how the service-learning projects that included a community member interactional component were the most memorable or meaningful for the students involved. From my pilot study results, it led me to investigate the site further in this dissertation study.

Statement of the Problem

1.25-generation Immigrant Youth

For 1.25-generation immigrant youth in my pilot study, language – specifically oral English proficiency - was their greatest source of frustration and discrimination. All of the pilot study 1.25- and 1.5-generation participants, who immigrated in the later stages of childhood, spoke about how peers would bully them because of their accents or misguided belief the recent immigrant students did not understand English. While race, gender, religion, and sexuality may also have been factors to their marginalization, the recent immigrant students felt English language ability was the most salient factor for discrimination. Due to this kind of marginalization in schools, it can affect the academic and social outcomes of immigrant children.

Scholars have found wide variation in academic and social outcomes among immigrant children as some will excel while others decline based on the resources and support networks established during their first few years in the US (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2009). Interestingly, scholars have found that immigrant students academically and socioeconomically outperform their peers with native-born parents pointing to an immigrant advantage (Hao & Woo 2012; Keller & Tillman, 2008). However, looking within the immigrant population, other researchers found that teenage immigrants often have lower socioeconomic outcomes and a weaker sense of belonging to the mainstream community compared to immigrant children that arrived at a younger age or those born in the US due to steeper language and cultural barriers (Duong, Badaly, Liu, Schwartz, & McCarty, 2016; Myers, Xin, & Amon, 2009; Portes & Rivas, 2011; Rumbaut, 2004). With the wide variability in outcomes, understanding the identity formation and development of a sense of belonging among 1.25-generation immigrant youth in the context of their daily lives is important for aiding their social-emotional well-being as well as future cohesion in society.

Learning and Sense of Belonging

Learning is often thought of as a process that is neutral to student backgrounds and environmental context. If students have trouble learning new concepts or solving math problems, the common educational myths blame the students and their cognitive abilities. The sociocultural literature emphasizes that students are not empty vessels in the classroom. They have a history and are influenced by the social context around them. How their identity is viewed by society or their peers can impact how safe or comfortable they feel in the classroom environment, which can either promote or hinder learning on an individual basis. Welner and Carter's (2013) work show student learning is influenced by many factors outside of the school, classroom, and

pedagogy such as family context, healthcare, housing, and nutrition. Ladson-Billings (2009) shows highly successful educators support students emotionally and encourage cooperative learning among students to achieve better student learning outcomes. Through the cooperative learning process, students become a community and feel a sense of belonging to their peers, teachers, and school, which allows students who are struggling academically to gain support from their peers as well as teacher.

Moreover, Wenger's (1999) "communities of practice" theory explains how learning is a social process. Individuals become part of a group or organization by learning the practices, norms, and language through a dynamic and social process. Communities based on social categories or networks of social relationships are not communities of practice, but rather, communities of practice consist of mutual engagement, joint enterprise, and shared repertoire in doing things together to produce a collective product (Wenger, 1999, p. 73). In classrooms that use cooperative learning, students have shared norms established by the teachers or peers, engage with each other in various ways, and are collectively striving to reach their learning goals. Individuals not only learn the practice but will eventually identify with the practice and community.

Furthermore, schools are often the first place that immigrant children are socialized into US society. Some immigrant students can have positive experiences and feel welcomed while others like the immigrant students from my pilot study felt marginalized. The Palestinian-American youth in Abu El-Haj's (2015) study often felt unwelcomed or were perceived to be terrorists by students and adult staff in their schools especially after 9/11. Discussions in social studies classes vilified Middle Easterners as hating democracy and freedom even though the students had relatives living in that region of the world who did not hold such beliefs. This

caused some of the young immigrants to personally and politically identify with a space that is neither completely US-centric nor related to their heritage country because their experiences in local institutions, such as schools, reinforced their foreignness despite their US citizenship (Abu El-Haj, 2015; Nguyen, 2012). These conflicting experiences and discourses in school can hinder the development of a sense of belonging to their peers, teachers, or school. Without positive relationships and a sense of belonging, students have a higher chance of negative learning and life outcomes such as dropping out of school (Osterman, 2000). Developing a positive sense of belonging matters for immigrant youth as they transition to a new educational environment and home.

Scales of Belonging

This dissertation study analyzed sense of belonging on multiple scales from the local ACE program level to the societal level. While daily student interactions in the ACE program might be perceived as distant from broader abstract concepts such as ethnic identity or citizenship, their interactions can co-construct, inform, or extend onto larger abstract concepts and vice versa. Researchers often focus on the micro and macro level as dichotomous entities that influence each other, but linguistic anthropology scholars ask researchers to move beyond the macro and micro as discrete.

Wortham and Rhodes (2012) argued, "Instead of focusing only on speech events, or simply connecting micro-level events to macro-level structures, we must investigate heterogeneous domains and the various scales of social organization relevant to understanding meaningful social action in any given case" (p. 82). In their study, the White female teachers of Mexican immigrant children, when forming their beliefs about the social identification of Mexican immigrants, referenced either negative images of Latinx immigrants in national media

or positive local assimilation narratives by earlier waves of European immigrants depending on the age group of the students they worked with. The high school teachers had a more negative perspective of Mexican immigrants because the students they worked with immigrated in adolscence, so they had more difficulty learning the language and were sometimes more interested in obtaining jobs rather than focusing on school. On the other hand, the elementary school teachers had a more positive perspective towards Mexican immigrants because the immigrant students they had in their classrooms either immigrated at younger ages or were born in the US; hence, they were able to learn English quickly. Wortham and Rhode's (2012) results showed the need to analyze multiple scales in various temporal and spatial dimensions. Furthermore, Rymes and Smail (2020) explained how this scaling up or down occurs: "Lower (or smaller) scale ways of using language invoke local orders of indexicality, indexing the nearby, the individual, the immediate. Higher (larger) scale ways of using language invoke global or institutional norms, systems, and histories" (p. 2). Interlocutors can shift from small to large scale or vice versa in one sentence or throughout an interactional event.

Applying the concept of scales to this study on the sense of belonging, I investigated the multiple scales of belonging employed by immigrant students. A sense of belonging among individuals can change over space and time. Coral, a second-generation Mexican-American student expressed how she felt a sense of belonging in Bay Point as the place she was raised in and currently lives, but at the same time, she felt out of place in Bay Point in relation to ethnicity and language as most of the residents were of East Asian descent and spoke Chinese or Korean. She also claimed that she had stronger affiliations with being a New Yorker than being American, because she believed the spaces outside of NYC, which were not as diverse, would not accept her as a person of color. Drawing from both the national media perspective that

people of color are made to feel like outsiders in rural areas and local perspectives about the diversity of NYC and Bay Point, she utilized the various scales simultaneously to inform her perspective on her sense of belonging. Furthermore, if she was with relatives in Mexico, I wonder if she would have felt a stronger affiliation and belonging with America, since she would be comparing herself to relatives who did not grow up in the US. Coral's example showed how individuals draw upon and hold multiple scales of belonging that can change over time and space. It is important for researchers to unmask and understand how this process works and how it can influence academic and social outcomes among immigrant students.

With the previous studies on the role of learning, sense of belonging, and immigrant youth, my pre-thesis findings extend the conversation to highlight the salience of everyday social interactions within the informal learning space as well as more abstract ideas about identity and citizenship as a factor in shaping a sense of belonging among immigrant students. Having an established relationship with ACE, I returned to the site for this dissertation study to deepen my research and analysis from the pre-thesis pilot study. Therefore, my dissertation—based on microethnographic and ethnographic methods—explores the everyday social interactions and meaning-making practices of immigrant youth as they navigate the terms for belonging and citizenship in an afterschool service-learning based program.

Research Questions

My dissertation examines the following research questions:

1. How do the interactional moments between the immigrant high school students and other interlocutors (peers, program facilitators, and community members) in an afterschool service-learning based program influence the students' conceptualizations of belonging, citizenship, and identity? What role do verbal and non-verbal communicative frames and

contextualization cues play in how these social interactions are interpreted by the immigrant youth?

2. How do these micro-level social interactions and larger macro-level discourses about immigration, belonging, and politics impact each other to shape the identity formation of the 1.25-generation immigrant youth?

3. How do 1.25-generation immigrant youth interpret their future in the global economy? What conceptualizations of citizenship might they employ when they express or decide their future?

Pedagogical Implications

Throughout this dissertation study, I analyzed the various educational activities implemented at ACE and the outcomes they had on students. The results revealed many pedagogical recommendations for youth workers, leaders in youth oriented nonprofits, and educators in general. An introduction to the major pedagogical insights will be given below and more detailed recommendation are given at the end of each results chapter.

The results of this study pointed to the role of participation structures in fostering a sense of belonging that supports the goals of cooperative learning. As students played games and participated in team-building exercises, it was important for unfamiliar students to build relational ties with each other by knowing each other's' names or having a conversation together. When students only played games in their pre-established social groups, they did not cross social borders or meet unfamiliar peers. They sat next to people they already knew, and throughout the activity, they did not have to push themselves to learn new names. This was especially detrimental to ELLs and recent immigrant youth as they were already marginalized in academic classrooms and society. By being more explicit about the expected participation practices,

educators can foster a greater sense of belonging, which will lead to a new group identity. This is important as learning is a social process and highly successful educators, who practice cooperative learning or the communities of practice approach, are able to create a sense of community and belonging amongst all of their students.

Another major pedagogical implication from the study is the need to acknowledge, support, and incorporate the transnational backgrounds of the 1.25-generation immigrant youth. Unlike the trajectory predicted by segmented assimilation theory, some immigrant youth see their future lives to be mobile and not existing in one country. In order to support these immigrant youth and bring a global awareness to all students in the US, educators need to incorporate the transnational views of recent immigrant students. Their knowledge of a different system could lead to critical thinking and a better understanding of the globalizing world. Many of the workshops and discussions related to civics or politics at ACE were US-centric, but incorporating the perspectives of the immigrant youth of various generational status in relation to their heritage culture or country would support their social-emotional development and potentially foster a positive sense of belonging as their multi-faceted identities were being valued. Moreover, for the service-learning pedagogy in an informal learning context, more ownership of the projects needs to be given to students and the community-oriented purpose of the service-learning curriculum should not be forgotten in the midst of the skills development goals. As the ACE facilitator focused on developing the leadership and professional skill sets of the students, he often forgot or minimized the community-orientated purpose of service-learning by focusing on the accumulation of accolades and individual skill sets from the service projects.

These are some of the major pedagogical recommendations based on the findings from this dissertation study. More detailed pedagogical and curricular recommendations are elaborated on at the end of each results chapter.

Chapter Two. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

As my research is a composite of various conceptual topics and strands of research, I will give a synopsis of each strand to elucidate the gaps in understanding within the literature and how my dissertation research will build from and contribute to the fields of immigrant youth identity, citizenship, sense of belonging, and service-learning pedagogy. First, I will focus on studies related to immigrant youth identity and assimilation. Second, I will highlight the processes of immigrant adaptation and how it is theorized through conceptualizations of citizenship and sense of belonging in an increasingly globalizing world. Third, I will unmask the uniqueness of the focal service-learning site in contrast to the traditional service-learning approach used at other research sites. While each strand might seem discrete, their linkage through this study highlights the unique opportunity to reveal the mechanisms of sense of belonging in an informal learning context.

Assimilation and Identity Formation among Immigrant Youth

Segmented Assimilation Theory

When youth of color immigrate to the US, they enter a different system that socially constructs their identity and racializes them in a new way. Segmented assimilation is one of the dominant theories to explain how immigrant youth become incorporated into US society and how their identity formation leads to specific types of mobility. Segmented assimilation theory prioritizes structural variables and argues there are three pathways for the second-generation: consonant acculturation, dissonant acculturation, and selective acculturation, which led to either

upward assimilation, downward assimilation, or stagnation (Portes, Fernández-Kelly, & Haller, 2009). Consonant acculturation is when both the immigrant child and parent adopt the dominant mainstream American identity, by abandoning their home language and culture, to achieve upward mobility into the US middle-class. Dissonant acculturation is when the immigrant child adopts an American racial minority identity that may be an "oppositional" identity and rejects the parental, home culture. This identity may accept characteristics opposed by the national majority which leads to stagnant or downward mobility. Selective acculturation is more of a bicultural process where the immigrant child adopts some aspects of the mainstream American identity and keeps aspects of their ethnic identity. They partially retain their heritage language and norms to achieve upward mobility through bicultural lives. The different pathways are mediated by the modes of incorporation based on specific host country factors such as racial discrimination, the location of settlement, and absence of economic opportunities (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

Although the segmented assimilation theory provides a general theory of assimilation that acknowledges the structural factors that limit or expand the opportunities of immigrant assimilation into various economic pathways, other scholar of straight-line (classical) assimilation theory contend that, on average, immigrants experience upward mobility and segmented assimilation scholars over emphasize the downward mobility (Alba, Kasinitz, & Waters, 2011; Tran & Valdez, 2015; Waters, Tran, Kasinitz, & Mollenkopf, 2010). Tran and Valdez (2015) argued second-generation Latinxs *progressed* in comparison to their parents and, among the ten Latino ethnic groups they analyzed, all of them had achieved parity with native Whites except Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. For the Mexican-origin group, Jiménez (2010) postulated that it seems like they had not reached parity with native Whites because the population was being constantly replenished by contemporary immigration of poor, laboring, and

undocumented Mexican immigrants. This negatively impacted the overall outcomes of the group even though Mexican Americans, who have been in the US for multiple generations, achieved parity with native Whites. With these various points of comparison and mixed empirical evidence, Alba, et al (2011) asserted that segmented assimilation and straight-line assimilation theories are complementary rather than antagonistic and that many of the differences are more about areas of emphasis.

On a broader level, the assimilation process portrayed by the different theories, whether segmented assimilation or straight-line classical assimilation, are still relatively simplistic. They do not capture the immigrant families that alternate between spending time in the host country and origin country or the families that are highly mobile, living in the host country for a short period, and never intend to assimilate (Kao, Vaquera, & Goyette, 2013; Ong, 1999). The variability in immigrant families has only become more complex with advancements in communication technologies to facilitate multiple simultaneous connections. Furthermore, these broader theories do not elucidate the everyday processes and choices immigrant youth make about their identity. It assumes an automatic association of upward mobility with White American identity and downward mobility with racialized minority identity.

Identities Created by Immigrant Youth

While the hegemonic racializing discourse in the US often categorizes and groups immigrant youth in monolithic ways, they themselves see their identities as fluid and not relegated to the categories prescribed by the dominant US mainstream culture. Two resources that young people use to define and create their own identities is by rejecting placement in the Black-White racial paradigm (Balogun, 2011; Lew, 2007), and approaching identity from a fluid, situated perspective (Feliciano, 2009; Ngo, 2008; Nguyen, 2012).

Immigrant youth of color, placed in the US Black-White racial hierarchy by the hegemonic forces in US society depending on phenotype, language skills, and academic performance, do not simply subscribe to the hierarchy and its implications. Analyzing middle-class and working-class Korean American students, Lew (2007) argued each group negotiated their racial and ethnic identity depending on social class, peer relations, institutional factors, and schooling factors. Neither group aligned with Whiteness or Blackness, but saw themselves as minorities, as the middle-class Korean Americans believed they faced discrimination as racial minorities thus they used education as a racial strategy[1] to overcome these structural barriers while the working-class Korean Americans dissociated from their ethnic group, who they saw as symbolizing Whiteness, and took on oppositional identities to the dominant culture. Furthermore, some Black immigrant youth have been shown to emphasize their ethnic identity rather than a Black racial identity as a way to achieve upward mobility by not associating themselves with a racialized underclass culture (Waters, 1994). But recent research conducted by Balogun (2011) on middle-class second-generation Nigerians in the US showed that adopting an ethnic or racial identity did not have to be mutually exclusive. These second-generation Nigerians did not believe that identifying as Black hurt them, but rather formed pan-ethnic/racial solidarity with other Black individuals at PWIs. At the same time, many of them reconnected with their ethnic identity over their life course when they visited Nigeria as adults and formed long-term adult relationships with relatives.

The fluid nature of identity formation was also noted by Feliciano (2009) through longitudinal survey data. Her research revealed that Latinx and Caribbean immigrant youth shifted towards hyphenated identities that connected to their heritage country and US lives as the

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[1] The belief that as racial minorities would have to work even harder in school to obtain economic parity with white Americans (Lew, 2007, p. 349).

youth received increased education rather than only positing an pan-ethnic racial identity (Latinx, Hispanic, Black) or singular American identity over time. Feliciano (2009) hypothesized their experiences in the educational system through peers and curriculum may influence these shifts. In addition to shifts over long periods of time, other scholars noted the quick simultaneous situated shifts in identity. Ngo (2008) argued that researchers and practitioners need to pay attention to the "in-between," as identity and culture are dynamic concepts; these young people did not simply decide to perform monocultural or fixed-state identities. Ngo (2008) showed how even if Laotian youth may consider themselves Asian American, non-Laotian students might consider them Chinese or Asian, and their parents might consider them Laotian. All these internal and external identities are present simultaneously as students themselves work to resist, construct, and negotiate their new and emerging identities. This points to the need for further research on these emerging identities and their "in-betweenness." Nguyen's (2012) ethnographic study of recent Vietnamese immigrant youth, living in the US for less than five years, showed the complexity in identity formation and citizenship construction among the youth. Citizenship formation and belonging "becomes a complex process of social identity construction for immigrant youth as their lives are often situated across multiple social, cultural, linguistics, and national contexts" (Nguyen, 2012, p. 206). For example, some of the students were ethnically Chinese but were born in Vietnam and now live in the US. They had affiliations with all three cultures and nation-states, but in some contexts, they highlighted their Vietnamese identity/citizenship to create unity, while in other contexts they highlighted their Chinese identity/citizenship because of its historical significance, or they might highlight their American identity/citizenship to emphasize their modern perspectives compared to their traditional Vietnamese parents. They shifted their self-representations to balance different priorities and

expectations as they connected with or created opposition to the prevailing discourses within various social sites. This complex process showed the salience of rethinking traditional notions of citizenship and its relationship with identity as the citizenship dimension adds a new layer to our understanding of immigrant student adaptation and experiences.

There is a gap in the immigrant youth identity formation literature on the 1.25-generation subgroup. Unlike their 1.5- or second-generation peers, they have been socialized into the cultural practices of their heritage country for a longer period of time and they might not see the US as their only destination in the future. Recent immigrant students will have a very different understanding and approach to identity, race, and citizenship and not interpret their everyday experiences in the US the same way as 1.5 and second-generation immigrant youth. The few studies on recent immigrants show they are more likely to shift their identities to emphasize different national affiliations based on context or the goal of the interaction (Nguyen, 2012). My proposed dissertation study will address this gap by focusing on the 1.25-generation and how their identities related to race, language, and citizenship may change or shift as they take part in the service-learning projects. Their interactions with US-born and raised peers or community members in the ACE program and service-learning projects will socialize them into unique perceptions of their own identity as well as notions of belonging and citizenship.

Societal Participation of Immigrants

In the US, for immigrants to participate more fully economically and civically in society, they will have to obtain US permanent residence or citizenship. Reviewing the literature on citizenship, Bloemraad, Korteweg, and Yurdakul (2008) find that scholars focus on these four dimensions of citizenship: legal status, rights, (political) participation, and sense of belonging. While obtaining citizenship confers material benefits for individuals as it expands the economic,

social, and educational rights given through institutions, these benefits only capture the narrow

dimensions of citizenship -- legal status and rights. These narrow ideas of citizenship impact the

identity formation and views of participation as previously stated in Nguyen's (2012) study of

Vietnamese immigrant youth. However, due to the increasing migration flows, scholars are

reconceptualizing the definition of citizenship to emphasis the dimensions of participation

(Banks, 2008; Bauböck, 1994; Ho, 2009; Rosaldo, 1994) and sense of belonging (Cherng,

Nimmerfeldt, 2011; Tokunaga & Huang, 2016). These dimensions of citizenship point to an

often overlooked and understudied "informal" aspect of the immigrant adaptation process, since

assimilation research (Portes, Fernández-Kelly, & Haller, 2009) often focuses on and uses

structural measures such as socioeconomic mobility and educational outcomes as the main

indicators of immigrant assimilation into the mainstream or various strata in the society

(Nimmerfeldt, 2011).

New Conceptualizations of Citizenship

In the traditional legal definition of citizenship, nation-states grant citizenship through *jus sanguinis,* parental heritage, and *jus soli*, location of birth. Outside the legal dimension of

citizenship, many scholars have coined new conceptualizations of citizenship that focus on the

participation or common goals of individuals rather than a fixed attachment to a single nation-

state (Banks, 2008; Bauböck, 1994; Nussbaum, 2002; Ong, 1999; Rosaldo, 1994) as well as

expanding active citizenship practices to include items other than voting (Knight & Watson,

2014; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). I will focus on cultural citizenship (Rosaldo, 1994; Ong,

1996), transnational citizenship (Bauböck, 1994), and flexible citizenship (Ong, 1999), as they

are most relevant for this dissertation study.

Rosaldo's (1994) cultural citizenship means "the right to be different and to belong in a participatory democratic sense" (p. 402). Used by racial minorities and undocumented immigrants, cultural citizenship claims the right to belong through social and civic participation. Often times, the full privileges of US citizenship are only given to White Americans. This is echoed in the empirical studies of Nguyen (2012) and Bloemraad (2013) which showed that immigrants of color did not feel they would be considered real Americans even if they obtained legal citizenship. Bauböck's (1994) argument for transnational citizenship is similar to cultural citizenship in its claim and effort to be inclusive of all peoples. In an era of increased globalization, transnational citizenship aims to be inclusive of those who have affiliations with multiple communities without forcing them to give up one of their communities or identities. In transnational citizenship, the rights associated with legal citizenship, should be granted based on state of residence, because societies with a large number of excluded people will not be sustainable in a liberal democracy and migration is part of the right of citizenship for any nation (Bauböck, 1994).

Pivoting from these inclusive conceptualizations of citizenship, Ong's (1999) flexible citizenship works through the "cultural logics of capitalist accumulation, travel, and displacements that induce subjects to respond fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions" (p. 6). Economics is the main driving force of flexible citizenship as the elite Chinese subjects are trying to secure the best possible social and economic position in the global economy (Ong, 1999). As the global economy is heavily dominated by English skills and Western norms, the Chinese subjects migrate to work and obtain schooling in locations that build these forms of cultural capital rather than being focused on inclusivity or members rights as long as the rights they are given allows them to secure the cultural capital they need for the global

economy. These contemporary conceptualizations of citizenship both reflect and shape the dynamic landscape of immigration and rights given to immigrants. In contrast to the top-down nature of birthright or naturalized citizenship, cultural citizenship, transnational citizenship, and flexible citizenship take a bottom-up approach as it is defined and claimed by those participating in various and multiple sectors of society. As Ong (1996) says, "[in liberal democracies], the governmentality of state agencies is often discontinuous, even fragmentary, and the work of instilling proper normative behavior and identity in newcomers must also be taken up by institutions in civil society" (p. 738). In addition to state institutions, social groups, family, and non-profits impact the identity formation of newcomers; thus, everyday interactions in these realms are important for the generation of belonging and notions of citizenship.

Scholars have developed and are advocating for new conceptions of active citizenship practices as well. Beyond the traditional conception of "active" civic engagement by voting, young people of all races are participating in civics issues through social media and other methods of discussing and debating civic issues. Some African immigrant youth performed poems on buses to raise awareness about a social issue (Knight & Watson, 2014). These new forms of civic engagement, which focus on responsibility to the country, affirm immigrant identities and their participation as active members of society especially as civic education for immigrant students in schools is not prioritized as much as academics (Callahan & Obenchain, 2016). Moreover, immigrant students often contribute a vital perspective to the classroom discussions for a more critical and transformative civics lessons on citizenship that critiques systemic inequalities within society based on their experience of living in another system (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). However, teachers have to be open to the civic potential of their

immigrant students as some teachers assume immigrant students would not be interested in US politics since they are not US citizens (Dabach, 2015).

These new conceptions of citizenship move beyond the *jus sanguinis* and even *jus soli* approaches of granting legal citizenship, because the most important criteria are participation in civic society and dedication to improving society for all members (Bauböck, 1994; Rosaldo, 1994). This dynamic view of citizenship deprioritizes a monocultural or monoethnic view of citizenship. And as a political project of belonging, it is more inclusive than previous nationalistic and monoculturally based criteria. The current political climate tries to create boundaries and define citizenship as purely based on a single culture or ethnicity, but in a pluralistic society, that only creates tension and perpetuates societal problems (Bauböck, 1994). This study will add to the literature through empirical evidence, rather than theoretical perspectives on new conceptualizations of citizenship, as the immigrant youth participate in the service-learning projects that potentially shapes a bottom-up approach to the development of citizenship.

Spaces of Belonging

With these new conceptions of citizenship underscoring participation as the key criterion to membership, sense of belonging becomes an important driver in drawing borders between who belongs and who does not belong. These borders have tangible consequences as the "feeling of being at home–and being accepted by and part of society [is] important in the respect–of unity in society, as well as at a more personal level, for the psychological well-being of immigrants and their descendants" (Nimmerfeldt, 2011, p. 205). I will elucidate the analytical frameworks for sense of belonging in the theoretical framework sections, but in this section, I will review research related to how sense of belonging impacts immigrants (Cherng, Turney, & Kao, 2014;

Suárez-Orozco, Darbes, Dias, & Sutin, 2011) and spaces that encourage a greater sense of belonging (Tokunaga & Huang, 2016).

Immigrant youth's sense of belonging to the US is primarily mediated by their socialization in schools as this is the site of most frequent contact with US institutional culture. However, if a child lacks a sense of belonging and does not have supportive teachers who help them with the transition process, then their academic performance will usually be lower leading to negative learning and life outcomes (Osterman, 2000; Suárez-Orozco et al, 2009). Immigrant students are more susceptible to negative outcomes as the lack of belonging may be compounded by factors such as poverty, undocumented status, and racialized assumptions about academic capabilities that limit access to quality teachers, curriculum, and schools (Suárez-Orozco et al, 2011). Dabach's (2015) study showed how a teacher purposely differentiated her government class curriculum for immigrant students in a negative and limiting manner. She did not teach her immigrant students about voting like her other government classes because she assumed they were not US citizens due to their limited English proficiency and would not be interested in participating in US politics. She is implicitly teaching the immigrant students that they do not belong, but the reality is the immigrant students live in the US. Being inclusive and teaching them about how government or civics structures function are important forms of investment in the civic potential of immigrant students who might someday become US citizens.

The need to belong also translates to peer relationships as well. Cherng et al (2014) found that first and second-generation immigrant youth, Black, Latinx, and Asian, are less likely than their native-born White peers to report having any friends at school or socializing with friends. At the same time, the mechanisms that support social interactions that create friendships, such as extra-curricular clubs or sports, can be underutilized by immigrant students because teachers

push them to participate in academic or language tutoring due to their lower test scores and

grades (Carhill-Poza, 2014). On the other hand, too much pressure to assimilate can be deterring

as well. Nimmerfeldt's (2011) analysis revealed the sense of belonging to Estonia for second-

generation Russians was mediated by perceived assimilative pressure. The more the Russian

cultural identity became threatened due to pressures from the state or dominant group, the more

the sense of belonging to Estonia decreased for the Russian youth as they developed more of a

reactive identity, which creates sharp boundaries between groups leading to potential

inequalities. This has strong implications for schools and multicultural societies that try to

enforce one cultural standard for citizenship as a method of creating solidarity or social cohesion.

It can emotionally alienate and deter participation in the society by the very people it tries to

engender solidarity with.

While some schools may not have the structural mechanisms to engender a sense of

belonging for immigrant students, afterschool program spaces may fill in that gap and help them

develop a greater sense of belonging by creating opportunities to participate. The low-income

Chinese immigrant students, in Wong's (2008, 2010) ethnographic study of a Chinatown Youth

Center, had a more valued identity at the youth center and served as role models for younger

students compared to their identity at school, where they often felt invisible. The staff members

at the youth center not only provided services for the youth, but also built a bridge between the

school and immigrant families to ensure they are included in the school's decision-making

processes. Tokunaga and Huang (2016) echoed these findings as recent Chinese immigrant youth

in an afterschool program participated in workshops on *Ibasho,* a Japanese concept about places

where people feel a sense of comfort, safety, and acceptance. The immigrant students spoke

about how they would hang out with friends in the market or bubble tea shops in China, but since

coming to the US, they often felt tired and would mostly spend time at home, online, or in school. This isolation and immobility was due to unfamiliarity with the new environment and ideas of inferiority in language and being a racial minority. However, the afterschool program provided opportunities for them to speak and engage more in the community by participating in protests about gentrification and leading the Asian American Pacific Islander heritage month at school. These expanded opportunities, along with the guidance of program staff, transformed "alienating spaces such as schools and neighborhoods into Ibasho" for the recent immigrant students (Tokunaga & Huang, 2016, p. 176). These studies make relevant the study of sense of belonging in promoting participation and the influence it has on immigrants as part of the adaptation process.

These feelings of being at home and accepted - an emotional, individual facet of sense of belonging - are constituted from everyday social interactions with other people in the community. My research study helps to elucidate the mechanism behind how face-to-face social interactions, between immigrant youth of various generational status, facilitators, and community members, contribute to a sense of belonging for the 1.25-generation immigrant students. The afterschool service-learning based settings provided an informal context outside of the classroom or school setting, where students interacted in new ways with new people.

Social Participation through Service-learning

Based on previously mentioned studies on the afterschool program space (Tokunaga & Huang, 2016; Wong, 2008, 2010), the articles point to the impact of the afterschool space, compared to other formal learning spaces, in fostering a greater sense of belonging through activities that promote participation and full membership in a community. Service-learning pedagogy attempts to link the academic component of schooling with the community, bringing

together the ideas of participation, citizenship, and sense of belonging in experiential form. This section explores the current landscape of service-learning and its impact on students of color.

Defining Service-learning

Service-learning, an experiential pedagogical method used commonly in higher education, has become increasingly popular in K-12 and afterschool co-curricular settings as well. While there is no precise definition and though implementation can "look" different from site to site, service-learning generally consists of a "community service action tied to learning goals and ongoing reflection about the experience" (Mitchell, 2008, p. 50) extending beyond the traditional classroom setting. Differing from community service, which focuses on benefiting the recipient of the service, service-learning aims to "equally benefit the provider and the recipient of the service as well as to ensure equal focus on both the service being provided and the learning that is occurring" (Furco, 1996, p. 5). The learning in service-learning is often associated with the curriculum in traditional academic courses, but scholars have noted that co-curricular SL, such as alternative spring break or the Bonner Scholar Program, has defined learning goals and structured reflection activities that draw upon students' academic knowledge or professional skills without an in-class academic component (Griswold, 2013; Howard, 2001; Keen & Hall, 2009). This broader definition of service-learning puts more emphasis on integrating structured learning goals (academic or non-academic) and reflection, which is often missing from volunteerism or community-service programs.

Studying Service-learning

Through qualitative and quantitative evaluations of service-learning based courses and programs, the service-learning approach has been shown to benefit students academically, socially, and civically at the post-secondary as well as K-12 levels (Astin, Vogelgesang, Ikeda, &

Yee, 2000; Billig, 2000; Furco, 1996; Morgan & Streb, 2001; Yeh, 2010). Academically, quantitative analysis of undergraduate students who took service-learning courses, showed they had better writing skills, critical thinking skills, and GPAs as well as a deeper understanding of the course material through reflection and discussion of the service experience compared to those that did not take service-learning courses (Astin et al, 2000). In particular, the link between academic learning and real world experience has been particularly useful in engaging non-traditional or underrepresented students in STEM majors as it offered insights into careers and applications outside of traditional laboratory research setting (Oakes, Duffy, Jacobius, Linos, Lord, Schultz, & Smith, 2002; Paquin, 2006).

Socially, service-learning pedagogy helped middle and high school students increase their self-esteem, sense of social responsibility to others, and communication skills as they became more open to communicating with people of diverse backgrounds and building trusting bonds with adults (Billig, 2000). In Yeh's (2010) study of low-income, first-generation college students, their improved communication skills from service-learning courses were especially helpful in navigating conversations with professors and seeking out resources that expand the students' social and cultural capital. Furthermore, service-learning has been shown to increase the sense of belonging for Latinx undergraduates in a predominately White institution (PWI) where the service-learning component involved undergraduates tutoring Spanish-speaking families in GED test prep and English language (Pak, 2018). Often experiencing isolation and marginalization at the PWI, the service project helped the students develop a sense of belonging with the Latinx families in the local community and with each other in the service-learning based course.

Finally, supporters of service-learning pedagogy highlight its ability to link academic learning with civic responsibility as students serve or benefit their local communities through volunteering at a nonprofit, creating and participating in community gardens with local residents, or tutoring immigrant adults from the local community (Kinloch, Nemeth, & Patterson, 2015; Reed & Butler, 2015; Scales, Blyth, Berkas, & Kielsmeier, 2000). While the type of service project may be different, Morgan and Streb (2001) stressed the importance of youth voice and control of the project for increased political and civic engagement. Students who did not feel any ownership of the projects resented having to do the service; therefore, educators need to be more inclusive of student ideas and opinions during the investigation and planning phase of the service project in order for it to be impactful in expanding their sense of civic engagement and social responsibility.

Critical Perspectives on Service-learning

Surveying service-learning based courses across the US, Kahne, Crow, and Lee's (2013) study revealed this pedagogical approach was mainly implemented with White, middle-class students, but low-income students of color did not have the same level of access. Among the service-learning based programs implemented with students of color, research showed there was a significant difference in outcomes and experiences compared to White, middle-class students (Reed & Butler, 2015; Shadduck-Hernández, 2006). Swaminathan (2005) showed how Black and Latinx students were inaccurately assumed to be juvenile delinquents performing mandatory community service by people at the service sites, which stood in contrast to the experiences of White students who were told they were really good people for doing service. While service-learning based programs can be an effective form of pedagogy, these studies support arguments made by critical scholars that traditional service-learning approaches reinforced structural

inequality through hierarchical server-recipient power dichotomies (Clifford, 2017; Mitchell, 2008) and non-transformational service-learning pedagogy (Becker & Paul, 2015; Lum & Jacob, 2012)

Criticizing the traditional service-learning approach, Clifford (2017) argued the unequal server-recipient power dichotomy fed into the power hierarchy of the privileged exploiting others, who were different from them, for their own benefit. Usually, the server was someone of higher status or privilege focused on gaining certain types of skills for academic credit from a recipient, who was of lower status, rather than being focused on the process of building solidarity with the recipient or community member. Critical scholar, Mitchell (2008), called for critical service-learning approaches that prioritized understanding and addressing structural inequalities to be the core of the service-learning process rather than traditional service-learning approaches that reinforce hierarchies. By connecting the service-learning projects to structural inequalities in societies, students can begin to name, question, and reflect on the race, class, and gender based stratifications in society that are embedded within policies, institutions, and laws and reflect upon how to transform the systemic problems rather than mitigating it through surface-level short-term solutions.

How the service-learning pedagogy implemented by teachers and staff is critical to whether students learn to perpetuate the status quo or view the service-learning process as transformational to society. Social justice oriented educators see the importance of including meaningful service, critical course materials that challenge the status quo, and active reflection by students (Becker & Paul, 2015). Lum and Jacob's (2012) assessment of university-community partnerships argued for the need of grassroots-oriented engagement with communities of color to dismantle assumptions of race, class, or gender by the students. For most of their students, it was

their first time interacting with a demographic group different from themselves, so they had

previous assumptions based on their background and histories. However, rather than coming

from a privileged state of knowing more or assuming their college student knowledge was

superior, Lum and Jacob (2012) required students to ask community members about what they

were thinking and to do their own research on the demographics of the neighborhood. The

curiosity and questioning were precursors to developing a more critical perspective towards

societal structures, the status quo, and privilege.

Conclusion

My focus on 1.25-generation immigrant youth and their role as servers in a service-

learning project will fill gaps in the immigrant youth identity as well as service-learning

literature. Recent immigrant youth are overlooked, understudied, and more often positioned as

the recipients of service-learning projects due to their lower proficiency in English. My

dissertation study offers a unique research site and methodology to further our knowledge and

understanding, since the recent immigrant youth are notably positioned as the servers in

server/recipient power dichotomy of service-learning pedagogy. At ACE, rather than being the

recipient of service from native English speakers, these young people will be serving the local

community members, who might be native English speakers; hence, reversing the traditional

power dichotomy that privileges English speakers in the US[2]. Methodologically, this

microethnographic study contributes a new method of analysis to the citizenship, belonging, and

service-learning literature which often relies on macro-level analysis of policies and interviews

or large scale survey research. The microethnographic approach will provide empirical evidence

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[2] This is not to say the ACE students are not privileged in other dimensions such as socioeconomic class, age, or gender.

of the face-to-face mechanistic processes behind the theoretical concepts of sense of belonging, identity, and citizenship through analysis of everyday social interactions.

Theoretical Framework

While the rules of legal citizenship distinguish individuals that are or are not part of the nation from the top-down, belonging and participation-based citizenship is a bottom-up conceptualization, wherein individuals can claim membership to a nation (Bauböck, 1994; Ong, 1996; Rosaldo, 1994). This study examines the identity formation of immigrant youth in the context of an afterschool service-learning based program and draws upon frameworks and methods from the sense of belonging and microethnography literature. This study deepens our knowledge and extends the conversation about the mechanisms of bottom-up approaches to membership found in everyday social interactions in an afterschool program. This research study uses both the micro and macro scales to explore the identity formation process as the micro reflects and influences the macro and vice versa. While I consider both scales, this study focuses more on the micro-level context by using the microethnographic framework (both theory and methodology). Due to the lack of studies on face-to-face social interactions during afterschool programs and service-learning projects, I pay particular attention to the moment-by-moment embodied and discursive interactions as the students interacted with each other or with community members to elucidate how these interactions reproduced or constructed notions of a sense of belonging, citizenship and identity.

Sense of Belonging through Participation

In the literature review section, academic research on inclusive conceptualizations of citizenship, the changing methods of civic engagement in the younger generation, and the importance of sense of belonging for immigrant students provides a topical introduction to the

role of participation in developing a sense of belonging in contemporary society. In this theoretical framework section, I outline an analytical framework for sense of belonging and how I operationalize it to analyze my data. Antonsich (2010) provides an analytical framework for parsing out the ambiguities in the concept of belonging: "belonging should be analyzed both as a personal, intimate, feeling of being 'at home' in a place (place-belongingness) and as a discursive resource which constructs, claims, justifies, or resists forms of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion (politics of belonging)" (p. 1). He argues researchers need to analyze both the place-belongingness and the politics of belonging, so the analysis does not become solely focused on a de-contextualized individualism or an all-encompassing socializing discourse.

Politics of Belonging

The politics of belonging are the discourses and practices that maintain "boundaries [separating] the world population into 'us' and 'them'" as individuals decide whether a new person they meet on the street stands inside or outside the boundary line of the nation or communities of belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 204). Since there is a boundary, the politics of belonging usually involve two opposite sides -- one side "seeks" belonging and the other side, which has the power, "grants" belonging (Antonsich, 2010; Spaaij, 2015). The boundary between the seeker and granter can occur on the everyday level between business owners and their migrant employees (Yuval-Davis, Wemyss, & Cassidy, 2018) or on the societal level such as the borders between different religions and national citizenships (Yuval-Davis, 2011).

The borders between "us" and "them" can be maintained on the macro-level through affective discourses of hate and fear. Ahmed (2004) argues that "emotions do things, and they align individuals with communities -- or bodily space with social space -- through the very intensity of their attachments" (p. 119). In the affective economies, emotions do not stick to one

body or figure but move around thus creating a collective of multiple figures that bind the asylum seeker to the international terrorist. To operationalize the politics of belonging, I look at the macro-level discourse and images surrounding immigration and geopolitical relationships especially by national and local politicians. These discourses and images give insights into the emotions that are being used and the bodies the emotions try to group into a boundary between "us" versus "them."

Place-Belongingness

Place-belongingness can refer to the place one lives, but the feelings of being "at home" do not need to be located there. Feelings of being "at home" allude to intimate ideas of safety, comfort, and relaxation. Five factors that contribute to place-belongingness are autobiographical, relational, cultural, economic, and legal (Antonsich, 2010). For my dissertation study, I focus on the autobiographical, relational, and cultural aspects that foster place-belongingness, which are understudied compared to the economic and legal aspects. Economic and legal aspects of belongingness are addressed in the migration literature that focuses on socioeconomic outcomes of migrants and their children as a measure of assimilation (Alba, Kasinitz, & Waters, 2011; Portes et al, 2009).

The autobiographical factor refers to the individual's history of personal experiences, memories, and relationships. In modern societies, people have a wide range(choice? options?) of communities and groups to identify with and through "the process of choosing, belonging is turned into a consequence of free will, which implies a degree of personal commitment absent from assigned forms of membership" (Guibernau, 2013, p. 26). Some migrants forgo full citizenship in the host country because they value the emotional attachment to their parents or relatives, who they will not have easy access to if they become full citizens in the host country

(Ho, 2009). Therefore, analyzing the autobiographical narratives of ACE participants provides insights into their decisions about to which communities or places they have the greatest affinity.

Cultural factors such as having common practices, traditions, and language also generate a sense of belonging as group members know they have a similar method of viewing, defining, and interpreting the world (Antonsich, 2010). Focusing on specific communities or groups, Wenger's (1999) "communities of practice" theory explains how individuals can become part of a group or organization by learning the practices, norms, and language through a dynamic and social process. Communities based on social categories or networks of social relationships are not communities of practice, but rather, communities of practice consist of mutual engagement, joint enterprise, and shared repertoire in doing things together to produce a collective product (Wenger, 1999, p. 73). As individuals engage in a community of practice, the relationships formed are more diverse, complex, and interconnected, than those in communities based on social categories, since they use a shared repertoire of routines, words, tools, ways of doing things, stories, or concepts adopted as part of the practice. To join a community of practice, individuals not only learn the practice but will eventually identify with the practice and community. Treating ACE and the service-learning projects as a community of practice, Wenger's theory provides a structured analytical lens to decipher the norms, practices, and shared repertoire within the program and service projects and how this common culture contribute to a sense of belonging both on the program level, neighborhood community level, and potentially national level.

Relational factors are the personal and social ties between individuals that develop a sense of belonging. The relational ties, depending on whether they are strong or weak, reflect emotional investments and desires for attachments as individuals often are "caught within

wanting to belong, wanting to become, a process that is fueled by yearning rather than positing

of identity as a stable state" (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 202). The relational ties can shift the borders

of belonging for Somali refugees in Australia playing on a community soccer team. On the team,

they feel a sense of belonging to each other as Somalis, Africans, or Muslims rather than

dividing themselves based on clan membership, which is common in Somalia (Spaaij, 2015).

Baumeister and Leary's (1995) "belongingness hypothesis" postulates that individuals have an

innate human need to belong and frequent physical interactions that are long-lasting, positive,

stable, and significant--filled with concern and caring--generate a sense of (group) belonging.

Service-learning pedagogy can create opportunities for these types of interactions. Latinx

undergraduate participants feel a sense of care and pride in helping the local community

members in their college town thus strengthening their relational ties and creating a more porous

border with the local Latinx community (Pak, 2018).

This makes relevant the study of the implementation process and social interactions

within service-learning projects as they constitute the relational and cultural factors that generate

place-belongingness. As the immigrant youth participate in ACE, both in the weekly meetings

and implementation of the service-learning projects, I analyze the relationships they formed with

their peers, the facilitator, and community members. I look at how the students group themselves

based on different identifying traits such as race, language ability, or school and who is more

likely to speak or stay silent as they participate in the activities. The types of interaction such as

joking, serious, or more awkward are also important to a sense of belonging. When the

immigrant students participate verbally, I analyze the listening behavior among others, especially

native English speakers, to see if the responses or non-verbal behaviors invite continued

interaction or disengagement. The continued interactions or disengagement signal the everyday

bordering that occurs in social interactions that can potentially form strong or weak ties --

generating and preventing a sense of place-belongingness on the micro-level that could extend to

the discourses on boundaries in the politics of belonging.

Operationally, I look for the following indicators as signs of positive place-belongingness

and feelings of being "at home." Participant retention at ACE is an important indicator since the

program is voluntary. The students make a choice, and those that stay probably had positive

interactional experiences in the program which can generate a greater sense of belonging.

Positive interactional experiences such as forming new friendships with peers they did not know

before, seeking advice from the facilitator, or interacting with all participants in the program

rather than being cliquish are part of the mechanism in generating a sense of belonging. Other

indicators of a sense of belongings are feelings of being valued, being free to joke around and

laugh with others, freedom in expressing ideas or opinions even if they might be seen as

negative, and willingness to help others.

Microethnography

To analyze the social interactions within ACE and the service projects, I use the

microethnographic approach. Microethnography refers to the "microlevel analysis (i.e., the study

of small, everyday behaviors) of interaction" (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2005, p. 728). Compared to

traditional ethnography that uses interviews and observations, microethnography draws on

interactionist modes of analysis, such as conversation analysis, to hone in on the moment-to-

moment development of human activities and non-verbal behavior captured through video

recordings.

One of the central concerns of microethnography is "what is going on?" which is

"continuously relevant (and perhaps problematic) to the parties—as well as quietly answered by

them" (Streeck & Mehus, 2005, p. 826). Instead of assuming participating parties in an event have firm knowledge of what is happening, researchers assume the participants are also wondering the same thing and through participants' actions with each other, they slowly and quietly keep each other informed as well as conform to each other to obtain a "working consensus" for the interactional situation. Going into the specific methods of microethnography, I highlight key concepts researchers use when analyzing social interactions. Drawing on methods from conversation analysis, discourse analysis, ethnomethodology, and sociolinguistics, researchers use concepts such as frame, gaze, gesture, bodily posture, keying, co-membership, metacommunication, and participation frameworks to articulate how social interactions are co-constructed, sustained, and accomplished interactionally.

Framing and Metacommunication

In the microethnographic framework, the "encounter," the core ecological site where participants come together and orient to one another, is the primary site of analysis (Goffman, 1964). In a social situation, people may experience multiple encounters as their attention and mutual engagement might move from one person to another. The way people's bodies orient to each other in space can indicate the encounter by creating a space, called an F-formation system, where participants in the encounter have direct and exclusive access to each other (Kendon, 1990). The F-formation is often a circle, but can adapt to the environmental or social context. For example, at a birthday party, individuals may experience two simultaneous encounters, talking to a friend and being audience members of the birthday cake cutting ceremony, thus the F-formation might be an open circle within a closed circle (Kendon, 1990). In an encounter, all participants are working to sustain the interaction and to accomplish the interactional purpose by signaling what is happening and what is relevant or irrelevant for the situation. Another core

assumption about everyday social interactions is that participants in the interaction strive to avoid embarrassment and maintain face – respect and dignity for the self (Goffman, 1967). Goffman calls this maintenance "face work" as it is part of every interaction and the glue for societal cohesion. Most social interactions try to find commonality among the participants rather than create dissonance.

As individuals experience these encounters, they are also trying to understand it, thus Goffman's "frame analysis" is very important in showing how individuals organize and interpret their experiences based on "frames" -- an individual's "definition of a situation […] in accordance with principles of organization which govern events […] and our subjective involvement in them" (Goffman, 1974, p. 10-11). When interpreting a situation, there are a myriad of frames to draw from based on one's prior experiences, stocks of knowledge, and expectations. Goffman's (1974) example of a man kissing a woman on the cheek can be framed by an observer as either a couple kissing, a man greeting his wife, or John being careful with Mary's makeup. The framing that is chosen depends on the "keying" that the observer uses, which are mental frameworks that a person may use to unlock and categorize the framing of a situation (Goffman, 1974). Furthermore, participants can perform frame analysis to predict the behavior of the other participants and shift the frame if an interaction slows down or becomes unpleasant, but it is not to say that individuals have complete agency in framing. Certain social situations and contexts, such as a funeral or a classroom, dictate the norms and limits in behavior, so people also step into a frame rather than only constructing it. It is a bidirectional process where both the structure of the situation results in certain opportunities and limits, but the individual also has some control in how something is framed and where it is going.

Understanding what is happening interactionally is a complex process and framing can be often misunderstood between participants. Metacommunicative frames, which are signals and communication about the message itself, play an important role in how interactions proceed and they can often be misinterpreted in social interactions (Bateson, 1972). Bateson's (1972) example of monkeys considers how they perform similar types of actions when they are playing as when they are fighting in actual combat, but in the play situation, they know it is playing even though the actions are similar because there is metacommunication, most likely implicit and non-verbal, indicating how the interaction should be framed. These implicit metacommunication signals, or "contextualization" cues, are as important as the verbal language in interaction. Gumperz (1976) shows that a statement such as "Do you know where the paper is?" can be read as a question or a request to get the paper (p. 287). Depending on the receiver's interpretation, their answer and resulting action will be different. Understanding metacommunicative frames and contextualization are especially important in research with people of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Due to the different linguistic and cultural norms between interlocutors, the interpretation of contextualization cues becomes more complex and can likely lead to miscommunication. Therefore, analytical tools, such as frame, keying, frame analysis, contextualization, and metacommunicative frames, are useful in understanding the social organization of interactions and parsing out how different frames are employed in the afterschool program.

Role Distancing and Space

Another analytical concept used in social interaction research is "role" – the set of normative activities an actor engages in for that position (Goffman, 1961). For example, a person takes on the role of a traffic officer by standing in the middle of an intersection and using hand

gestures and whistling to direct traffic (Goffman, 1961). As stated in the previous section, structures might imply norms, but the individual has some agency in shifting it by "role distancing." Role distancing is when the individual behaves in a way that separates himself or herself from the virtual self that is implied in the role (Goffman, 1961). The actor usually finds something wrong or disconcerting about the self-image implied by the normative aspects of the role, so they purposefully distance themselves from the role to show that they are different from the normative person in that role while still partially taking on some aspects of the position. Goffman (1961) explains how a twelve-year-old child riding a merry-go-round that has seat straps might not want to be seen as a very young fragile child thus he or she role distances from that normative image by not using seat straps, not holding on to the pole, and climbing from one horse to the other while the merry-go-round was in motion – all to show that he or she is not a young fragile child. If this twelve-year-old chooses not to ride on the merry-go-round at all then he or she is not within the position to role distance, but rather is not participating in the merry-go-round situational frame at all (Goffman, 1961). To use role distancing, the individual has to step into the role, but he or she does not fully embrace all aspects of it.

Erickson and Schultz (1982) show how role and role distancing play out in academic counseling sessions at a college. The normative role of an academic counselor is to be an objective and impartial judge guarding the gates of mobility within the institution. At the same time, they are also supposed to be an advocate for the student's interests. While these are not the only two roles or social identities the counselor can have, at least in the institutional setting of a counseling interview for advising, the gatekeeper role is the primary role of the counselor. As the counselor interviews and gets to know the student, Erickson and Schultz (1982) notice that even though the interviews follow the standard participation framework of questions and answers for

interviews, there are moments of small talk where the counselor or student tries to find out more about each other's social identities. If they have something in common, it establishes "co-membership," which is shared status such as being from the same race or having attended the same high school. By building the special solidarity of co-membership, the counselor is able to change his "footing" -- the way a speaker's verbal interactions align with the other participant or content of the social situation (Goffman, 1981). The counselor changes his footing by asking "You wrestlin'?," which is more friendly and non-bureaucratic, pointing to an aspect of the student's social identity outside of academics (Erickson & Schultz, 1982). The change in footing helps the counselor role distance himself from the normative academic counselor role into a more caring advocate, who is reprimanding the student in reference to how he failed some classes even though he was not wrestling due to his bad knee. This is a strategic way of getting the work of an academic counselor done, but still saving face for both parties as the counselor reprimands in a friendly, socially cohesive manner rather than a conflict oriented manner. Role, role distancing, footing, and co-membership are especially useful in more formalized interactions where an obvious normative role is known, but could also be informative in informal interactions as well.

Speaking, Listening, and Gaze

While we have been focused on social interaction, we have not talked about speaking and listening specifically. Speech itself can be studied in many ways such as through linguistics that focuses on the grammar and syntax, discourse analysis that focuses on how language influences or reflects aspects of the macro-level of society, and conversation analysis that focuses on how speaking occurs and is organized in social interactions. In microethnography, researchers draw heavily on conversation analysis.

Because microethnographers view social interactions as an ecological system of mutual influence between participants, they point out the "listener" is often neglected in language focused research as transcripts primarily reflect the speech and actions of the speaker (Erickson, 2010). Although the speaker is giving information through speech, the listener is also giving information through non-verbal and verbal behaviors such as nodding, smiling, shifting body posturing, orienting their standing position in space, or saying "hm." These actions can influence how the course of interaction proceeds. If the speaker does not read the other person as listening then he or she might change the speech to gain the other's attention. Goodwin (1980) shows this through his study on gaze. The speaker often waits for the recipient of the talk to gaze at the speaker before getting to the important content of the utterance. Before the mutual gaze between the speaker and listener is obtained, the speaker might slow down their speech, add a pause, or restart the utterance until the mutual gaze is obtained.

An understanding of listening behaviors is especially important in intercultural communication. As referenced in a previous section, miscommunication occurs when metacommunicative signals are misread and this encompasses listener behavior as well. Erickson (1986) and Hall (1969) both reference how different cultural norms around listening behavior can be misinterpreted and lead to negative social outcomes for children and adults. Hall (1969) argues that Black children are often viewed as not listening because they do not follow the White norm of making eye contact. Consequently, they are reprimanded or punished by the teacher even though in their household context, not looking at the adult is proper behavior. In Erickson's (1986) study of a job interview between a German-American interviewer and an Italian-American applicant, each interlocutor's misinterpretation of the other's listening behavior leads to a greater difference and distance between them, a "complementary schismogenesis." The

Italian-American applicant interprets the German-American interviewer's less animated speech and stiff body positioning as a lack of interest in him, which causes the applicant to become more nervous and try to compensate with something interesting; however, the interviewer interprets the applicant's hesitating speech and movement in his chair as nervousness, so he tries to help him feel comfortable by letting him talk about his Rome story without interruption to get the anxiety out. Each interlocutor's speech and listening behavior affects the other to create more distance even though both the interviewer and applicant are enacting non-verbal behaviors to try and make the interaction more interactionally positive. The embodied communication through body movements, gaze, and posture by the listener is just as relevant to the progress of social interactions as the speech of the speaker.

Conclusion

Recognizing the relevance of everyday social interactions, this research study aims to use microethnography and ethnography to parse out the interactional mechanisms behind the development of a sense of belonging and citizenship in a service-learning based afterschool program context. The key concepts and methods used by microethnographers add nuanced empirical details to the operationalization of a sense of belonging. Rather than analyzing sense of belonging based on reported feelings from the research participants, I unmask the interactional details that counteract or contribute to everyday borders and the feelings of being "at home" for recent immigrant youth. This research examines the interactions of students in ACE in order to obtain a deeper understanding of why some immigrant students may feel a negative and positive sense of belonging and how metacommunicative frames, listening behavior, and bodily postures play a role in their sense-making and readings of the interactions.

Chapter Three: Methodology

ACE Context

The research site and community context were broadly introduced in Chapter One. In this section, I will provide more details about the program and an overview of the daily operations for the 2018-2019 program year. As previously described, ACE focused on college readiness, leadership development, and civic engagement through service-learning projects and professional skills workshops. There were three sections that met on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays and each section met for two hours per week. Students decided which section they would attend based on their schedule, and they were also allowed to attend different sections from week to week although not many students utilized this option. Ideally, all three sections would have met an equal number of times, but due to school holidays, weather, and the facilitator's other professional responsibilities the Tuesday section had 20 sessions, Wednesday section had 26 sessions, and Thursday section had 18 sessions. The number of students changed during the year as some students dropped out after a few sessions - approximately 42 students total signed up at the beginning of the year and approximately 28 students attended regularly by the end of the program year.

During each session, the first hour was allotted for games and the second hour the lesson. Some of the lesson topics included: MBTI personality test and future planning; resume and cover letters; interview skills; public charge workshop; reflection and goal setting; workplace communication; stress free day; giving feedback; leadership practice; and "open mic" discussion. At the end of the sessions, students filled out a digital journal entry about what they learned. As the journals were optional, not all students wrote entries. For the 2018-2019 service-learning projects, the facilitator had students focus on the tree care and street cleanup service-learning

project as a group. On the days the service-learning projects were being implemented, there was no game time and it took approximately 1.5 hours to complete the projects. At the service project implementations, the students worked on teams and at the end the facilitator would carry out a group reflection. The facilitator was inconsistent in carrying out the group reflections and only completed it at two of the eight service projects. Originally, the environmental service-learning projects were supposed to be implemented once a month, but due to the cold weather and a pedagogical disagreement between the facilitator and his supervisor, the facilitator had to cancel most of the winter and spring implementation days. By the end of the year, the Tuesday section implemented the service project two times, the Wednesday section five times, and the Thursday section one time.

In addition to the weekly sessions and service-learning projects, there were special field trips, job shadowing events, and fun social events for the students. Examples of events and trips include: Halloween Party, Lunar New Year Parade, college tours, job shadowing at corporate companies, the annual Career Conference, and museum trips. These trips and events were open to both ACE and SACE (the sister program of ACE for 9th and 10th graders) students.

Bay Point Context

ACE was located in the neighborhood of Bay Point within a borough of New York City. In the past 40 years, the racial demographic and linguistic landscape of Bay Point changed significantly from a White, European American and English speaking neighborhood to a mainly Asian neighborhood with different East Asian languages spoken by the immigrants from Asian countries such as South Korean, Taiwan, and China. In 2017, the U.S. Census Bureau reported the racial breakdown of Bay Point to be approximately 52.6% Asian, 25.7% White, 17.4% Hispanic, and 2% Black.

The ACE office was located across the street from the three high schools where ACE recruited most of its participants. The three schools - BPHS, Andover, and RCCLS (all pseudonyms) - were co-located within the same building. The schools had their own classes and extra-curricular activities that were only accessible to their students. Even though the schools shared some hallways and stairwells, students from each school were monitored by security guards or teachers to prevent them from going into the other schools. Students said that ACE was one of the only spaces where they could meet students from the other schools.

Study Participants

All of the ACE participants were 11th and 12th graders. For some students, it was their first year in the ACE program while others had been in the SACE program during 9th and 10th grade; therefore, they were more familiar with HES, the staff members, and the type of activities at ACE. The students were all recruited from the three co-located high schools across from the HES office. A couple of students, Binsa and Ryan, did not attend one of the three schools, but they were invited by friends from those schools to join ACE.

For the 2018-2019 program year, there were less Chinese ELL students and more Latinx and South Asian students than previous years. The facilitator used a snowball method for recruiting, which favored students that were similar to the students he initially recruited that happened to be second-generation Latinx and South Asian students. While the larger HES organization primarily served low-income Chinese immigrants with housing and immigration issues, it did not restrict or dictate the youth department focus on Chinese youth only. ACE and SACE were open to students of any racial backgrounds and it mostly focused on serving first-generation immigrant students or second-generation students whose parents were immigrants.

For the study, I observed, video recorded, and interviewed three main sets of subjects: focal students, non-focal students, and facilitators. All of the students and adult staff consented to the classroom wide video and audio recording.

Focal Students

When selecting the focal students, I prioritized those that were 1.25-generation immigrant students, the students who interacted with 1.25-generation students the most, and those that had been involved with ACE/SACE for multiple years. The students selected were of different ethnic backgrounds, generational statuses, and English proficiency levels (Table 1). Some of the students were current ELL-labelled students, others had tested out of their school's ESL programs, and some were native English speakers. I invited the students to be interviewed in November 2018 after we had at least one month to become familiar with each other. At the end of the initial interview, I invited them to continue to participate in the study with a follow-up interview at the end of the program year. Conducting two interviews gave me an in-depth and temporal understanding of how the students' feelings or perceptions of their identity, sense of belonging, and citizenship changed as they progressed in their service-learning projects, interacted with new people, and participated in other activities at ACE.

Incidentally, a majority of the 1.25-generation students attended the Tuesday section; as a result, I invited all the students from that section to be interviewed, which included one second-generation student. Most of the students accepted the invitation, but a couple of students declined or dropped out of the program before I could ask them to be interviewed as a focal student. A couple of students, Isabel and Tian, agreed to a second interview, but on the scheduled interview date, they had unforeseen family matters that conflicted and could not reschedule. I also invited a number of the Thursday section students for individual interviews as their multi-year

participation in ACE and SACE helped provide a longer temporal perspective on the evolution of their relationship with the program, their peers, and the community.

Table 1. Focal Students

Pseudonym	Section	School	Gender	Generation	Years in US	Heritage Country[e]	Sessions Attended
Isabel[a]	Tue	BPHS	F	1.25	2	Ecuador	14
Saba	Tue	Andover	F	1.25	5	Pakistan	16
Chibi	Tue	RCCLS	M	2	17	Ecuador/Puerto Rico	18
Binsa	Tue	BPHS[d]	F	1.25	4	Nepal	16
Calvin	Tue	BPHS	M	1.25	3	China	4[c]
Tian[a]	Tue	RCCLS	M	1.5	5	China	10
Anya[b]	Tue	RCCLS	F	1.5	9	China	10
Jenny[b]	Thu	RCCLS	F	1.5	10	China	17
John	Thu	RCCLS	M	2	17	China	9
Trishna	Thu	RCCLS	F	2	17	Bangladesh	18
Wenxin	Wed	RCCLS	F	1.25	2	China	13

Notes: All names are pseudonyms. [a]Isabel and Tian completed their first interview and scheduled a second interview, but both had unforeseen conflicts on the scheduled date and could not reschedule. [b]Anya and Jenny were born in the US and sent to live with their grandparents in China until they were eight and seven years old, respectively. Even though they would technically be classified as second-generation by birthplace, I categorized them as 1.5-generation, because their experiences with learning English and adjusting to American culture would be similar to other 1.5-generation children.[3] [c]Calvin dropped out of the program in December 2018. [d]Binsa attended BPHS freshmen year, but she transferred to a different school for sophomore and junior year. However, she maintained her involvement with SACE and ACE even though her school was no longer in Bay Point. [e]Heritage country indicates either the country the students immigrated from or where their parents immigrated from.

Non-focal Students

My second set of study subjects were the ACE students that were not focal students, because they did not fit the selection criteria or declined to be interviewed as focal students (Table 2). Most of the students were second-generation students of different ethnic backgrounds and it was their first year in ACE. Many of them were recruited into ACE through friends; thus, they came from the same school and were in pre-established social groups.

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[3] However, I acknowledge their status as US citizens by birthright impacts their personal narrative about their identity and sense of belonging.

For this set of students, I observed them and captured their verbal expressions and behaviors in my field notes as well as video recordings. As most of these students were in the Wednesday and Thursday sections, I also conducted a focus group on 3/14/19 with the Thursday group and 5/22/19 with the Wednesday group during their regularly scheduled ACE session. The facilitator chose those dates as he had other professional conflicts; therefore, he would not be leading a regular session and absent from the focus group. The purpose of these focus groups were to obtain a broader understanding of the program's impact on those who were not 1.25-generation students and to capture their perspectives on their identity, sense of belonging, and citizenship. Seven students attended the Thursday section focus group and eleven students attended the Wednesday section focus group.

Table 2. Non-focal students in ACE

Pseudonym	Section	School	Gender	Generation[4]	Years in US	Heritage Country[e]	Sessions Attended
Heena[a]	Tue	Andover	F	1.5	6	Nepal	4
Jiali	Tue	RCCLS	F	1.25	2	China	11
Meiyang	Tue	RCCLS	F	1.25	2	China	10
Lena[a]	Tue	RCCLS	F	1.25	3	China	4
Raul	Thu[c]	BPHS	M	1.75	13	Mexico	19
Coral	Thu[c]	BPHS	F	2	17	Mexico	18
Rocio	Thu[c]	BPHS	F	2	18	Mexico	9
Jane	Thu[c]	BPHS	F	1.5	11	Mexico	12
Sadia	Wed	BPHS	F	2	18	Guyana	22
Jinani	Wed	BPHS	F	1.25	4	Pakistan	9
Sara	Wed	BPHS	F	2	18	Mexico	12
Nafia	Wed	BPHS	F	2	17	Bangladesh	23
Andrea[a]	Wed	Andover	F	2	16	Ecuador	3
Eliza	Wed	BPHS	F	1.75	14	Guyana	15
James	Wed	BPHS	M	2	18	--[d]	18
Christine	Wed	BPHS	F	2	17	Guyana	16
Jennifer[a]	Wed	BPHS	F	2	17	Mexico	8
Tony	Wed	BPHS	M	2	18	Mexico	10

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[4] Children immigrating between 13-17 years old are 1.25-generation, 6-12 years old are 1.5-generation, 0-5 years old are 1.75-generation, and those born in the United States to immigrant parents are second-generation (Rumbaut, 2004).

Martin	Wed	RCCLS	M	2	17	Mexico	22
Kelly	Wed	BPHS	F	2	17	Mexico	19
PJ	Wed	BPHS	M	1.5	7	Bangladesh	15
Elena[a]	Wed	Andover	F	2	16	Ecuador	3
Ryan	Wed	--[b]	M	2	17	Guyana	20
Dante	Wed	BPHS	M	2	17	Guyana	11
Priya	Wed	BPHS	F	2	17	Indian	25
Shawn	Wed	RCCLS	M	1.5	10	Indonesia	10
Neel	Wed	RCCLS	M	2	17	Mexico/Bangladesh	14

Notes: All names are pseudonyms. [a]These students dropped out of the program as I never saw them during the spring 2019 semester. [b]Ryan did not attend any of the three schools or live in Bay Point. He was recruited by Neel, who was his best friend and neighbor. [c]Although the students were categorized as Thursday section students in the ACE documents, they attended either the Wednesday or Thursday section based on scheduling conflicts, which the facilitator allowed. [d]James identified himself as biracial of Latinx and White ancestry, but he did not specify which countries his parents were from. [e]Some of the students had complex attachments to multiple heritage countries. A number of students who said they were of Guyanese heritage were Indo-Guyanese or Afro-Guyanese pointing to the migration and multicultural history of Guyana. I chose to use the heritage country they named on their ACE profiles or in casual conversation.

Adult Staff

My third set of research participants were the adult facilitators of the program. I mainly focused on the ACE facilitator, Mr. Luke, to understand his reasoning behind the ACE curriculum, what he thought the main challenges were for students, and how he related to the students. I interviewed him three times throughout the program year to see how his perspectives changed as new challenges arose. It was informative to see how the students interacted with him and perceived his identity as a second-generation Filipino-American and non-teacher adult figure. Mr. Luke grew up in Bay Point, so he was very familiar with the neighborhood and NYC environment. At the time of the study, it was his third year at HES as the ACE facilitator. He was a lawyer by training and working at HES was his first job after graduating from law school. Although he did not have formal teaching experience, he was the youth ministry leader at his church where he led weekly youth group fellowship meetings, organized overnight retreat, and mentored teenagers in his church. Even while working full-time at HES, he spent his weekends leading the youth ministry. Mr. Luke took a very flexible approach to curriculum and pedagogy

as he would extend or shorten the timing of activities based on student responses or other factors. He designed the curriculum and lesson plans himself through resources found on the internet and what previous facilitators had done. Lastly, his job responsibilities increased one month prior to the start of my data collection as he was promoted to program manager of the youth department at HES. In addition to facilitating and managing the ACE program, he was in charge of three staff members and the administrative aspects of the youth department such as daily operations and budget.

In addition to Mr. Luke, I interviewed the other two HES staff members that worked directly with the youth, Ms. Sam and Ms. Danielle. I interviewed both of them to gain more perspectives on the ACE youth and the reasoning behind the afterschool programs to further triangulate my data. Ms. Sam, a second-generation Chinese American, was the community organizer in the youth department and would frequently guest lecture in the ACE and SACE programs about social policy issues. I interviewed her once at the end of the program year in June 2019. At that time, she had been at HES for 1.5 years and she was a social worker by training who had worked in the nonprofit sector throughout her career. The workshop topics she spoke about during her time at HES included gentrification, the policing of people of color, public charge, bystander training, Census, and tenant rights. Ms. Danielle was the SACE facilitator and it was her second year facilitating the program. She was second-generation of biracial White and Chinese heritage, spoke Mandarin, and a social worker, who previously worked with young people around sexual health. Many of the ACE participants, who had been involved with HES for multiple years, had Ms. Danielle as their SACE facilitator the previous year. Unfortunately, Ms. Danielle found a new job and left HES in March 2019. I was able to interview her a couple of weeks after she left.

Table 3. ACE Staff

Pseudonym	Staff Role	Gender	Generation	Heritage Country	Languages Spoken
Mr. Luke	ACE Facilitator/ Program Manager[a]	M	2	Philippines	English
Mindy	Alumni Volunteer	F	1.5	China	English
Jackie	Alumni Volunteer	F	1.5	China	English
Ms. Sam	Community Organizer	F	2	China	English/Mandarin
Ms. Danielle[b]	SACE Facilitator	F	2	China/Unknown[c]	English/Mandarin

Notes: All names are pseudonyms. [a]Mr. Luke was promoted to Program Manager in September 2018. He had dual roles as both the ACE facilitator and program manager of the youth department at HES. [b] Ms. Danielle resigned from HES in March 2019 to take a new job. [c]In our interview, Ms. Danielle self-identified by saying "I'm Chinese and speak Chinese." She did not say she was part Chinese. I knew she was biracial, of Chinese and White ancestry, based on our casual conversations and her physical appearance. "Unknown" is used as it is unclear where the other half of her ancestry is from.

Data Collection

This study drew from ethnographic and microethnographic methods. I used a combination of both methods because ethnography offered a broader understanding of the whole program itself and its culture while microethnography allowed analysis of the micro-level social interactions. One of ethnography's main tenets "assumes the researchers must first discover *what* people actually do and the reasons they give for doing it before trying to interpret their actions" (LeCompte & Schensul, 2010, p. 2). While I could have used the microethnographic method only, I would not have had an *emic* understanding of the immigrant youth and ACE's social worlds, interactions, and constructions; thus, my interpretation of their actions would have been too hasty and inaccurate, leading to premature conclusions. With that perspective in mind and trying to capture "thick descriptions" through longer involvement, I participated in not only weekly participant observation, but also took part in special weekend activities or trips at ACE. On the other hand, the microethnographic method provided a richer *etic* perspective to balance

the *emic* perspectives. The microethnographic method supported the rigor of applying an outside

framework on the perception of observed events to elucidate social processes empirically.

Following Erickson (2004) and Erickson and Schultz's (1997) microethnographic method for

analyzing video, I analyzed sections of videotaped interactions that were relevant to my research

questions using the key microethnographic concepts articulated in the previous theoretical

frameworks section.

I spent one academic year with the ACE program and collected data from October 2018-

June 2019. I was a participant observer at the weekly meetings and service-learning project

implementations for all three sections. Due to my other scholarly and professional commitments,

I could not attend all session, but I attended a majority of the sessions. In total, I observed, audio-

recorded, and video recorded 15 Tuesday sessions, 17 Wednesday sessions, and 13 Thursday

sessions with each session being two hours long (corpus of 90 hours of video and audio). I also

attended and took field notes at special events such as the career conference, Lunar New Year,

parade, andEnd-of-the-Year celebration. With the focal students (n=11), I conducted semi-

structured interviews two times throughout the program year to capture any changes in the

students as they went through the program. All interviews were conducted in English although I

offered the option of Mandarin. In addition to the focal students, I conducted two focus groups

with the Wednesday (n=11) and Thursday (n=7) sections in May and March, respectively. The

focus groups were to capture a wider range of perspectives on the service-learning pedagogy and

afterschool program. Among the adult staff members, I interviewed both the community

organizer and SACE facilitator once near the end of the program year, and I interviewed the

ACE facilitator three times throughout the academic year to understand the intent behind his

teachings and guidance for the students as well as how he viewed the students and their sense of

belonging. Lastly, I digitally copied the ACE student profiles, curriculum, and digital journals and I took photographs of student artifacts such as public charge comment submissions and drawing from their self-introduction activity.

Positioning Myself as a Researcher

When I entered the ACE program in early October 2018, I was introduced by Mr. Luke as a graduate student and researcher studying education. My identity as a higher education student and researcher garnered both insider and outsider status. As college access was part of ACE's mission, some students were interested in asking me about college life and what Rutgers University was like. My status as a graduate student helped initiative conversations with ACE students and build rapport because they saw me in a place or career field that they wanted to be in the future. Although I was older, I continuously positioned myself as a novice and part of their high school worlds by participating in the games at ACE, talking to them about their classes, or TV shows that they watched to gain a better understanding of their experiences. Even during the lesson, I tried to distance myself from the role of an authority figure and sit amongst the students. However, the students would still place me in a position of authority by asking me if they could go to the bathroom instead of Mr. Luke or if I was in the classroom without Mr. Luke, they would usually ask me what topic or activities they would be doing that day. I frequently answered by saying they should ask Mr. Luke because he was in charge.

As a researcher who video recorded the sessions, the video camera made the students very conscious of my researcher identity. Although I placed the camera in the corner of the classroom, a student might say something deemed inappropriate by others and the other students would say "yo, the camera" and look at me. In those moments, my outsider status as a researcher was foregrounded as the students did not want to get into trouble. I reminded the students that

everything was confidential and nobody besides my professor and I would watch the video. Mr. Luke echoed my sentiments about confidentiality, so students would not feel as self-conscious. At the same time, some of the students enjoyed being on video and would pose or make funny gestures into the camera even if I was not holding it.

With Mr. Luke, he saw me as a colleague and educational expert who could help him when needed. Having worked at HES and facilitated ACE prior to Mr. Luke, we had mutual co-workers that I referenced in conversations to build rapport. Usually, in the classroom, I participated in the activities that he planned, complimented him when a lesson went well, and helped him cleanup the materials, so he would not feel as self-conscious about the observations. He trusted me as an educator; therefore, when he had a scheduling conflict with two ACE sessions, he asked me to step in and facilitate the session using a powerpoint presentation that I had already observed him present. Furthermore, during our second individual interview, he asked me at the end if I had any advice for him based on my observations and educational expertise. I shared some of my ideas for improvements, which he heard, but did not respond with either positive interest or negative dismissal. After that incident, he never asked me for anymore teaching advice, but it did not conspicuously hurt our relationship as he was still willing to answer my questions and support the research project.

In addition to my professional identities, my identity as a Mandarin speaking, 1.5-generation Chinese American woman who did not grow up in NYC played a role in establishing me as an insider or outsider. As a female, some of the female research participants, like Anya, said it was easier to talk with me than with Mr. Luke because she felt less comfortable around male teachers. My female gender identity also meant I had more cultural practices in common with the female students; hence, we casually talked about makeup stores in Bay Point or Binsa

came to me to ask if I had an extra sanitary pad. Besides cultural practices, we shared more commonalities in media consumption. We talked about romantic comedies, K-dramas (Korean soap operas), and TV shows like *Jane the Virgin*. I also positioned myself as an individual who was welcoming and curious about other cultures as the students were from various ethnic backgrounds. For example, when Saba mentioned her daily prayer rituals or celebrating Ramadan in a group conversations, I expressed enthusiasm in hearing more about it rather than quickly glossing over it. My insider status as a female and the trust I built through welcoming conversations allowed me to establish open communication for interviews.

Just as my gender gave me insider status with the female students, it made me an outsider with the male students. It was more difficult to talk with the male students when they were in a group as my outsider status became more apparent in relation to their cultural practices or media consumption. When the male students in the Wednesday section talked about rappers or video games, I did not know how to play video games and I had not heard of most of the rappers. It was difficult for me to sustain the conversation. Even though I asked them questions to learn more and show interest in these topics, the students were not very enthusiastic about explaining them. Moreover, this group of male students would often talk in a racialized form of English common to the NYC area. Having grown up in Maine and not NYC, I did not know how to code-switch to this form of English; thus, I was a linguistic outsider speaking in academic English and probably considered uncool and boring by the students (Bax & Ferrada, 2018). However, I was able to connect with the male students in the Tuesday and Thursday sections as they liked some of the more mainstream American pop and they did not use the racialized form of English as often; hence, I could sustain conversations with them about topics such as TV shows, school, or parents.

My Chinese-American ethnic background helped the 1.5- and second-generation East Asian students feel more open during the individual interviews as they talked about the negative stereotypes of Asian immigrants and Asian Americans. Anya mentioned how she was judged for not fitting the Asian model minority stereotype of a smart Asian or John revealed how the Chinese immigrants in Bay Point were not as respectful of the societal rules as his family. If I was not of the same ethnic or racial background, both of them might not have been as explicit about these negative perspectives related to their own race or ethnic identity. On the other hand, my 1.5-generation status made me an outsider among the 1.25-generation Chinese immigrant students even though I spoke Mandarin. During our interviews, I always offered the 1.25-generation Chinese immigrant students the opportunity to speak Mandarin with me, but they usually said they wanted to continue in English. I think they saw it as an opportunity to practice their English as they did not get many opportunities to have long casual conversations in English with peers or adults. In addition, it might have been less anxiety provoking to make mistakes in English with me as I was of the same ethnic background. Whenever I had trouble understanding their sentences, I usually repeated what I thought they were saying in English or used some words in Mandarin to confirm my interpretation was correct. However, with some of the 1.25-generation Chinese immigrant students they did not respond openly even when I used Mandarin or tried to be welcoming. Jiali and Meiyang frequently sat together and talked amongst each other to the exclusion of others. When I offered them snacks that I brought, they declined to take any or even when I asked them questions in Mandarin, they still responded with terse answers. Despite our phenotypic and linguistic similarities, these factors were not enough to surpass the cultural, age, or power differences as an older teacher figure who grew up in the US. Even as they declined to reciprocate my enthusiastic attitude, I still tried to include them in casual

conversations with the other students by asking for their thoughts, but they tended to shy away from such interactions thus I did not push too much to keep them from feeling overwhelmed.

Audio and Visual Recording Process

The weekly meetings for each section and implementation of the service-learning projects were recorded with a video camera (Sony Handycam, DCR-SX40) and audio voice recorder (Sony Voice Recorder, ICD-PX333). In total, I video recorded 15 Tuesday sessions, 17 Wednesday sessions, and 13 Thursday sessions with each session being two hours long as well as some portions of the special events (corpus of over 90 hours of video and audio).

During the weekly meetings, the video camera was mounted on a tripod and placed in a corner of the room to be less noticeable to the subjects. As the classroom already had desks that were grouped together, the students sat in one large circle with the facilitator or clusters of smaller circles as the facilitator might stand or sit in the front of the room. As the main focus of the research study was on the students, I aimed the camera towards the face of the students rather than the facilitator so the camera was placed at the front corners of the room. I would switch between the two front corners of the room to capture different angles and students when the facilitator transitioned from the games to the lesson. Since Mr. Luke used teacher-centered pedagogy, there was rarely any group work; therefore, I did not have to worry about capturing different small groups. Furthermore, as Mr. Luke liked to play music during the game time, which made it difficult for the camera to capture dialogue, I started audio recording the games by placing the audio recorder near the middle of the table where most of the students and facilitator sat. In order to familiarize the students with the recording devices and decrease discomfort, I only recorded the lesson portion of the sessions at first with the camera facing Mr. Luke and

placed in the back corner away from the smartboard. After a couple of weeks, I moved the camera to the front corner to begin capturing the student faces as well.

While implementing the service-learning projects, I held the video camera a few feet away from the group and would follow different teams of students around as they cleaned and mulched the tree beds. I primarily focused on the students and the environment they were interacting with. As the students did not interact with the community members except in passing, I recorded from angles where the community members had their backs facing the camera. When I did capture their faces and was not able to get consent as they were walking away, I blurred out their facial image using AKVIS Sketch software. I also had one of the students, Sara, hold and record her peers during the Wednesday section service project implementation on 12/5/18. She was chosen because Mr. Luke recommended her as the student who was most familiar with all the students in the Wednesday section. I asked her to record images of her peers implementing the service-learning project and to ask them questions about their feelings on the project. I told her she could create her own questions and gave her examples such as "how do you feel while doing this service project" or "this is your third time doing the tree care and street cleanup, do you feel any different?"

Interviews

For the study, there were interviews with three sets of subjects: focal students, non-focal students, and adult staff members (refer to Appendix C for interview questions). In addition to the video recordings, the individual interview and focus groups captured the in-depth thoughts and feelings about the ACE program, service-learning pedagogy, and student identity over time as they progressed in the program.

I recruited a set of 11 focal students, the main criteria being they had to be 1.25-generation immigrants, they had to frequently interact with 1.25-generation students in the program, or they had to participate in HES programs for multiple years. By having a set of focal students, I obtained richer data on the effects of the program and a more thorough understanding of the daily experiences of 1.25-generation immigrant students. Once a student consented to be a focal student, I initiated the process of interviewing them - I conducted two one-hour semi-structured interviews near the middle and end of the academic year. The interviews took place either over the phone, in person at ACE's office space, or a public coffee shop dependent on the students' and researcher's availability. I recorded the interviews by placing an audio recorder on the table at which we sat after obtaining consent. I audio recorded the phone interviews using an app called Call Recorder.

The first interview focused on the student's background - schooling in their country of origin, reasons for joining ACE, experience with community service, and thoughts about the ACE program so far, with a focus on ideas of identity, sense of belonging, community, and citizenship. At the end of the first interview, I informed students of my interest to follow their progress through the school year and invited them to continue the research project by participating in a second interview at the end of the program. In the second interview, I followed similar procedures as the initial interviews, but shifted the focus of the questions towards any changes in perspectives they had and their views about the ACE program overall.

With the non-focal students, I conducted two focus groups (Wednesday and Thursday section) near the end of the program year. The focus groups occurred during the regular ACE session timeslot and lasted 1.5-2 hours. I invited all students from the Wednesday and Thursday sections to join the focus group even if they were already focal students. The question in the

focus group centered around their experiences in ACE, how they felt about their service-learning projects, and their perspectives on their identity, citizenship, and spaces where they felt a sense of belonging.

The semi-structured interviews for the adult staff followed similar procedures as the focal student interviews. However, the topical focus shifted to how the staff members viewed the students. With the ACE facilitator, I interviewed him three times (one hour each) throughout the academic year to track changes over time. During the first interview, I gathered information about his professional background, his vision for ACE, the curriculum, and his view on the immigrant youth who were non-native English speakers. In the second interview, I asked how he felt about the progress of the program, if there were challenges that he did not foresee, and specific incidents or workshops in the program to gather his perspective on them. In the third interview, I followed a similar format, but shifted the focus to the conclusion of the program and what changes he would want to make for the future as well as understanding his thought processes behind certain changes or pedagogy he implemented.

With the SACE facilitator and community organizer, I conducted one semi-structured interview with each staff member near the end of the program year that lasted approximately an hour. The interviews were audio recorded and took place either in person or over the phone. For both staff members, I asked them about their professional backgrounds, vision for the students at HES, and their perceptions on working with immigrant youth at HES.

Participant Observations, Field Notes, and Artifacts

As a participant observer, I attended the weekly sessions for each section, service-learning project implementations, and special events at ACE. While I was at these sessions and events, I joined the students in what they were doing. For example, when the ACE students were

doing the tree care and street cleanups, I would also join the service project by holding the trash

bag or raking the mulch around the tree. By immersing myself in these daily routines and

ordinary concerns of the community as well as being part of significant events that an ordinary

outsider might not have access to, I gained a better understanding of how the students were

feeling and what questions they might have had (Emerson et al, 2011). As I was participating in

the events, I kept mental notes about how the students interacted with each other, the program

facilitator, and me, paying special attention to how ideas of identity, belonging, or community

were expressed through embodied actions as well as discursively. As an active participant in the

games, service-learning projects, and special events, I frequently did not have time to write down

fieldnotes. I wrote down some quotes and short observations while Mr. Luke was giving his

presentations, but I usually recorded my fieldnotes afterwards. I audio recorded my fieldnotes

after every session. I described the spatial positioning of everyone in the room, the events of the

session in chronological order, who was doing most of the talking, who was silent, and if anyone

made a new connection. I also included analytical notes about any patterns I noticed or

connections to previous observations related to belonging, identity, and community.

In addition to the fieldnotes, artifacts from the program were collected such as student

worksheets, ACE curriculum, and digital journal entries. These artifacts showed aspects of the

student's thinking they might not have verbalized to the group as some students were not as

comfortable sharing in front of everyone. I took photographs or photocopied the artifacts. I also

made digital copies of the curriculum to understand the intent of the program and program

facilitator. Lastly, I copied the digital journals that the students completed. After each session,

Mr. Luke asked the students to write something new they learned about themselves, a new

perspective of the world they have, and what action they would take to improve themselves or

the world. The digital journals were optional, so not all of the students had entries. For the ones that did write something, the answers were usually one or two sentences.

Data Analysis

I used a grounded theory approach combined with microethnography to analyze the interviews, artifacts, and video data. In this section, I delve into my processes for coding and analysis for different data types and explore the steps taken to improve the validity of my study.

For all data analyses, I coded all transcribed interviews, transcribed fieldnotes, videos, and artifacts with NVivo software; it gave me the opportunity to upload my transcripts and untranscribed video files for easier coding. Following a grounded theory approach, similar to my pilot study, my coding scheme followed an open, axial, and then selective coding process (Creswell, 2013). In the open coding phase of the interview and focus group transcripts, I used codes derived from my research questions, analytical frameworks from the literature, and new categories of information developed through line by line and *in vivo* coding - unplanned terms or concepts that emerge from the subjects themselves (Charmaz, 2006). Some of the codes I used include: finding belonging, shaping belonging, mattering, physical participation, ethnic identity, social identities, distance, silences, new knowledge, extending conversations, humor, indexing borders, initiating new ideas, adult initiated idea, and feeling comfortable. After open coding, I moved to axial coding wherein I explored the emerging interconnectivity of larger themes through memo writings on specific codes. I analyzed these memos in a comparative format to parse out the patterns of similarities and differences between the subject's experiences or data source such as fieldnotes, interviews, videos, and artifacts. After the themes were interconnected, I used selective coding to build a theory that connects the categories in a coherent framework. As this was an iterative process, I would sometimes go back to the data for another round of coding

when a theme emerged from memo writing. For example, shaping belonging was a code that emerged after an initial round of open and axial coding, which prompted me to look for instances where students initiated their own ideas or shaped the context around them in the various data sources.

For the video data, I followed the coding process stated above after first coding the interview transcripts. As my study incorporates a microethnographic framework, I did not transcribe the whole video, but only interactions that were relevant to the research question and themes from the interview data. After each video file went through a process of open coding, I wrote memos to determine which social interactions were most relevant in relation to the concepts of belonging, citizenship, and identity. The segments of social interactions that were most relevant were transcribed for further analysis and coding. In alignment with the microethnographic approach, my transcriptions of the video segments included non-verbal behaviors and interactional context rather than only spoken language. Following Hepburn and Bolden (2017) and Rymes (2015) methods for CA and DA transcription, I did not merely transcribe the words spoken, but also transcribed aspects of speech such as pauses, silences, cutoffs, and repairs and physical actions like gestures and body positions as was relevant for the interaction being analyzed (See Appendix D for Transcription Key). The resulting memos on these verbal and embodied actions were incorporated into the axial coding and selective coding phases to create themes and categories that were synthesized into the findings in the following chapters.

Validity

Following Creswell's (2013) criteria for validity, I used triangulation, member checks, thick description, researcher reflexivity, and external audits for a more rigorous research study. I

triangulated my data from various sources (participant observations, video analysis, interviews, and artifacts) using multiple perspectives (program participants and adult staff members from various generational statuses and ethnic backgrounds). During coding and analysis, I increased the validity by engaging in researcher reflexivity. As stated in the positionality section, my various identities impacted the manner in which I related to the students and facilitator. As I analyzed my findings, I tried to consider potential biases and sought out external audits as an additional method of mitigating my subjective biases. I showed excerpts of video data and shared my interpretations with fellow graduate researchers, my dissertation committee members, and advisor to see how they interpreted the interactions given that they were not present or as familiar with the research participants and site. For example, sharing an excerpt of the Uyghur detainment discussion, one of my colleagues remarked that the facilitator talked a lot and did not let the students speak. As I tended to focus on the silences of the students, my colleague foregrounded the other half of the system that I had overlooked. With this new perspective, I reflected on my data, thinking about the speech system and the reason behind the speech patterns of the facilitator and its inextricable relation with the absence of verbal speech from the students.

I also conducted member checks with the focal students and the ACE facilitator during their interviews or electronically after the data collection process to establish interpretive credibility. During the second and third interview with the ACE facilitator, I shared a few interpretations and emerging theories. As an example, music was usually played during the game portion of the ACE sessions and Mr. Luke would ask the students to choose an artist or song they really liked that he could play on his Spotify account as a way to build a sense of community. Occasionally, students who were called upon seemed apprehensive and chose to abstain from sharing their choice of song due to certain interactional consequences such as interruption. I

postulated that they approached the group from the perspective of an outsider without a developed sense of belonging to the group; they had not shared a song since they were afraid of being judged for their choice and feeling further otherized. After sharing this theory and the corresponding video excerpt with Mr. Luke, he stated that he did not think it was necessarily a lack of belonging, but that some of the students liked many different artists and that they might have had a hard time deciding on a single song before an ACE peer interrupted their turn at talk and named a song or artist first, which Mr. Luke played. This was an interpretation for which I had not accounted, thus gleaning his insight was helpful in interpreting the progression of the interaction. With the focal students, I conducted member checks over email, summarized their interviews and included my interpretations of their perspectives based on what they had said about the program, the service-learning projects, their sense of belonging, and identity. I invited the students to add their own comments and clarifications onto my summary, interpretations onto the document and to return the email along with a moniker of their choice. After a few email reminders, I received comments from six out of the nine focal students, who had completed their second interviews. Most of them agreed with my posited interpretations and a few students clarified or added the depth of their perspective. As an example, during her interviews, Saba seemed to imply that she felt a sense of community with the quieter students through their physical presence as they still showed up week after week. In her email comments, she further clarified that she did think "you have to be vocal about your opinion or to show your support for someone but in this case I knew why they weren't really talking and I always knew they were listening" (Email communication, 8/13/19). She believed that verbal expressions were an important aspect in the building of a sense of community, but because she knew the reason behind the other students' silence and they were displaying proper listening behaviors (not being

disruptive), she was more understanding of their reticence and had not perceived it as a rejection (or a rift).

Chapter Four. Activities that Foster or Hinder Belonging

ACE provided a unique, fun, and relaxing space for the student participants from BPHS, RCCLS, and Andover (pseudonyms). The three schools were co-located within one single building with each school having its own designated classrooms and hallways that were monitored by its security guards and support staff. The schools alternated lunch schedules and had their own sports teams and extracurricular clubs as well, which hindered interaction between students from the three schools. Study participants said that ACE was one of the only spaces they interacted with students from the other co-located high schools. In addition to interacting with peers, ACE provided an opportunity for students to be involved with the local surrounding community of Bay Point. Some of the students lived in Bay Point while other students commuted upwards of an hour by bus to attend their respective high schools. Given the social separation of the high schools and service-learning projects that encouraged interactions with the local community, ACE provided a useful context to study how sense of belonging and identity developed among a diverse group of youth - students were of different ethnic backgrounds, various generational statuses (age of migration and years in the US), and multilingual (Bengali, English, Spanish, Mandarin, Cantonese, Urdu, Nepali) with a spectrum of proficiency.

In this chapter, I delve into the development, conceptualization, negotiation and expression of sense of belonging and identity within the ACE program as students interacted with each other and the surrounding community. I documented the ACE facilitator's attempts to build a sense of community by playing games, implementing team-building exercises and organizing service-learning projects that benefited Bay Point. I analyzed the time and manner in which students participated verbally and/or non-verbally to elucidate the social mechanisms behind the formation of a sense of belonging within the community. Participating in team-

building activities, playing games, and performing service-learning projects engendered social interactions, but these pedagogical tools did not guarantee the fostering of a sense of belonging or community. Social interactions are co-constructed and ongoing as interlocutors take turns speaking, understanding, and responding to achieve the goal of the interaction (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). Each participant verbally and/or non-verbally added to and shaped the unfolding moments of the interaction continuously. The manner in which interlocutors interacted elicited different responses and resulted in varied outcomes. While the primary focus of this study was 1.25-generation immigrant youth, 1.5- and second-generation immigrant youth within ACE also contributed to the atmosphere within the program. Thus, I chose to incorporate their experiences and interactions as well to better model the feelings and perceptions of 1.25-generation immigrant students.

Interactions within ACE

Background

Student Feelings towards ACE

Overall, the participants I interviewed enjoyed being in ACE; it was regarded as a fun and relaxing space. In contrast with the rigor of academic classrooms and other extra-curricular clubs, the ACE space was less strict about rules around behavior and they felt they could share their opinions without anxiety of judgement from peers or adult staff. Mr. Luke did not curb the usage of cell phones or the playing of music, so students found the environment open and relaxing. Students could also talk to Mr. Luke about their personal lives in more depth than with their academic teachers. Binsa, a 1.25-generation immigrant student from Nepal, felt that ACE staff members did not judge her based on academic identity and would talk to her about personal issues related to her immigrant identity:

> They ((Teachers)) don't know you outside of the class, so they only know how you do in class and like your academic record- that's all. After that, it's not like they don't care. It's not their job to care about us like you know what happen to us outside of school. [. . .] Based on my background and everything, like where I come from, how long I've been here, so like if I need any help with immigrant stuff, I can come to them ((ACE staff)) and ask them for assistance and stuff like that. But for teachers, I can't ask them about it. I guess that's the difference.

As a recent immigrant, Binsa had a lot of questions about life in the US, but she never felt she could ask her high school teachers about it as they mainly focused on her academic performance. However, with ACE staff, she felt more comfortable talking about US culture and asking them to direct her to resources geared towards understanding US society. During my data collection period, I observed Mr. Luke meeting with students individually and advocating for them even if their teachers saw them as troublemakers and in need of discipline (Field notes, 3/20/19).

To the students, the most important aspect of ACE was its ability to let them express their opinions and thoughts without judgement from peers. Since ACE was not a club within their respective high schools, it was separate from their everyday lives; it was freeing that their school or social group identities did not necessarily follow them into this space. They appreciated that ACE peers did not laugh at or belittle their stories or opinions. John, a second-generation Chinese American student who had been part of ACE and SACE (ACE's sister program for 9th and 10th graders) for two years, described the difference in atmosphere between the academic classroom and ACE as follows:

> Because when you are in school, what happens is that there's a lot of people who try to listen to your story, but then some of them can't resonate and feel like- have a different opinion and there's always that fear of getting judged and having- just maintaining a good reputation. Where in contrast at ACE, it's like- people have gone through a lot, but then like at the same time, they understand that they shouldn't like express like how they feel about that because like they should just try to listen and um (.) just resonate with people's stories even if they haven't experienced it, so I think in terms of the environment, there's more pressure in class than in a session at ACE.

The relaxed and comfortable environment stemmed from a perceived pause in negative judgement from other students; this relief mattered more in the social context of high schools centered around popularity and maintenance of a good reputation. Sharing something personal could result in the student being subjected to ridicule, but at ACE, they were more likely to be accepted or at least not rejected. Raul, a 1.5-generation Mexican American student, felt he was more comfortable speaking due to "the bondedness (*sic*) I feel because we have similar backgrounds. Our parents were immigrants themselves and I feel like I can identify with that and it's easier for me to talk about" at ACE. School did not affirm their immigrant identities positively, but ACE felt like a safe place for them to express this aspect of themselves without the fear of feeling otherized by their peers.

Community Goals for ACE

At ACE, Mr. Luke, the facilitator, incorporated games and team-building activities in almost every session. One of his goals for the 2018-2019 program year was to create a sense of community within the program. Explaining the intentions behind his goal:

> I made this conscious decision because in the past, people would come just for like the projects and stuff, but then they wouldn't know anybody's names, or they would just come work and then leave. And after a while people would just stop coming and then I was down to four or five kids per session. One of the students was just like "Mr. Luke, we don't know each other's names." I was like "Oh." Like that wasn't necessarily a priority for me and especially if someone new joined in, maybe we said their name once at the beginning that's it. So, if everybody starts, we start playing a game and everyone says their name in a circle, so that's why it is such a big deal for me to build that (.) at the very least like that day identity.

Seeking ways to improve program retention, he had sought feedback from former ACE participants and found that they did not feel a sense of community or any connection to their peers. Some of the participants told him that they did not even know each other's name at the end of the year, which made it easier to stop attending. The feedback came as a surprise as

building a sense of community was not on his priority list. As a result, for the 2018-2019 program year, Mr. Luke decided to extend the ACE program time from 1.5 hours to two hours which would incorporate at least an hour for games and community building. He hoped the additional half hour of programming would "include people in games, set a relaxed experience, um and include people. And not just show up and play games, but also talk to people who you haven't talked to before" (Interview, 1/24/19). He wanted the students to interact in a meaningful manner through the games and team-building exercises to foster a sense of belonging to ACE and each other, improving retention in the program.

Applying Antonsich's (2010) analytical framework for belonging, the students felt a sense of place-belongingness – "personal, intimate, feelings of being 'at home'" – in ACE, and Mr. Luke was attempting to cultivate these feelings through games and team-building exercises (p. 1). While most students reported feeling comfortable and relaxed, markers of place-belongingness to ACE, the level of community and connectedness was not homogenous. On further discussion, some students felt like they had not developed as close of a relationship with ACE participants from the other schools as they would have wanted. I observed students form social clusters with peers they were already friends with, and it was rarer for students to form new relational ties with someone outside of their school or social circle. Furthermore, the 1.25-generation immigrant students who had lower oral English proficiency tended to talk amongst each other and often felt invisible in the ACE space as their native English speaking peers dominated the conversations and larger program space. As these games and team-building activities were the key tools Mr. Luke used to build a sense of belonging, identity, and community, I analyzed these activities on the interactional level to decipher how they might foster or hinder the development of a sense of belonging.

Game Time

During the first hour, the students played games together while conversation starters were projected on the smartboard for students to answer. Conversation starters included: "What is the last movie you saw; What is your favorite ice cream; What is the latest song you've been listening to" (Field notes, 10/9/18). The questions were meant to elicit descriptive answers from each student's life, so all students could get to know each other. Sometimes, students utilized the conversation starters, but for the most part, they only used them when Mr. Luke facilitated. The games included UNO, Monopoly Deal, Jenga, Mafia, Werewolf, and various card games. These games had interactive components allowing students to talk, but students did not extend their conversations beyond the game-related components unless they were already friends.

Close Spatial Positioning

The game portion of ACE had varied impacts on students depending on which section they attended. The Tuesday and Thursday sections only had 7-10 regular attendees and they played one game with everybody in the section participating. In contrast, the Wednesday section usually had 12-17 attendees; thus, students separated themselves based on their social groups outside of ACE. This meant that students would sit and play with their established friends rather than sitting with unfamiliar peers (Figure 1). This spatial separation between students, who had relational ties and those that did not, made it harder for both groups to take the risk of starting new conversations with people they did not know.

Figure 1. Spatial positioning during games. Comparison of spatial separation during the game portion of the session between Tuesday and Wednesday sections. Tuesday section students sat in one big circle while Wednesday section (three separate clusters in image) primarily separated themselves based on prior social groups.

Tuesday

Wednesday

Isabel, a 1.25-generation immigrant from Ecuador in the Tuesday section, liked the closer spatial

positioning as individuals could get to know each other compared to the academic classroom:

> We are like a little family; we sit in the same table to play games at the beginning and the
> school is not like that. We just go and sit. And I like that because you can know the
> person next to you better.

The spatial orientation of the games as one big group removed one of the symbolic borders to

community and belonging. Physically moving towards someone new and talking to them

required confidence -- more so for high school aged youth whose social groups can often be

static and exclusionary. By sitting in close proximity with unfamiliar people for a year, this

ritual, at least in the Tuesday section, was a distinctive ACE norm that fostered a basis for place-

belongingness as students faced each other week after week developing relational ties.

An example of the effect of spatial orientation on relational ties between ACE

participants was highlighted by Dante and Neel, two Wednesday section participants who

attended different schools and were part of different social groups. Neel, a second-generation

student of Bengali and Mexican descent, was very outgoing and the class clown of the section;

he often made jokes that everyone in the room heard and laughed at. On the other hand, Dante, a

second-generation Guyanese American student was more reserved, but he was frequently one of

the first students to volunteer to answer questions or voice his opinion on a topic. Because they

went to different schools, they usually sat at different tables during the game portion of the

sessions (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Spatial separation. Neel (lower right) and Dante (upper right) usually sat at different tables with their own social groups during the game portion of ACE (4/10/19).

During Dante's self-introduction at the beginning of the program year, he shared that he played

Rainbow Six, a video game. Neel became very excited when he heard this and started having an

exuberant conversation with Dante about the game (Field notes, 10/17/18). This event occurred

in October 2018, but they did not have many conversations after that while playing games,

performing service-learning projects, participating in large group open mic discussions, or

developing their workplace skills, because they were in different social groups. It was not until

they sat next to each other in May 2019 that they furthered their connection. Neel referenced the

video game again as they sat next to each other, and soon afterwards, they became engrossed in a

new debate about which of their respective high schools had better tennis players (Field notes,

5/8/19). Neel wanted to settle the tennis debate with a physical game, so he invited Dante to

play:

Excerpt 1

```
01 Neel:   Bro, alright, gimme a date and we'll go!
02 Dante:  Alright, I can't because I have an AP exam (.) but
03         was at the gym today.
04 Neel:   Listen, you tell me a date and a time.
05 Dante:  hm:::, Monday.
06 Neel:   This Monday?
07 Dante:  Yea.
08 Neel:   I can do Fridays, I'm always free.
```

From this social interaction, they made plans to meet up again outside of ACE on their own time.

When Dante decided to leave early, Neel, unexpectedly, ran after him to say goodbye and said

they should contact each other over Snapchat to set up a date to play tennis (Figure 3). As he ran

over, he asked Mr. Luke what Dante's name was, because Neel did not know it even though they

had been in ACE for nearly an whole academic year (Video, 5/8/19). Having students from

different social groups sit together expanded conversational opportunities to form new relational

ties, which can foster a sense of belonging within the groups. This example showcases the

relevance of spatial positioning in shaping a sense of community as the symbolic border between social groups were made more porous through spatial integration.

Figure 3. Making plans. Dante left ACE (A) first then Neel (B) followed. Talked about meeting up (C)
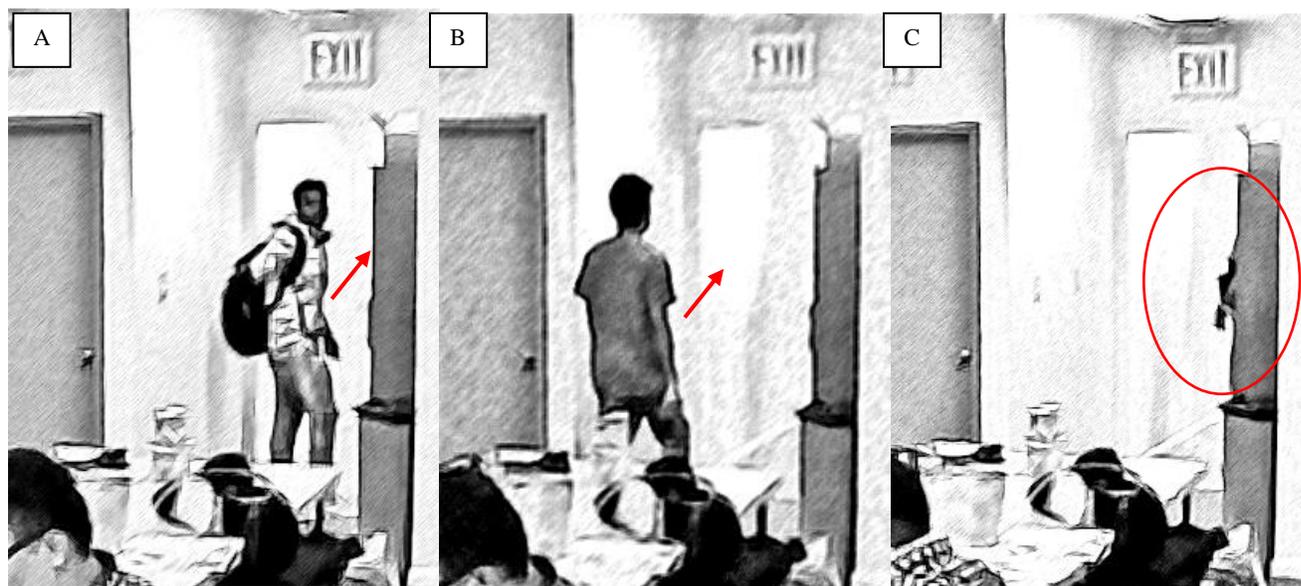
Inconsistent Spatial Positioning and Invisibility

The spatial mechanism of sitting together in proximity with unfamiliar people is especially important for immigrant students in English dominant settings as they may have difficulty breaking into established friend groups and speaking to unfamiliar peers, who are native English speakers. This was the case for Wenxin, a 1.25-generation Chinese immigrant student, who had been in the US approximately a year. She was the only recent immigrant student in the Wednesday section, and she regularly either sat by herself or with Mr. Luke and me, because she was unfamiliar with others in the Wednesday section and they sat with their established friends (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Wenxin seating position. Wenxin (red circle) sitting with Mr. Luke (across from Wenxin) while other students sat at different tables with pre-established social groups.

In our interview, I asked if she knew any of the Wednesday section RCCLS students – they were also 11th graders – and she said she did not recognize any of them and they were not in her classes. They were likely on different academic tracks, since Wenxin was categorized as an ELL while the other students were categorized as native English speakers at RCCLS. Even when she was playing the games with new students, she had difficulty crossing the social, linguistic, and cultural borders between her and her Wednesday section peers. In our individual interview, she said that as a new immigrant, it took longer for her to process questions in English. She said she tended to forget what she was going to say when speaking in front of people in English; hence, in class, she would write her answers down first (Interview Notes, 6/5/19).

Moreover, the border between Wenxin and her native English-speaking peers was co-constructed as some second-generation, native English speaking ACE students felt a gap in conversations with ELL students as well. Martin, a second-generation Mexican-American student and native English speaker, was an 11th grader at RCCLS like Wenxin. He felt distant and less comfortable talking with his Chinese ELL peers even though they were 50% of his

school's student population. Explaining why he felt distant from his ELL peers and how he

found connection on the ACE summer college retreat, he said:

> Because my school ((RCCLS)), they're all like- most of them don't speak English,
> because of that, I feel like- I'm kinda of- I'm squished in with people from the same
> ethnicities, well not all the same, but just not Asian because we ((RCCLS)) mainly focus
> on Chinese because of the language. But on the trip, I met more people from BPHS and
> they are more diverse. In my school, it's fifty percent Asian and the other fifty percent is
> everything else. But the trip, I met people who had the same ideas as me and same
> feelings as me and I had conversations without me struggling to like think about their
> sentences. Because sometimes the students don't really speak the best English, so we
> were struggling to have like the same conversation. (Focus Group, 5/22/19)

For Martin, he was a minority at RCCLS, because most of the students were Asian and ELLs. He

had a hard time having comfortable social interactions with the ELLs, because the conversations

were not free flowing – he often had to "struggle" and "think about their sentences" to have a

legible conversation. He could not deepen any relational ties with them, because he did not think

they understood his ideas and feelings and vice versa. Similar to Wenxin's troubles with crossing

the linguistic boundary, the some native English speaking ACE peers reciprocally had trouble

crossing the linguistic boundary as well.

Wenxin was invisible to her peers in the Wednesday section most of the time and during

the spring 2019 semester, she was absent more frequently (missed seven out of twelve sessions)

compared to Fall 2018 when she was present at almost every session (attended six out of seven

sessions). At the final ACE closing activity, everyone was supposed to write something they

appreciated about each participant under their names. When one of the male students saw

Wenxin's name on the piece of paper, he remarked to his friends, "who is that? I don't know this

person" (Field notes, 6/12/19). Even though they had been in ACE together for the whole year,

he never knew her name; he was likely not the only student in the Wednesday section to not

recognize Wenxin's name either. The lack of proximal spatial positioning with unfamiliar peers

in the Wednesday section meant students did not face new individuals week after week and lost

out on opportunities to expand their relational ties; they only socialized with their pre-established

social groups. During our final interview, I asked Wenxin why she was absent so much during

the spring semester, she shrugged her shoulders and was silent for a few seconds before smiling

sheepishly and responding with "no reason" (Interview notes, 6/5/19). Asking for further

elaboration on her other afterschool activities, she revealed she was still very involved in the

math team and feminist literature club organized by her English teacher as well as working part-

time. She could have given these as reasons for her absences, but she did not. I argue her answer

indicated she could have probably attended ACE more, but she might not have felt inclined as

she did not have friends or relational ties there.

Given Mr. Luke's goal of building community and wanting students to develop new

relational ties through the game time, it was surprising that he did not have the Wednesday

section students form one large group or sit in smaller groups with unfamiliar peers. He felt it

was challenging to play one large game with the Wednesday section, but he did not think the

spatial difference between the sections needed to be addressed. He said:

> And then also just creating engaging games where everybody is in one big circle together, that's the biggest thing. That's why like Wednesday's a little hard because there's so many kids. Even if there's fifteen kids that's still a lot. Um, the ideal for me is eight and that's why Tuesdays and Thursdays work out because we can play UNO together, we can play Monopoly Deal, we can play these games where everybody's included and everybody's interacting with each other. [. . .]Even though someone like Wenxin might be the quietest person in the world in the rowdiest Wednesday section that I have, like when they are put in teams together, they will work together, and they'll understand when giving directions and being part of the- umm understand they're all working towards the same goal and they're doing the same projects, so that's why I can- I'm not worried so much when Wenxin is there. Even though- whereas like someone like last year I would have been like "ok, Wenxin you can hangout with me the whole time" because everyone else is with their friends.

Because Mr. Luke included a new teamwork component to ACE, he did not think he had to take

care of Wenxin when she was by herself or have the students intermix during the game portion.

While I understood his sentiment that Wenxin will get to know other people through teamwork,

the intended results did not necessarily precipitate. A few times, I observed her approach and

join a team during the service project, but her peers did not converse with her a lot. During one

of the first implementations of the service-learning projects, Wenxin was on a team with

Jennifer, Elena, and Andrea -- all second-generation, native English speaking Latinx students.

Their assignment was to take photographs of their peers performing the service-learning project

and watch over everyone's backpacks, so they would not get stolen. In my field notes, I observed

the following interactions between Wenxin and her teammates:

> While waiting for Mr. Luke to finish locking up the office, Wenxin, Jennifer, Elena, and
> Andrea were standing together. Elena asked Jennifer if she watched an anime (don't
> know the title) and when Jennifer said yes, Elena became very excited and gave Jennifer
> a high five. They talked about the anime for a little while and I also joined in the
> conversation asking them about being fans of anime. I tried to pull Wenxin into the
> conversation by asking her if she watched anime as well, but she said "no" while shaking
> her head. When we were walking to the service site, Wenxin walked with me even
> though she was on the team with the other girls. During the service project, each student
> split off and did their own thing and did not really talk to each other except for Andrea
> and Elena, since they were already friends. (Field notes, 10/24/18)

Even though the other girls on the team tried to get to know each other and have conversations

about common interests, it was difficult for Wenxin to participate, because she did not watch

anime. She also did not try to initiate new conversations about potential overlapping interests

among her teammates. When they performed the assigned roles, each member of the team

performed their tasks individually; thus, Wenxin did not form any new relational ties. For Elena,

even though she took pictures by herself, some of the other students, who she did not know,

would ask to look at her pictures (Figure 5). By asking to look at the pictures on her cellphone,

which can be considered a more intimate type of interaction as it requires close physical

proximity and access to someone's personal phone, the conversational and physical border between Elena and the other students became more porous as it also meant the expansion of opportunities to interact in the future.

Figure 5. Sharing pictures. Elena (red circle) taking photographs (A). ACE peers wanted to look at pictures (B).

Comparing Elena to Wenxin, Wenxin usually stood off to the side, and in general, no one reached out to her and she did not reach out to others during the service project (Figure 6). In Figure 6, the students on the right side of the image focused on spreading mulch around the tree while talking to each other and Wenxin stood outside of the circle on the left side of the image away from the others. Although she was not in charge of the mulching, she could have stood closer and talked to her peers. This showcased how teamwork did not guarantee interaction and a sense of community being generated amongst the ACE members. For students with pre-established social groups, being on a team with their friends reinforced their relational ties as they joked around while performing the service, but for students who did not know each other, the lack of structure within the teamwork did not help them work together. They seemed to

perform the tasks individually without thinking of the larger goal of communicating with each other.

Especially for a 1.25-generation immigrant student like Wenxin, the game time and teamwork on the service projects did not foster a sense of belonging or community. Whereas the game time with an intermixed spatial orientation helped students like Dante and Neel establish and foster new relational ties; the game time did not do the same for Wenxin.

Figure 6. Wenxin (red arrow) standing off to the side while other students focused on tree and putting mulch around the tree (right side).

This did not help Wenxin develop a place-belongingness to ACE, because she had no peer relational ties that were positive, stable, or filled with concern (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). She was often invisible to her peers in the Wednesday section and even Mr. Luke sometimes forgot to call on her (Field notes, 3/20/19), because the other students were native English speakers and much more vocal.

Although she was physically expressive by laughing along with the jokes and not afraid to approach new people to join teams, these momentary interactions did not build a lasting sense

of belonging with her ACE peers due to differences in interests, oral English proficiency, and the lack of long-term structured participation. When I asked her if she knew the video game or the musicians the Wednesday section students were talking about, she often did not know them. I argue she was not being actively excluded or excluding herself, but she was isolated and alienated because she did not have the same common cultural knowledge and interests as most of the 1.5- and second-generation immigrant students in the Wednesday section. But this did not mean she did not consume any American music or TV shows. During our interview, she said she listened to American pop music while most of the Wednesday section students listened to rap music. If Wenxin had been in a different ACE section, she might have developed stronger relational ties and found more place-belongingness. For example, the Tuesday section had more 1.25-immigrant students and they mostly played pop music during the game time; she might have found the group more relatable, highlighting the situated nature of belonging in local settings. In terms of fostering a sense of belonging and community through games, more reflection and purposeful planning was needed around spatial positioning, conversational topics, and teamwork to facilitate engagement between unfamiliar students.

Team-Building at ACE

In addition to the games, ACE had team-building activities as well. While the games generated potential organic interactions facilitated through the spatial positioning of the students, the team-building activities purposely tried to create interaction and belonging among the participants. The team-building activities were chosen and led by the two alumni volunteers, Jackie and Mindy. At the time of the study, they were freshmen in college and had attended ACE for three years during high school. They decided to return as volunteers because they liked being in ACE and were also required to obtain community service hours as part of their undergraduate

major. Usually, Jackie and Mindy chose and facilitated the team-building activity themselves. When they facilitated the activity, Mr. Luke either sat on the side and oversaw the activity or he would take on the role of a student and participate in the activity.

A team-building activity on 11/13/18 with the Tuesday section was strikingly elucidating and took place during the earlier stages of the program year, the fifth session out of twenty. The group was relatively smaller with five out of the eleven students present at the beginning of the session and a sixth student joining later on. Jackie and Mindy had asked the students as a group to create and perform a skit depicting an alternative ending scene to a chosen movie. The students decided on the movie, *Crazy Rich Asians*; instead of the main characters getting married and living happily ever after, they chose to create an alternative ending wherein the lead female character developed a fatal illness and died at the wedding. In the following sections, I will analyze the way in which students shaped or limited their sense of belonging to the group and drew upon different identities in their interactions to either foster or hinder the development of a sense of community.

Being Heard or Unheard

Being Unheard – The Case of Calvin

When people work on a team, the common participation framework in the US depicts the team members sitting together, expressing their ideas, debating their ideas, and coming to a consensus on a final decision. However, during this particular interactional event four of the students sat at one table while Calvin, a 1.25-generation immigrant student from China, sat outside of the circle at a different table even though there was an empty seat at the table (Figure 7).

Figure 7. Spatial orientation during team-building exercise. Binsa, Tian, Anya, and Meiyang sat in F-formation at the center table. Calvin sat outside of F-formation and leaning away from F-

formation (top left corner, red arrow). Mr. Luke sat on the outskirts of F-formation (right side, holding arm out in image, red circle). Meiyang and Mr. Luke had direct visual access to Calvin.

Sitting or standing in a circle during a social interaction is commonly referred to as an F-formation (Kendon, 1990). The F-formation is the systematic maintenance of a space by the interlocutors of an interaction, so they can have "direct and exclusive access" to each other (Kendon, 1990, p. 210). In the F-formation for the team-building exercise, the students at the table formed a closed circle where three of the students-Tian, Binsa, and Anya-faced away from Calvin (Figure 7). Since Calvin was not in the F-formation, he had difficulty having his utterances and ideas heard by the other students during the team-building activity. He expressed the idea of using the *Crazy Rich Asians* movie, but his idea was almost overlooked had it not been for Mr. Luke pointing it out. In the following excerpt, Calvin voiced his movie idea as Binsa was asking Meiyang what movies or shows she watched (full transcript of team-building exercise in Appendix A).

Excerpt 2, Segment A

```
01 Bin:    What was it about?
02 Mei:    I don't know how to say=
03 Cal:    =But-
04 Mr. L:  [((Points at Calvin))]
05 Bin:    [It's  okay.         ]
```

```
06              [(unclear).             ((turns briefly to Calvin))]
07 Cal:         [<I was(unclear)(.) Crazy Rich Asians          ]
09 Anya:        [((turns briefly to Calvin))                   ]
10 Mr. L:    °°wo[o, Crazy Rich Asians°°     ]
11 Bin:           [((turns to Mr. L briefly)) ]  Any ideas?!
12 Mr. L:    ((points at Calvin))
13 Cal:      But then-
14 Mr. L:    Say it=
15 Cal:      =they were kissing
```

While Binsa was asking Meiyang about movies and shows she had watched, Calvin started expressing his idea about using *Crazy Rich Asians* (Excerpt 2, Line 7). After the "but" on Line 3, Calvin seemed he was going to stop his utterance, probably because Binsa was talking, but Mr. Luke pointed at him, giving him permission to continue and finish his turn. After he expressed his idea, none of the other students picked up or commented on his idea except Mr. Luke, who let out a whispered cheer and reiterated the name of the movie (Excerpt 2, Line 10).

None of the other students registered his idea, because he was not in the F-formation. Both Anya and Binsa turned their heads toward him briefly while he was speaking, but they quickly turned back to the F-formation after a brief gaze (Excerpt 2, Line 6 and 9). Binsa was turning her head when Calvin uttered *Crazy Rich Asians*; however, none of his talk was heard by her. As Kendon (1990) said, it is hard for outsiders to penetrate the F-formation; to enter the F-formation, they usually stop by the r-space (space immediately outside of the F-formation circle) and receive an invitation from a current member to enter. While Mr. Luke did point at Calvin to indicate he should continue, it was not enough of a signal to the other students that Calvin had the floor, it was his turn to talk, and they should place their full attention on him. While Anya turned briefly after Mr. Luke pointed, Tian did not turn at all (Excerpt 2, Line 9). Mr. Luke even whispered an exclamation of excitement and repeated the movie title, but right afterwards, Binsa called out "Any ideas?" to the whole group (Excerpt 2, Line 11). If Mr. Luke had said, "Calvin has something to say" while pointing at him then the students in the F-formation might have

turned, kept their gazes on him, and heard his idea. Meiyang also had a direct view of Calvin

from the F-formation (Figure 7), but she was very shy and usually did not speak in the sessions

unless called upon; therefore, while she might have noticed Calvin talking, she was probably too

shy to convey or signal the other interlocutors in the F-formation to pay attention to Calvin.

Furthermore, Calvin's upper torso and head pointed away from the F-formation as he leaned

back in his chair signaling he was not trying to move closer and engage with the F-formation of

the other students (Figure 7).

　　As the team-building exercise progressed, Calvin's utterances continued to be

overlooked and did not incite action from the other students. In Segment B, Mr. Luke tried to

prompt the students to start performing their skit.

Excerpt 2, Segment B

```
16 Mr. L:  You guys ready? Two minutes.
17         (1.0)
18 Cal:    Alrigh:, we ready.
19 Mr. L:  You ready?
20 Cal:    Yea
21 Mr. L:  Okay
22         (8.2) ((People standing around eating or sitting))
23 Cal:    Alright, ↑Let's go::
24         (2.3)
25         Alright, ↑Let's go::
26 Tian:   [((Turns to Calvin briefly))                   ]
27 Bin:    [((Turns to Calvin briefly))  Okaa:yy          ]
28         (4.5)
29         Ready?
30 Cal:    ↓Ye[e:aaa:::                                   ]
31 Tian:      [((looks at Anya, points to chairs in back))]
32 Anya:      [Wait, what happened?                       ]
33 Bin:    You guys ready?
34         (1.2)
35 Anya:   What are we supposed to be doing?
36 Bin:    °<No idea>° (.)↑OH, you- you're supposed to pretend
37         walking inside the plane
```

As Mr. Luke asked if everyone was ready, only Calvin responded (Excerpt 2, Line 18). After a

few seconds of silence, Calvin tried to re-engage everyone in the team-building activity, since

the other students were staring blankly in their seats or eating while standing. He commanded "alright, let's go" twice before anyone noticed. Both Tian and Binsa heard and turned towards him briefly the second time he said the command; however, it did not initiate quick action among his peers in preparing the skit and finishing the team-building exercise (Excerpt 2, Line 26-27). Binsa responded with an "okay" and then waited 4.5 seconds before asking the group if they were ready (Excerpt 2, Line 27-29). In contrast to Calvin, everyone responded with action when Binsa asked if everyone was ready. Tian immediately looked at Anya and signaled to her that she should start preparing for the skit by pointing to the chairs in the back of the room that represented the plane (Excerpt 2, Line 31). Anya also responded directly to Binsa with confusion about what she should be doing (Excerpt 2, Line 32). Binsa informed her about what to do and what her role was in the ending scene.

Even though Calvin's original commands prompted Binsa to ask the team if they were ready, his contributions were quickly forgotten as Binsa took charge of getting the other students to perform the skit. His commands were not heard by Anya or Lena, the lead actors in the skit, because he did not establish his turn at talk through eye contact or physical presence within the group before expressing the "alright, let's go" command. No one except Meiyang could see him as he was sitting behind Tian and out of Anya and Lena's sight (Figure 8). Only Tian, Meiyang, and Binsa had the physical possibility of hearing his utterances, because they were the closest in proximity to him (Figure 8).

Figure 8. Spatial orientation before skit. Calvin (red circle) sat behind Tian. Anya (far left) and Lena (off camera left) cannot see or hear him. Binsa crouched behind Meiyang in the image.
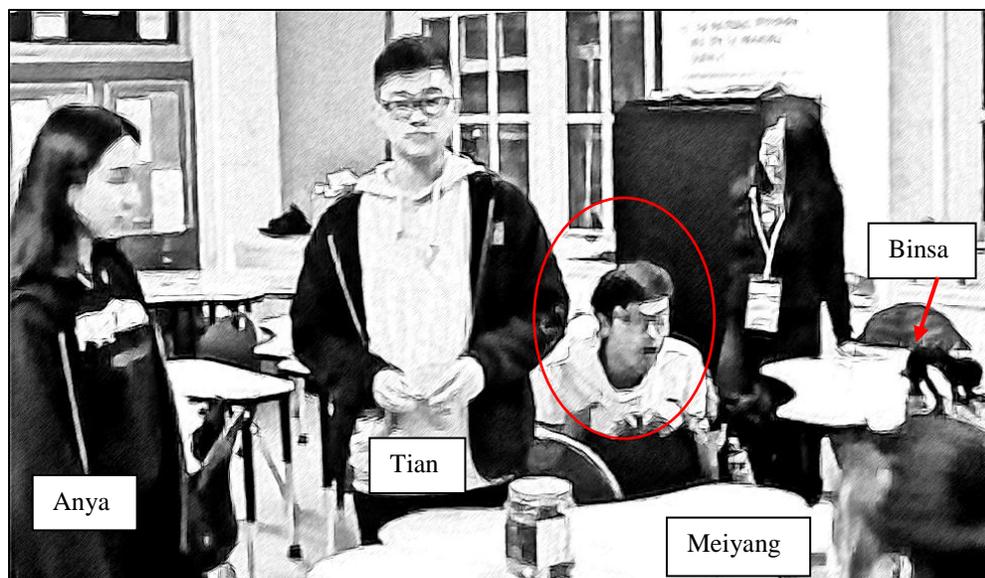
Throughout this team-building exercise, Calvin contributed ideas that were used, but his relational ties with his peers were not strengthened and he did not receive acknowledgement for his ideas from his peers even though that was the purpose of the team-building exercise. As described earlier, he was the only student not sitting within the F-formation (Figure 7) and he was the only student from BPHS present that day. When he put forth the idea of using *Crazy Rich Asians*, none of the students heard or understood his idea, because he was sitting outside of the F-formation. Given his spatial positioning, Calvin could not access the attention or conversation of his peers as easily. When Calvin started speaking, Anya and Binsa briefly shifted their gaze towards him, but they did not keep it on him and turned back to the F-formation for a different conversation. It was natural for them to turn back to the F-formation, since their body positions were already primed to have discussions within the circle (turning and holding their necks to look at him seemed straining). However, Mr. Luke, who sat on the outskirts of the F-formation, was across from Calvin, so he could see Calvin without turning his head.

In addition to the spatial positioning that prevented the others from acknowledging his contributions, his non-standard spoken English was a factor as well. Even after Calvin elaborated

on his idea of using *Crazy Rich Asians*, students did not respond until Mr. Luke repeated parts of

Calvin's speech showing they did not understand what he said. In the following excerpt, Calvin

was apprehensive about sharing and using *Crazy Rich Asians*, because the final scene contained

kissing.

Excerpt 2, Segment C

```
38 Cal:    But then-
39 Mr. L:  Say it=
40 Cal:    =they were kissing
41 Mr. L:  @@@@@@@
42         (0.5) ((No one laughing besides Mr. L and Erica))
43         You don't have to kiss, no.
44 Bin:    OH:, M[Y:            ]
45 Anya:        [@@@@@@@@@@     ]
46 Cal:    A[ah:, no no (unclear)]
47 Tian:    [((looks at Calvin th]en turns away with a smirk))
48 Mr. L:  Yeah, at the end they were kissing.
49 Cal:    Yea yea
50 Mr. L:  But[ (.) you don't- you don't have to        ]
51 Bin:       [@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@                          ]
52 Anya:      [@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@                          ]
53 Mei:       [((Stares blankly, not much facial expression))]
54 Cal:    The (plan/plane) ((points finger up))
55 Mr. L:  Yeah, ((points finger at Cal)) It's a:lternate so it
56         means (.) maybe they didn't get together.
57 Bin:    Betcha, it ended with a breakup and then started
58         kissing [@@@@@@@@@@ ((tilts head back in laughter)) ]
59 Anya:          [@@@@@((laughing hard and puts head on desk))]
60 Mr. L:         [YEAH!                                        ]
```

Mr. Luke and I laughed at Calvin's comment about the kissing, but none of the other students

laughed until Mr. Luke said they did not have to kiss. Binsa let out a loud "OH" (Excerpt 2, Line

44) indicating she finally understood what Calvin and Mr. Luke were saying and Anya was

laughing very expressively with her head falling towards the table. In the video recordings, his

speech volume was similar to Binsa's and louder than some of the shyer students, but I had to

listen to the recording a few times to decipher what he was saying due to his non-standard

pronunciation. Moreover, by not joining the F-formation, it exacerbated the negative

consequences of his non-standard English pronunciation. Other students like Meiyang, Tian, and

Lena also had non-standard English pronunciation, but being in the circle allowed others to ask them to repeat their utterances or to ask Anya to help translate, since Anya had more of a standard English accent and grammar. His spatial orientation in relation to the F-formation hindered the development of community or sense of belonging between him and the other students as his ideas were not heard and his contribution unacknowledged.

Being Heard – The Case of Lena

In comparison to Calvin, Lena, who was also a 1.25-generation Chinese immigrant student and ELL, actively contributed ideas that were heard, acknowledged, and used by the group. Even though Lena arrived late and joined the team-building exercise halfway through the planning process, her idea of having a sad ending was heard and picked up by the other students, because she sat within the F-formation (Figure 9). Everyone heard her utterances and saw her non-verbal gestures compared to Calvin who sat outside the F-formation.

Figure 9. Spatial orientation after Lena joins team-building exercise. Lena (lower left corner) sat in F-formation directly across from Binsa. Direct eye contact with each other (arrows). Calvin (red circle) sat closer to the F-formation in r-space after Mr. Luke asked him to move closer (See Figure 7 for comparison).

Moreover, as Binsa was the informal leader of the group who directed the flow of conversation, Binsa hearing Lena's ideas was vital, because it allowed her idea to be advanced and fleshed out through Binsa's prompting. Calvin's movie idea was not heard by Binsa, so it was not picked up and discussed, but when she heard Calvin say "alright, let's go" then it turned into action, because she prompted everyone to re-engage with the exercise.

Although Lena lacked full proficiency in her oral English skills, she was not afraid to speak, physically engage her peers by joining the F-formation, or express complex sentences. After Binsa had finished asking everyone for their alternative ending ideas, she then asked what option everyone preferred. Anya told Binsa to choose, but Binsa did not want to and then Lena jumped in with a fleshed out version of her sad ending idea below:

Excerpt 2, Segment D

```
61 Lena:    How bout- how bout the girl wanted to marry the guy
62          (.) bu- bu- but um the day of the wedding, um like the
63          doctor came here- she say that you got some disease
64          that you will die soon.
65 Tian:    ((In Chinese to Anya)) Soun[ds like a Korean drama.@@]
66 Bin:                          [Wait, what was that?      ]
67          ((Leans head closer towards Lena))
68 Lena:    @@@@@@
69          ((Looks at Anya and slightly points at Bin))
70 Anya:    ((Looks at Binsa)) So the proposal (unclear) and at
71          the end, she has some sort of disease.
```

Lena, elaborating on how the ending would be sad, said the female lead would find out she had a fatal disease that will cause her to die; as a result, the main character would not get married and live happily ever after. When Binsa did not understand Lena's utterance, Lena did not shut down from embarrassment or stop speaking. Instead, she looked at Anya and gestured for her to translate what she said to Binsa (Excerpt 2, Line 69). Anya, a 1.5-generation immigrant student, had been in the US since she was eight years old; as a result, her English pronunciation was similar to a native English speaker's. Anya had also translated for Meiyang earlier during the

team-building exercise when she did not understand a question that Binsa asked (Appendix A, Line 18). By sitting in the F-formation, Lena had her idea heard and recognized by her ACE peers and she obtained help for her communication in English when needed.

Negotiating the Borders

Extending Borders – The Case of Binsa

Binsa stood out as almost the opposite of Calvin interactionally by inserting herself spatially into the action and directing the flow of conversation. She was not afraid to insert herself even though she was the only non-Chinese student at ACE during this particular day. She was the first person to speak and the only student trying to elicit ideas from other students. Moreover, during the skit performance, she placed herself physically in the central action segments of the skit even though other students stood off on the side (Figure 10).

Figure 10. Binsa inserting herself physically. Lena (not pictured, red arrow) pretended to faint from illness and was on the floor. Binsa (red circles) moved from standing with Tian, Meiyang, and Calvin (A) to kneeling next to Anya and Lena (B).
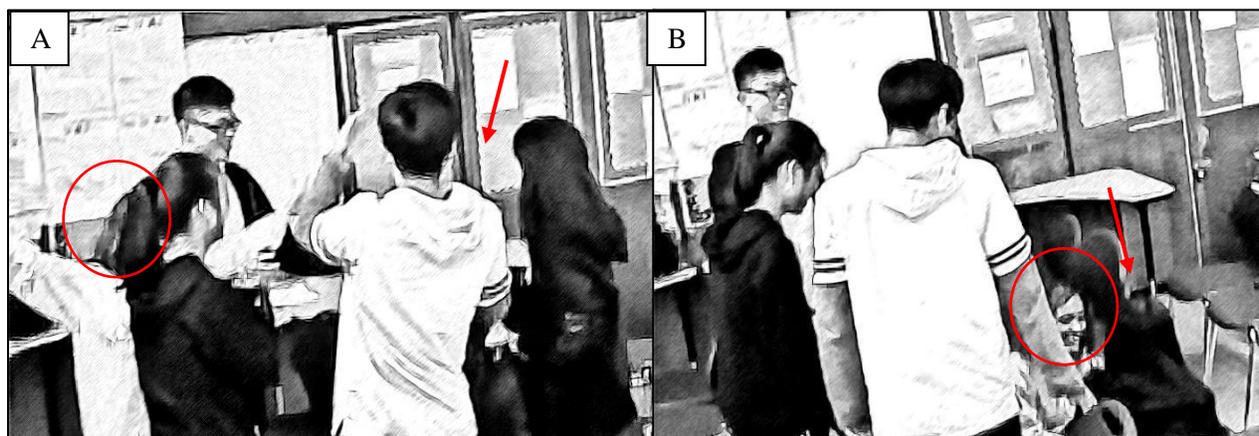
Before performing the alternate ending skit, Lena and Anya decided that Lena would play the female lead and Anya would play the male lead. The others (Tian, Binsa, Calvin, and Meiyang) pretended to be passengers on the airplane, but they did not discuss or plan what each person should do or what would happen once Lena's character revealed she had a fatal illness. During

the performance, Lena's character fainted and died at the pretend wedding surrounded by

friends. As one of the friends, Binsa stood across from Lena in the circle, but after Lena fell on

the floor, Binsa walked towards her and knelt on the floor with Lena inserting herself into the

scene and the action (Figure 10). Tian, Calvin, and Meiyang did not move and stood in their

same positions smiling and laughing. Tian was next to Lena in the circle; thus, he could have

knelt down to be part of the scene, but he did not insert himself in that way.

In addition to not being afraid to physically cross borders and move closer to people,

Binsa also inserted herself verbally by directing the flow of conversation. She initiated a group

discussion about the team-building exercise by asking each student questions such as "what's a

movie you've watched recently?" or "how do you want to end it?" (Appendix A, Line 6 and

151). Throughout this exercise, she was the only person asking questions while the other students

were positioned as recipients who only answered the questions. In the following excerpt, Binsa

was asking everyone for their alternative ending idea.

Excerpt 2, Segment E

```
    72 Bin:   =So let's just begin with (.) how do you want to end
    73         it? (.)So how do you want to end it? ((looking at Lena
    74         and Anya))
→   75 Lena:  Everyone sad.
    76         ((Mr. L, Binsa, and Anya laugh))
    77 Bin:   Specific
→   78 Lena:  (unclear) Just that person on the ground.
    79 Mr. L: Co::me on::, don't be boring.
    80 Lena:  I am boring.
    81 Mr. L: Don't be boring (.) do something funny.
    82 Anya:  (unclear)
    83 Bin:   ((Looks at Meiyang)) How do you want to end it?
    84 Mei:   (Unclear)
    85         (37.1)((After Meiyang explains her idea, Binsa says
            "oh" and reiterates Meiyang's idea for everyone else
            in the F-formation, because Meiyang talked very
            quietly. Lena and Tian seem to be looking at projector
            screen. Then Anya responds with her idea "I was
            thinking". Lena, Tian, and Meiyang do not seem to be
            engaged in the conversation. Calvin initiates a side
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                    conversation with Mr. L about the male actor and where
                    he is from.))
        86 Mr. L:  Come on guys you have four minutes (.) not even, two
        87         minutes
        88         (10.0)((Binsa and Anya having quiet conversation))
        89 Bin:    ((Looking at Lena)) Wait, how do you think it's gonna-
        90         I mean make it saa:::d:?
        91 Lena:   ((Nods head rapidly while using phone))
        92 Bin:    ((Points at Tian)) What about you? (.) How do you want
        93         to end it?
→       94 Tian:   (unclear) everyone will take off.
        95 Bin:    ((Looks at Calvin)) What about you?
→       96 Cal:    Say I don't want to marry you and like (unclear)
        97 Bin:    Oh, yeah. ((Looks at Anya)) So what do you think? (.)
        98         ((Looks at everyone at table)) so the options,
        99         I mean you guys heard them right?
        100 Anya:  °You can choose.°
        101 Bin:   ↑A:h, ↓no.
```

Binsa intended to generate discussion by allowing everyone to contribute. However, her peers

tended to give terse, straight-forward answers without much elaboration or supporting comments

from others in the F-formation (Excerpt 2, Segment E, arrows). In a standard teamwork

participation framework, once something is said, another team member might agree with that

idea to advance it forward or disagree with it and offer an alternative idea. However, during this

team-building exercise, none of the other students spoke unless they were asked a question and

no one explicitly expressed support or rejection of each other's ideas. For example, Lena

expressed that the ending should be sad and Binsa tried to generate support for Lena's idea and

advance it forward by asking how they would change the ending to make it sad. No one said

anything, not even Lena who nodded while texting (Excerpt 2, Line 91), so Binsa moved on and

pointed at Tian and then Calvin to gather their ideas for the alternate ending. After everyone had

a turn voicing their idea, she asked the group what idea they wanted to choose and Anya replied

by saying Binsa should choose (Excerpt 2, Line 100). Anya giving Binsa the decision-making

power along with Binsa's ability to insert herself physically into the action and to direct the path

of discussion positioned her as the informal leader of the group. However, Binsa rejected this

identity by saying no (Excerpt 2, Line 101).

Although Binsa was the informal leader, she wanted to be part of the group and the team-

building exercise to be a group process rather than something decided on by an individual. She

was trying to encourage the team-building aspect of the activity and create a sense of community

and belonging by asking for everyone's input. Having been part of ACE and SACE for three

years, she felt the program was a space to which she could retreat and feel a sense of belonging:

> In the beginning, when I was a freshmen, I liked it because I was a second language
> learner and there were a lot of students whose English was their second language and we
> were comfortable like sharing everything. You know, even if we spoke anything and like
> you know our grammar or whatever was not right. Like you know, we did not speak it
> that well, we were still comfortable, because we knew like as a second language learner
> we like understood each other. I was comfortable in that area too, so I kept coming.
> [. . .]And also the staff you know advisors, they understood us. They still gave us a lot
> more opportunities than- we had a lot more opportunities than those who were native
> English speakers. Like you know, we got to moderate at the career conference like you
> know, in front of all those professionals. It made me more comfortable and confident to
> speak in public because as a second language learner, it's really like- it's really hard to
> speak in public. You're really nervous about how you do and how you will speak.

Binsa's story revealed how ACE was her chosen space of place-belongingness. Auto-

biographical narratives about attachments, experiences, and memories of a particular space

generate and reinforce a sense of place-belongingness (Antonsich, 2010). At ACE, she felt a

sense of comfort being with other recent immigrant students that she did not find in the academic

classroom especially during 9th grade when she had only been in the US for a year. Her fond

memories and feelings created a strong attachment and rootedness to ACE even though the

facilitators had changed throughout her three years in the program. Even with the turnover in

facilitators, she continued to be very involved and spoke about the program being vital in her

growth and adjustment as an immigrant student and former ELL labelled student. Furthermore,

she appreciated the public speaking opportunities such as being a moderator and host at the

annual ACE career conference. As a recent immigrant student, she felt she did not get as many leadership opportunities in other spaces as native English speaking students were usually chosen. In comparison, Calvin, who had also been in the program for three years, did not form an intense place-belongingness with ACE and his peers. Although he felt like he received a lot of help with various college related matters, he did not have deep personal narratives of growth associated with the ACE space. Since Binsa had a strong place-belongingness at ACE, she wanted to extend that feeling to others and include them in the space by engaging them and having them express their ideas. She did not see teamwork as an individualistic endeavor, but drew on the group-oriented leadership norm of eliciting each person's opinion and trying to build consensus towards a goal. As she was trying to encourage participation and expand the boundaries of community among her peers; some of the other students' did not co-construct such a community and even passively hindered it.

Maintaining Borders

Binsa tended to push in and extend the boundary of belonging to increase feelings of community. However, some students such as Meiyang and Tian tended to stand still and maintain boundaries. When Binsa initially tried to generate discussion for the team-building exercise, she asked Meiyang, a 1.25-generation immigrant student from China, if she had watched any movies or shows recently; Meiyang responded "But it's Chinese show" (Appendix A, Line 21). Meiyang's response automatically assumed a lack of co-membership and framed herself as an outsider with knowledge that was not relevant to this encounter. She did not have a transnational perspective towards media consumption, where non-Chinese people might be interested in Chinese media, even though she herself consumed transnational media by listening to K-pop or watching Korean dramas. She assumed Binsa would not know the show and,

furthermore, would not care about the show, since she was not Chinese. Meiyang was maintaining the relational and cultural borders between Binsa and her. If she responded to Binsa by elaborating on the Chinese show and potentially initiating a longer conversation about the show then she would have extended her relational borders and possibly established co-membership with Binsa as individuals who were interested in other cultures and media. By responding the way she did, she passively maintained the borders between Binsa and her as two individuals who had no common interests and relational ties.

Tian, a 1.5-generation Chinese immigrant student, was also a student that maintained interactional borders. Although Tian had been in the US longer than Meiyang, it seemed he was not very comfortable speaking English. During the team-building activity, he did not understand portions of the conversation and had to ask Anya for clarification in Chinese (Appendix A, Line 70-71). He only spoke English when he was asked a direct question or to answer one of Mr. Luke's general questions. He made jokes and teased Anya a few times in Chinese but not in English. This prevented others like Binsa and Mr. Luke from also participating and laughing with him. Although it might have been more difficult to explicitly joke in English as a non-native English speaker, it was achievable as he switched languages when Binsa was teasing Anya about being the female lead:

Excerpt 2, Segment F

```
102 Anya: >No  [no  no no   no   no no   no   no   no no<    ]
103 Bin:       [YEe::sss    noo:     Yee::s                  ]
104 Tian: ↑YEEAAaahhhhh (.) ((In Chinese then English))
105       [You won't be together anyways. You say no.        ]
106 Bin:  [You say ↑no.     You say ↑no.              ye:ahh  ]
```

In line 105, he started with Chinese first then switched to English as Binsa was simultaneously telling Anya she can just say "no" as the female character. However, by only directing his conversation at Anya in Chinese, he maintained the boundaries between the other interlocutors

and himself. He did not see the benefit of having the other students also hear his jokes to form a sense of community.

Tian, who was very quiet throughout the whole team-building exercise, professed during our interview that as an immigrant, he felt shy and unsure about communicating with new people. He said,

Tian:	At the beginning like I am- I'm shy to talk with people like yeah. But now, I'm a little bit confident now to talk with strangers especially like using English to talk to them. I always think "if I talk to this stranger, like do they will continue with my like conversation or not?" So like, I'm scared to talk to them.
Erica:	And so just to understand a little bit more, before when you talked to strangers people might not continue the conversation so you might have felt anxiety?
Tian:	That I will feel nervous. Feel like about "am I saying something wrong?" Yeah, like that. So that's why I don't want to. So that's why I'm scared to talk to strangers.

Tian was very conscious of his communication skills and wanted his social interactions to be engaging and interesting. He felt embarrassed if the other interlocutor did not continue the conversation and blamed himself for saying something wrong. At the same time, he was also learning to communicate in English, which added another layer of complexity to his social interactions. It was not an easy task to speak in a second language and avoid any interactional mistakes or miscommunications. Because of this, he was afraid of speaking and publicly embarrassing himself in front of friends or classmates. Not all peers were nice or understanding. Many students in the study spoke about classmates laughing at their accents or judging what they said. The team-building exercise at ACE was supposed to create a relaxing and safe environment for them to express themselves without the fear of ridicule, but for Tian, he mostly talked to Anya in Chinese, because she was familiar to him and within his relational borders. He made

little effort to expand his borders to new people during this team-building exercise as he only spoke to others when asked a question directly.

Potential Border Mediator

Anya, also a 1.5-generation Chinese immigrant student, was the most proficient Mandarin and English speaker in the group; consequently, she served as the unofficial translator between Chinese ELLs and non-Chinese speakers. Before my individual interview with her, I assumed she was a current ELL student, because she did not speak much unless called on and was uncertain of how to pronounce some English words. In her interview, she said that people usually think she was quiet, but once they get to know her she will not stop talking. I experienced this when I conducted my first individual interview with her. At the end of our first interview, I was taken aback by how verbally expressive she was compared to her behavior in ACE (Interview Notes, 2/11/19). Her turns at talk would include multiple sentences that described and explained what she felt or thought; however, at ACE she usually gave one sentence responses and did not elaborate on her points.

During this team-building exercise, she became positioned as the unofficial Mandarin/English translator, giving her an important role in shaping the community within the group. When Binsa did not understand Lena's idea, Lena looked towards Anya for help, or when Tian did not understand what someone said in English, he would ask Anya for clarification. With this role, she could shape the borders between the Chinese and non-Chinese students as she translated ideas and helped each side understand their jokes as she had a firmer grasp of both languages.

However, Anya took on her role very passively and maintained borders rather than altering them. While she was translating, she did not actively posit her own ideas or support the

ideas of others; she just translated when someone asked. She did not shape the conversation in a way that created more porous borders or interactions among the group members even though she had a better grasp of the conversations in both languages. She had the potential to make the team-building exercise serve its purpose of creating belonging, but in my interview with her, she said she often felt uncomfortable verbally participating too much.

At times, she said she felt uncomfortable speaking or participating in ACE, because she was not confident and did not know if everyone was trustworthy. Although she thought everyone was nice, she did not know them that well and sometimes she had this fear that they might think negatively of her opinions or ideas:

> I guess it's because of not being so confident and yeah, I feel like it's not being confident or that it's the feeling when I'm scared that- I feel like it maybe some insecuritiness ((sic)) that I have in myself, but I feel like it is more of not having confidence and how um like (.) if you tell me to share my idea I would say it, but I wouldn't participate like. [. . .]In ACE, you don't get to know everyone so you're like- I always have this idea where I'm afraid that people might say something like negative. And I always tell myself not to care about it, but once when you come to it, you would still be scared to say something.

Although earlier in her interview she said that most people at ACE were much nicer than some of her classmates at school, she still felt unconfident and was apprehensive about voluntarily speaking up and participating verbally. She did not feel fully "at home" at ACE compared to Binsa. To address this problem, she said that it would help if everyone really got to know each other's personalities. The games allowed people to know each other casually, but she needed a better understanding of their stances and values, so she would know whether they would judge her negatively or not. Her insecurities and lack of confidence prevented her from actively using her translator role to shape the group community. When Binsa asked the group what alternate ending idea they liked, Anya shifted the decision-making power back onto Binsa by saying Binsa should choose (Excerpt 2, Line 100). Anya probably did not want the decision making power,

because she was afraid others might judge her decision in a negative way or blame her if there was no positive outcome.

Similar to Tian and Meiyang, Anya was maintaining the borders between "us" versus "them." They were all unconfident in their own ways: Meiyang about her English skills and people's interest in Chinese shows, Tian about his English and communication skills, and Anya about people's judgement of her opinions. Their unconfidence was not addressed during the team-building exercise and they were not encouraged to take risks; as a result, they did not feel at "home" or a sense of place-belongingness in speaking up or expressing their opinions to the other group members. The distance and borders between "us" and "them" were perpetuated by how they interacted with their other group members. They were afraid and unwilling to interactionally progress the team-building exercise to be something other than a procedural exercise in an afterschool program.

Teamwork without Support

In the end, the students were able to complete the activity and performed a scene with an alternate ending, but the outcome grew from individual decisions rather than group discussion or consensus. One person would say something and the rest of the group would passively adhere to it without a back and forth exchange of ideas and thoughts to help students get to know and understand each other. Overall, this type of interaction did not further a sense of community or belonging among the students, but it did not hinder it either. The outcome might be due to disinterest in the activity among the students, but I argue that most of them did care as all students contributed ideas when asked. However, some students might not have understood the community building dimension of the activity, and similar to Anya and Meiyang, some students

were too scared and unconfident to express what they were thinking unless called upon to answer because they did not feel a sense of place-belongingness to take risks in communication as ELLs.

The "I" in Team

Both Lena and Calvin were actively involved in this team-building exercise and their ideas were vital to the final outcome; nevertheless, both of them dropped out of the program after attending 3-4 times even though the social interactions in this team-building exercise showed how their utterances were perceived and taken up differently. I was not able to interview Lena, because she dropped out of the program before I could ask her if she wanted to be interviewed, but I was able to interview Calvin before and after he dropped out of the program. For Calvin, his reasons for joining ACE were very future oriented and educationally driven. After joining SACE sophomore year, he found the program very useful to him:

> Leadership like they like just like help me with everything (.) like even prepare me for the future you know like they do a lot of English skill, how to like get a better resume, provide something like community service, something like that. Just like very helpful to my future or even in high school. Like more experience.

He really enjoyed the concrete experiences provided by ACE for his future career and college life like resume-writing, participating in activities outside of the academic classroom, and community service opportunities. These experiences appealed to him because they were novel as he did not learn about them in school and his parents could not teach him because they did not grow up in American society. He viewed school as a place where students gained academic knowledge that they were tested on, but his classes did not teach him about the real world. This kind of dichotomy was a common description of how ACE was different from school among all of my interviewees. However, Calvin stood out for his lack of references to relationships or friendships. All of my other interviewees expressed how they liked meeting new people, making new friends at ACE, or seeing friends they did not see in school, but Calvin did not say these

were aspects he enjoyed about the program. He was more focused on how it was helpful to his

college application process and future career, because he discussed and received advice from Mr.

Luke and Mr. Thomas, the college advisor at HES, throughout the various stages of the college

and financial aid application process.

Additionally, Calvin took a very individualistic approach to teamwork and leadership,

which might explain his behavior of sitting outside of the F-formation during this team-building

exercise and other sessions as well. When I asked him how and what he learned about leadership

through ACE, he explained:

Cal:	How to be a leader like in a group or in the like conversation like- even like in some big company. How to get people trust you like, how people like love to work with you, you know, something like that.
Eri:	And how- I guess were you a leader in a group while you were doing activities?
Cal:	Sometimes. It's just like um when I'm in a group setting, like I will talk first, or like you know share people's idea like you know like. What else?
Eri:	Do you guys do group work in class too?
Cal:	↑Oh yeah, sometimes. But in school, like you just do all the work individually. But like sometimes, like I go up first.
Eri:	Okay, do you ever try to get your group in school to try to do it together?
Cal:	No.
Eri:	People are not interested?
Cal:	Yeah, they are not interested. Like they just like-
Eri:	Then why in ACE do you guys do that?
Cal:	Because (2.7) Mr. Luke asks me to do. He ask me to do it. Like Mr. Kevin ask me to do it too, so yeah

Due to his experiences in school, he saw teamwork as very individualistic - each group

member performed his or her own tasks without much collaboration. In his participation

framework, he did not see teamwork as a dialogue but a place for him to share his ideas and to be

the first one to talk to showcase his leadership skills. When I probed Calvin further about

collaboration, his answer revealed his perspective that it was something the facilitators required

him to do, but he did not see the relationship building value or skill associated with it. He did not

view collaboration as an important part of improving his leadership skills or a norm of group

work, thus his spatial positioning was intentional. When he was doing the team-building exercise at ACE, he did not sit in the F-formation and did not see the need to even after Mr. Luke asked him to move closer. Although Calvin's special positioning was not favorable in allowing his peers to hear his contributions, Calvin's decision to sit outside of the F-formation might also have been strategic. He was there to improve his own leadership skills, which, by his definition, he was doing as he was speaking and actively contributing ideas. Sitting in the F-formation and using his energy to build relationships with his peers was not beneficial to his long-term goals and could be distracting. Moreover, sitting outside of the circle gave him easier access to Mr. Luke, who was on the outskirts of the circle (Figure 11). Calvin initiated a side conversation with Mr. Luke about the ethnic background of the lead male actor in the film, but not with any of his peers (Appendix A, Line 181-182).

Figure 11. Calvin side conversation. Calvin outside of F-formation looked at Mr. Luke (outside of the image frame on left, arrow showing gaze of Calvin towards Mr. Luke) and had conversation about ethnic background of the lead male actor. The other students in F-formation discussed ideas for the skit.

Calvin's relationship with Mr. Luke was his strongest relationship at ACE and most beneficial for his long-term goals. During his interview, he expressed how he was sincerely

grateful for Mr. Luke's help with his college applications and career decision process (Interview, 6/9/19). Calvin's parents had limited knowledge of the US educational system and could not help Calvin with the applications. In addition, BPHS was a large school and Calvin did not get a lot of individualized attention from his teachers or the college counselor, but with Mr. Luke, he scheduled individual appointments and talked with him extensively about the college application process to gain insider knowledge that other recent immigrant students might not obtain. Calvin had a strong relational bond with Mr. Luke that was caring and significant; I saw Calvin sit next to Mr. Luke's desk multiple times waiting for the ACE session to begin. Mr. Luke also had a letter Calvin wrote thanking him for his help displayed on the office wall (Field notes, 12/4/18). However, Calvin stopped attending ACE halfway through the 2018-2019 academic year in January. I was able to interview him in June 2019 to ask why that happened. He explained:

> Yeah, I mean, like I want to (.) I forgot to coming. I got so much stuff to do like college research, some work for college, they asking for the January or February something, so I don't have like really time to. Like writing my college essay something like that. [. . .]I mean I'm already graduated so I go to gym, play basketball with someone. That's it and just chill. You know nothing like interesting.

For Calvin, the college application process took a lot of time and energy from him; consequently, he stopped attending ACE to focus on his applications. But even after he finished his college applications and financial aid paperwork, he did not return to ACE like other students. During spring 2019, he spent his afternoons socializing with friends and relaxing. It seemed that his main goal at ACE was to gain the knowledge and social capital needed to apply for college in the US. When his goal was completed, he did not feel the need to return to ACE, since he did not have any relational ties to his fellow participants. I asked if he felt pressured to (re)attend, since he had received help from Mr. Luke. My question surprised him because he did not think about it and said "I didn't view like that. (.) oh, I feel so guilty" (Interview, 6/9/19). Calvin's answer

revealed his lack of connection with the overall ACE community on a relational level. While some students like Jinani in the Wednesday section would return every few months because she had friends at ACE, Calvin did not feel that desire as he did not have any friends in ACE and he did not seem to make or strengthen any peer relationships while he was participating in the team-building exercises or games. He never developed a rootedness to ACE and his peers even though he appreciated the help he received from Mr. Luke and other staff members.

Slow to Encourage

A key aspect of this team-building encounter was the lack of initiative to support or encourage each other's ideas unless the facilitator was involved. I attributed this interactional occurrence to a lack of belonging among the students. They did not have feelings of "familiarity, comfort, security, and emotional attachment" associated with the place-belongingness component of sense of belonging (Antonsich, 2010, p. 6). As sense of belonging was not static but a process, this team-building activity was supposed to increase feelings of comfort and familiarity as the students collaborated on ideas or expressed themselves physically through the skit. However, the discourse in the group was very stifled with little laughter or energized discussion; hence, the positive feelings did not precipitate. Few students talked to each other except for Binsa trying to talk to everyone and Lena-Anya to each other. When there was laughter during the skit performance or when Binsa pointed to Anya and Calvin to play romantic interests, students sort of laughed individually at what was happening and did not laugh with each other to build familiarity by making eye contact or jokes. Anya seemed to feel awkward throughout the early portion of this exercise, because she did not want to play the female lead; thus, she kept saying no, shaking her head, and looking away. If someone else, besides Binsa had encouraged Anya to take on the female lead role then it might have created a sense of

community and familiarity. Tian, who was sitting next to Anya, sort of encouraged her in a teasing voice, but he said it in Chinese, so not all students understood.

Part of the reason for the discomfort and stifled conversation might be their nervousness about speaking English and being unsure of the interactional purpose of the team-building exercises. Interestingly, all the Tuesday section students, except one, were currently or formerly labelled ELLs; however, there were varying levels of confidence with English as Binsa was the most outspoken even though she had immigrated later than some of the other students at 13 years old. She attended English medium schools in Nepal and adapted to American English more easily compared to the Chinese students, who only started using English more when they arrived in the US. Furthermore, as recent immigrant students, some of the students might not understand the social purpose of the team-building exercise as a way to build belonging and community, which required them to cross boundaries and try to interact with others. Anya commented in her interview that some of her friends, who had dropped out of the program, found some of the icebreakers and team-building exercises to be "weird" (Interview, 6/4/19). Asking for elaboration, she said that some of them found the previous year's ice breaker, where they had to perform a song in pairs, to be uncomfortable. For those students, they probably did not view the ice breakers as a structured method to build community by revealing aspects of yourself, but felt the exercises put them in uncomfortable scenarios as they did not have a sense of place-belongingness. At the same time, students such as Anya, Tian, and Meiyang might also have felt they did not need to cross the boundaries and develop a sense of belonging with new peers as they attended ACE with classmates they already knew and felt their relational ties deepened with their pre-established social groups. Overall, the team-building exercise did not accomplish its

implicit goal of creating community among the participants as none of the students strengthened relational ties with peers outside of their established social groups.

Service-learning Projects

Besides the games and team-building exercises, service-learning projects were one of the major educational activities at ACE. Among the participants, there were three main categories of reasons for why they wanted to be involved in community service: (1) it was a requirement of their high school's National Honors Society to obtain a certain number of volunteer hours, (2) the students heard that doing community service would enhance their college applications, or (3) the students enjoyed helping others and wanted to try something new. With these different motivations, each student approached the service-learning projects with their own expectations and learning goals.

A majority of the students said that doing the service-learning projects helped them gain a better understanding of Bay Point and to experience the local community in a new way. As youth, they have exposure to certain parts of society and only certain amounts of independence to explore new areas, but with ACE and the service-learning projects, they visited new areas that were unfamiliar or it caused them to reconsider a familiar place more deeply. For those that lived in Bay Point, the service project allowed them to gain new knowledge and understand a deeper layer of Bay Point. While they attended school, lived, worked, or utilized the businesses in Bay Point, the environment focused projects was a concept and topic they had not explored before.

However, the meaning-making and reflections on their actions were different depending on whether students lived in Bay Point, attended school in Bay Point, or were from the same language or ethnic background as the majority of residents in Bay Point. The (mis)alignment between the student identities, the physical space, and community members showed how

educational activities that promote societal participation as a citizenship practice was not a straight-forward tool for developing belonging.

Background

Service-learning Curriculum at ACE

At ACE, Mr. Luke designed the service-learning curriculum and projects by himself. His lesson design and content drew from his prior experience volunteering at a Catholic youth ministry, activities researched from the internet, or social issues targeted by HES funding streams. He merged the service-learning pedagogy with leadership development as he wanted students to take on more responsibility in organizing and coordinating the projects over time, which will be analyzed in Chapter Five. During the 2018-2019 program year, ACE focused on tree care and park beautification as the project topics, because Mr. Luke received a grant from the city government to perform tree care and street cleanup at Nelson Plaza (pseudonym) once a month. Furthermore, from speaking to students who had been part of ACE for multiple years, park beautification and environment were common projects and topics every year.

The service projects were to be implemented by each section once a month; however, during the winter, none of the sections performed the tree care and street cleanup due to inclement weather. Ideally, all sections would have performed the service projects the same number of times, but by the end of the year, the Wednesday section implemented the service projects five times while the Tuesday and Thursday sections implemented them two and one times, respectively. During the tree care and street cleaning service-learning projects, the students worked in teams of three to four. More specifically, students collected garbage on the street and cared for the tree beds by removing trash, loosening the dirt, adding mulch, and then raking the mulch to aerate the soil around the tree trunk. In addition to direct service roles, some

students were assigned to be photographers and some were assigned to be team leaders that would oversee the cleaning and tree care their peers performed. At the end of the service projects, Mr. Luke sometimes led a group reflection about their experiences and what they learned from the service projects. However, the group reflections were inconsistent and only occurred two out of the eight service implementations. The service-learning projects provided an interesting case to study the sense of belonging to the local community and how that can be developed or expressed. As the students performed the service projects, they interacted with and learned about new aspects of their environment or society outside of the school context.

Ethnic and Linguistic Landscape of Bay Point

As stated in the Methods Section, Bay Point, the neighborhood where ACE was located and where the students went to school, is currently considered a predominately East Asian neighborhood. Most of the store fronts in Bay Point have English, Chinese, and Korean characters (Figure 12). Although HES, ACE's umbrella non-profit organization, primarily served clients of East Asian heritage, the students at ACE were of East Asian, South Asian, Latinx, Black, and White backgrounds. While some of the Chinese students lived in Bay Point, most of the non-Chinese students lived in a different neighborhood and would commute upwards of an hour by public transportation to attend school in Bay Point. In that way, these students were not residents of the Bay Point community but temporary members who were taking part in the service projects.

Besides the new experiences and knowledge gained, the linguistic and ethnic landscape influenced the development of their sense of belonging to Bay Point. Although all of the students attended school in Bay Point, not all of them were residents of Bay Point. Given the linguistic landscape and visual demographics of the residents of Bay Point, the 1.25-, 1.5-, or second-

generation immigrant students of East Asian descent felt an automatic sense of belonging to Bay Point based on ethnicity and the linguistic landscape. The common language background and culture translated into familiarity with the bubble tea cafes, noodle shops, and Korean makeup stores that lined the streets of the main business district. They understood what these products were and were not as afraid to try them compared to other ACE youth from non-East Asian backgrounds. Therefore, doing the service project with ACE generally reinforced their sense of belonging based on ethnicity and language.

Figure 12. Linguistic landscape of Bay Point. Street in business district of Bay Point. Signs in English, Chinese, and Korean.
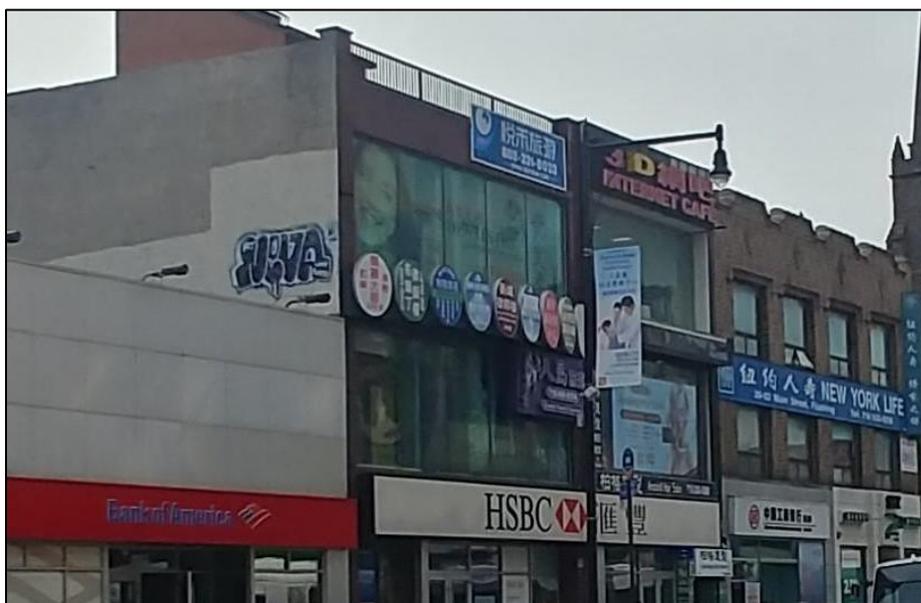
Encountering the Physical

All of the students, whether they lived in Bay Point or not, enjoyed the opportunity to explore new places during the service-learning projects and participate in new experiences, which added meaning to the place that they lived or went to school. Eliza, a second-generation Guyanese-American student, commented on the service project:

> It helped introduce me to the real world in a sense. It helped me expand and explore Bay Point. In SACE [ACE sister program for 9th and 10th graders], we did community service

projects, but we didn't go into the community as much. In ACE, we go out and explore different areas like the plaza, go to different areas and see what actually goes on there. [. . .]I didn't know this place ((Nelson Plaza)) had a name until Mr. Luke.

A majority of the students, like Eliza, did not know about certain spaces or the names of the spaces in Bay Point until they participated in the service project with ACE. Even though many ACE students walked through Nelson Plaza daily on their path to school, they never knew it was considered a plaza or had a name. It was a narrow alley, surrounded by businesses with four to five trees, thus it did not stand out as something big or plaza like (Figure 13). Furthermore, ACE had a service project in a park, famous for containing historical houses and the historical society, located two blocks from the high school building. There was a rich history to the names behind these places, but it was unknown to the students until they participated in ACE and the service projects. By increasing the students' knowledge of the physical space and history of Bay Point, ACE expanded the participation and sense of belonging dimensions of citizenship. New understanding of these spaces showed, first hand, how places constructed by people were easily forgotten if the knowledge of its history was not passed down and space not maintained. The service project in Nelson Plaza had the potential to make it a usable green space that community members could enjoy, sit at, and remember rather than just pass by.

The service-learning projects were also a novel experience and introduction into participatory citizenship practices. For some students, it was their first time doing any type of service project, and for others, it was their first time doing an environmentally-oriented service project. Some students were initially reluctant to get dirty and apprehensive about cleaning and working with trees, but they came to realize the impact they were having as a group on the community. In her interview, Saba, a 1.25-generation Pakistani immigrant student, described how the service project was surprisingly fun even though it was dirty:

> That was new like taking care of plants. I kind of never thought of that as a way of doing community service. It was like fun doing that. It was dirty, but I'd never done it before. It felt good at the end like I actually did something for the community.

They were taking active roles in shaping their physical space by starting to (re)consider the environmental issues affecting their local community, taking care of the trees for people to enjoy, and molding the physical space to be cleaner and healthier. Moreover, as youth living in a metropolitan city where the amount of green spaces and backyards were scarce, most of them had never worked with plants before. On 10/4/18, the Thursday section had a representative from the Department of Parks and Recreation guest lecture about the hazards city trees face, why aeration of the soil was beneficial and how to apply mulch in a pattern that did not harm the trees.The students had the opportunity to ask in-depth questions with answers provided by an expert. Gaining and applying their new knowledge about tree care in the community were behaviors associated with active citizenship and the participatory dimension of citizenship. Instead of passively using the physical space, ACE exposed them to active methods of engaging in community issues and government agencies that support such practices.

Figure 13. Nelson Plaza. Very narrow and often used as an alleyway rather than viewed as a plaza.

Encountering People

With ACE Peers

Besides the potential connection to the physical community, the ACE participants felt the service projects really helped form a connection amongst each other. Through the park beautification project, their sense of belonging and community amplified as they were repeating the same activities and participating in the project together. The Wednesday section performed the service projects the greatest number of times (n=5) and spent the majority of this time in teams with their friends. This sense of community made the service projects fun and deepened the bonds between friends or classmates as they created new memories together. Nafia, a second-generation Bangeldeshi American student, joined ACE with three other friends and described how the service projects brought them closer together:

> We can talk and clean. It's cuz ((sic)) usually when we group, we group with our friends and like, it's fun. You clean a little, you talk a little, you clean and talk, you multi-task and you have things to talk about too, because there's a lot of stuff going on around you (.) people are going around, the old lady, things to talk about.

As they carried out their projects, they helped the community but also talked or made jokes about what their friends were doing or what was happening around them as community members passed by. I observed the students who were friends make fun of each other or chase each other around as they were cleaning, which elicited more laughter and strengthened a sense of comfort with each other (Field notes, 11/14/18). Both Tuesday and Thursday section projects did not have the same effect among ACE peers, since they only performed the service projects twice and once, respectively. They mainly performed it at the beginning of the year; hence, other events made a stronger impression on them during their time at ACE.

Positive, Apathetic, and Negative Community Members

The ACE students also saw and briefly interacted with the community members as they cleaned the plaza. The reactions of community members ranged from very positive and appreciative to apathetic and off-putting. The various community member reactions garnered a wide variety of responses from ACE students as well.

One of the first reactions that students often commented on was how the community members would say "thank you" or "keep up the good work" as they passed by. Upon hearing these praises, some of the ACE youth said, "it makes you feel really good" and "wow, I'm actually doing something" (Focus Group, 5/22/19). Furthermore, some youth even saw direct behavioral changes among the community members. During the focus group, Priya, a second-generation Indian American student, recounted a story about how she saw transformation in a woman who frequently sat in Nelson Plaza:

> I see people there every time, but she's always passing by and sitting down doing her work. Now that she sees us cleaning, she- (.) this one time I was passing by and someone threw something and she was like "no, pick that up, people clean here." I'm like- it's kinda like if you do something, people are gonna start doing something as well knowing

that people actually care about that place. If you clean, you're showing that place has value to you.

Even though Priya was a non-Bay Point resident, she was participating in the local social dynamics of the Bay Point community. She influenced a Bay Point community member directly through the service project; as a result, it sparked an initial sense of connection between her and Bay Point beyond the space of school. These positive interactions with community members among ACE students laid the groundwork for more relational ties between students and the community members.

At the same time, the students also experienced negative interactions. A number of students commented on how some community members would litter in front of them as they were cleaning the Nelson Plaza or by-passers would give them apathetic, unhappy stares. For the students of East Asian descent, they were particularly critical of some of the behaviors of the Bay Point community members. John, a second-generation Chinese American students, born and raised in Bay Point, said:

> Well, I think as a Chinese American I do fit, but at the same time, I do get really frustrated. Sometimes like people would like litter or smoke or like they just spit on the floor, whatever they feel like it. That's like when it's like, this is not what my folks were always about. It's just these types of people. It's just depending on their circumstances, their community sense and style. So it's just part of their culture.

As a longtime resident of Bay Point and co-member from the same ethnic background as a majority of the residents, he was very aware of the behaviors of his fellow community members and considered it disrespectful because he and his parents did not subscribe to such behaviors. Most of the non-East Asian students did not express such critical remarks about the attitudes and behaviors towards littering as something associated with a specific racial group, but considered it a general environmental consciousness issue. Since John already had a sense of belonging due to

similar cultural and ethnic backgrounds, his expectations for the behaviors and reciprocation of community members were higher.

Similarly, Calvin, a 1.25-generation Chinese immigrant student, was affected by the apathetic attitudes and unhappy stares during the service projects. Talking about the effect on his sense of belonging to Bay Point, he said:

> Eri: Do you think doing these community service events helps you feel a sense of belonging in this ((Bay Point)) area or this community?
>
> Cal: I say like probably, sometimes. I feel like I try to like help as much as I can for the community.
>
> Eri: Why sometimes though?
>
> Cal: Like people don't care. Some people are here like don't care when we do something like that.
>
> Eri: How do you know people don't care?
>
> Cal: Their attitude or something. The way they looking us. Yeah, sometimes but most of the time, they like obviously thank you for doing this or something most of the time. But sometimes, they just don't care like, give us like attitude or something. They don't care about the community. They just like selfish something like that.

Calvin was apprehensive about the effectiveness of the service projects in fostering his sense of belonging to the Bay Point community. Although some of the community members reacted positively to their service project, he highlighted how some community members did not care and would give them negative attitudes or apathetic stares. While these reactions did not strengthen his sense of belonging to Bay Point, I argue that it did not worsen it either as he said most of the people say thank you. As Baumeister and Leary's (1995) belonging hypothesis noted, the relational ties need to be caring in order to positively influence the sense of group belonging. Even though a small population of people were not caring, it affected some ACE students more than others.

Due to these negative interactions, group reflection or debriefs after the service project would have provided students a good place to process the events. Unfortunately, Mr. Luke was inconsistent in carrying out group reflections (two out of eight service events), and when

students did express their frustration with apathetic community members, the issue was not fully addressed. On 12/5/18, Mr. Luke carried out a group reflection with the Wednesday section where apathetic or negative reactions from community members were received by ACE participants. After the 12/5/18 tree care and street cleanup service project, the following interaction occurred during the group reflection:

Excerpt 3

```
01 Mr. L:  What did you learn today?
02 Sara:   I learned that people will throw trash no matter what.
03         This guy threw trash at me and I started cursing him
04         out, you know but like.
05 Mr. L:  Please, don't curse people out.
06 Sara:   But I said it nicely.
07 Ben:    The lady-
08         ((Many students talking))
09 Mr. L:  Hold on! Please listen
10 Ben:    Some lady, she look at me right in the eye and she
11         dropped an apple right in front of me as she walked
12         by. (unclear) it took all my force not to like
13         (unclear).
14 Mr. L:  Okay. (1.5) ((pointing at Raul raising his hand))
15         Yeah.
```

In the group debrief, both Sara and Ben recounted stories about how some of the community members will mistreat or not care about their efforts to improve the environment of Bay Point. Mr. Luke heard their stories, but did not respond to them and pivoted the debrief to talk about leadership skills rather than about the students' experiences with community members (Excerpt 3, Line 14-15). It was a missed opportunity to address and reflect on the root causes of environmental negligence and how the ACE members could enhance their service-learning projects to affect greater change. If Mr. Luke had discussed these negative or apathetic responses, it might have helped the students process the events and give meaning to something that was frustrating or seemed futile as people kept littering.

Misalignment in Ethnicity and Language

For those students of non-East Asian descent, the service-learning projects implemented at ACE during the data collection period seemed to have limitations as to the extent their sense of belonging to the local Bay Point community could be fostered. When they went into the Bay Point stores or restaurants, they could not read the labels on the items even though they wanted to try the products. Even though I observed the non-East Asian students drink bubble tea and eat Korean fried chicken, they still felt distanced due to the cultural and ethnic dimensions (Field notes, 3/13/19). This dilemma was especially confusing for Coral, a second-generation Mexican American student, as she lived in Bay Point her whole life but was a minority in terms of ethnicity. Our focus group conversation about her feelings of belonging in Bay Point were as follows;

> Erica: Do you guys feel like you are part of the Bay Point community?
> Coral: I lived here my entire life. Um, Bay Point is mostly like an Asian neighborhood, so I'm kinda torn. I feel like I do belong, but in the ethnicity type, I don't belong in that.
> Erica: So I guess with people who don't feel like they are part of the Bay Point community, you know, you guys are doing service projects in Bay Point, does that necessarily help you feel like you are part of the community? Do they have an effect?
> Coral: I personally do feel like it has an effect. I feel like I am helping out the community that I live in- I've grown up here my entire life, so I think it has a positive effect.

While Coral lived in Bay Point her whole life - it was her home - she did not feel completely comfortable, because she was not of the same ethnic background as the majority of the residents in the neighborhood. The misalignment in ethnicity did not lead to a straightforward development of a sense of belonging and identity. As Ngo (2008) pointed out, youth are constantly negotiating the in-between space where multiple facets of identity, both from internal and external sources, are influencing each other and existing simultaneously. While Coral did

agree that the service projects helped her feel a part of the Bay Point community, the projects might have only strengthened her Bay Point resident identity without affecting her relationship with the dominant ethnic identity of the neighborhood.

Similar to Coral's emphasis on alignment in terms of ethnicity and culture, Trishna, a second-generation Bengali American student, felt the service projects did not help her connect to the Bay Point community at all. During our focus group, Trishna revealed how the projects helped her feel connected to the broader NYC community rather than the Bay Point neighborhood:

> I think it's more part of feeling like you're connected in NYC, like you're doing a part of-in your society like into the New York community. But like, in terms of like making you feel like you're part of the Bay Point community, like not really. Because there's still like- there's like not a lot of South Asian people in Bay Point so it's like I can't connect to like anybody else. Unless they are like really wanting to know about it, but it's like, not a lot of people will want to know.

Trishna's statement unmasked how the sense of belonging development process was not unidirectional but co-constructed. It was not solely a matter of her getting to know the Bay Point community better as a student, but she also wanted to feel that the other side was interested in accepting and understanding her. If the community served was not accepting or willing to engage, no relational ties will be formed and the unidirectional sense of belonging developed will be very shallow and temporary. During the tree care and street cleaning service projects, some of the community members said thank you, which the students appreciated and remembered, but most of the time, the pedestrians did not say anything. Moreover, the employees or owners of the stores in Nelson Plaza did not engage or talk to the students even though they were in the same space. During the tree care and street cleaning project implementation on 11/14/18, I observed an East Asian employee from the clothing store step out to look at what the students were doing for a few minutes and then go back in. The employee

might have been uncomfortable engaging in English, so she did not inquire further. In comparison, on 4/23/19 when the project was implemented at a park close to the high school, a White employee from the historical museum went up to Mr. Luke inquiring about the project and then thanked the students for what they were doing. By talking to Mr. Luke and the students, the museum employee acknowledged and reciprocated the efforts of ACE to build relational ties. At the same time, the difference in engagement by the employees points to the relevance of English in the co-construction of community and belonging and how it was still the language of public discourse even in an ethnic neighborhood such as Bay Point.

While educators might assume that the students doing community service automatically helps them become accepted, we forget that the physical and embodied space can place limitations on the types of participation depending on who is performing the service and what the local context looks like. Swaminathan's (2007) study of youth of color performing service-learning projects revealed how the Black and Latinx youth were mistaken for juvenile delinquents performing required community service compared to the White youth, who were considered good people for volunteering their time. Although I never witnessed any incidents of racism or bias, it was common knowledge during my professional experience at HES that many of the Chinese families considered BPHS a bad school, because the student population was mostly Black and Latinx. Since half of ACE's students were Latinx or Black, their involvement in the service projects might not have been seen as a positive action. During a cleanup implementation of 12/11/18, the youth wore reflective orange mesh vests, because it helped Mr. Luke chaperone the students during the shorter daylight hours of the winter months (Figure 14). On that date, a community member stopped to ask me how she could get a job cleaning like the youth. I told her the students were volunteering and not getting paid for a job. She was surprised

and said she was looking for a job and thought we were doing this as a form of employment. The orange vests made the youth look like workers and potentially even juvenile delinquents performing mandatory community service as a majority of the students in the Wednesday section were Latinx, Black, or South Asian. Just like the woman who asked about the job, other Bay Point community members might have also projected a similar identity on the students and not seen the service project as a form of volunteerism trying to improve the community.

Figure 14. Clothing during service-learning project. Students wore reflective orange mesh vests during service projects in December 2018.

Potentially Deeper Interactions with Community Members

While the most of the ACE participants spoke about fleeting interactions with community members, the ACE members, who had also been part of SACE, experienced deeper interactions with community members in a previous iteration of the service-learning projects in SACE. Wenxin, a 1.25-generation Chinese immigrant student, felt the service projects in ACE did not help her connect with the local community as much. During our interview, she described how the service projects could be improved to foster a sense of connection (she declined to be audio recorded thus I described what she said through my interview notes):

> She feels the service project doesn't really help her connect with the community. When she passes by, she does have a memory of helping clean the streets, but that is not enough. To help connect with the community, she said doing surveys would help, because she can listen to other people's opinions and she can improve the environment for the future if the community members give them advice about the plaza or street.

For Wenxin, talking to people directly was more relevant to strengthening her sense of belonging to the Bay Point community. She drew from her previous service-learning experience in SACE, where they conducted surveys and talked to community members directly. She listened and gathered their perspectives; it felt more like a dialogue and relationship than the one sided encounter at ACE, where she cleaned the plaza and by passers briefly said thank you or stared. Frequent prolonged conversations could have also counteracted the negative interactions or apathetic stares as students talked face to face with community members in Bay Point.

Conceptual Insights

In Chapter Four, analyzing the game time, team-building exercise, and service-learning projects revealed conceptual insights into the spatial dimension of place-belongingness, the co-construction and perpetuation of everyday borders in informal learning spaces, and the role of participation frameworks in fostering a sense of belonging.

The team-building exercise and teamwork during the service-learning projects highlighted how participation frameworks shaped the fostering or hindering of a sense of belonging among the youth. Although educators frequently implement group activities with the belief that they will generate collaboration and relational ties among students, the way the ACE students participated in this exercise did not generate such ties or feelings of belonging and community. The facilitator left the roles within the teamwork unstructured and flexible; hence, students took on the roles and participated in the ways they wanted to or felt most comfortable with. On the service-learning project teams, it was assumed that Wenxin, Elena, Andrea, and

Jennifer would collaborate on their tasks in theory, but during the actual implementation of the service project, they performed their team tasks independently of each other. Furthermore, during the team-building exercise, the lack of community and feelings of awkwardness were even more apparent in the stifled conversations and lack of explicit collaboration as Binsa asked questions and the other students answered. When someone did share ideas, no one replied with support except for Binsa. Both incidents highlighted the impact of participation frameworks on the level of sense of belonging fostered. Since the students did not have assigned roles or explicitly told how to participate on a team, they utilized the concepts of group work they experienced in schools. For Calvin, and likely for other students as well, group work in school often meant independent work even if the teacher assigned students to a group. Calvin described how there was no collaboration and students just performed their tasks independently. With this type of framework in mind, he applied it to the team-building exercise and teamwork at ACE as well. Mr. Luke did not explicitly tell the students to talk to each other nor did he facilitate the discussion process; thus, the most vocal students, usually the ones most proficient at oral English, spoke and the students less confident in their English abilities were silent unless directly spoken to. Due to the unstructured participation framework and working independently during the team activity, the team-building exercise and teamwork did not foster a sense of belonging.

In addition to the participation frameworks, there was a spatial dimension to fostering feelings of place-belongingness. During both the team-building exercise and game time, who the students sat next to shaped the formation of relational ties. If the students sat next to peers from their pre-established social groups, they were less likely to form relational ties with unfamiliar peers. The formation of relational ties in an ACE space were partially dependent on the spatial distribution of the students rather than being only dependent of factors such as conversations or

common interests. The spatial orientation of the students during the team-building exercise also allowed the ideas of some students to be heard while others were unheard. F-formations prioritize those interlocutors within the circle; hence, those outside of the circle do not have as much access to the conversation within the F-formation. If someone was not heard or their contributions were unacknowledged, the fostering of relational ties and place-belongingness can be hindered. Furthermore, the linguistic and ethnic landscape of Bay Point influenced the immigrant youth's place-belongingness depending on whether their own linguistic or ethnic background aligned with the local community. It was more difficult for students, who were part of the minority population both ethnically and linguistically in Bay Point, to feel a place-belongingness even after performing the service-learning projects. The difference in culture and identity were expressed in the physical signs and products of the businesses.

These various facets of identity worked to co-construct the everyday borders between individuals as students tended to separate based on the schools they attended, linguistic backgrounds, and pre-established social groups. The activities analyzed revealed these everyday borders can be perpetuated even if the facilitator implemented activities that were meant to breakdown these borders. The social world of teenagers, with its penchant for exclusion, reinforced the borders between groups. The generational status in conjunction with English language proficiency hindered some students from desiring to interact or converse with each other. The difficulties of communication, leading to misunderstandings, were larger issues that some students felt less inclined to overcome or work through. In general the 1.25-generation immigrant students had less knowledge about the US mainstream, but the 1.25-generation immigrant students who had a combined lower proficiency in English were even more distanced as they felt self-conscious about using English in conversations. At the same time, the second-

generation students, who were more proficient in English, felt awkward conversing with ELLs as it took more mental energy to think about sentence structures and understand the intent of meaning from both sides. Language, and partially ethnicity and culture, were major factors in the claims about the politics of belonging among youth of different generational statuses.

Pedagogical Recommendations

Given the educational activities analyzed and conceptual findings, this chapter offers many pedagogical recommendations to enhance the ability of educational activities to foster a greater sense of belonging among students. Following the structure of the chapter, I will make specific and general pedagogical recommendation for educators in the informal learning context in relation to broader ideas of teaching and learning.

During the game time, Mr. Luke purposely implemented large group games that allowed all students in the section to work together and get to know each other. However, he only implemented it with the Tuesday and Thursday sections because there were usually 6-8 students in attendance. For the Wednesday section, he felt there were too many students to play one large group game. Instead, he used a relaxed approach to grouping as students played games in groups of their own choosing. While this can help student feel comfortable, it also had negative consequences for students who did not have pre-established social groups prior to joining ACE. In the case of Wenxin, she was especially isolated as she was also an ELL and felt less comfortable speaking English. In addition, the team-building exercises, which were meant to generate a sense of belonging, did not accomplish its goals as students did not have similar perspectives toward teamwork - the participation structures that would generate collaboration and encouragement among the team. Except for Binsa, the other students only talked when asked

a direct question and did not support or respond to others' ideas. The lack of support or verbalized consensus did not lead to greater relational ties or community.

Based on the study results, the following pedagogical recommendations can apply to various educational group activities. It would be beneficial to have heterogeneous groups or teams with students who both have and do not have pre-established social relationships. As the students converse and interact in these heterogeneous groups, the facilitator should also explicitly explain the relationship building purpose of the activities and why it is important to their time in the program. Moreover, the facilitator might ask and create a lesson around the structure of teamwork, what supportive teamwork looks like, and the different roles participants might take on, so all students have the same understanding and framework. The facilitator might also incorporate a reflection component after the team-building or game activities for students to appreciate each other or have dialogue with each other; hence, it would show that each person is contributing and that they matter. This will help breakdown the everyday social borders between students. Cooperative learning and communities of practice emphasize the need to build a new identity among participants that is not based on social or ethnic categories. By building a new group identity, students from a wide range of backgrounds can relate to each other through new paradigms and erase some of the negative perspectives that otherize. Having a more structured approach to teamwork and group activities is especially important for immigrant youth who are also ELLs as they are more reluctant to engage socially due to language barriers. A shared repertoire or set of practices can help ELLs who might have difficulty understanding new instructions in English, but if the practices are established and repeated then they can learn to participate through the repetition of the practices and not worry about understanding a new set of instructions in English every day. Without structured methods of engaging in the group activity,

some recent immigrant youth may become isolated and lack a sense of belonging, which can hinder them from obtaining the academic and social support they need to thrive in their new school or community. Learning is a social process and without the mutual engagement a learner can fall behind.

When immigrant youth first enter the US, they can live in a wide range of contexts and geographical locations which, as segmented assimilation theory suggests, will influence their assimilation process. As students interact with the community directly through educational activities such as service-learning projects, their interactions and beliefs about the neighborhood or community members impacts their sense of belonging to their new home. For the students in this study, who were not part of the dominant ethnic and linguistic group in Bay Point, it was difficult for them to feel like they had a sense of belonging to Bay Point even though they attended school there or even lived there. They felt a sense of belonging to their school, but the businesses and shops - centered on East Asian culture and products - felt foreign to them. In order to make these service-learning projects more meaningful and impactful in fostering a sense of belonging to the local community, facilitators need to give the students more ownership over the projects and time to reflect on their experiences. A student-driven approach is important for immigrant youth as they might feel like outsiders or foreigners in their new neighborhoods. By giving them more ownership, it would allow immigrant students to think about their new community context and participate in it from the beginning. Furthermore, reflection about the role of the projects and its relationship to the local context that acknowledges social dimensions such as race, ethnicity, immigration, and language are needed as students experience both positive and negative interactions with community members. It is worthwhile to reflect on these social interactions and discuss how it might influence their perspectives on the US, citizenship,

identity, and sense of belonging as recent migrants to a neighborhood or city. If community members do not react positively to the service projects or immigrant youth themselves, it is likely to influence their sense of belonging to the local community context as well as the wider US mainstream. When these negative, and positive, interactions are discussed as a group, the immigrant youth might gain a better understanding of why it happens and how social structures influence their place in society, which will help them have a better understanding of themselves and their immigration experience leading to healthier social-emotional outcomes.

Chapter Five. Engaging the Societal – Bid for Belonging

In Chapter Five, I step back and consider how the macro-level discourses on immigration, belonging, and politics in the US taken up by the 1.25-, 1.5-, and second-generation immigrant youth impacted their development of a sense of belonging, identity, and citizenship. During my data collection time frame (Fall 2018-Spring 2019), the election of Trump and his encouragement of anti-immigrant and US-centric discourses tainted the backdrop of daily life for people of color. ICE raids, sanctuary cities, the #MeToo movement, and trade war with China were all featured prominently in mainstream and progressive media. For the immigrant students at ACE experiencing this specific moment in time, how did the immigrant students make sense of these social events and policies? More specifically, how might these discourses and their day to day social interactions mutually influenced each other to shape their perspectives on where they belonged and how they identified?

ACE provided opportunities for students to think and grapple with these larger social issues through "open mic" discussions and guest lectures on social issues. Mr. Luke facilitated open mic sessions where students could sit together and discuss any topic that was important to them. Mr. Luke also invited Ms. Sam, community organizing expert at HES, to guest lecture on social or public policy issues. Scholars have argued that legal citizenship status or age should not prevent people of different backgrounds from participating in the democratic processes (Rosaldo,1994; Baubock, 1994). The open mic sessions along with the social issues and public policy workshops encouraged a foundation for political and social participation in the democratic processes as the 1.25-generation immigrant youth became more aware of real world issues in real time. At the same time, they were renegotiating their civic practices from their heritage countries with the practices promoted in the US.

Open Mic Discussion – Uyghur Detainment

The open mic sessions took place once every couple of months and Mr. Luke wanted it to be a place where students could talk about anything. He prefaced the activity by telling students:

> We can talk about anything you guys want to talk about. You guys can suggest questions to the group um these are questions that um Erica and I don't necessarily have to have the answers to um or anybody in this room for that matter. I want us to talk about things that are difficult and interesting and may not have definite answers.

To generate discussion, he had a list of prompts in case no one had anything to say. Examples of the prompts from the open mic session on 4/9/19 are as follows:

1. What was your wildest dream as a kid?
2. What is the saddest thing about growing up?
3. Why are some people popular and some people aren't?
4. What is the weirdest thing(s) you've seen in high school?
5. What will happen in Avengers Endgame?
6. What book, TV series, or movie series have you just become consumed with and why?
7. What is one thing that you want 30 year old you to still be doing or be interested in?
8. Who's the coolest person you can think of and why are they cool?

These prompts did not touch upon social or political issues, but sometimes students would voluntarily raise such a topic. On 4/9/19, Saba, a 1.25-generation Pakistani immigrant student, brought up the persecution of Uyghurs in China during the open mic session. This moment provided an insightful opportunity to analyze group belonging, personal identity, and citizenship as the students revealed some aspects of their worldview, civic orientation, and place in the world. During this particular Tuesday section session, there were only five students (Saba, Jiali, Meiyang, Tian, and Isabel) out of eight present and some of the more talkative students like Binsa and Chibi were absent. Before Saba brought up the Uyghur detainment topic, the students were discussing the pre-generated prompts from Mr. Luke. They shared thoughts and stories about what they wanted to do when they turn 30 years old, their childhood dreams, and getting locked out of their houses. Many students shared stories from their personal lives voluntarily;

however, some students were silent such as Meiyang and Jiali. Mr. Luke asked if they had any

questions for the ACE group, but they said they did not have one. After a lull in the search for

the next discussion topic, Saba said she had a question and brought up her reaction to the

detention of Muslim Uyghurs in China. In the following section, I will analyze this discussion in

detail (see Appendix B for full transcript).

The Story – "I feel like betrayed"

During the conversation, one could feel that it was a very tense and emotional topic that

affected Saba deeply as she recounted her inner turmoil in processing the event:

Excerpt 4

```
01 Saba:   Wait, I have a question. ((points at Mr. L))
02         Wait, are you Chinese?
03 Mr. L:  I am Filipino.
04 Saba:   ((Points at Jiali)) Are you Chinese?
05 Jiali:                     [((Raises her hand to say yes))]
06 Saba:   ((Points at Tian)) [You're Chinese right?        ]
07 Tian:   ((Nods head in agreement))
08 Mei:    ∘Yea∘
09 Saba:   Well, you know, I had this- I felt really guilty about
10         this (.) but you know there was this- I heard like it
11         was on the news (.) how people in China they were like
12         doing (.) there was this umm- they were like putting
13         like Muslims in like camps and stuff. It was like
14         [(unclear)                      ]
15 Mr. L:  [O:h yeah, I heard about that]
16 Saba:   And I felt- I don't know, it was just like- I hate
17         myself for doing this like-↑I told my mom about it.
18         ↓I learned they like- I saw a post on like Instagram
19         (.) that was like- that's messed up. That was like-
20         you know, it felt like you know what happened in the
21         Holocaust like they were putting people in like-
22         ∘And I was like-∘ And what really bothered me was like
23         because of my country ((places left hand on chest
24         area)) like, Pakistan and China ((points right finger
25         away from body)) they were like in really good terms
26         ((moves both hands close together)) and I was like (.)
27         my country is like an Islamic state, so the
28         governments can get along that way but the- that's
29         what you're doing (.) >I was just really confused< so
30         I was like- I told my mom, I just hated it. Like you
31         know, I have Chinese friends and I look at them and I
32         can't see them in the same like you know- I feel- like
```

```
33        you know I feel like betrayed in a way. I don't know
34        it felt weird like I couldn't like tell like (.) how I
35        felt, but it was just like I- I like can't talk to
36        them in the same way like I'm just- they're my
37        ↑friends, they're nice to me so like- when I look at
38        them I'm like (.) I don't know like how to respond.
39        And it was like, crazy how like- (.) I would see them
40        and you know and it was wrong because I was being (.)
41        ra:cist in a way like <I was letting that affect my
42        relationship with people> that are really nice to me
43        and I was just like, <how do I like no:t be: this
44        person, right?> And then I just talked to them about
45        it and they were like, ↑oh we know that too, like they
46        also knew but we just didn't want to like (.) talk
47        about it because it was like <uncomfortable> because
48        you're- (.)°and I was like° yeah it was messed up and
49        it was crazy because no one was talking about it.
50        There was just a few posts on Instagram and I was like
51        ↑where's the United Nations now? Like why is it that
52        they choo:se (.) like pick and choose what they wanted
53        to talk about. It was crazy.
54        (1.1)
55        Yeah and that's why like I had for- and that was right
56        after the umm the <lunar new year par- wwa the lunar
57        parade> that we went to and I was like I shouldn't- I
58        shouldn't have gone. But it was wro:ng because like
59        you know, that's the whole thing about unity and like
60        that's how you (.) kind of (.) ((Makes dome shaped
61        hand on table)) buu=
```

When Saba started sharing her story, she used lots of cutoffs, restarts, micropauses, and hedging indicating that she was slightly uncomfortable with her utterances (Excerpt 4, line 9-12, 16-17). Her use of hedging phrases such as "I feel guilty about this" and "I don't know" to soften what she was about to say indicated that her story could be perceived negatively by others in the group, since she intentionally asked if the others were Chinese before recounting her story (Excerpt 4, line 9, 16). She also kept her gaze on Mr. Luke the whole time and not the other students except when she had asked if they were Chinese at the beginning of her turn (Figure 15).

Figure 15. Spatial orientation during open mic session. Saba recounting her story. Gaze directed at Mr. Luke (arrow) and not at any of the other students. Counterclockwise from Saba: Jiali, Tian, Meiyang, Isabel, Mr. Luke, Erica.

Saba

Even though others might perceive this social issue and her negative reaction towards Chinese people unfavorably, it seemed to be something that really impacted her. In particular, she wanted to discuss it at ACE even though she already processed it with her Chinese friends and her mother. As her story continued, she revealed that, after hearing about the Uyghur detentions, she felt hatred towards her Chinese friends from school and even ACE, because she had attended the Lunar New Year's parade event with the ACE group (Excerpt 4, line 30-58). Saba's reaction to the Uyghur detainment issue was interesting in that she took a phenomenon happening in another country, macro-level, and applied it to her face-to-face interactions, micro-level. She said she personally felt "betrayed in a way" by what happened (Excerpt 4, line 33). It shaped how she viewed and related to her Chinese friends as she "couldn't talk to them in the same way" and she "was being racist in a way" (Excerpt 4, line 35-36, 41). Her reaction to this event foregrounded her Muslim identity and strengthened her connection and sense of community to other Muslims of different ethnicities as she identified and sympathized with the Uyghurs. At the same time, her social identity with her Chinese peers at school was weakened as she started to associate them

with an anti-Muslim Chinese identity even though her friends never expressed such beliefs and were living in the US. Similar to Yuval-Davis's (2018) article on how immigration policies created everyday borders between employers and employees of the same ethnicity, Saba's reaction depicted how macro-level events influenced the micro-level in real-time to create everyday borders between her and her Chinese friends. Simultaneously, this event also dissolved borders and forged bonds between her and other non-Pakistani Muslims.

Moreover, she compared the Uyghurs and Han Chinese people to the Pakistani government and Chinese government in a way that downplayed the power dynamics between the people and the government. She was surprised about how the Pakistani government (an Islamic state) and Chinese government were on good terms, so "the **governments** can get along that way but the- that's what **you're** doing" (Excerpt 4, line 27-29, emphasis added). With the separation of the words "governments" and "you," she seemed to index the cause of the detainment as something the Chinese people were doing rather than a policy instituted by the Chinese government. She gave the Chinese people more power than they actually had in creating and rectifying this issue. Moreover, she named the United Nations as a global institution that should be addressing the issue, but was not (Excerpt 4, line 51). Her sense-making of the event misconstrued the amount of power held by the people and national institutions as equal, but in reality, the Chinese people did not have the power to challenge the detentions unlike US citizens who have the right to protest against governmental policies. Most K-12 US social studies curriculum take an US and European centric perspective, but this event forced her to question and grapple with the geopolitical relationships among non-European nations and the influence of international organizations such as the United Nations. In many ways, how she mapped the global level event onto her everyday life was based on a misunderstanding of power, government

organizational structures, and civics. Therefore, by raising the topic in an informal learning

environment, she was able to learn more about it and have some of her questions and

misconceptions addressed.

Furthermore, I argue that by broaching the Uyghur detainment topic, Saba was also

making a bid for belonging as she revealed her inner thoughts and emotions in a public setting to

members of the ethnic group she was criticizing. Meta-communicatively, her speech had

multiple layers of meaning and purpose. On one level, she was talking about the Uyghur

detainment and the lack of political action by Muslim countries, the UN, and the Chinese people,

but at the same time, she was also communicating verbally and non-verbally her feelings of

otherness as she felt betrayed by what happened. In order to feel betrayal, it alludes to a time

point where a sense of trust and connectedness were felt, but due to some event, this trust was

broken. For Saba, her trust with her Chinese friends, and Chinese people in general, was broken

when she read about the Uyghur detentions on Instagram. She went on to explain that her

reactive feelings were not isolated, but a culmination of world events depicted in the media:

Excerpt 5

```
<I think more that it wasn't just like China and then that.> It
was just like- in general everyday there was something like (.)
it either was like the- the mosque shootings ((in New Zealand))
or it was like (.) the whole thing in Syria how in like-
Palestine and everything. It was just like everywhere, like you
see like there's- [. . .]. Every day was like Muslims dying,
dying, dying. I was just like, what the hell you know. (Appendix
B, line 159-68)
```

While she did not say it explicitly, the Islamophobia and anti-Muslim violence around the world

probably made her feel marginalized and threatened. In particular, the Uyghur detentions might

have made a greater impression on Saba, because she was living in Bay Point, which is

considered a predominately East Asian (Chinese) neighborhood, and anti-Muslim violence was

usually not reported to be perpetrated by people of Chinese descent in US mainstream news and social media. The Uyghur detainment news probably shocked her and, along with the other world events, made her feel her membership and sense of belonging to the world was severed. She was being told implicitly that she was different and people like her needed to be excluded from normal society.

With the political and emotional layers of her speech, I argue that she was more focused on the emotional layer as a bid for belonging rather than a conversation about politics and national belonging. Although she initiated her turn at speaking by saying "I have a question," she never actually asked a question throughout her recounting (Excerpt 4, line 1). Her aim was not to learn more about the politics or social dynamics in China, but it was a way for her to process the feelings of isolation and severed bonds she felt. If this was solely a conversation about politics and national policies, she would probably have had a question at the end of her story, but she did not. She concluded her turn by saying "it was crazy, ∘that week was very hard.∘ Like I was so confused I didn't know what to do" even though she initiated the discussion topic by saying she had a question (Appendix B, line 74-75). By raising this potentially divisive topic, she was expressing how she personally felt marginalized by what was happening without explicitly saying "I feel like an outsider" or "I feel discriminated against." With this bid for belonging frame to the social interaction in mind, she hoped the responses of the other interlocutors would mend her feelings of betrayal and ratify her sense of belonging as a human being and cultural citizen.

The Responses of Others

After Saba was done recounting her story, Mr. Luke, who was caught off guard by the heaviness of the topic, was the first person to speak. At first, he gave the students more

information about the topic by finding a *New York Times* article about the Uyghur detentions on

his laptop and projecting it onto the smartboard[5]. All of the students indicated they had not heard

about this issue, so he read a few sentences from the news article and acknowledged that he did

not know much about it either but had heard about it in passing. However, even though all of the

students at the table had never heard about the issue, Mr. Luke made it a priority to discuss it. In

my final interview with him, I asked him why he wanted the students to discuss it even though

the other students did not know about the issue and were silent when he asked questions, he

responded:

> I think just having them ((the students)) explain themselves and their ideas would've
> helped to show Saba like "okay, yes, you are not East Asian, but we still care about
> what's happening." [. . . .] I think the biggest factor was that it was Saba saying
> something, in our group, and I didn't want her to- I didn't want her to think we didn't care.
> It's also like this is definitely something that needs to be addressed and it also needs to be
> addressed because someone brought it up, right? And I think ignoring it, would just do
> umm more damage than like saying it and then ignoring it. [. . .]And this idea that (.)
> these people are in the room, or like representatives of these people are in the room. I was
> like it would be a good teaching moment to say, "Hey listen, this is not okay, this is not
> right this is offensive etcetera."

Mr. Luke did not want Saba to feel like an outsider, since she was the only Muslim and South

Asian student in the Tuesday ACE section present that day and what mattered to her also

mattered to the rest of the group. He responded sympathetically and ratified Saba's feelings of

confusion and hurt by saying:

> **Excerpt 6**
>
> ```
> So what I'm hearing from you is (.) I have this sense of (.)
> community that's been broken, right? And maybe you recognize that
> it's (.) unfair to maybe the immediate surroundings but there's
> still this sense of broken community right? So maybe you can't
> hold your Chinese friends responsible though. That would
> completely be unreasonable. But it's still this feeling right?
> ```

---

[5] Buckley, C. & Qin, A. (2019, March 12). Muslim detention camps are like 'boarding schools,' Chinese officials
say. *New York Times.*

```
That like you know um (0.5) you know people ↑who are like me, are
being discriminated against because (.) of their faith, right?
```

He did not blame her for feeling negative towards her Chinese friends but acknowledged that it was something she felt and had to work through. Moreover, he unmasked and made explicit the discrimination against Muslims and the otherness she was feeling. By sympathizing with her, finding the news article, extending the conversation about this topic, and not ignoring it, Mr. Luke showed that he aligned with Saba's perspectives and that he cared. As the adult facilitator with power, he was granting her belonging in the ACE space, which was composed of mainly East Asians and non-Muslims, and saying her identities were welcomed. For the rest of the discussion, Mr. Luke became Saba's advocate and was doing the interactional work of persuading the other students to also ratify her bid for belonging and show they cared.

However, the other students did not respond the way Mr. Luke had hoped and their terse answers, silences, and non-verbal behavior left a general feeling of awkwardness and disinterest. Since most of the students did not know about the Uyghur detainment issue and he wanted to show the students that they cared about Saba and what she had to say, he framed and directed the discussion towards the personal, local level by asking:

Excerpt 7

```
The first thing I want to talk about is how can we: um (2.2)
address something we don't necessarily have any influence or any
power over, right? Like, us seven in this room, there is very
little that we can do to help change the Chinese government um
(.) or you know free these people who are oppressed. But ↑what
can we do in our space? (2.9) Any thoughts about what we can do?
```

With this question, he encouraged the students to think about their daily lives and how they could acknowledge and process these global events in their local classrooms, community, or homes. After he asked this question, there was 7.5 seconds of silence before Saba answered by saying they should have honest conversation about the topic even if it was uncomfortable

(Appendix B, lines 183-206). After she spoke, Mr. Luke asked again if anyone else had anything

to share. Again, he was met with the dispreferred responses of silence for 5.5 seconds and Tian

shaking his head to say, non-verbally, he did not have anything to share (Appendix B, line 209).

As social interactions are an accomplishment, two of the tenets of the social interactional system

are the propensity of interlocutors to maintain social cohesion, do face-work, and avoid

embarrassment, save face, by progressing conversations in an orderly way where one person

speaks at a time without long pauses or silences (Goffman, 1967). A silence of 5-7 seconds

between interlocutors is considered unusual as the rules of the turn-taking system works to

minimize gaps by marking the next speaker through the previous speaker's speech or by self-

selection from the interlocutors (Sacks et al, 1974). Accordingly, the silences after Mr. Luke

asked a question, which marked the students as the next speaker, left a general lingering feeling

of awkwardness, disinterest, and the possibility of disconfirming responses especially as Saba

and Mr. Luke had so much to say and took long turns (Appendix B, lines 8-207) prior to the

group discussion question in Excerpt 7. In my field notes from the 4/9/19 discussion, I wrestled

with the silences as well:

> When the other students did not respond to Mr. Luke's question and sat there silently, I
> was torn between saying something or staying silent as a researcher. Some of the
> thoughts going through my head in those moments were "as a researcher, I did not want
> to impose my views and opinions on the space. As an adult, I did not want to dominate
> the conversation before the youth had a turn at giving their perspectives, but as someone
> of Chinese heritage, I felt like I should say something to condemn what was happening to
> the Uyghur people." The silence made me feel anxious, because it seemed to imply to me
> that the other students were okay or at least did not strongly disapprove of the violence
> against the Uyghur people. In the end, I decided to stay silent or more like Mr. Luke
> started speaking again, thus the opportunity to speak went away.

As an interlocutor and researcher of Chinese heritage in the conversational space, I felt the

awkwardness and tensions of the silence. I felt the implications of those silences and how it

might be interpreted by Saba; hence, I wanted to step in and say something to condemn the

violence. While my field notes reflected what the silences meant to the listeners, my analysis of the interactional event parsed out why the other students might have been silent.

Although long silences generate feelings of awkwardness and people frequently do face-work to prevent embarrassment, there could be many reasons behind the use of silence by immigrant students such as discomfort with talking about controversial topics, not being able to articulate complex feelings in English, lack of confidence in speaking, no experience in the subject matter, not following the discussion due to English proficiency, or not wanting to verbally share disconfirming answers (Mack, 2012; Zhou, Knoke, & Sakamoto, 2005). Sometimes, silence can even be a tool for students to assert their agency to purposefully resist a topic they find uncomfortable or too revealing as the information related to the topic could hurt them and their families (Ha & Li, 2014; Mangual Figueroa, 2017). Unfortunately, Tian, Isabel, Jiali, and Meiyang declined to be interviewed after this incident; consequently, I will never know their exact reasons for their silence or their perspectives on the conversation. Nonetheless, I argue how Saba and Mr. Luke received the verbal and non-verbal responses of the other interlocutors were more important to their mean-making on her bid for belonging and the progress of the social interaction than the exact reasons for the other interlocutor's responses.

Terse Answers, Confusion, and Not Participating

Looking at each student's response more specifically, they were all dispreferred by Mr. Luke, and even Saba, as they did not ratify Saba's bid for belonging and grant her access to be part of thir worlds. However, this might be due to an interactional miscommunication rather than an actual disagreement against Mr. Luke's question and his framing of Saba's feelings of otherness. After the second gap of silence (Appendix B, line 209) in response to Mr. Luke's

question in excerpt seven, he tried to repair and restart the discussion by asking if everyone

understood the question:

Excerpt 8

```
01 Mr. L:   Do you guys understand the question?
02 Mei:     [((Shakes head))  ]
03 Jia:     [((Nods slightly))]
04 Tian:    [(unclear)        ]=
05 Mr. L:   =Huh?=
06 Tian:    =°make me feel (unclear)°.
07 Mr. L:   ↑Well, (1.0) I understand that. And to some degree I
08          am with you on that. °Sometimes some things are too
09          big to be like (.)↓I have an AP test tomorrow, I can't
10          worry about that right now.° But, what Saba is saying
11          that she felt this way (.) about this you know larger
12          political issue umm (2.7) what I am asking is like you
13          know if one of our friends is feeling this way um how
14          can we:- (.) what can we do about this situation?
15          (7.1) ((Tian raises eyebrows. Others stare blankly))
16 Mr. L:   Jiali, you said you understood the question, right?
18 Jia:     ((nods head))
19 Mr. L:   Do you have any ideas, any thoughts on ↑what we could
20          do? You know even in a small- like our classroom
21          setting?
22 Jia:     <°I think um if this kind of thing happens to me, I
23          would just choose to ignore it. I think the things
24          between two countries is not actually related to us°>
25 Mr. L:   °Okay° (0.5) Okay, ↑what if you can't ignore it right?
26          Wr- what if somebody else can't ignore it?
27 Jia:     [umm]
28 Mr. L:   [And]- and I'm not saying that that's- (.) like
29          ignorance is bad like I think- and and (.) I think we
30          can compartmentalize (.) like what's happening over
31          there, is happening over there. Yes it's important,
32          yes, it's you know (.) important to the people over
33          there, but (.) you can also say like right now I have
34          my own (.) concerns I have to con- you know I have to
35          deal with right. And that's sometimes, you have to do
36          that, right? I have an AP test or like I have a
37          presentation due, I have you know, you know teen stuff
38          to worry about um (.) right now is not the time to
39          worry about, you know (.) international relations
40          between these two countries, right? That's okay. Now,
41          (1.0) ↑tackling it at an appropriate time? Yes, you
42          know your- you write an essay on it, you write your
43          Congressmen Congresswomen on it, that's what I'm gonna
44          do, okay. ↑But what about in a- in a time when you
45          can't ignore it? What would you- what would you do?
46 Jia:     °Mmm°
```

```
47              (8.5)
48 Mr. L:  Tian, Meiyang (.) Any thoughts?
49 Tian:   [((Shakes head))                ]
50 Mei:    [((shakes head and looks down))]
51              (17.1)
```

This portion of the Uyghur detainment discussion was the only time that anyone besides Saba or Mr. Luke spoke. Tian voluntarily responded, Jiali was called on by Mr. Luke, Meiyang never spoke, and Isabel was physically absent for part of the interaction. Tian and Jiali both responded with soft spoken and terse answers. While Tian's verbatim answer was unclear on the video recording (Excerpt 8, line 4, 6), it seemed Tian's answer was that he felt he could not do anything given Mr. Luke's response to him (Excerpt 8, lines 7-14). Similarly, Jiali said that she would ignore the political issue all together, because the relationship between two countries did not have any influence on her life (Excerpt 8, lines 22-25). Both of their responses were the opposite of how Saba reacted to the Uyghur detainment news. Rather than mapping global issues onto the local level like Saba, Tian and Jiali were resisting that process even though Mr. Luke's question was about the local. In many ways, their answers were another way of expressing silence to say they did not want to talk about the issue or let it affect their personal, local lives. While this might be a personal choice, it might also be a reflection of the differences in conceptualization of citizenship and civic practices.

Having worked with many recent Chinese immigrant students, I witnessed similar responses when it came to discussing political issues. Having spent most of their lives in China (Jiali immigrated at 15 years old and Tian at 11 years old), they were not socialized to participate civically by debating controversial issues or to care about politics on the everyday level, because Chinese citizens do not have the same type of political power as US citizens. In addition, debating or speaking about politics can be dangerous especially if the opinion is not aligned with the Chinese government thus Tian and Jiali were probably socialized from a young age to

disengage from political discourse. Therefore, Tian and Jiali's responses about not doing anything or ignoring the topic might have been a reflection of their socialization and conceptualizations of the ideal citizen in the Chinese context.

Compared to Jiali and Tian, Meiyang never spoke and she was not called upon by Mr. Luke to speak. When Mr. Luke asked everyone if they understood the question, Meiyang non-verbally responded by shaking her head to indicate that she did not understand the question (Excerpt 8, line 2). However, no one ever addressed her confusion by explaining to her in simpler terms or in Mandarin what was going on in the conversation. Mr. Luke might not have seen Meiyang shake her head and since he did not know any Mandarin, he might have felt a lack of ability in addressing Meiyang's confusion as well. Even when Mr. Luke called on Meiyang in excerpt 8 line 48, she did not try to tell him that she did not comprehend the discussion and questions; instead, she responded as if she had nothing to say by shaking her head and looking down at her desk when he asked her if she had any thoughts (Excerpt 8, line 50). Clearly, she was uncomfortable or shy about telling Mr. Luke verbally that she did not understand unless she was asked the question directly.

Lastly, Isabel also did not speak, because she left the conversation after Mr. Luke asked the group discussion question for the first time in excerpt seven. As Saba was speaking, Isabel got up to throw away her trash (Appendix B, line 195) and then came back to the periphery of the F-formation without sitting down, whispering to me that she was going to the bathroom (Appendix B, line 198-199). She missed the segment of the conversation when Tian and Jiali spoke and she did not come back to the room until Mr. Luke was closing the conversation by giving his perspective on the importance of having difficult conversations (Appendix B, line 272). As the only student whose ethnic identity was not named in Saba's story, she might have

felt the discussion was not related to her, so she stepped out. Isabel was not the most talkative student, but she usually contributed to the open mic conversations. Prior to the Uyghur discussion, she voluntarily shared a story about being locked out of her house and after the Uyghur discussion ended, she was the first student to speak and choose the new prompt after Mr. Luke asked students to talk about something fun to end the session on a lighter note (Appendix B, line 368). This indicated she was not afraid to speak. Her silence was more an indication that she might have felt unknowledgeable as she was not a member of the ethnic or religious groups that were named. However, it would have been interesting to hear her perspective and see how her comments might have influenced the social interaction as she did not identify with the social groups named in the conversation. Even when she came back, Mr. Luke did not try to have Isabel share her opinion. For both Meiyang and Isabel, they became invisible in the social interaction as their confusion or physical absence were unacknowledged throughout the rest of the discussion.

Breakdown in Communication

Given the different conceptualization of civic practices, various English proficiency levels, and the multiple communicative frames in the conversation between Mr. Luke, Tian, Jiali, Meiyang, and Isabel, it most likely led to a breakdown in communication as both sides misunderstood the other. Mr. Luke, who was second-generation Filipino-American, did not seem to have deep knowledge about the political system in China, so he interpreted Tian and Jiali's terse responses about politics not mattering as not caring about Saba and what she had to say. Since Mr. Luke wanted to show Saba that they cared as a group, the silences and disconfirming answers probably made him feel anxious about how Saba might be interpreting the progression of the discussion. He tried to do face-work and decrease embarrassment by elongating his turn at

talk to minimize the length of the silences and repaired his main question as an attempt to elicit preferred answers. He repaired the question from excerpt seven by making it less abstract as follows (emphasis added):

```
1) Initial Question:
   But ↑what can we do in our space? (2.9) Any thoughts about
   what we can do?
2) After Tian's Response:
   What Saba is saying that she felt this way [. . .]What I am
   asking is like you know if one of our friends is feeling this
   way um how can we:- (.) what can we do about this situation?
3) After Jiali's Response:
   ↑But what about in a- in a time when you can't ignore it? What
   would you- what would you do?
```

Mr. Luke repaired his question to make it less abstract and more specific after Tian and Jiali's responses by adding "our friend" and eventually "you," respectively, in the hope that the students would have a better understanding of his concrete questions that made Saba's bid for belonging more explicit. However, there were even longer silent gaps, 7.1, 8.5, and 17.1 seconds, after his attempts to repair his main question (Excerpt 8, lines 15, 47, 51).

Applying the concept of complementary schismogenesis, neither side was intentionally trying to create a disagreeable social interaction, but the misinterpretation of each interlocutor's responses led to a breakdown in communication as Tian and Jiali stopped talking and Mr. Luke decided to lecture for seven minutes about the need to talk openly about difficult social and political issues (Appendix B, line 262-364). In sociolinguistics and communication studies, complementary schismogenesis is the "interaction of two systems across time that produces progressively greater difference and distance between them" (Bateson, 1972, as cited in Erickson, 1986, p. 306). During the complementary schismogenesis, both sides try to repair the interaction to accomplish a mutually desirable interaction, but the repairs might be interpreted in a way that only leads to more miscommunication and breakdown in interaction. From Jiali and Tian's perspective as ELLs and Chinese immigrants, they might have felt overwhelmed by Mr.

Luke's long response to their terse answers and his continued pursuit of the same question despite the fact they already answered him. His challenges might have been confusing to them as they did not know what the "correct" answer, the one he wanted, was; hence, they stayed silent. Jiali might have had more to say as she started to respond with some turn establishing "umm" and "mmm" on line 27 and 46, respectively, but she was cutoff in line 28 by Mr. Luke extending his turn after he asked a question (Excerpt 7). Tian and Jiali also might not have understood the implicit meta-communicative frame that this conversation was also about Saba's bid for belonging due to her feelings of otherness even though Mr. Luke tried to make it more explicit when he repaired his question. Jiali's answer talked about two countries thus it seemed she did not fully understand that meta-communicative frame that this conversation was about Saba's feelings of exclusion and discrimination. Even though Mr. Luke did explicitly acknowledge that Saba probably felt discriminated against, she never said those words and her story started with the Uyghur detainment political issue. Furthermore, Mr. Luke's preoccupation with showing care and obtaining a confirming response prevented him from potentially going deeper in the discussion by asking Jiali and Tian why they felt the way they did, which could have led to an insightful conversation and better understanding of civic practices across various national contexts and potentially, revealing that their reactions were not a result of not caring, but a difference in behavior towards political issues.

Unnamed Identity

After this breakdown in communication, Mr. Luke closed the Uyghur detainment discussion by giving them his viewpoint about how people need to talk openly about difficult topics. During his speech, he implicitly posited an American identity that the young people should all adopt. He said:

So I'm big on talking things out. I think (.) expressing yourself is something that everyone should be able to do and (.) I think people don't do it enough, right? [. . .]Sometimes your parents are like super old school, and you're just like, ↓oh my god mom, don't say stuff like that. Right? You need be like- have those difficult conversations with your parents and say that's like- you're judging somebody based on their ethnicity, country, um sexual orientation, right? You don't know them, you're just judging them based on one thing about them, right? And that's a very difficult conversation to have because they're your parents, right? [. . .] The number one thing about sexism and specifically um (1.5) um like assault or attacks on women is that women don't feel like they have the voice to explain themselves or to call somebody out. ↑Until, that one person does that. And as soon as that one person does it then everybody feels they have the power to do it, right? Imagine if we lived in a world where people get called out as soon as it happens, we take it seriously, and then everybody knows this is not okay. Right? And that is the world we want to be in right? (Appendix B, line 262-265, 315-323, 335-344)

As a second-generation Filipino American, he was much more aware of American news and had a stronger American identity than any of the 1.25-generation immigrant youth at the session that day. His lecture about expressing yourself and talking things out was an assimilationist discourse towards the local liberal political landscape of New York City. It was also a second-generation perspective on how American social and citizenship practices are better and more desirable. There were assumptions in his speech: what students should care about, what they should prioritize in their daily lives. Mr. Luke referenced the concept that their parents were "old school" and the students should disagree with their discriminatory views about ethnicity, sexual orientation, or sexism. His statement indexed immigrant parents and their beliefs as the "other" and in order to be part of the American identity, or at least the one in NYC, then the students needed to distance themselves from those "old school" beliefs. Furthermore, he was assuming that talking about it openly and "calling somebody out" was the most desirable behavior in these circumstances. In particular, he most likely emphasized this perspective, because he wanted to show Saba that they cared about her as a group and none of the other students voiced the belief that discrimination based on religion was wrong. Thus, he interpellated the students with the idea

that they need to have difficult conversations and "call somebody out" when others displayed beliefs or behaviors that were discriminatory.

Saba's Final Thoughts

In terms of Saba's bid at belonging, she probably felt a sense of belonging and comfort with Mr. Luke but depending on how she interpreted the other students' responses, whether they were neutral or uncaring, it could have negatively impacted her feelings of otherness. In my final interview with Saba after this open mic discussion, she felt the students did not respond in the way she had hoped, but she did not feel animosity about what happened. Drawing on co-membership categories, as an immigrant and former-ELL labelled student herself, she knew how difficult it was to speak up when you are self-conscious about your oral English:

> I think it's also because the language, so English. I don't think- I think they're new to the country, so I can see that. Because I was in that position once when I came here, so I can understand them not maybe understanding the language. [. . .]And even when you guys tried to break it down, it was hard for her. Like, you know I could see- because I felt this way, when I didn't know exactly how to like speak English, I felt uncomfortable talking and it was like- I felt like maybe I have an accent. I used to be very quiet. [. . .]For them, I felt it was the not understanding probably and you have to be considerate too, you can't always be like just because they're not agreeing with what you're saying or because they are not answering, responding, or reacting the way you want them to (.) because that was something very personal to me and just because they didn't react to it, doesn't mean I don't like them or I'm against them. I have to understand that might not be something they want to be involved in in a way.

Saba empathized with how the other 1.25-generation immigrant students felt about English and speaking up as someone who went through a similar struggle. However, if Saba had not also been an former ELL or the other students were native English speakers, I wonder if she would have been as empathetic as "co-membership establishes a frame of generous interpretation of others' communicative behavior" (Erickson, personal communication as cited in Waring, 2018, p. 141). Furthermore, Saba went on to say that she did appreciate the quieter students being physically present each week and allowed her to share without disrupting even if they did not

feel as comfortable participating verbally. This statement was very profound because not everyone may be able to participate verbally in the same way. A sense of community is often attributed to verbal aspects of interaction, but Saba's perspective highlights how physical presence can also show care and have a powerful effect that is often forgotten or overlooked. Being physically present shows how an individual is committed to the community and wants to be there even if they are not as verbally expressive.

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Engaging in US Social Issues

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The previous section dealt with a social issue outside of the US but close to the lives of the immigrant youth with transnational attachments. In addition to the open mic sessions, ACE exposed students to civic issues and policies through workshops led by Ms. Sam, the community organizing expert at HES. In the 1.5 years she had been at HES, Ms. Sam often led workshops for both adults and youth around topics such as gentrification, public benefits, and housing rights. She would also frequently chaperone ACE and SACE field trips or social events; therefore, students were very familiar with her and saw her as another facilitator like Mr. Luke. During the data collection year, Ms. Sam guest lectured three times; the workshop topics were proposed public charge changes, bystander training, and the 2020 census. The following section analyzes Ms. Sam's public charge related workshop and how the immigrant students from different ethnic, generational status, and citizenship statuses backgrounds were participating in the democratic process in varied ways.

Public Charge Workshop

On 11/27/18 and 11/28/18, Ms. Sam led workshops about the Trump administration's proposed changes to the public charge rule for the Tuesday and Wednesday sections, respectively. The public charge rule requires immigrants applying for US permanent residency to

undergo an assessment to see whether they would likely become a public charge, someone who requires public assistance, in the future. The new proposed rules would widen the assessment criteria to include immigrants who have used public benefits such as SNAP, Medicaid, Medicare, and housing assistance as those likely to become public charges in the future.[6] Since the data collection period, the public charge rule changes have been passed and went into effect on 2/24/20.

Implementing the same public charge workshop with both sections, I was able to see differences in the way the students in each section and the adults reacted to a social policy issue within the US and the workshop itself. Some of the differences might be attributed to the generational backgrounds of the youth as the Tuesday section was majority 1.25-generation immigrant youth while the Wednesday section was majority second-generation immigrant youth. Ms. Sam structured both workshops the same way. She started with an ice breaker followed by a PowerPoint presentation about the proposed public charge changes, and lastly, she passed out a handout with a template for students to write their own thoughts or comments about why the government should not pass the proposed public charge rule changes. Her main goal for the workshop was to empower youth voices. She wrapped up each presentation by emphasizing how the students should make their voices heard even though they are young. Ms. Sam said:

> "Today, we have brought actual like forms for folks. If you are- you can go online to do it yourself. Or you can- if you are too lazy or you'll forget it if you go home then you can fill this out and then we will manually submit it for you. Please like (.) your comments could affect the decision the government makes. It is important to have your voices heard. Like I think part of our programs, ACE and SACE, is to make sure youth remember that your voice is important. Like you might not be able to vote right now, but like you still have a voice, you still have the ability to affect change and we want you to exercise that right " (Video, 11/28/18).

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[6] Protecting Immigrant Families, Advancing Our Future. (2020, February). *Public charge: Does this apply to me?* https://protectingimmigrantfamilies.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/Public-Charge-Does-This-Apply-To-Me-February-2020-ENGLISH.pdf

Ms. Sam's speech socialized the students into the democratic ideals that everyone's opinion matters, they should participate even as young people who cannot vote, and they have the power to affect change in the government.

Reactions of Each Section

In terms of content knowledge, the workshops were very informative as none of the students had ever heard of public charge before. In both sections, students expressed, verbally or nonverbally, that they knew someone who had used public services or benefits; consequently, the repercussions or misinformation about the new rule could have an impact on those around them. They seemed to understand the idea that the public charge assessment was another gatekeeping method to prevent new immigrants from naturalizing in the US. However, the student reactions in terms of the amount of dialogue and inquiry was very different between the two sections. The Tuesday section students had a lot more questions during and after Ms. Sam's presentation in contrast to the Wednesday section students who had no questions during the whole workshop.

During the Tuesday section workshop, Ms. Sam's presentation seemed more like a dialogue as students asked questions within minutes of her starting the presentation. Seven out of eleven students were present that day and most of the questions were asked by Saba, Chibi, and Binsa. Some of the questions included:

1. Saba: Can they like take away your green card? Like in general, can they just take it away just because, not because you did something wrong? I've heard stories that they took away citizenship and that's how they sent them back like at the beginning of when Trump was elected, like the first few months. And there were buses in Bay Point like at the train station, they were taking people and checking people.
2. Binsa: So does refugee visa count as permanent residency? So let's say those that have refugee visa and in the process of like green card and they use public assistance during (.) so would this apply?
3. Chibi: What would be considered a serious crime?
4. Saba: But for trafficking, how can they prove that this person was trafficked?
5. Binsa: So like is there rules about specific individuals or groups of people that can comment?

6. Binsa: How come people don't know about it? Because like other policies like you know, President Trump is trying to change, it's spread all over the news so most people know about it, but not this.
7. Binsa: But I mean when we actually came here, when we applied for it, they still asked if we used Medicaid, public assistance, everything
8. Binsa: Wait, can students use public benefits (.) like the ones that come here for school?
9. Binsa: Wait, for FAFSA, I'm not sure if it's true, but I heard like if you are an immigrant, you have to be in the country for specific years to be eligible for that.
10. Saba: Wait, how do you sponsor, like if you're not married, or you're like engaged to someone in another country?

The questions related to themselves and their situation specifically as all of the students said they were permanent residents except for Chibi. Binsa asked about how refugees might be affected by the change in rules as her family were refugees and Saba asked about people getting taken and their permanent residency or citizenship being revoked. Immigration and the policies related to it were more immediate concerns for the 1.25-generation immigrant youth. Furthermore, the questions in the Tuesday section progressed to general immigration questions that were not related to public charge such as federal financial aid for student visa holders and how to sponsor a fiancé to immigrate to the US. These topics and questions were generated from dialogue that the previous student questions sparked and were not always related to the public charge rule. Even for the students that did not ask questions, they were sitting up and seemed to be listening the whole time.

In comparison, the Wednesday section did not ask any questions. The "silence" of the Wednesday section students was surprising, because they were usually the most vocal and talkative of all the sections. Their silence during the presentation might have been a reflection of their generational status as 1.5- and second-generation immigrant youth. They were more removed from the immigration process as they were US born citizens or their parents took care of the bureaucratic aspects of the immigration such as visas, permanent resident cards, and the US citizenship application process. Because no one asked questions during the 15 minute

presentation, the non-verbal behaviors of the students showed waning interest as they were laying their heads down on their desks or looking at their phones on their desk (Figure 16). When I asked Mr. Luke how he felt about the Wednesday workshop afterwards, he seemed a little disappointed and said the students needed to be "spoon fed" the context and why it was important (Field notes, 11/28/18). They asked fewer questions than the Tuesday section, which he was surprised about -- indicating he felt the silence showed a lack of understanding about the gravity of this social policy.

Figure 16. Wednesday section public charge workshop. Interest in public charge workshops started to wane as students were laying their heads down away from the speaker (circle) or looking at their phones on their desks (arrow). Ms. Sam standing to present.

Even though their level of inquiry during the presentation was very low, the Wednesday section youth were more willing to publicly express their opinions on the template handouts about why the government should not pass the proposed public charge rule changes. They completed the handout without any questions and nine out of the fourteen students gave their comment sheets to Ms. Sam to be featured publicly on an online forum gathering stories and reactions to the proposed public charge rule. Some of the comments were:

> This is important to me because I am a Mexican-American. I am legal here but I have family who aren't. I would like them to be able to qualify one day because they aren't

criminals. They follow the law, they pay taxes. Just because they don't have citizenship, it doesn't mean they aren't ((sic)) any different from the rest of the people.

In my experience, I have family that uses food stamps for themselves and their children. Taking that away from them will cause a large conflict in their life because of their already large amount of problems. Take into account how and why people need these benefits and what will happen to them after you take it away. Stripping away the chance of having a better life and furthering our society, rather than causing more problems.

I strongly disagree with the changes to the "public charge" because I believe that all families deserve fair and equal rights. By changing the public charge many families will no longer look to America as the land of the free but as a land of many restrictions against immigration and diversity. Ruining America's reputation isn't going to do anybody any good in the long run, so reconsider these changes.

The students did not say they were immigrants themselves, but their relatives and other immigrant families would be affected by the proposed changes to the public charge rule.

Wenxin, the only 1.25-generation immigrant student in the Wednesday section, did not submit her comment to Ms. Sam to post publicly either even though a majority of students from the Wednesday section did. In the Tuesday section, none of the students except for Chibi, a second-generation Latinx student, gave his comment handout to Ms. Sam. More students from the Tuesday section might have turned in the comment handout, but Saba asserted that they could submit it online by themselves later, which Ms. Sam confirmed they could do. After Saba's comment, Mr. Luke and Ms. Sam asked the students to tell them if they submitted online, since they were trying to track how many youth were influenced by the workshops, but none of the students told them they had submitted online a week after (Field notes, 12/4/18). Saba was the only student to verbally say she would do it online, but a couple of weeks later, she mentioned casually during our individual interview that she still needed to submit the comment as she kept forgetting (Interview notes, 12/9/18).

Participation in Democratic Processes

The differing outcomes to the same workshop showed the influence of generational status on political participation and citizenship among the ACE youth of various backgrounds. Due to the differing US citizenship statuses, the 1.25-generation immigrant students seemed more apprehensive about publicly engaging in civic discourse as they did not turn in their public charge rule comment sheets to Ms. Sam. However, they were much more engaged in asking questions about the potential policy changes and other topics relevant to immigration and the US naturalization process as they were still in the process of becoming US citizens. The second-generation immigrant youth were more removed from the immigration process and had legal protection as US citizens. They felt comfortable expressing their opposing views to the government and inserting themselves in that form of public civic participation. Their comments also indicated they saw the public charge issue as an immigrant issue, which was an identity they did not identify with but they considered their parents or relatives to be part of that identity group. Moreover, Ms. Sam had said they did not have to use their real names on the comment template thus one of the Wednesday section students used a pseudonym, "Icarus Hilo," to submit his or her comment (Artifact, 11/28/18). Ms. Sam gave the same instructions in the Tuesday section, but none of the students submitted a comment with a pseudonym even though they were closer to the immigration process and seemed more interested in the topic. This indicated that there was an underlying sense of apprehension, because their status as permanent residents and potentially naturalized US citizens was precarious as the anti-immigrant rhetoric from the Trump administration and Far-right political organizations insinuated that no immigrant was safe. One of the first questions that Saba asked in the workshop was about ICE detaining people and revoking their permanent residency or US citizenship.

Similar to the Uyghur discussion, the differences in responses between the two sections might have been a reflection of their socialized citizenship practices. The 1.5- and second-generation immigrant students were raised in the US from a young age, thus they were socialized to express their opinions and voice disagreement in the face of injustice; whereas, the 1.25-generation immigrant youth grew up in another country for a majority of their lives at this point in time. While some of the countries they emigrated from were democracies such as Nepal, Pakistan, and Ecuador, the democratic political systems in those countries were established more recently compared to the US and the citizenship practices the students were socialized into might not be the same as in the US. Overall, the students expressed a need to voice their opinions after the workshops. In their ACE digital journals, both Tuesday and Wednesday section students expressed takeaways about paying attention to social issues and the need to be more vocal to build a better society for all people. Some of the entries were:

1. We can use letter to change the decision for us. Use my power to protect people's right.
2. I think that we can make our communities feel protected by standing up for each other.
3. My voice is sort of important in any way. It may affect the result. World should be a reflection of public. Every decision should acknowledged by us.
4. I will try and support by voicing my opinions.
5. I'll speak more openly about how I feel about these things.

At ACE, students were learning about US citizenship practices in real time related to current issues that they did not learn about in schools. Binsa, for example, was very appreciative that ACE talked about "those stuff like they don't tell you about in the classes so like I come to ACE and I learn about those changes and know what's happening. How it is affecting our community, how it's affecting us" (Interview, 11/28/18). The public charge workshop and public commenting opportunity introduced the 1.25-generation students to democratic citizenship practices and participation in a way that their schools did not do. Similar to Mr. Luke's speech

about the need to have difficult conversations, the students were interpellated to the idea that they have the right to and should voice their opinions as an American even if they were not US citizens and only permanent residents.

Conceptual Insights

In Chapter Five, the Uyghur detainment discussion and public charge workshop revealed how macro-level social issues and discourses on the politics of belonging affect youth on the micro everyday level. For Saba, it was apparent that the detainment of the Muslim Uyghurs impacted who she deemed the "other" in her daily life. As a Muslim herself, she identified with the Uyghur ethnic group and saw the Chinese government's detainment as hatred of Muslims by Chinese people. Even though she had friends at school who were Chinese, they became the "other" and she had trouble interacting with them after hearing about the detainments. Her feelings of confusion and betrayal showcased how macro-level discourses can easily generate everyday borders and move previously innocuous populations into the group of the "other." Moreover, the micro-level interactions of discussing the topic with members of the identity groups that the Uyghur detainment issue referenced influenced the movement of the borders. For Saba, after talking with her Chinese friends about the detainment, she felt a little better and not as distanced. During the discussion in ACE, her interactions with the facilitator and peers also influenced her sense of belonging to the ACE space and the world as her Muslim identity was either something that was accepted or ostracized. Mr. Luke accepted her identity and her concerns by making her story a topic of discussion. However, the terse or silent reactions of the other students created a breakdown in communication as Mr. Luke tried to elicit a preferred response of validating Saba's views and concerns, but the other students felt uncomfortable expressing such things and did not think that discussing political issues were important. While

Saba and Mr. Luke framed the conversation to be about personal feelings of place-belongingness, the other students viewed it as a discussion about political issues. There was a misalignment in frames that caused miscommunication and possible misinterpretation by Mr. Luke and Saba of the belief that those students did not care about Saba's Muslim identity. The miscommunication in the interaction worked to reinforce borders and Saba's feelings of marginalization based on her Muslim identity. However, she did not personally hold it against the ACE students for being silent, since she knew they were ELLs and probably felt afraid to speak in English.

Moreover, the results from this chapter revealed differences in the socialization of youth into American civic practices and the influence of heritage country as well as generational status. During the public charge workshop, the 1.25-generation immigrant students in the Tuesday section reacted differently from most of the 1.5- and second-generation immigrant students in the Wednesday section. The 1.25-generation students seemed more interested in the topic of public charge and immigration issues in general by asking a lot of questions about the naturalization process and potential repercussions for immigrants under the Trump administration; however, they were more apprehensive in expressing and writing down their opinion to be featured on a public website. For the 1.5- and second-generation students, they did not ask any questions and seemed less interested, but they were much more willing to write down their reactions to be featured on the public website. Through this workshop at ACE, the students of various generational statuses were being socialized into US civic practices that prioritize voicing one's opinion in a democracy. However, since some of the 1.25-generation students had been raised and socialized in countries that did not emphasize such civic practices, they seemed more apprehensive in discussing political issues in public. During the Uyghur detainment discussion,

the students of Chinese heritage were apprehensive about discussing political and controversial issues as Jiali said she would ignore discussions about the relationship between two countries as it did not impact her daily life. In the immigrant assimilation literature, scholars often focus on economic and academic outcomes of migrants, but the political and civic assimilation of migrants is an important and overlooked component of the immigration process in the US. For the immigrants who will become US citizens, their perspectives on civics and politics are important as they will become part of the voting citizenry and impact the outcome of societal debates. The Uyghur discussion showed that some immigrant youth were not only concerned about what happened in the US, their new home, but they were also concerned about political issues related to their heritage countries and the geopolitical relationships associated with that identity. On the other hand, some of the immigrant youth did not see the importance of discussing political issues, which might be due to the political socialization in their heritage countries that did not emphasize voice and opinion. Political socialization in informal learning spaces can be very different from the ones in academic classroom where activities usually revolve around graded projects that produce academically-oriented outcomes. In the informal learning space, facilitators and students have more freedom in participating and implementing civic activities that are outside of the classroom and in the local community. These activities may have more a different set of results on the political and civic assimilation of immigrant youth compared to academic lectures and textbooks.

Pedagogical Recommendations

The findings from Chapter Five highlight how educators or assimilationist theorists who primarily focus on academic outcomes as indicators of positive assimilation are ignoring factors

such as sense of belonging, identity, and citizenship in shaping the assimilation process and leading to positive SES outcomes.

By asking students about the political system or common civic engagement practices of their respective heritage countries, educators can help transnational youth feel more included. For example, questions might include: do citizens have a right to vote, are they usually asked to express their opinion on political issues, do they have the right to protest, will they be punished if they have an opinion that opposes a governmental policy? By having a better understanding of the various civic practices, students learn about other forms of government and why civic engagement in the US might be similar or different. This will also enrich heavy political discussions and the social issues workshops, such as the ones facilitated by Ms. Sam, as students explore why individual and collective voice is emphasized in the US context. The politics of belonging pit different groups against each other, but through an educational dialogue, it has the potential to make some of those everyday and more abstract group borders more porous.

Furthermore, immigrant youth who attend diverse schools might be experiencing geopolitical tensions on the everyday level and macro-levels. Having multiple transnational attachments and living in the US, immigrant youth might have to interact, attend school, or eventually work with people from heritage countries that were considered the "other" in their countries of origin. The informal afterschool context might be a safe space for students to explore some of these geopolitical tensions and question some of the narratives they have been taught in their heritage countries. Just as Saba took the macro-level event and applied it to the micro everyday level, immigrant youth can also apply the micro everyday level to the macro-level. Discussing controversial political issues in a structured manner among a group of diverse youth can potentially lead to a better understanding of the opposite perspective. This goes hand

in hand with cooperative learning as students from different backgrounds form a new group or classroom identity to collectively reach their learning goals. In this type of classroom, their social categories will become secondary as their new group identity within the classroom is prioritized. These micro-level interactions may influence their perspectives to critically analyze the macro-level discourses about the politics of belonging and who deserves to be included.

Chapter Six. Imagined Global Futures

Having analyzed the students' sense of belongings within the ACE program to their participation on the societal level, this chapter focuses on their perceptions of their futures in the global economy and how the curriculum at ACE may reinforce or alter these perceptions. With advancements in digital communicative technologies and ease of global transportations, the 1.25-generation immigrant youth saw their futures as unbound by national borders compared to previous migrants. In the following section, I will explore how this new generation of migrants view their future in the global economy. I will analyze the imagined futures among the 1.25-generation immigrant students and what differences or similarities appear between them and in comparison to 1.5- and second-generation immigrant students. Specifically, I will apply the concept of flexible citizenship to the analysis of their imagined futures and parse out how the ACE program, and its explicit and implicit teachings on workplace skill development, might be reinforcing or be in tension with their perspectives.

Future Locations

When I asked the students about where they saw themselves in ten years, they all imagined they would be working and their future lives would be full of adult responsibilities such as having a family and taking care of children. Although most of the students did not know exactly what profession they wanted to have in the future, they knew the importance of having a source of income. Applying Ong's concept of flexible citizenship, the students' sense of their future location and place of residence were mainly driven by economics. Ong (1999) defined flexible citizenship as the "cultural logics of capitalistic accumulation, travel, and displacements that induce subjects to respond fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions" (p. 6). Although not all of the students in ACE were as wealthy as the subjects that

Ong was referring to, they were also driven by similar desires for economic stability in a global world.

Since the ACE students were still young, they will most likely change their minds about their career paths; however, their adolescent perspectives still provided insights into how 1.25-generation immigrant students might view their future belonging differently than other immigrant students. Through my individual interviews, the student drew on different conceptualization of citizenship and revealed different orientations towards their futures based on their generational status, language skills, and the economic potential of their heritage country (see Table 4). The students applied the concept of flexible citizenship to various degrees in relation to their imagined futures. I categorized the students into two groups: 1) Aspiring for individual economic success - exclusively using flexible citizenship, 2) Aspiring for community success - flexible citizenship mixed with transnational citizenship. The variability in using a flexible citizenship approach to their future and migration seemed to be dependent on their heritage country's economic potential, sense of belonging, and future goals.

Table 4. Imagined future responses. Location and profession in imagined futures among focal 1.25- and 1.5-generation immigrant youth.

Pseudonym	Age of Migration	Generation	Heritage Country	Location and Profession
Wenxin	15	1.25	China	Undecided, Pediatrician
Calvin	14	1.25	China	Undecided, Computer science related
Saba	13	1.25	Pakistan	Global, Teacher or United Nations
Binsa	14	1.25	Nepal	Global, Public health related
Isabel	15	1.25	Ecuador	US, Psychology or performing arts
Tian	11	1.5	China	Undecided, Translator
Anya	8	1.5	China/Singapore	US, Undecided
Jenny	7	1.5	China	US, Scientist

Notes: All names are pseudonyms. Anya and Jenny were born in the US, sent to China to be with their grandparents, and returned to the US when they were eight and seven years old, respectively. Even though they would technically be classified as second-generation, I categorized them as 1.5-generation because their experiences of learning English and adjusting to American culture would be similar to other 1.5-generation children. I also interviewed three second-generation students, John, Chibi, and Trishna, who were not included in the table as my focus is on the 1.25- and 1.5-generation students. I did include

them in my analysis to provide more insights into the perspectives of the 1.25-generation immigrant youth.

Aspiring for Individual Economic Success

Wenxin, Calvin, Tian and Isabel conceptualized their future using the "capitalistic accumulation" goals of flexible citizenship. While they all aspired to the goals of capitalistic accumulation, the motivation behind their goals and reasoning varied. In the following section, I will describe each student and their reasoning and hopes for their future life.

Open to Possibilities - "I still undecided"

Wenxin, introduced in previous chapters, was a very studious student who cared a lot about academics and getting into college as she would frequently tell me about her SAT prep or math team competitions when conversing casually. She had immigrated from China in her sophomore year; thus, during the time of the first interview, she had only been in the US for a little over a year. Throughout the data collection year, she changed her mind about her future profession. During our initial interview in December 2018, she said she wanted to be in the computer science field. Then during an ACE session in March 2019, she asked me questions about the dentistry field, and in our final interview, she said she wanted to be a pediatrician. She was very invested in finding her future career as she perked up when talking about her possible professions compared to other students who sounded hesitant when naming a career. In contrast, she was more apprehensive about defining where she would live in the future. As she did not want to be recorded, my interview notes captured her undecided answer and how she could see herself living in either the US or Shanghai. She said she was interested in going back to Shanghai (China), since "that is my country" and especially if her parents went back (Interview notes, 12/12/18). Nevertheless, she said she might also stay in the US if she found a job here showing that emotional attachments will play a role in her future decisions but would not be the priority.

Her main criteria for her future location were economics and social status related to factors such as "pay, benefits, workplace reputations, and the environment ((neighborhood)) outside of the hospital" (Interview notes, 6/5/19). When asked whether the political relationship between China and the US, in relation to the recent trade war, would influence her decision, she denied it would and said she was not interested in politics. She did not see political tensions between nations as a potential influence on her desire for economic security.

Calvin, another 1.25-generation Chinese immigrant student, had a similar perspective. When asked if he would stay in the US in the future, he said, "Maybe, I still undecided." He was unsure about where he wanted to be in the future, but as a graduating senior, he was excited about attending college and the opportunity to find a good job in the future. He planned on majoring in computer science or computer engineering at a four-year public institution in New York State. Similar to Wenxin's response, he did not think the recent tensions between China and the US in terms of the trade war would influence him. He said:

> I guess no. (.) That's economics but I'm doing computer science, something like that, so it has nothing to do with my major and trade war is about money. Right? Something like that. (.) Economics something like that, so it has nothing to do with my major and my future. Right?

He felt the trade war and geopolitical tensions would not affect his job prospects in the US or China, since he was in the computer science field and the trade war was related to economics. It seemed, as long as he could obtain a job, the political tensions between his heritage country and current country of residence did not matter to his individual economic success.

Lifestyle Factors

Both Wenxin and Calvin said they enjoyed their new lives in the US more because the schools were less strict and had less homework. The Chinese educational system prioritized standardized testing more than the US educational system, so they did not have opportunities to

try out different clubs or play sports. But in the US, they had many experiences beyond academics. In particular, Wenxin liked the less competitive nature of education in the US. She had time to unwind and play computer games as well as attend afterschool programs where she gained more knowledge about society. Likewise, Calvin appreciated the freedom-oriented lifestyle and culture in the US as he disliked strict rules and preferred the relaxed everyday routines in US schools. He moved around freely in school as a senior because he could leave school during his study hall periods in the afternoon, and he could also listen to rap music, which was banned in China.

Even though Calvin and Wenxin enjoyed their new US lifestyles, they did not claim they wanted to remain indefinitely in the US in the future. Their logic for their future was primarily driven by economic factors and part of achieving economic stability in a globalized economy was learning English and obtaining an educational degree in the US. They responded fluidly and opportunistically to their local context by participating in extra-curricular clubs and activities like ACE that helped them understand the Western educational system, develop Westernized professional skills, and apply to US colleges and universities. Even though they participated in these facets of US society, it did not mean they saw their future in the US. In their current process of belonging or becoming, they latched on to their life in the US, but without a weighted economic factor in favor of the US, it was not enough to anchor the tether with strong attachments.

Dynamic Economic and Social Potential

Wenxin and Calvin's responses about their future location were opposite of the responses from my pilot study (He, 2016). For that study, I interviewed five 1.25-generation Chinese immigrant students from the Fujian, Zhejiang, and Shandong provinces in China. All of them

saw their futures in the US rather than in China. They wanted to stay in the US for multiple reasons. Some said it was because their families would be in the US while others saw more economic opportunities in the US, since they considered the Chinese job market to be unfair as it favored those with personal connections. The variance in responses pointed to socioeconomic class differences between my 2016 and current study participants. Most of the 2016 participants came to the US on family reunification visas as one of their parents were already in the US or their parents had relatives who were in the US. Most of their parents worked in restaurants or low-income jobs that required long hours; thus, the students were mostly at home alone after school. On the other hand, Wenxin and Calvin did not say they had other relatives besides their parents in the US and for both of them, they said their fathers' had received a job opportunity in the US, so their parents thought it would be a good idea for the children to study in the US. In particular, Wenxin always wanted to conduct her interview in person rather than over the phone because her dad was at home most of the time. This indicated that he did not have a working-class job that kept him out of the house like the parents of my 2016 study participants.

Wenxin and Calvin also said they were from Shanghai, a metropolitan city, rather than one of China's poorer provinces; hence, their families were probably of at least a middle-class status. With their middle-class status, they might have stronger social connections in Shanghai compared to my 2016 interviewees who complained about the inequalities of getting a good job in China if your family did not have a strong social network. As a result, Wenxin and Calvin might have similar or even better prospects of getting a job in China than in the US due to their social network and status in China. Moreover, unlike the 2016 interviewees, it did not seem the parents of Wenxin and Calvin would stay in the US permanently. Wenxin talked about how her parents might go back to Shanghai; thus, she might also go back in the future. Her parents

employed a flexible view of citizenship that allowed them to be in the US temporarily (as permanent residents) to obtain the Western educational, linguistic, and cultural capital to enhance Wenxin's job prospects in the global economy.

The role of China's economic potential in the students' decision making was even clearer in the case of Tian, a 1.5-generation Chinese immigrant student. Among the 1.5-generation students, he was the only one that was undecided about where he would be located in the future. While 1.5-generation immigrant students like Anya and Jenny said they felt more familiar with the US, saw their futures in the US, and felt more comfortable with English than Chinese, Tian was not sure where he belonged or where he would be in the future. Similar to Calvin and Wenxin, he would get his college degree in the US and afterwards his location would depend on where he found a job in the global economy. When asked where he felt he belonged, he said:

> Tian: Um, it's kinda of hard to answer that because like I also been confused about this. Should I belong in- (.) oh, I think US is better than China now, but like China is the country that still improve and they still improving. But I will say, I will like to stay US and then I'll go back to China. But just now, now that's what I think, but in the future, I might change my idea.
>
> Erica: Okay, what makes you think that now? Because China is still improving or there are there other reasons?
>
> Tian: Yeah, it's that. China is still improving
>
> Erica: So does that mean that there are more job opportunities or standard of living is better?
>
> Tian: I will say in the future China might have more job opportunities, but- but by the time I graduate at the college, I will see what happened in China and I decide whether go back or stay here.
>
> Erica: Okay, and then I guess are there any other reasons, do you feel like maybe culturally or lifestyle you prefer one place over the other?
>
> Tian: Hm, I will say like New York is the place that everything is fast. You have to walk fast, everything past very fast, but I like it. A lot of people feel uncomfortable staying in that environment but I feel comfortable. I like to be- everything happen fast. I like the city life more than like stay at country, stay at village, something like that.

The economic potential of China was an important factor in his confusion about his sense of belonging and future geographic location. Because he saw China as dynamic and consistently

improving, it meant that China's future job opportunities and standard of living might be on par or even better than that of the US. Because of this, he saw the possibility of a good future in China within the global economy. If China's economy and standard of living were not considered to be dynamic and improving, Tian might not have been as confused and decided that his future would be in the US. Interestingly, he also said that he preferred a fast and urban lifestyle; hence, if he was from Shanghai like Wenxin and Calvin, he would be living an urban lifestyle even in China (he was from Guangdong province rather than the city of Guangzhou).

Moreover, Tian's sense of belonging was still quite complex and multifaceted as he consumed media from multiple countries and navigated the nationalistic discourse in these transnational media spaces. Tian immigrated to the US when he was 11 years old, but he seemed more culturally Chinese than the other 1.5-generation and 1.25-generation immigrant students. During the ACE sessions, he consistently watched Korean TV shows on his phone or became excited when Mr. Luke played K-pop songs. He also wore a surgical mask when he was sick and put a piece of tissue in his nose when he had a nose bleed (Figure 17), which were all common Chinese norms towards health. He also felt more comfortable with the Chinese language as he would watch Korean dramas using Chinese subtitles as his first choice and English as his second (Interview, 3/25/19). Most of the other 1.5-generations students like Anya and Jenny felt more comfortable in English and worried that if they lived in China they would not be able to communicate effectively and make friends.

Figure 17. Tian nosebleed remedy. Tian with a piece of tissue in his nose (arrow). This is a common Chinese practice to stop nosebleeds.

In general, Tian tended to consume more East Asian media and felt he could relate to it more easily. In the ACE sessions, I observed him frequently watching Korean shows on his cell phone during the game portion of the sessions. Even though the shows were Korean and not Chinese, he understood the jokes and related to the shows more easily than the American shows he watched because he saw Korean culture as closer to Chinese culture indicating a transnational East Asian identity. Upon discussing his consumption of Korean media and people debating about which nation's media was better, he revealed how some Chinese people were very nationalistic and told him he should not give up his Chinese citizenship. He described:

Tian: I guess like some people told me like don't- (.) like keep the Chinese citizen- like keep the Chinese citizen identity, but not just become a US citizen thingy, but I think "why is this?" Like I don't get why is they say that to me?

Erica: Like why they said you should keep your Chinese citizenship?

Tian: Yeah (.) that's not good.

Erica: Well, I mean, you probably know, like they think maybe it's loyalty?

Tian: Right, like because if I think- if they think like get rid of Chinese citizenship, they just think I'm not Chinese anymore. Something like that.

Erica: So I guess do you believe that you are Chinese even if you have US Citizenship or lived in the US?

Tian: Yeah, I think like, because I born in China, so it make me think I'm still a Chinese even though like I change my citizenship or live in another place. I still think I'm a Chinese, so it's not matter where I live, I still think I'm a Chinese.

The opinions of those people struck him as strange as he believed the nation on your passport should not matter. He was implying that there was more to citizenship and identity than one's passport and the zealous nature of their nationalism did not make sense to him. As a person born in China, now living in the US, and consuming mostly Korean media, his Chinese identity did not become diluted through these legal labels or personal behaviors, but rather, he was seeking the "best" in a globalized world. In terms of education, he was getting a high school and eventually college degree in the US, which have much more symbolic value than a degree from China. Applying similar logics of capitalistic accumulation to his media consumption, he did not like watching Chinese shows because they were not as good or the best version available. He explained:

> Like the things that make me don't want to like watch ((Chinese)) TV show is that they are not creative. A lot of Chinese TV shows is the same and they just- like they buy the copyright from other countries, the same TV show and make it. [. . .]I just go to watch the original version, because I think they funnier than the Chinese one.

For Tian, it was not a matter of identity per se, but he wanted to consume the most creative shows. To find the original versions, he explained, "I will do research about what is this show about and like when did they make it or like it's the original, like they make it by themselves or not." Similar to his flexible approach to his future and citizenship, he approached media consumption in the same way. He had access to media from different nations through modern technology; hence, he used the opportunity to research and consume the best versions from countries such as Korea, UK, or US. The country of origin did not matter as much and what mattered was watching the most "creative" and "original" show for his individual entertainment. For Tian, his flexible approach to citizenship for opportunistic accumulation not only applied to his future economic and career goals, but also his media consumption as he sought out music, TV shows, and movies from various countries.

Staying in the US

Isabel, a 1.25-generation immigrant student from Ecuador, had been in the US for two years at the time of her first interview. When discussing where she saw her home in the future, she felt a sense of nostalgia for Ecuador, but also knew her future life was in the US:

Isabel: I liked Ecuador, some parts like the mountains that you are able to go to the mountains, but I like here because it's different. Like if you wear something in Ecuador, like in other countries, people are more (unclear) to judge you, for what are you wearing and here is different. Like you can wear whatever you want and here we have more opportunities, we have great opportunities here for the studies (unclear) than in Ecuador.

Erica: So working wise or job wise.

Isabel: Yes and you can be- everyone has a different meaning of success but, in general, here you can be more successful. Like there are more opportunities than in other countries.

Erica: Do you know what you want to be in the future?

Isabel: I want to have a major in psychology and a minor in art performance.

Erica: Oh, art performance, does that mean like dance or something like that?

Isabel: Theater and also (.) arts in general

Erica: Okay arts, so you feel like if you were in Ecuador, you couldn't do that as much?

Isabel: Yes

As a potential psychology and art performance major, Isabel knew she would have more career opportunities in these fields in the US than in Ecuador. Unlike China, which was seen as improving and potentially reaching developed nation status, Ecuador did not have such a reputation in the global economy. For her individual economic success, she had to stay in the US to achieve her career goals.

In addition to the economic opportunities in the US, she liked the cultural aspects of the US because not everyone had to fit into the dominant norm. Dressing differently was not subjected to the same level of marginalization as it was in Ecuador for her; as a result, she could express her own sense of style and still feel like she belonged. In conjunction, she took up the cultural knowledge of her new home very adamantly and easily as she knew the most about media celebrities in the US such as the Kardashians or One Direction compared to the other

students and adults in the room. Although she followed English-speaking celebrities such as One Direction while in Ecuador, being in the US only heightened her ability to pursue her celebrity and social media interests. While she was not the quietest or most talkative student, she became more animated and contributed the most when discussing popular teenage movies, music, and celebrities.

Expanding Ong's conception of flexible citizenship, more recent literature on flexible citizenship included "flexible attitudes towards citizenship based on less quantifiable motivations than financial security, such as personal fulfillment of life goals, establishment of identity and belonging, or simple easing of everyday routines" (Cottrell Studemeyer, 2015, p. 566). The culture and diverse professions in the US allowed Isabel to pursue her preferred identity and gave her a sense of belonging to the US even though she had only been in the US for two years. Isabel's preferred lifestyle, interests, and identity along with economic factors informed her flexible view of citizenship as one that saw her future in the US, but with fond memories of her heritage country.

Aspiring for Community Success

The previous student examples illustrated goals of individual success through flexible approaches to citizenship. However, two students in the study took a divergent approach in using their flexible citizenship for transnational or community oriented goals. Binsa, a 1.25-generation Nepali immigrant student, and Saba, a 1.25-generation Pakistani immigrant student, both imagined global futures through the structures and resources in the US. Similar to Isabel, they saw a gap in the educational and career opportunities between their heritage countries and the US. In contrast to Isabel, Binsa and Saba did not limit the scope of their desires and future to the US:

Binsa: I wouldn't know about where like you know, but I probably will see myself as a doctor in ten years and then um working for an international organization. I mean like you know, probably cuz (*sic*) I want to focus on international public health, but like probably travelling around to other countries and helping out all these health problems and also you know, helping out, how do I word it, it's just like I want to help other countries as a doctor. I would see myself as that.

Saba: I plan on, in ten years, I plan on being a teacher, teaching or maybe I want to start teaching in the next few years as an assistant teacher or a helper. I always wanted to end up like at a place like the UN or stuff where I am involved in things that don't just deal with America and the American people, but with countries that are not developed. So places that need people to help, help make their education system better or like do things that don't just affect my country but other people in other nations.

Binsa and Saba imagined their future professions and life as not bound by a single country but to work with multiple nations on a global scale. They felt an affinity and emotional attachment to people and nations that did not have the same level of healthcare and education as the US. They drew on the concept of transnational citizenship to express their affiliations, because they saw a common humanity across national boundaries and wanted everyone to have the same access to human services. Transnational citizenship is based on the idea that everyone should be included and that migrants can have multiple national affiliations and should not have to give up their affiliations to other communities or identities once they move to a new place (Bauböck, 1994). Binsa and Saba desired to give back and saw themselves as transnational citizens who had affiliations to their heritage country and other developing nations that did not have the same living conditions as the US.

In order to achieve their goals as low-income 1.25-generation immigrant youth, they were "fluidly and opportunistically" using their US permanent residency status (and maybe eventually US citizenship) to gain the educational and cultural capital needed to be successful in the global economy. Rather than returning to their heritage countries, which are considered developing countries, both of them said they wanted to work for an international organization (most likely

headquarter in the US like UNICEF or the UN - named by Saba). They did not explicitly say

they liked and wanted to stay in the US, but they understood the benefits of living in the US,

working for an organization headquartered in the US, and the power that came with an US

education and citizenship. As a result, they were implicitly choosing to stay in the US like Isabel.

Unlike Wenxin, Calvin, and Tian, they did not see a future returning and working in their

heritage countries, because Pakistan and Nepal could not compare to the economic wealth of the

US. Although China was still developing, the Chinese immigrant students saw the standard of

living and career opportunities to be almost on par with the US. Binsa and Saba, on the other

hand, needed to establish themselves in the US in order to work globally rather than returning to

their heritage countries as the education and professional capital of their heritage countries were

considered lower status in the global economy.

Belonging to Both Places

While they had similar goals of community success on the international level, Binsa and

Saba had almost opposite perspectives towards their sense of belonging in the US and heritage

countries. Binsa described a connection to both the US and Nepal:

> I mean I would say both America and Nepal. Because you know, I developed- let's just
> say as a teenager, I grew up as a teenager here so like I learned more about my life, more
> about what I wanna do in the future, more about my family, more about everything. Like
> you know, because once you get to your teenage years, you start understanding more and
> more stuff around you and more and more about- about everything, about life, about your
> future, you start thinking about your future. Everything happened here, you know, like
> you know, I started thinking about myself, my future, everything started happening here.
> I was a child you know, but I have a lot of memories there ((Nepal)) so I still miss there. I
> would say both is (*sic*) my home.

On the one hand, Binsa had fond memories of her childhood in Nepal and felt a sense of

nostalgia; on the other hand, her teenage years were much more impressionable in her life course

as she developed a self-awareness about her own identity and desires. For Binsa, this period of

personal growth and awareness happened to coincide with her time in the US; hence, she felt a

place-belongingness to the US. Although Binsa faced obstacles in terms of bullying in school

and refining her English on an academic level when she first arrived in the US, she had a positive

spirit and was appreciative of the opportunities and new experiences in the US. She spoke about

being able to participate in extracurricular activities, especially ACE as she was given many

public speaking and leadership opportunities through the service-learning projects and the annual

career conference even though she was a non-native English speaker. Although these

opportunities expanded her horizons, she did not want to give up her emotional attachment and

connections to Nepal for individual economic success. Because of this, I posit that her desire to

work on an international level was a strategic merging of flexible and transnational citizenship to

help her obtain economic security in a globalized economy while sustaining her emotional

tethers to her heritage country.

Moreover, she felt she was much more prepared to work in a developing country and

move to different areas of the global because of her childhood in Nepal:

> I mean, I feel like some people would feel uncomfortable because like you know, how rural countries are like- they don't have big facilities, they don't have like, you know good um I don't know (.) I mean people (unclear). Me, I mean, I've seen like you know rural countries and villages when I grew up in Nepal, so like I don't really think I'm gonna have difficulties living like that, but like I don't know, I feel ready to. I don't feel uncomfortable. Yeah, I don't feel uncomfortable about that but like yeah.

In some ways, she saw her life in Nepal as giving her an upper hand or advantage to work

internationally; she would be more familiar and comfortable with the limited modern

conveniences in developing countries. Rather than viewing it as a roadblock, she saw her various

citizenships and identities as sources of strength for her future career.

Belonging to Neither

Conversely, Saba, who also imagined an internationally-oriented future expressed

disconnection from both the US and Pakistan. When discussing where she belonged, she said:

> I'll be very honest, like at this time, I don't feel like I belong either in like US or like in Pakistan. But I feel like (.) I don't know. It's just like now that I have a taste of America, there's reasons that I wouldn't wanna go back to my country, but I also know Pakistan and the reasons that I want to go there then the reasons of me staying here overpower the reasons of me going back. I don't feel like there's one place that I belong. For me, it's just like making things work in a way. Having to think what's best for me and what's best for my future. But also giving up a lot of things I want to do. So it's just like, I don't know, the sense- the question of "where do I belong?" kind of doesn't seem important for me, because it's just like for me, I know no matter what, I have to give up something. There's no one place that I belong and there's nothing that I ever will be able to do where I can have both.

For Saba, she saw the positives and negatives of being in Pakistan and the US, but to position

herself best for her future in the global economy and society, she had to stay in the US. She

needed to be strategic and take the opportunity now that she was in the US, because she knew it

meant a more stable economic future. Her feelings of belonging were not a priority in terms of

how she wanted to live her life, because there were uncomfortable aspects in Pakistan and the

US. She was very fluid in adjusting her expectations and goals in the sense that she could not

have everything she wanted, but she would make some tradeoffs that benefited her in the long-

term.

Unlike Binsa, however, Saba expressed a lack of belonging to either the US or Pakistan

while Binsa felt a connection to both countries. This difference in orientation might be a result of

Saba's Muslim identity.[7] Analyzing some of these trade-offs, she expressed a comfort in

Pakistan she had not been able to find in the US. She said:

> In Pakistan, it's not- there's diversity, but there's only so much. Like most of the time, you're mostly with people like you. Even though there's a lot of different religions like Christianity, but even then, they are more familiar with the Pakistani culture than people

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[7] For further discussion, see Chapter Five on Islamophobia around the world post-9/11.

here are. So yes, I would feel more safe (*sic*) if I was in my country, but I don't think I would be doing things that I do here. So there's always like you get something and then you lose something.

Since the majority of the Pakistani population was Muslim, she did not feel out of place or targeted. As a member of the dominant group, she felt safe as she understood other people and they understood her even if they were not Muslim. However in the US, she felt separated from her classmates:

> I felt judged mainly the fact that I was the only Muslim student in the class, so I always felt like they were looking at me and they're like "she's so different, she wears the hijab" so I felt that was one way I felt judged. [. . .]When we would like talk about shows that we watch, I couldn't connect to them. Even though I was familiar with the culture, I didn't grow up in that culture, I didn't grow up watching the TV shows that my classmates did. When I watch it, I feel attracted to it, it's nice to see something different, but I still can't connect myself to that or like the music that they were used to. That also kind of separated us.

Because she wore a hijab, her Muslim identity was always visible and she felt like an outsider who was frequently being "judged." It was a marker of otherness that was very hard to overcome especially in the post-9/11 era where anti-Muslim violence and Islamophobia were part of everyday life. Furthermore, even though she watched some of the same TV shows as her classmates and understood American culture, it did not generate the same feelings of home or connection as her classmates had towards the shows and music. During the interview, she explained further that the American TV shows reflected American culture, which did not resonate with her experiences and life. There was a disconnect as she did not celebrate the same holidays that they depicted on American TV shows. On the other hand, the Pakistani shows reflected Pakistani culture and experiences she had growing up with her family; thus, the Pakistani media generated feelings of connection, familiarity, and a sense of belonging.

Though Saba would feel safer in Pakistan, she also knew she would not be able to have the same social, educational, and economic opportunities she had in the US. Some opportunities she listed included:

> Yeah, education like being able to do- to be part of programs other than school. Like ACE and SPIN ((social justice oriented afterschool program)) and um having an environmental group, the Green Team I'm a part of. I don't think I would be doing that back in my country, so there's definitely more opportunities and more like freedom for me to do things. But it's also at the cost of me, having to make sure that I'm in a safe place.

Saba would not be able to participate in any of the afterschool activities and gain the cultural capital from the programs if she was not in the US. These activities increased her skill sets and prepared her for a future in the global economy in ways that living in Pakistan would not have. Accordingly, she needed to remain in the US despite feeling judged and a lack of belonging. Although she said she could not imagine a way to have both worlds, the safety of Pakistan and the opportunities of the US, her desire to work internationally strategically achieves this seemingly unattainable goal even if she did not realize it consciously.

Both Saba and Binsa had attachments or detachments from multiple places; therefore, positing a global future would encompass their multiple attachments. They were articulating a desire to be transnational citizens through flexible means. Their conception of citizenship included aspects of flexible citizenship as they were motivated to stay and gain US citizenship for economic reasons, but this was not their only driving force. As the motivations for flexible citizenship can be an assemblage of factors besides financial secruity, Binsa and Saba were also motivated by identity and career goals that were community-oriented rather than solely focused on individual success. They identified with people in developing countries around the world and wanted to be able to help people outside of the US. By strategically staying in the US and utilizing the resources available to US permanent residents and citizens, they would develop the

skill sets that would benefit themselves in the global economy to gain more power and have an impact on the international level for the global community.

Enhancing Flexible Citizenship Goals through ACE

While the 1.25-generation immigrant students had dreams about their future, they were also anxious about how they would achieve them as migrants who had limited knowledge of the educational system and professional realms within the US. With their flexible citizenship approach to their futures, ACE became a tool for obtaining the cultural and knowledge capital as well as symbolic accolades they needed to reach their economic goals in the global economy. At the same time, ACE also aimed to enhance the professional skill sets of the students as part of its mission. Mr. Luke implemented explicit professional skills workshops and implicit professional development content in the service-learning project process through a leadership lens. However, the extent that ACE reinforced or were in tension with the economic goals of students will be explored in this section.

Professional Skills Content and Curriculum

In general, there was a wide range of experiences with the professional realm among all of the ACE students. Some students had never had a job before while others worked part-time at a family business. Some students had a resume while others had never seen a resume before. About one-third of the sessions explicitly focused on some form of professional development, and those sessions included a mix of topics (Table 5). The content of the lessons drew from Mr. Luke's personal experience working in different career fields and strategies he used to improve his professional skill set. In addition, ACE had special events where students met professionals from different fields such as the annual career conference organized by HES or job shadowing

trips to corporate companies. Expressing a professional identity was infused throughout the program and most of the time, it was from a Western, US-centric perspective.

Table 5. List of session topics that focused on professional development.

Professional Development Sessions
Resume/Cover Letters
MBTI and Future Planning
Interview Skills
Feedback/ Leadership Practice
Workplace Communication
Email and Phone Etiquette
Using Google Drive

In addition to these professional skills workshops, students were also taught soft skills through the service-learning projects. Mr. Luke framed the service-learning projects as a leadership opportunity for students, since they would be working on teams and the students would take turns being the leader of their groups. Originally, he planned to have the ACE participants become team leaders of non-ACE volunteers during the spring semester service projects, but his supervisors deemed the plan not thoroughly fleshed out, so it was cancelled. During the winter season, when the students could not go outside to do the tree care and street cleanups, he had the students role play challenging leadership scenarios as team leaders or work supervisors. While some students were acting out the scenarios, other students observed and offered feedback on how their peers could improve their leadership skills.

Anxieties about Lack of US Cultural Capital

Since most of the 1.25-generation immigrant students joined ACE for the college and career readiness support, it showed a general anxiety about their future and the need to obtain help to navigate it. Unlike their second-generation peers, they were not socialized into the US professional identity from a young age. Resume and cover letters were new for them unless their teachers from school taught them about it. Even for some second-generation students, the content

in the professional development session were new to them, but in general, the second-generation students were more knowledgeable about the norms and the cultural capital needed to obtain a job.

Analyzing the different responses and questions asked among the Tuesday (mostly 1.25-generation) and Wednesday (mostly 1.5- and second-generation) sections, the second-generation students tended to approach the workshop topics from a position of knowledge and experience, because they already belonged to US society, while the 1.25-generation immigrant students approached the topic from a position of a novice, who was not as knowledgeable and trying to enter into the new space. During the resume and cover letter session, the Wednesday section usually listened and shared their perspectives on the topic. Dante, from Chapter Four, shared a story about his knowledge of cover letters. He shared:

> I saw something on an Instagram account. It was like (.) copy and paste the job recommendations and descriptions from the job page, um, make it white and paste it so that it blends in with the paper and then um set it to a pdf file when you send it, so they can't go in and edit it and they can't see it. So then like the machine that they run it through, it'll just pick up all these buzzwords and they won't see it.

Instead of asking a question, Dante showed that he was familiar with cover letters and resumes by telling a story about how to trick the resume scanning machines used in the US job hiring process. This showed he was not anxious about being successful in the US economy, because he was already an insider and knew the secret tips and tricks. During the Interview Skills session, John also showed off his knowledge. When Mr. Luke was telling people that they should prepare by doing research on the job position before the interview, John added his own knowledge to the conversation unprompted:

Excerpt 9

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01 Mr. L:  Now, I also put job position, similar to employer,
02         because you have to know what job you're interviewing
03         for and what you need to say in your interview. We'll
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04         get into that in a little bit.
05 John:   And it's also to say what the employer is looking for
06 Mr. L:  Exactly, exactly, we'll get into that.
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In this excerpt, John added his own knowledge and Mr. Luke affirmed his statement while also indicating that they will talk about that topic with more depth later on. In general, the second-generation students had more cultural capital in the professional realm and were showing their knowledge rather than asking questions during the professional development focused sessions.

When the second-generation students did ask questions, the questions indicated they already had a basic understanding of and experience with the US system. During the resume session, Angela asked if she should include her experience at her uncle's store under work experience even if she did not get paid, and during the email and phone etiquette session, Neel asked if he could email funny memes to his friends if they worked at the same company. These questions were not generic questions about the norms around gaining access to jobs in the US but came from a position of assuming they were already part of the US economy.

Comparatively, in the Tuesday section, there were more questions and unfamiliarity with the resume and cover letter format. When Mr. Luke gave them an example resume and cover letter with errors for the students to find, the 1.25-generation students took 80 seconds to find the first mistake compared to the second-generation students in the Wednesday section, who only took seven seconds. It might be due to the lower level of English proficiency, but the errors were formatting related which did not require detailed knowledge of English. The documents as a whole might be novel for 1.25-generation immigrant students, which made it harder for them to pick out the formatting mistakes and typos. Furthermore, Binsa asked many questions from the standpoint of a novice during the Resume, Cover Letter, and Interview sessions such as:

1. I've never seen one of these before. What is this (holding cover letter)?
2. Do high school students need a cover letter?
3. Cover letter is a summary of resume?

4. Do we add our volunteer work?
5. Can you put competitions in resumes?
6. If the interviewer did something interesting to you, how can you bring it up?
7. Is a longer interview better?
8. If you have questions, do you ask in the middle or at the end?

The large quantity of questions Binsa asked showed she did not feel she had a solid footing on her US professional identity and was trying to obtain as much cultural capital as she could from ACE. The number of questions she asked showed she wanted to make sure she was doing everything correctly, but for second-generation students who have grown up in the US like John and Dante, they knew some of the answers already. If some of the second-generation students did not know the answer, they might not have been too worried because they knew they could find a job somewhere. Binsa seemed apprehensive about whether she would be following the US norms correctly and if she did not, it might reveal she was not part of the culture and prevent her from securing a good job in the global economy.

The difference between Binsa and the other 1.5- and second-generation students in the Wednesday section painted a more detailed account of the immigrant paradox. Scholars of the immigrant paradox have shown that immigrant children have better academic and economic outcomes than US born children (Conger, Schwartz, & Stiefel, 2011; Hao & Woo 2012; Valenzuela, 1999). Some of the reasons were attributed to immigrant optimism as well as a lower perceived cost of not doing well for English-speaking youth. Because Binsa was a 1.25-generation immigrant who moved to the US at 13 years old, her anxiety towards her future helped her gain mentoring relationships that gave her special leadership opportunities and insights into the US professional realm. During these workshops, she eagerly sought more explicit help and asked many questions about the job application process compared to most of the 1.5- and second-generation students who asked fewer questions and were displaying what

they knew already. By being so eager and curious, it awarded her visibility and stronger

relationships with the ACE staff compared to even other 1.25-generation students, since the staff

liked it when students asked questions as it showed interest in the topic (See public charge

workshop section in Chapter Five for example). When I asked staff members about which

students they were closest to, Ms. Luke and Ms. Danielle, the facilitator of SACE, named Binsa

first. She was selected to perform a Nepali dance at HES's annual fundraising gala in March

2018 and one of the two students selected out of both ACE and SACE to host the Career

Conference in April 2019. Although Binsa's anxieties portrayed her as a novice, it was also a

useful method for her to gain the knowledge she needed and build closer relationships with ACE

staff who were eager to help her succeed.

Accumulating Accolades

In Chapter Four, my analysis of the service-learning projects revealed how students were

building or not building a sense of belonging to the local Bay Point community as they engaged

with the physical space, their ACE peers, and the Bay Point community members. In addition to

the influence on a sense of belonging, the service-learning projects were a means of professional

skills development and strategic accumulation of accolades. The professional skills development

was made apparent in Mr. Luke's pedagogy. To prepare the students for the service-learning

projects, he took an instrumental approach that emphasized the procedural tasks for tree care by

telling the students how to prepare the soil and how to spread the mulch. The students were

placed on teams and a leader was usually chosen as a means for students to refine their teamwork

and leadership skills. There were no discussions about the local Bay Point neighborhood, what it

meant to do service as a civic practice, or deeper connections to macro-level discourses on the

environment or climate change. As shown in Chapter Four, during the one debrief that Mr. Luke

implemented after a service project, he pivoted the conversation away from the community interactions and environment to focus on leadership skills. He had purposely told the team leaders to not participate in any of the physical activities, such as raking or mulching, to teach the students that leaders did not have to be leaders all the time. At the end of the debrief, he emphasized, "it's totally okay to switch between roles. [. . .]I'm learning that even still. One person doesn't have to do everything, one person doesn't have to take on every single role" (Video, 12/5/18). The professional skills development pedagogy through leadership training was Mr. Luke's main goal rather than the community or service components of the service-learning projects.

Furthermore, during the resume and cover letter workshop, Mr. Luke told the students to put their ACE participation under work experience. During our second interview, I asked him why he told the students to place it under work experience rather than volunteer experience. He said:

> The reason behind that is they are getting workplace skills. Um, and I think- I'm thinking that they're becoming (.) because they are taking initiative on community service projects then that would be something that they can put as a- more than just showing up and being a participant again. I think that because they are able to get people to come, they're able to lead their own team, they are able to take on as much autonomy as I can give them safely, but also supervising them. I also definitely want them to put that on their resume under work experience even though they aren't paid. And also give them that space to show "yes, I wasn't being paid, but I was a leader of a team. I wasn't being paid, but this was a job we did once a month and we got training for. And even though it was a volunteer experience, I did take it seriously, and this was something that I would consider work experience." So that's my thinking behind it and also just um (.) in terms of creating their resumes and creating their workplace- workforce history, I do think that volunteer work is considered to be, you know proper volunteer work, is considered to be a job in the sense that you are in a space where you're given tasks, you have goals that you have to hit and also you have to prepare.

Mr. Luke took a neoliberal approach and saw the service-learning projects as a way for students to strengthen their work history on their resumes. He believed that the leadership skills training

they received at ACE made the experience more rigorous than one-time volunteer opportunities. He was also supporting the notion that it was more valuable to show work experience on the resume rather than volunteer experiences. Many of the students appreciated this approach as most of them felt they did not have enough accomplishments to fill up a one page resume. In their digital journals after the resume and cover letter workshops, many of the comments about what action they would take or what new perspective they developed related to the need to gain more experience or accolades to write on their resumes:

1. Getting more involved in the community
2. Have more experience. Participating (*sic*) more job and activities.
3. I discovered that something I did in SACE/ACE but I almost forgot it. It's good to memorize that and to have more experience on my resume.

This transactional perspective towards the service-learning projects and volunteer hours was common among 1.25-, 1.5-, and second-generation immigrant students as ACE was seen as a way to gain US cultural capital to reach their flexible citizenship goals. Moreover, students considered the street tree care and street cleaning projects as an "easy" form of community service compared to other potential types of service projects. In our interview, Wenxin said she would continue to be in ACE next academic year, because she wanted to volunteer and the type of community service projects at ACE were "easier and more relaxing" (Interview notes, 6/5/19). Giving an example, she said if she volunteered at a church, there would be more work to do, but at ACE, it was more relaxed as there were more people around (Interview notes, 6/5/19). Wenxin was strategically picking volunteer activities to add to her list of accomplishments based on a cost-benefit analysis of her time and energy. Given the logics of capitalistic accumulation and opportunistic responses, the direct service orientated service projects with a large number of volunteers were the easiest and most effortless for students as the work would be spread among many people and they did not have to think or take responsibility in planning the events.

Mr. Luke's framing of the service-learning projects and emphasis on professional skills developments intersected with the flexible citizenship goals of 1.25-generation immigrant students as they reinforced each other to drive ACE towards neoliberal outcomes and support the strategic accolade accumulation of the students. Due to their desire and anxieties about gaining US or Western cultural capital, their participation in ACE was an opportunity to acquire such accolades even though they were ELLs or former ELLs. As Binsa said ELLs usually did not receive as many opportunities as the native English speakers, but at ACE, they were not as marginalized.

Learning the US Professional Identity

The professional identity taught at ACE took on a Western, US-centric framework. This was not a problem for the 1.25-generation immigrant students as they were seeking to understand and gain the Western professional cultural capital and identity. During the Interview Skills session, the Western professional identity was very apparent. He was lecturing on the typical questions an interviewer might ask and when he listed the "what are your strengths" question, Binsa thought it was weird (Excerpt 10).

    Excerpt 10

```
01 Mr. L:  The second thing is what are your strengths?
02 Binsa:  That's like a weird one
03 Erica:  How so?
04 Mr. L:  What did she say?
05 Erica:  She said it's a weird one
06 Mr. L:  This is a weird one
07 Chibi:  How?
08 Mr. L:  Here's why okay. Up until now, every single time
09         you've been rewarded for doing something correctly,
10         it's been in the form of grades, stickers, it's been
11         in the form of someone else telling you. Every single
12         time you go "oh my gosh, I'm the greatest or I'm
13         better than you" it comes off as rude. Right? So
14         people tell you don't do that. People tell you "you
15         should be humble, you should not talk about yourself
16         like that," so you've been conditioned for a long time
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17        not to talk about yourself. And then when you graduate
18        college, they go "tell us about yourself, tell us
19        about what strengths or skills you have" and it's
20        weird for you if you haven't been practicing to do it-
21        to do that on a regular basis.
```

When Binsa mentioned the weirdness, both Chibi and I asked Binsa how it was weird, because we thought it was a typical question, since both Chibi and I were raised in the US. Binsa was not able to articulate her reasoning as Mr. Luke responded for her. However, Mr. Luke's response revealed the ideal US professional identity as someone who can talk about themselves confidently. He also implicitly indexed the Asian cultural norm that people should be humble and not talk boastfully about themselves. Even though he framed it as a behavior common among younger people, Binsa might have felt the question was weird due to the Asian cultural norms of not being boastful. Afterwards, the students were told to list three of their strengths and Binsa did not question the activity. She accepted the idea that you have to talk about yourself in a confident manner as part of the US professional identity that she was seeking.

In addition, the workshops revealed a privileging of standard American English compared to the racialized varieties of English as part of an US professional identity. During the email and phone etiquette workshop, two students in the Wednesday section, Neel and Sara, both second-generation students, were role playing a retail-oriented phone call scenario. Sara was the customer who wanted to exchange her shoe purchase while Neel was the employee at the shoe store. After their role play, their ACE peers gave them feedback on how they could improve. During the feedback portion, the connection of a valid professional identity with standard American English was emphasized by both students and the facilitator. The exchange proceeded as follows:

Excerpt 11

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01 Raul:  He did very good, but aside from some comments. When
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02         he said "gotchu," that's not very professional.
03 Neel:   @@@ I'm just like a normal dude like "I gotchu fam".
04         ((Laughter from whole room))
05 Neel:   So if I say Gucci, then it would have been bad?
06 (   ):  [YEAAAAAHHHH]
07 Mr. L:  [YEEEEEESSSS]
08         ((Laughter from whole room))
09             [((unclear))    ]
10 Mr. L:      [↑That's unprofes]sional!
11 Sara:   That's okay.
12 Mr. L:  Jinani=
13 Sara:   =and Tony
14 Jinani: He wasn't formal enough for this type of (service),
15         you know?
16 Neel:   What did she say? ((unclear)). I said Gucci o:::ne
17         ti::me
18         ((Laughter from peers))
19 Sara:   If someone said Gucci to me, I would have hung up.
20 Mr. L:  Alright, any other feedback for Neel?
21 (   ):  A little more serious
22 Mr. L:  A little more serious. Okay. (1.0) Any other feedback?
```

During this exercise, many of Neel's peers said he used unprofessional and informal language

and recommended that he use more formal language. He himself did not think it was a problem,

because he wanted to provide excellent service and build rapport with the customer by showing

that he identified with the local NYC culture in using a racialized variety of English. Using the

phrase "I gotchu fam" was meant to index closeness and co-membership in the NYC context

among particular young people of color (Excerpt 11, line 3). Mr. Luke agreed with Neel's peers

and affirmed that his language was unprofessional. "The ideology of formality states that

racialized varieties of English are not 'appropriate' for the classroom, because they are

'informal,' 'unprofessional,' or 'low-register,'" which is similar for mainstream corporations and

the service industry (Love-Nichols, 2018, p. 97). Moreover, some peers interpreted his

performance as not taking the role play seriously because he used "informal" language even

though code-switching or changes in "footing" were common strategies among various authority

figures to build rapport (Erickson & Schultz, 1997; Goffman, 1981). Many of the other ACE

students and even Mr. Luke himself used the same language style as Neel, but no one in the

session verbally defended Neel's use of racialized varieties of English even though his reasoning was logical on why he chose to speak the way he did.

This interaction in front of the whole group reinforced the deficit-based approach to non-standard forms of English and has implications for the varieties spoken by ELLs or non-white native English speakers. While this interactional moment took place in the Wednesday section, where a majority of the students were 1.5- or second-generation with high proficiency in English, it would have been interesting to see how this moment might have progressed in the Tuesday section with more 1.25-generation students that were ELL labelled students. Unfortunately, when Mr. Luke implemented the email and phone etiquette workshop with the Tuesday section, only Chibi and Saba were present that day. As Chibi was a native English speaker and Saba was no longer an ELL labelled student, the topic of non-standard English did not emerge organically during their role plays. While non-standard pronunciations of English by non-native English speakers are not marked as "informal" or "unprofessional," it still indexes "foreignness" and "broken English," which is considered problematic by the mainstream. Among the current ELLs such as Calvin, Tian, and Wenxin, they all mentioned that practicing their English as one of their reasons for joining ACE. In my professional experience working with Asian ELLs, they often privileged the "native speaker" accent and told me they wanted to improve their English to sound more like a native English speaker. The events during the email and phone etiquette workshop reinforced the privileging of one variety of English and aligned with the flexible citizenship goals of the 1.25-generation that favored gaining Western cultural, educational, and professional capital.

However, I do not want to paint a homogeneous picture of a linguistically deficit-based professional identity perpetuated by ACE. A few times, Mr. Luke did acknowledge the

immigrant backgrounds of the students and encouraged them to write their bilingual or multilingual skills on their resumes. He was showing that the global economy was no longer monolingual, and multilingual abilities were an asset. Moreover, he referenced WeChat, a messaging and social media app popular among Chinese businesses, and how students should include it on their resumes especially if they were applying to Chinese companies (Field notes, 11/7/18). This was the only time that Mr. Luke mentioned careers in non-American companies. Even though the professional identity developed in ACE was US-centric, it was valuable to the 1.25-generation immigrant students whether they wanted to stay in the US or not. Companies in other countries saw employees with experiences in Western culture as an asset in potential interactions with English-speaking clients from developed nations.

Beyond Accumulation and Personal Success

For some students, they held a more critical lens towards the service-learning projects especially for the students who had performed community service projects with other organizations or at SACE. These students felt the service-learning projects could be improved by focusing on the long-term outcomes. Rather than only driven by the desire for volunteer hours, these students approached the service-learning projects and citizenship with a more participatory citizen or justice-oriented citizenship approach that prioritized civic participation that unmasked systemic inequalities and addressed system change (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). These students appreciated the service projects, but they felt ACE could do more to address the root cause rather than only short-term solutions such as the direct service cleanups. John felt other students were missing the societal change and the sense of responsibility goals embedded in the service-learning projects:

> I think the message maybe wasn't as clear. I think people were just thinking it was community service or it's just community service hours, there could have been a lot more

preparation maybe. In terms of like (unclear) knowledge, I think that's the main gripe I might have. [. . .] For me, I think in terms of these cleanups I think the main goal is try to promote um like people to take care of their community (.) a community needs to see that if we work together we could make the community a lot better place to live or work and a lot cleaner place, considering littering or a lot of trash in the street is seen as normal in the street. And since people have a tendency to be lazy and not really care about the property, I think considering when is it like (.) we need to change that narrative. I think that's probably our main goal I've seen in both the Nelson Plaza cleanings and the park cleanings.

He felt some of his peers focused too much on the capitalistic accumulation of volunteer hours without seeing the impact they could be having on society. He also thought that the service projects could raise awareness about the environment to community members which would have an even broader and long-term impact than the ACE participants cleaning every month. He felt the tree care and cleanups did not prevent the community members from littering in the future and being apathetic, and educating these community members about the importance of the environment or other social issues was necessary to create more sustainable change. John's sentiments were also echoed by Ms. Sam even though she was not the facilitator of ACE or SACE. She said:

I think we need to do a better job at providing context for them and that like you know park cleanup isn't about who can pick up the most trash. That we really do want to like build a sense of belonging and accountability and ownership for you in a space right. So that's definitely something we want to work on. And to kind of bridge that gap. And we don't wanna do it just for place based reasons but also like community. That we want youth to engage the people who are in the space, who are in Nelson plaza, that are in these parks and that they know the businesses and that they know where are the safe spaces and you know things like that. So that's something we definitely want to build on.

Ms. Sam's community oriented goals were very different from Mr. Luke's neoliberal focused goals. Since Ms. Sam did not facilitate ACE, there was no visible tension between Mr. Luke and her on what the curriculum should be, but she did mention in the interview that she hoped the Youth and Family Department would have more time during the summer to create an unified

vision of how they want to serve the students because each staff member seemed to have their own missions and goals.

Furthermore, even though some students started participating in ACE and the service-learning projects with a neoliberal perspective of accumulating volunteer hours or enhancing their college applications, their exposure to the experience helped them realize it was something that excited and interested them. Isabel, a 1.25-generation immigrant from Ecuador, explained how her feelings towards volunteering changed:

> At the beginning was because I was looking at the requirements for college and for scholarships, they ask me "oh, you need to be a volunteer." At the beginning, it was because that, but with the time, I start loving. "oh, you're volunteering here with the community."

Her initial motivations were capitalistic and opportunistic, but over time, she enjoyed her experience and liked the feeling of helping others. The experiences and interactions she had with community members shaped her identity as someone who wanted to help the community.

Conceptual Insights

In Chapter Six, the perspectives of the student's future goals and living locations were very informative for assimilation theories, identity, and citizenship. Partially due to their self-selection in joining an afterschool program that promoted college awareness and leadership development, all of the 1.25-generation students had a flexible citizenship approach to their future. They saw economic opportunity as one of the major deciding factors in their future location. Compared to classical or segmented assimilation theories, which assumed migrants wanted to stay in the US, some of 1.25-generation students in this study did not necessarily think their future had to be in the US. For the second-generation and some of the earlier 1.5-generation immigrant students, they could not imagine living in their heritage countries, because they did not have basic proficiency in the language or any friends there. Comparatively, the 1.25-

generation students did not have such reservations related to language or relational ties. They were more concerned about economic opportunities. Three of the focal 1.25- and 1.5-generation Chinese students saw their future lives in either the US or China as they considered China's economic potential to be on par or even greater than that of the US in the future. With this perspective, the Chinese immigrant students did not have the assimilation trajectory as predicted by the classical or segmented assimilation models. If migrants do not have a strong desire to stay in the US then they might not have the same motivations to adopt the norms of the US mainstream or minority culture claimed by segmented assimilation theory. However, many of immigrants students in this study did want to take up certain US mainstream norms as those were the Western cultural capital most prized in the global economy. Furthermore, two of the students saw their future as global by combining their transnational and flexible citizenship approaches. They had attachments to their heritage countries and wanted to uplift the standard of living there, but also knew they needed the educational and economic capital of the US to obtain their goal of working internationally. This study enriches the assimilation literature, since most assimilation theories do not consider the individual motivation of migrants and the perspective that some of them will not stay in the host country or work part of the time in their heritage countries.

Looking at ACE itself, this chapter showed how informal learning spaces that were meant to show care and support for youth were also seeped in neoliberal discourses that reinforced individual success and marketization of the self. One-third of the sessions at ACE explicitly focused on professional development and the service-learning pedagogy was also infused with professional skills development as students were trained to be leaders that were analogous to a boss-employee relationship. The community oriented goals of the service-learning projects were lost to some students as they focused on obtaining volunteer hours or accolades to enhance their

resume and college applications. They enjoyed the ACE service projects because they were easy compared to volunteering at a church or hospital where they might have more responsibility. As critical service-learning scholars have warned, service-learning pedagogy can easily perpetuate the unequal power dynamics in society if systemic issues are not made explicit in the curriculum. The service-learning pedagogy at ACE during the data collection period did not address any environmental issues on the systemic level and reinforced the societal hierarchies. The youth were not given much ownership over the projects and did what the adults said. Moreover, the teamwork often reinforced the invisibility of ELLs as they stayed silent or were isolated due to the lack of collaboration among students.

Pedagogical Recommendations

The informal learning space is an ideal place to incorporate the transnational perspectives of the immigrant youth compared to the rigid structure of academic classrooms. For those students who might see their future as global or outside of the US, they can share their perspectives on the social and educational systems of their heritage countries and why they are here in the US. Often, there are many stereotypes and assumptions about why certain identity groups are in the US, but a discussion that reveals this information will lead to deeper understanding or at least a broader perspective. By tapping into the knowledge of immigrant youth, afterschool programs can develop a rich curriculum by incorporating a global perspective. Rather than being US-centric, they can address social issues from a global perspective that shows how many of our concerns are interconnected. This will create a greater sense of community as the students engage in a community of practice or cooperative learning. The immigrant youth will not be seen as outsiders, but students of the world who are living in a new geographical location. Moreover, this approach to the curriculum and framing of immigrant identities

challenges the assumptions about immigrant mobility claimed by segmented assimilation theory and classical assimilation. As this study has shown, some 1.25-generation immigrant youth see their future as mobile by either going back to their heritage countries or working internationally. Immigrant youth do not have a single identity or sense of belonging to one country. In order to support immigrant youth, and even non-immigrant youth, incorporating a global or non US-centric perspective to the curriculum will engender a more nuanced perspective of the impact of globalization and geopolitical relationships.

For example, environmental issues in the local Bay Point community is not only influenced by the local, but also by the global as there are many recent immigrants that live there or pass through temporarily. At the same time, afterschool programs might not want to lose the local community oriented mission; hence, they can partner with other programs to show that neighborhoods or communities in other countries face similar community issues with different outcomes and causes to the problem. For example bias or stereotyping is not only an US phenomenon. It occurs in other countries as well, but the dimensions for bias may be grounded in social categories besides race and ethnicity.

Lastly, adding to the pedagogical recommendation for service-learning projects in Chapter Four, the community-oriented goals of the service should not be forgotten or sacrificed to appease the flexible citizenship goals of some immigrant youth. Professional skills are tools that serve a purpose; hence, students need to understand why they are enhancing their skill set and how it might serve a greater purpose for the common good and to address community issues. As this study has found, immigrant youth take a flexible and dynamic approach to their life and future location. When they live in a new physical location, rather than viewing it as a transient place, they can come to understand the local context through civic engagement strategies such as

service-learning projects. This approach towards pedagogy for immigrant youth will support the

development of global citizens that engage with their local context no matter where they might

live at present or in the future.

Chapter Seven. Conclusion

This study analyzed a service-learning oriented after-school program to understand the development of identity, citizenship and sense of belonging among 1.25-generation immigrant youth on the programmatic, local, national, and global-levels using ethnographic and microethnographic methods. As the immigrant youth participated in ACE and became exposed to new peers, activities, environments, concepts, and strangers, this study captured how their sense of belonging within an informal learning space was being shaped and mediated by factors such as spatial positioning, language, the ethnic context, their future goals, and the interactional progression of conversations. Simultaneously, how they viewed their sense of belonging offered a glimpse into the dynamic and complicated perceptions towards their identity formation and notions of citizenship in their new US lives.

Oftentimes, the narrative of migrants coming to the US were romanticized with the US being the final and most desirable destination for all migrants because of the economic opportunities, educational benefits, and political freedoms. However, Ong's (1999) book on flexible citizenship showed that wealthy migrants from Southeast Asia saw their futures as dynamic as they would move in and out of different national borders depending on which national citizenship, cultural capital, or social policies would secure them the best position within the global economy. With movement between and affiliations with multiple spaces, it brought into question where one identified with and felt a sense of belonging to. Antonsich (2010) parsed sense of belonging into the two analytical components of place-belongingness, the feelings associated with the comfort of home, and politics of belonging, the discursive claims about the borders between "us" versus "them." The three factors that this study analyzed related to place-belongingness were the autobiographical narrative of an individual's personal history, the

relational ties built with others, and cultural alignment (Antonsich, 2010). The politics of

belonging were the discourses and practices that maintain "boundaries [separating] the world

population into 'us' and 'them'" as individuals decide whether a new person they met on the

street stands inside or outside the boundary line of the nation or communities of belonging

(Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 204). In each of the findings chapters, I highlighted the factors of place-

belongingness and boundaries that were sustained by the politics of belonging and how it

manifested in the ACE program space.

In Chapter Four, the language abilities, personal goals within ACE, and spatial

positioning of the students during the games and team-building exercises both fostered and

hindered their ability to form a sense of belonging with unfamiliar peers. Although ACE had

students with a spectrum of language abilities and proficiencies, English was the dominant

language and mode of discourse; hence, the students with a better grasp of oral English were

more visible and felt more comfortable. Especially in the Wednesday section, students like

Wenxin and Martin both saw each other as the "other" and never had to interact with each other.

The games portion of the Wednesday section occurred in clusters where students with pre-

established social groups sat together. Other students like Calvin's personal autobiographical

narrative did not include ACE as a space where he would make friends and build relationships.

He saw it as a space to gain the cultural capital he needed to become successful in the future by

receiving help from the staff members on his college applications and practicing his leadership

skills, which he saw as individually focused. With this type of narrative, he did see the need to

build relational ties; therefore, ACE was a place he felt comfortable to seek help as a recent

immigrant student, but there were no feelings of place-belongingness as it was not the place that

he went to retreat and relax. Although some students with stronger feelings of place-

belongingness in ACE left temporarily to participate in sports or other activities, they eventually returned to ACE as it was a place of comfort and a place they could be themselves. Calvin did not return and he felt more relaxed hanging out with friends and playing basketball after school.

Chapter Five analyzed the macro-level events and policies that deemed the identity groups that some ACE participants were members of as the "other." These discourses on the politics of belonging where brought to and discussed on the local level in ACE. Through the discussion, it was made apparent that not all interlocutors had the same cultural and social norms around the discussion of politics and citizenship practices. The Uyghur detainment discussion highlighted how the immigrant youth were socialized differently as citizens, where some of them were socialized not to discuss or worry about politics and others were socialized to discuss it and not be afraid to talk about controversial topics. In a multiethnic space with different cultural norms, these types of conversations will occur and how it is resolved shapes the sense of belonging within the group. Although Saba's bid for belonging was not fully ratified by the other students, it was ratified by Mr. Luke. As the facilitator, he granted her belonging in the ACE space as he validated her feelings and made the Uyghur detainment a topic of conversation even though it produced terse answers and silence from the other students. Moreover, the 1.25-generation students were being assimilated into the political perspectives and democratic participation practices through the social and public policy workshops led by Ms. Sam. Her workshop on the changes to the public charge assessment explicitly addressed the anti-immigrant sentiment in the US and encouraged the immigrant students to voice their opinions even if they were not US citizens or old enough to vote, which socialized them into US citizenship practices.

In Chapter Six, the immigrant youth revealed their views on citizenship, sense of belonging, and identity through their hopes for their futures. As the 1.25-generation immigrant

youth were eager to obtain an US professional identity, they were happy to learn the cultural norms and procedures of the US job market at ACE. This would give them the cultural capital they needed to be successful in the US and in their heritage countries. Unlike the assumed destination of segmented assimilation theory, some of the 1.25-generation immigrant youth were not definitive about where they wanted to be in the future. For a few of the 1.25- and 1.5-generation Chinese immigrant youth, they also saw their futures as dynamic with the possibility of returning to China. Their decisions were driven mainly by economic factors and where they would secure the best job. Although they enjoyed their new lives in the US and the less strict educational system, it was not enough to make them want to commit to remaining in the US. On the other hand, students like Saba and Binsa saw their futures having an international dimension. They both wanted to work for international organizations that helped developing countries. Similar to the Chinese immigrant students, their identities and attachments were not one-dimensional. They saw themselves as transnational citizens, who had emotional attachments to many people in the world, as they wanted individuals in developing nations to have the same kind of educational and public health resources as they did in the US. They did not see themselves only having one path. Hence, for all the most of the 1.25-generation students, their sense of belonging, identity, and citizenship were fluid and dynamic. Rather than positing a static self, they knew that their feelings or what they prioritized would change over their life course as they experienced new aspects of society.

Overall, my dissertation builds and offers empirical evidence on how sense of belonging, identity, and citizenship are shaped in an often overlooked population of 1.25-generation immigrant youth. In this concluding chapter, I will first talk about this study in comparison with my pilot study to illuminate what has changed at the site and how to make sense of both findings

in relation to each other. Secondly, I will offer points of consideration for scholars who want to conduct research at an afterschool program site. Next, I will elucidate the implications of my work for the realms of education, policy, and research. Lastly, I will propose possible trajectories for future research.

Reflection across Studies

The findings of this study differed vastly from the 2016 pilot study; the previous 1.25-generation Asian immigrant youth developed a greater sense of belonging to the Bay Point community and their peers. As they implemented their service-learning projects, they gained new knowledge of the local community, created new memories with their peers, and interacted conversationally with community members as they collected surveys or entertained the children in the park with games they created. During the planning process, the students were on committees with unfamiliar peers and learned to express their ideas or opinions even though some of them were unconfident at first.

Comparing Mr. Luke's version of ACE to the 2016 pilot study version (He, 2019), most of the students in the current version of ACE did not see an appreciable increase in their sense of belonging to the Bay Point community or amongst their unfamiliar peers. A few students stated they felt more connected, but had a hard time articulating how or why. Their answers were much less descriptive and weaker compared to the students in the pilot study. In general, previous facilitators had stronger student-centered pedagogical approaches - students decided their own service-learning project topics and organized the service events by forming groups that planned a specific portion of the project such as logistics, outreach, or programming. During the teamwork portion, one student was assigned to be the team leader and the facilitator would walk around checking in with the groups. The facilitators tended to be more explicit about the community-

oriented purpose of the team-building exercises and service-learning projects which led to the students displaying more understanding and teamwork in their quest to reach these goals.

On the other hand, Mr. Luke, using a teacher-centered pedagogical style, sat in front of the room and lectured about a particular topic with a Powerpoint slide deck while students asked questions voluntarily. Most of the lessons took place in one large group; thus, it limited the amount of social interactions among students especially those unfamiliar with each other. With the majority of ACE participants being native English speakers or near native fluency in oral English, the teacher-centered approach and large group format changed the dynamics of the program to favor students who were more proficient in standard American English as they participated more verbally and dominated the discussions compared to the students with non-standard pronunciations of English. As shown in the study, the ELLs often became invisible at ACE, which did not occur as much in my 2016 pilot study as the students had small group work where quieter students could speak and engage with their team members on the project. Furthermore, due to the distributions of 1.25-, 1.5-, and second-generation immigrant students among the three sections, the 1.5- and second-generation students clustered in the Wednesday and Thursday sections while the 1.25-generation students clustered in the Tuesday section. This hindered the amount of social interactions between students of different generational status that I observed. This change in format and pedagogical approach limited my ability to capture the perspectives and multiple types of interaction among the 1.25-generation immigrant students with their peers and even Mr. Luke as he did not walk around as much, since there were no small group work like the previous facilitator implemented from the 2016 pilot study.

The same teacher-centered approach was also applied to the service-learning projects, which limited my exploration of student interests and interactions when deciding and organizing

the projects. Mr. Luke decided on the park beautification and street tree care project based on funding he had received a grant. He planned for each section to perform the street tree care and cleanup once a month, but the consistency in project implementation dissolved as the program year progressed. Winter weather caused him to stop the street tree care project and when warmer weather arrived, Mr. Luke had to change his plans for the service-learning projects due to planning issues. Originally, he wanted the students to take on more responsibility in organizing the service-learning project as the program year progressed and become team leaders for non-ACE volunteers from the schools or community during the event. However, his supervisor felt that his plan was not fleshed out enough as the learning objectives were not articulated very clearly by Mr. Luke—at least from his point of view. Unfortunately, I was not able to interview his supervisor due to access and time restrictions. Therefore, Mr. Luke cancelled the street tree care and cleanup projects he had planned to restart in March 2019 after the winter season. Due to the project cancellations and changes, there were inconsistencies in the number of implementations performed by each section. Towards the end of the program year, Mr. Luke remarked that implementing the service projects with the Tuesday and Thursday sections were not as worthwhile, because they only had two to five students present compared to the Wednesday section which consistently had ten students present. After the program year ended, the Wednesday section implemented the service project five times while the Tuesday and Thursday section implemented them two and one time respectively. This also meant that some students in the Tuesday and Thursday sections never performed the service projects even though it was a core component of the ACE program. For example, Chibi, Tian, John, and Trishna said they never participated in any of the street care and cleanup service-learning projects, since they were absent on the dates their section implemented the projects. Furthermore, the service-

learning curriculum did not contain an overarching goal the students progressively worked towards as the implementations seemed more like one-time events that did not vary.

Given the teacher-centered pedagogy, inconsistencies in service-learning project implementation, and changes in student demographics, it is unsurprising the findings were different for both studies. By comparing the studies, it highlights the importance of having youth workers that are trained in different pedagogical practices. The difference in pedagogy changed the amount of interactions and student-led initiatives in the ACE space even though the program was technically the same. My goal is not to blame Mr. Luke, but to emphasize to non-profit leaders or program managers the importance of giving staff the appropriate professional development. As a lawyer by training, Mr. Luke's understanding of pedagogical and learning theories were limited. He also said he did not receive much feedback as a facilitator; hence, he did not fully realize what areas he needed to improve on to be a better educator. With the lack of educator training, he repeated the classroom dynamics he had experienced in schools which did not prioritize peer relationships and develop a sense of belonging to the classroom space or the community.

Considerations for Ethnographic Research in Aftershool Programs

When conducting ethnographic research at an afterschool program or informal learning site with recent immigrant youth, there are some considerations to keep in mind for this type of context and population of young people. Although I had a prior professional relationship with ACE and HES, by the time I started data collection for my dissertation in October 2018, none of my former coworkers or students were still in the program. I had to build new relationships with the students and HES staff members. One consideration is to start building a relationship earlier to establish familiarity and rapport. As the students were recent immigrant students, many of

them were reluctant or fearful of outsiders. During this study, I was able to obtain consent from all of the Tuesday section students to be focal students except for two female students, Jiali and Meiyang. Although they consented to the video recording during the section wide ACE session, they were unwilling to be interviewed individually as focal students. This was important, because they were part of my desired population and they were interlocutors in the team-building exercise and Uyghur detainment discussion analyzed in Chapters Three and Five, respectively. It would have made the study and analysis richer if I could have gathered their perspectives on the discussion and ACE activities.

In general, Jiali and Meiyang were the quietest students in the Tuesday section and only attended half of the Tuesday sessions, 10 and 9 out of 20 sessions, respectively. While some students arrived at ACE early and would chat informally with each other and me, Jiali and Meiyang frequently arrived late thus I did not have as many opportunities to speak with them one on one. They mostly talked to each other only and were standoffish with others. For example, when I brought snacks to share with the group, the other students were excited to eat them, but Meiyang and Jiali said no and shook their heads when I offered them the snacks. I could not build the rapport to ask them again if they would be interested in being interviewed as I did not want to pressure them, and towards the end of the program year in June, they did not attend ACE as often anyways. I even solicited the help of Mr. Luke but he claimed he did not have an established rapport with them either and would send out generic emails encouraging all students to support the study by participating in an interview. If they had been part of the study, I believe Jiali and Meiyang could have deepened the understanding of the interactional moments with their personal accounts and perspectives on their responses - silent or verbal. Moreover, their interviews could have served to reinforce or contrast the views of the other 1.25-generation

immigrant students, some of whom saw their futures globally, in the USA, and others possibly in their heritage countries.

Likewise, I was unable to complete a second interview with Isabel and Tian, who were also interlocutors during the Uyghur detainment discussion. Isabel and Tian both agreed to be interviewed a second time when asked in person, but when I called them on the scheduled date, they did not answer the call. They informed me after, letting me know they were busy with family events and SAT prep classes, respectively, and would not be able to reschedule. This limited my ability to analyze the degree to which their responses and perspectives might have shifted by the end of the program year as a result of the observed interactions with regards to their feelings on ACE and their future goals.

It can take longer to establish a rapport with recent immigrant youth that tend to be shy and less outgoing. Particularly in this afterschool context, where attendance was voluntary, I would often not see students for a stretch of weeks or students would show up well after the session had started, reducing the number of opportunities available for the relationship building process. With these concerns in mind, the researcher would have to think up alternate means to establish rapport and anticipate it could take longer to build a trusting relationship with such students considering the additional cultural or language barriers.

Recommendations

The Need for Reflective Practices in Community Building

Given the study results, there are several implications for practice on the pedagogical and curricular level for youth workers and educators in both formal and informal contexts. Even though the after-school context is considered a relatively relaxed environment - as an example, students did not have to follow strict rules and attendance was not mandatory - youth workers

would need to remain conscious and reflective of the connections or community that are fostered or hindered within such a group. In this study, the team-building exercise and the case of Wenxin in Chapter Four show how physical and spatial proximity impacted the fostering or hindering of a sense of belonging. While Mr. Luke liked giving the students agency to sit where they wanted during game time and the students enjoyed this freedom, it might have hampered the achievement of his programmatic goal of fostering new relationships between ACE peers since the students fell into safe spatial positioning that perpetuated prior relational ties. Most students did not branch out to form new relationships with ACE attendees except for the most extroverted students. Moreover, the community building aspects of the team-building exercises seemed to be lost on some students, like Calvin, who was solely focused on completing the procedural tasks.

Pedagogically, the mere act of implementation of the used activities - games and team-building exercises - was not sufficient to independently engender a sense of belonging. Afterschool program facilitators would need to continuously observe and reflect on the results of their selected practices and appropriately adjust the structure or framing accordingly to achieve the desired outcomes. Although Mr. Luke noticed that Wenxin was isolated from her peers, he did not try to implement new measures or facilitate new relationships by introducing her to other ACE peers in my observations. Mr. Luke was procedural about implementing the team-building exercises and game time, but some students needed coaching or modeling by the facilitator on how to interact with unfamiliar peers. The implications from my study support Kibler, Molloy Elreda, Hemmler, Arbeit, Beeson, and Johnson's (2019) finding that strong teacher practices for highly linguistically integrated classrooms included proactive praise, validation, challenging group work, and behavioral coaching through positive and respectful approaches. At ACE, appreciating or praising a peer's contribution after games or team-building activities could have

been built into the curriculum to encourage students to be conscious of and to interact with unfamiliar peers. Without the opportunity to interact in smaller groups and be reminded of the relationship building purpose of the program or exercises, the less vocal students, which tend to be ELLs, stay invisible and become forgotten by both peers and the facilitator.

On a curricular and organizational policy level, another implication is the need for continuous insightful feedback, training, and professional development for youth workers. While formal K-12 teachers receive annual performance evaluations and professional development from the school district, youth workers or educators in the informal settings are not required to have any educational content knowledge or pedagogical training. As a result, Mr. Luke, who was highly educated with a Juris Doctorate but not trained as an educator, fell into the trap of reinforcing adult-driven ideas or projects even though the service-learning oriented curriculum promoted a student-driven and student-centered approach. In my 2016 pilot study, the service-learning project topics were chosen and organized by the students; as a result, the students felt more responsibility and connection to the community (He, 2019). Service-learning researchers have emphasized that youth voice and control of the project are needed to build meaningful connections to the community and civic practices (Morgan & Streb, 2001). This was a vital aspect that Mr. Luke missed. Furthermore, through my observations, he did not have clear or consistent learning objectives for ACE sessions. Overall, he knew he wanted the students to develop a sense of community and learn leadership skills through the service-learning projects, but his execution was not grounded in structured and consistent teaching and learning strategies. The difference in programming from year to year and facilitator to facilitator with the same curriculum showed the need for more standardized training of youth workers. Even more concerning was that he did not receive much feedback about his pedagogy and facilitation skills.

His supervisor was at a different branch location of HES most of the week and she was trained as a social worker rather than an educator. Wanting to improve and not receiving expert feedback elsewhere, Mr. Luke even asked me, as an educational researcher, for feedback on his facilitation during our second individual interview. Interestingly, the professional development seminars that HES did send him to were more focused on program management rather than education. While it might be useful for his job, the objectives for both fields are very different. On an organizational and policy level, nonprofit program managers and executive leadership need to institute more training and formal professional development structures for youth workers. They are often placed in programs with young people assuming that they can learn on the job, but without the theoretical knowledge, best practices, or consistent feedback, their implementation or beliefs about children are sometimes more harmful than supportive.

Acknowledging Transnational Lives in an Integrated Way

To better serve and educate 1.25-generation immigrant students, the implications from this study for teachers, youth workers, and curriculum developers are that they need to acknowledge and incorporate the transnational and multicultural lives of these students. In general, the Euro- and America-centric curriculum in US public schools reinforce unidimensional views of society, history, and language that privileges white American societal interests. With increased ease of migration and globally connected technologies, the 1.25-generation youth consumption of transnational media and connections to other identity groups beyond the ones in the US show the desire for a transnational approach to subject areas such as history or social studies. Saba bringing up the Uyghur detainment issue was an opportunity to discuss civics, government, and individual rights, but if she brought the topic up in a formal classroom, the teachers might not be as open to it. On a policy level, the educational curriculum

should be expanded to include current transnational topics, and not shy away from them, as it will only enhance the critical thinking of students. Even for teachers and youth workers, they can integrate a more transnational perspective into their lesson plans by being open to the thoughts or prior knowledge of immigrant youth. The implications of the study shows that transnational and multiethnic discussions could lead to a more thorough and realistic understanding of democracy, citizenship, and the differences in government across nations.

More Research on and Funding for Informal Learning Contexts

For educational researchers and foundation grant managers, the implications of the study show that more research on and funding for informal learning context are needed. While formal institutions like schools have been studied extensively, the role of informal learning context has been understudied despite its relevance in understanding the lives of marginalized young people. The participants had developed soft skills that were not taught explicitly by their family members or in schools and gained cultural capital through learning about college and career pathways at ACE. Other research studies affirm that many youth find support networks, a sense of belonging, and purpose through their involvement in after-school programs (Baldridge, 2019; Tokunaga & Huang, 2016). The students often view the youth workers as mentors and advocates. For example, Mr. Luke often offered advice on academic as well as personal matters that dealt with immigration and socio-emotional issues. During my data collection period, he advocated to decrease the punishment of an ACE participant to the school principal. The student had been suspended from school due to accusations made against his behavior which were claimed to be false; Mr. Luke mentored them on the way in which they could fight the suspension and accusations. In this vein, formal K-12 teachers can also learn from the practices and approaches utilized in informal learning contexts to build stronger social relationships with students to

improve their formal classroom teaching (Rubin, Abu El-Haj, Graham, & Clay, 2016). Out-of-school time programs can empower students who might not be getting the support they need from their schools or families; thus, this study serves to showcase the importance of funding and sustaining such programs to educational policymakers.

Future Research and Student Update

In my dissertation, I had limitations in the number of sites I explored and data I collected. For future research, I would like to investigate other informal educational contexts where service-learning projects are conducted with 1.25-generation immigrant youth. It would be insightful to compare and contrast the varied outcomes between sites, which can in turn reveal differences in pedagogy, curriculum, and implementation. Along the same strand, I would like to further analyze youth workers and the nonprofit organizations; my dissertation showcases the vital influence a youth worker can have on the outcomes and peer interactions within the program. Accordingly, I would like to investigate that further by conducting research on youth workers that are experts as well as novices. The organizations themselves will also be relevant in the research as the amount of support or discouragement expressed by the organization will influence the type of programming, teaching, and learning that occurs in the afterschool context.

Deeping my analysis of the process of sense of belonging development among students, I would like to conduct a longitudinal study and follow the students as they move on to new chapters of their lives and gain a wider variety of experiences. Many of their responses about their sense of belonging and identity had qualifying words such as "for now" or "at this time" indicating a temporal and dynamic nature to their feelings towards the concepts. I would need to follow the students over a longer period of their life course to capture the dynamism and the factors that influence the progression and changes. In addition, this will also weave in the

language factor as the 1.25-generation immigrant students become more proficient in their oral English. How will their increased linguistic confidence shape their interactions and perspectives about spaces that they belong to? This type of study would add a new layer to the empirical studies on sense of belonging, as a facet of citizenship and identity, to advance the concrete operationalization of the abstractness and dynamic processes of the concepts.

As I am writing this dissertation and conclusion chapter in May 2020, the social interactions among people have changed dramatically in a short period of time due to the Covid-19 pandemic. As the shelter-in-place mandates look different from state to state, individuals are generally recommended to stand six feet apart, wear a face mask in public spaces, and schools have moved to remote learning. In this type of environment, people interact more frequently through virtual spaces; as a result, the mechanisms for developing belonging and community also changes. Seeking an update about the ACE program and students, I was able to connect with Trishna and Binsa, two of the focal students. Both students said that ACE moved all of their meetings to an online platform and had created events to support students during this unprecedented time such as game nights, workshops on public health safety, and an online version of the annual career conference. During the 2019-2020 program year, Trishna and Binsa were part of the youth council, which was a new student-led core leadership team at ACE. Both of them, through guidance from ACE staff, led workshops and game nights to support the other students. When I asked Trishna about what it was like to build a sense of community online, she said it was difficult. Even though they organized the game nights, not a lot of people joined because they had a lot of school work (more than before remote learning) or their family situations prevented them from joining. In addition, the attendance of the online weekly ACE session was not as consistent either. Binsa echoed Trishna's sentiments and she explained she

herself was one of the students that did not attend the online ACE sessions as regularly. She felt tired and overwhelmed from being in front of the computer screen all day for school work, meetings, and leading workshops as part of the youth council; hence, she needed a break from the computer screen. She said she tries to spend more time reading physical books and not to be surrounded by technology as much.

Given the logistical difficulties surrounding the pandemic, it is understandable that students are busy or need to take breaks from meetings or technology; however, I do wonder if the remote meetings were to continue, how the facilitators would create a sense of belonging and community among students with various English language proficiencies in a virtual space where verbal communication is even more foregrounded? Given the findings from this study, there should still be activities that allow each student to verbally express themselves and to interact with peers, especially in small groups or one-on-one with those they are unfamiliar with. In addition, the service-learning projects will probably need to pivot towards non-physical forms of service such as education, advocacy, or fund raising as well as consider communities beyond the immediate physical neighborhoods. By considering communities beyond the immediate environment, it might open spaces and conversations about the students' transnational attachments and connections as the pandemic affects many countries in different ways with various responses from their governments about how to limit the spread. Although it will be more difficult to read the non-verbal aspects of communication through virtual meetings, it could also be an opportunity for the students to communicate through writing and drawing in an asynchronous format. There are many types of technology and innovative pedagogical strategies that can foster a sense of belonging or community among students and the youth workers need to

be given the training and resources that will meet the needs of students, ensure successful

program outcomes, and meaningful learning in the new context.

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1    Appendix A:  Alternative Ending Teambuilding Activity
2    Tuesday Session 11/13/18
3
4    (11:31)
5    Jackie:    You have 15 minutes!
6    Binsa:     What's a movie you've watched recently?
7               (1.5)
8    Anya:      ((Looks at Binsa)) What happened?
9    Bin:       What's a movie you've watched recently?
10   Anya:      Oh::, I think it was on: (2.2) it was on Saturday I watched
11              (Minos/Mino).
12   Bin:       Unhuh ((moves gaze to Meiyang))[What abo]ut you?
13   Anya:                                     [unclear]
14   Meiyang:   ((Looking at desk in front of her))
15              (1.7)
16   Erica:     ((Looks at Anya)) What is the movie?=
17   Bin:       =Did you watch any movie recently? ((Gaze still on Meiyang)
18              (5.0) ((Mumbling, Anya translates for Meiyang))
19   Mei:       No
20   Bin:       Shows?
21   Mei:       Sho:ws? <But it's Chinese show>
22   Bin:       What was it about?
23   Mei:       I don't know how to say=
24   Calvin:    =But
25   Mr. L:     [((Points at] Calvin))
26   Bin:       [It's okay. ]
27                 [(unclear).       ((turns briefly to C[alvin from Mei))]
28   Cal:         [<I was [(unclear)  ]   (.)        C[razy Rich Asians]
29   Anya:              [((turns bri]efly to Calvin))
30   Mr. L:     °wo[o, Crazy Rich Asians°      ]
31   Bin:         [((turns to Mr. L briefly))]      Any ideas?!
32   Mr. L:     ((points at Calvin))
33   Cal:       But then-
34   Mr. L:     Say it=
35   Cal:       =they were kissing
36   Mr. L:     @@@@@@@
37              (0.5) ((No one laughing besides Mr. L and Erica))
38              You don't have to kiss, no.
39   Bin:       OH:, M[Y:            ]
40   Anya:            [hhuhhhuuhhuuuh]
41   Tian:       [((looks at Calvin th]en turns away with a smirk))
42   Cal:       A[ah:, no no (unclear)]
43   Mr. L:     Yeah, at the end they were kissing.
44   Cal:       Yea yea
45   Mr. L:     But[ (.) you don't- you don't have to ]
46   Bin:          [HHaaHHHaaahhhaaa                 ]
47   Anya:         [HHuuhhhhhuuuhhu                  ]
48   Mei:          [Looks at Anya, but does not really] laugh or smile
49   Cal:       The (plan/plane) ((points finger up))
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50   Mr. L:   Yeah, ((points finger at Cal)) It's A:lternate so it means
51            (.) maybe they didn't get together.
52   Bin:     betcha, it ended with a breakup and then started kissing
53            [HHAAHHAAAH ((tilts head back in laughter))]
54   Anya:    [hhhuu ((laughing really hard and puts head] on desk))
55   Mr. L:   [ YEAH!                                     ]
56            (2.2) ((laughter from everyone except Meiyang, Tian, and
57            Calvin. Not much body movement and with neutral facial
58            expressions))
59   Cal:     Wait, have you guys seen the movie?
60   Mr. L:   Did you all see the movie?
61   Cal:     Yea:, I did.
62   Mr. L:   Yes, you already [did.   ]
63   Tian:                     [∘Which?∘]=
64   Mr. L:   =Crazy Rich Asians=
65   Bin:     =What was that?
66   Mr. L:   Cr[azy Rich As]ians
67   Bin:       [yea, unhuhh]
68   Tian:      [((shakes he]ad))
69   Anya:    Oh yeah, unhuh, I've seen that.
70   Tian:    ((Looking at Anya speaking in Chinese)). What is it? What
71            is the movie?
72   Anya:    ∘Crazy Rich Asians∘
73            (28.5) ((Almost everyone, except Anya and Tian, are silent
74            and looking at the projector screen because Mr. L is
75            pulling the movie scene up. Tian and Anya are having a very
76            quiet side conversation in Chinese. Unclear, possibly
77            explaining the movie since Tian asked Anya about it
78            earlier.))
79   Cal:     That is on the plane
80   Mr. L:   On the plane >yea yea<=
81   Cal:     =Yeaa:h
82            (58.2)((Silence as everyone waits for Mr. L to start
83            playing the movie scene. Binsa whistles quietly for a few
84            seconds. Tian walks around then goes back to his seat and
85            talks to Anya quietly in Chinese. Unclear what is said))
86            (126.0)((Mr. L starts playing movie scene and remarks "So
87            cute!" in a high pitched cutesy voice. Mr. L also commented
88            on the actress winning an award and Calvin replied says
89            that's the mom. Lena comes in while the movie scene is
90            playing))
91   Anya:    ahwww
92   Bin:     ((looking at Anya and Tian))We'll be like 'will you marry
93            me? ↓No           [Hhhuhhuuhh]
94   Tian:    ((looking at Bin)) [Huuhhhuuhh]
95   Anya:    ((looking at Bin)) [Hhhhuhhhhh]
96   Mr. L:   Okay, that's your scene. (5.7) You got it? Everybody got
97            it? You guys have five minutes to choose who are you(.)
98            [um   what  you   are  doing]
99   Bin:     [((po[ints at Anya)) Anya.  ]     Ye::ss ]
100  Anya:        [No,   no  >no  no  no   no   no  no<]
101  Mr. L:   and then-[(5.3)              Hhhaaahh             ]
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102   Bin:             [((Points other hand at Calvin. Flicking
103                     outstretched arms and laughing))         ]
104   Tian:            [HHHAAAAHhhaaaahhh                          ]
105   Anya:            [>No no no no no no no no no no<           ]
106   Mr. L:    and[ then you have to figure out what the ending] is
107   Anya:       [>No [no  no no  no  no no  no  no  no no< ] ]
108   Bin:             [YEe::sss    noo:    Yee::s                ]
109   Tian:     ↑YEEAAaahhhhh (.) ((In Chinese then English))
110               [You won't be together anyways. You say 'no' ]
111   Bin:      [You say 'no'.     You say 'no'       ye:ahh ]
112             ((Movie stops playing))
113   Anya:     ((Turns from looking at Mr. L to Binsa)) What happened?
114   Bin:      You say no. ((pointing at Calvin)) He'll be like 'will you
115             marry me?' and you be like 'No'
116   Mr. L:    Yeah, but you can't just say no and it ends. You also have
117             to do the ending too.
118   Bin:      oh my. ↑Oh, we'll be doing surprise right?
119   Eri:      Yeah, it's an alternative ending. (.) Different from that.
120   Anya:     ((pointing at Binsa)) yeah, you guys- you can do it.
121   Bin:      No, ((pointing at Anya)) that's you. Aah((sound of
122             something dropping on floor and movie starts again)) oh was
123             that me?
124             (3.6)
125             ((waving arms in circle towards Anya and Calvin as if
126             telling them to stand up and speaking in a sing-song tone))
127             Hello, hello,(.) hello, you two
128             (9.1)((No one gets up and everyone looks at the movie on
129             projector screen. Tian says something to Anya in Chinese.
130             Unclear))
131   Eri:      Or she could say she's in love with someone else
132   Mr. L:    Yeah, she could say she's in love with someone else
133             [or she could say I'm an alien from outer space.]
134   Tian:     [Yeahh, hhahh                 HAAHHAAAHHAAAAHHH]
135   Mr. L:    We can say- it's your ending okay. So you guys have to
136             figure it out amongst yourselves. You have three minutes so
137             include Lena and Calvin. ((points at Lena and Calvin)) Come
138             on (3.1)((moves fingers towards his body, gesturing for
139             them to come closer to the center table))Come on=
140   Bin:      =hello, come on, come on
141   Mr. L:    and then um (.) the rest of us, Jackie, Mindy, Erica, and
142             I, it's gonna be a surprise for us. Okay, go. (2.5)
143             [So talk amongst each other, we'll try not ]to listen.
144   Tian:     [((Looking at Anya))  hhhuuhhhuuuhhhhhuuu  ]
145   Mr. L:    I'll play this in the background. ((Turns to laptop))
146             (6.0)
147             >Go Go Go< Come on.
148   Bin:      ((Moving arms towards body as if gathering people)) Come
149             on, make a plan (.) let's make a plan.
150             ((Calvin moves closer and Lena sits in the circle))
151             How do you want to end it?=
152   Mr. L:    =Alright, so this it is, you're on the airplane ((Starts
153             playing movie scene))=
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154   Bin:      =how do you want to end it? ((looking at Lena or Anya))
155   Cal:      Like, just like she don't want to marry him.
156             (5.8) ((Everyone looking at projector screen))
157   Mr. L:    So you're on the airplane, you have to finish this scene.
158             (5.0) And remember if she- if you just say no, there has to
159             be like (.) reactions and other stuff too, okay. >So go<
160   Eri:      This can be a prop
161   Bin:      yeah
162   Eri:      okay. ((sets plastic cat on table))
163   Mr. L:    So let us know what else you need=
164   Bin:      =So let's just begin with (.) how do you want to end it?
165             (.)So how do you want to end it? ((looking at Lena and
166             Anya))
167   Lena:     Everyone sad.
168             ((Mr. L, Binsa, and Anya laugh))
169   Bin:      Specific
170   Lena:     (unclear) Just that person on the ground.
171   Mr. L:    Co::me on::, don't be boring.
172   Lena:     I am boring.
173   Mr. L:    Don't be boring (.) do something funny.
174   Anya:     (unclear)
175   Bin:      ((Looks at Meiyang)) How do you want to end it?
176   Mei:      (Unclear)
177             (37.1)((After Meiyang explains her idea, Binsa seems to be
178             talking and giving her idea. Then Anya responds with
179             something. Lena, Tian, and Meiyang do not seem to be
180             engaged in the conversation, looking at projector screen
181             with movie playing. Calvin initiates a side conversation
182             with Mr. L about the racial background of male actor.))
183   Mr. L:    Come on guys you have four minutes (.) not even, two
184             minutes
185             (10.0)((Binsa and Anya having very quiet conversation))
186   Bin:      ((Looking at Lena)) Wait, how do you think it's gonna- I
187             mean make it saa:::d:?
188   Lena:     ((Nods head rapidly while using phone, but no verbal
189             response))
190   Bin:      ((Points at Tian)) What about you? (.) How do you want to
191             end it?
192   Tian:     (unclear) everyone will take off.
193   Bin:      ((Looks at Calvin)) What about you?
194   Cal:      say I don't want to marry you and like (unclear)
195   Bin:      Oh, yeah. ((Looks at Anya)) So what do you think? (.)
196             ((Looks around at everyone at table)) so the options, I
197             mean you guys heard them right?
198   Anya:     °You can choose.°
199   Bin:      ↑A:h, ↓no.
200   Lena:     How bout- how bout the girl wanted to marry the guy (.) bu-
201             bu- but um the day of the wedding, um like the doctor came
202             here- she say that you got some disease that you  will  die
203             soon.
204   Tian:     ((In Chinese to Anya)) *Soun[ds like a Korean drama.* Hhhah]
205   Bin:                                  [Wait, what was that?        ]
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206                ((Leans head closer towards Lena))
207   Lena:        Hhuhhhuhhh((Looks at Anya and slightly points hand at Bin))
208   Anya:        ((Looks at Binsa)) So the proposal, at the end, she has
209                some sort of disease (unclear).
210   Bin:         (Unclear) ((pointing fingers at Lena and Anya))
211   Lena:        No, I'[m good.    ]              ((Starts talking to Anya))
212   Anya:            [((shakes ha]nd to indicate no))
213   Bin:         The two of you, who's gonna be- ((pointing at Tian and
214                Calvin))
215   Anya:        ((taps table to get Binsa's attention))
216   Lena:        ((gestures to her and Anya))
217   Bin:         You two?
218   Lena:        Yeah, we're gonna act the girl and the (.) boy
219   Bin:         Who's gonna be the guy?
220   Lena:        ((Looks at Anya)) You are taller so you can be the guy.
221                ↑Hey sweetheart!
222                (30.5)((Everyone laughs except Calvin and Meiyang laughs
223                quietly while other people have more body movements while
224                laughing. After they stop laughing, Lena and Anya discuss
225                in Chinese (unclear). Binsa looks off at projector screen))
226   Bin:         Okay, wait, what is the surprise we're doing later?
227                (31.8)((Binsa moves arms in circle and says something but
228                unclear. Then Anya turns to Lena to discuss in Chinese,
229                unclear))
230   Lena:        So we'll have a sad ending right?
231   Bin:         unhuh and then=
232   Lena:        =and then ((Chinese to Anya)) Tell her what we should do at
233                the end, because I'm dead.
234   Anya:        ((Looks at Binsa)) How do you want to end it? End scene.
235   Bin:         By:e::: [(1.3) I don't know (.) we could like- one of you ]
236   Lena:                [((Walks away while Bin talking, go to trashcan)) ]
237   Anya:                [((Walks away while Bin talking, whisper to Tian))]
238   Bin:         I don't know who the girl is but then um it's like-
239                (unclear)
240                (19.0)((Lena, Anya, and Tian standing around and eating))
241   Mr. L:       You guys ready? Two minutes.
242                (1.0)
243   Cal:         Alrigh:, we ready.
244   Mr. L:       You ready?
245   Cal:         Yea
246   Mr. L:       Okay
247                (8.2) ((People standing around eating or just sitting))
248   Cal:         Alright, ↑Let's go::
249                (2.3)
250                Alright, ↑Let's go::
251   Tian:        [((Turns to Calvin briefly))                    ]
252   Bin:         [((Turns to Calvin briefly))  Okaa:yy           ]
253                (4.5)
254                Ready?
255   Cal:         Ye[e:aaa:::]
256   Anya:          [Wait, wh]at happened?
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257   Bin:      You guys ready?
258             (1.2)
259   Anya:     What are we supposed to be doing?
260   Bin:      °<No idea>° (.)↑OH, you- you're supposed to pretend walking
261             inside the plane
262   Mr. L:    Wait, everyone has to do something
263   Bin:      No, we're gonna be=
264   Tian:     =oh, hey, we're gonna sit in (there/the-) ((points towards
265             back of classroom where seat represent airplane))
266   Mr. L:    Okay, but you have to be there, whatever=
267   Bin:      =oo::h, act like a crew member=
268   Mr. L:    =You have to be like a passenger
269   Bin:      o:h yeah, right, okay. ((waves hand towards Meiyang)) ↑Come
270             on.
271             (26.4) ((Binsa and Meiyang move towards back of classroom.
272             Lena asks Anya in Chinese if they are supposed to be one a
273             plane and Tian replies yes. After, all three moves towards
274             back of classroom. Calvin had eaten some snacks and already
275             sitting in back. Some laughter and giggling))
276   Bin:      I'm just gonna be sitting hhaahh
277   Anya:     ((Looking at Lena)) So we just start the (unclear)
278   Lena:     Yeah.
279             (2.0)
280   Mr. L:    ((plays music from movie scene)) I got you!
281             (18.5)((Calvin, Tian, Meiyang, and Binsa sitting as
282             passengers. Binsa and Tian tell Lena and Anya to get into
283             positions. Some laughter and giggling))
284             Alright, setting up the scene. Who's who?
285   Cal:      uhh, ((points at Lena while looking at Mr. L))=
286   Lena:     =I'm the girl.
287   Cal:      She the ((pointing at Anya, while looking at Mr. L))=
288   Bin:      ((pointing at Anya)) =and she's the guy.
289   Mr. L:    Okay
290   Cal:      She's the main guy.
291   Mr. L:    Okay
292             (16.2) ((Lena walks and bumps into Anya. Both giggle))
293   Bin:      Come on! (unclear)
294             (0.5)
295   Lena:     Who are you? Hhahhhha
296   Anya:     I want to tell you something.
297   Lena:     Yes!
298   Anya:     I love you! ((Gets down on one knee)) Would you marry me?
299   Lena:     HHAAaahhaaa.
300   Anya:     Will you marry me?
301   Lena:     Where's the ring?!
302   Anya:     ((Gestures to hold out fake ring)) Here's the ring
303   Lena:     OOHH::: ((claps hands then grabs Anya's hands)). YES.
304   Anya:     I love you!
305   Lena:     I love you too! Gimme! HHUUHhhh
306             (5.2)((Anya puts fake ring on Lena's hand and they hug))
307             Okay, time to wedding.
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308              (16.8)((Change to wedding scene. Binsa gestures for
309              Meiyang, Tian, and Calvin to stand up to pretend to be
310              friends at wedding. Anya covers Lena's eyes))
311   Anya:      One, two, three.
312   Bin:       ((R[aises arms up and out))        SURPRISE!]
313   Tian:        [((Holds arms up slightly))    Surprise!]
314   Mei:         [((Holds arms up slightly))    Surprise!]
315   Cal:         [((Scratches head))            Surprise!]
316   Lena:      ((Falls backwards to floor)) AA::RRHHH:
317   Anya:      ((Kneels down towards Lena)) BABY! What's wrong! BABY
318   Bin:       ((Gets down on floor)). We need to take her to the
319              hospital=
320   Anya:      =BABY, what's wrong? (2.3) Oh my god, my wife! ((pretend
321              crying))
322              (40.1)((Meiyang, Tian and Calvin standing in previous
323              positions, looking down at Lena and laughing/giggling. Anya
324              continues wailing and acting distraught about Lena
325              collapsing))
326   Mr. L:     Okay and cut! (4.0) Yahhhayy!! ((Clapping))
327              (2.1) Okay, hold on (.) you need to explain what just
328              happened. (2.0) Okay, what happened?
329   Bin:       okay, so um, they- ((points and turns towards Anya)) °do
330              you wanna explain?°
331   Anya:      What happened?
332   Bin:       What happened in the (unclear)
333   Anya:      Okay, so:: (.) we met in a plane, right. And then <I
334              proposed to this girl here> and then afterwards we decided
335              to give her a surprise and then she suddenly (0.5) faint
336   Bin:       Yes, she suddenly fainted ((arm swoops down like falling on
337 floor))
338   Anya:      yeah, she suddenly faint (.) and then it's because she has
339              some sort of- a disease and then I went crazy °because°
340   Lena:      and I'm die
341   Bin:       yes, she suddenly fainted ((arm swoops down like falling on
342 floor))
343   Anya:      yeah, she suddenly faint and (.) and then it's because she
344              has some sort of LA disease and then I went crazy
345   Lena:      and I'm die.
346   Bin:       And she didn't- she didn't say that before. (unclear)
347              Nobody knows [(unclear)   surprise she died.]
348   Cal:                    [Nobody knows about her       ]
349   Mr. L:     Okay, good job!
350              ((Clapping by Binsa, Anya, Lena, and Mr. L. Tian and Calvin
351              do not clap))
352              That sounds sad. (.) Are you okay Tian?
353   Tian:      HHAAHHHAaaahh
354   Bin:       Are you crying?
355   Mr. L:     Okay, have some snacks and then we're gonna do resumes. (.)
356              ↑That was good. (1.0) I rea:lly felt the pain when Lena
357              died, guys
358   End 30:08
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1   Appendix B:  Uyghur Open Mic Discussion
2
3   Starting from Erica going clockwise, it is Mr. Luke, Isabel, Meiyang,
4   Tian, Jiali, and Saba.
5
6   Tuesday 04.09.19 Excerpt - 13:07 to 35:00
7
8   Saba:       Wait, I have a question. ((raises finger slightly briefly
9               pointing at Mr. L)) Wait, are you Chinese?
10  Mr. Luke:   I am Filipino.
11  Saba:       ((Pointing at Jiali)) Are you Chinese?  ((Pointing at
12              Tian)) [You're Chinese right?                          ]
13  Jiali:             [((Raises her hand slightly as if to say yes))]
14  Tian:       ((Nods head in agreement))
15  Meiyang:    °Yea°
16  Saba:       Well, you know, I had this- I felt really guilty about this
17              (.) but you know there was this- I heard like it was on the
18              news (.) how people in China they were like doing (.) there
19              was this umm- they were like putting like Muslims in like
20              camps and stuff. It was like [(unclear)                 ]
21  Mr. L:                                   [O:h yeah, I heard about that]
22  Saba:       And I felt- I don't know, it was just like- I hate myself
23              for doing this like- I told my mom about it. I learned they
24              like- I saw a post on like Instagram (.) that was like-
25              that's messed up. That was like- you know, it felt like you
26              know what happened in the Holocaust like they were putting
27              people in like- °And I was like-° And what really bothered
28              me was like because of my country ((places left hand on
29              chest area)) like, Pakistan and China ((points right finger
30              away from body)) they were like in really good terms
31              ((moves both hands close together)) and I was like (.) my
32              country is like an Islamic state, so the governments can
33              get along that way but the- that's what you're doing (.) >I
34              was just really confused< so I was like- I told my mom, I
35              just hated it. Like you know, I have
36              Chi[nese friends and I look a]t them and I can't see them
37  Jia:          [((Turns to gaze at Saba))]
38  Saba:       in the same like you know- I feel- like you know I feel
39              like betrayed in a way. I don't know it felt weird like I
40              couldn't like tell like (.) how I felt, but it was just
41              like I- I like can't talk to them in the same way like I'm
42              just- they're my [↑friends, they're nice to] me so like-
43  Jia:                         [((Turns to gaze at Saba))]
44  Saba:       when I look at them I'm like (.) I don't know like how to
45              respond. And it was like, crazy how like- (.) I would see
46              them and you know and it was wrong because I was being (.)
47              ra:cist in a way like <I was letting that affect my
48              relationship with people> that are really nice to me and I
49              was just like, <how do I like no:t be: this
50  Tian:       [((Tian tries to talk with Jiali. She responds a little but
51              tries to remain quiet while Saba talks. (31.0)))         ]
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52   Saba:      [person, right?> And then I just talked to them about it  ]
53              and they were like, ↑oh we know that too, like they also
54              knew but we just didn't want to like (.) talk about it
55              because it was like <uncomfortable> because you're- (.)°and
56              I was like° yeah it was messed up and it was crazy because
57              no one was talking about it. There was just a few posts on
58              Instagram and I was like ↑where's the United Nations now?
59   Mr. L:     [((starts using laptop to search for something. Students
60              start looking at projector screen rather than Saba))      ]
61   Saba:      [Like why is it that they choo:se (.) like pick and choose]
62              what they wanted to talk about. It was crazy. (1.1)
63   Tian:      [((Lifts arms wide and leans back in chair yawning))    ]
64   Saba:      [Yeah and that's why like I had for- and that was right]
65              after the umm the <lunar new year par- wwa the lunar
66              parade> that we went to and I was like I shouldn't- I
67              shouldn't have gone. But it was wro:ng because like you
68              know, that's the whole thing about unity and like that's
69              how you (.) kind of (.) ((Makes dome shaped hand on table))
70              buu=
71   Mr. L:     =You build it
72   Tian:      [((Plays with Jiali hair and she lightly hits him))]
73   Saba:      [Yeah, you build that (.) sense of community togeth]er
74              against the people who are doing it. It was crazy, °that
75              week was very hard.° Like I was so confused I didn't know
76              what to do.
77              (2.0)
78   Mr. L:     ((Looks at students)) Does anyone want to say anything
79              about that?[  (1.5)  Have you guys heard about this?]
80   Isabel:               [((Looks at Saba briefly, shakes head))  ]
81   Tian:      [No.                          ]
82   Jia:       [((shakes head))          ]
83   Mei:       [((shakes head slightly))]
84   Mr. L:     Okay, ((looks at laptop with New York Times article.
85              Students look at projector screen or desk)) so I saw this
86              in the news also there's um (3.6) Chinese- so this is- so
87              this is a (1.0) oh this is an international (.) China's
88              sweeping confinement of Uyghurs and other Muslim minorities
89              in the <cha:nxian> ((Xinjiang)) region has drawn
90              condemnation from foreign governments and international
91              bodies, including in recent weeks. A US envoy called it a
92              war with faith. Turkis- Turkey, once quiet about the
93              detentions, has become critical. The um United Nations high
94              commissioner for human rights recently demanded answers.
95              (2.5) U:m (3.2) ↓yea:h
96              (5.8)
97   Saba:      But is this- ah isn't it also that since China is a
98              communist (.) um country that other countries can't really
99              say anything? (2.5) like=
100  Isa:        [(( Stretches arms up and yawns))      ]
101  Mr. L:     =[I mean the United Nations isn't about ](1.9) the- they-
102             they don't care hhuhh ((smirk)). They'll say- they'll call
103             other nations out on it. Just like they'll call North Korea
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104              um (1.0) India, Pakistan out for like (.) like nuclear
105              weapons. It doesn't matter. Like the United Nations doesn't
106              (.) it's part- it's part because the United Nations doesn't
107              have like um a particular (1.0) um agreement with any of
108              these nations. They don't have like
109  (    ):    [((Through the rest of Mr. L's turn (120.0). Tian tries to
110              talk to Jiali, she responds a little. He stretches his
111              arms, yawning then starts playing with Jiali's pencil case.
112              Isabel uses her cellphone for a little bit then starts
113              looking at her white flashcards. Meiyang looks at Mr. L
114              then Isabel's flashcards sometimes))                    ]
115  Mr.L:      [real umh (3.0) like (.) disciplinary measures you know]
116              what I mean? So they just call people out on stuff all the
117              time. So this- like (.) is part of the- you know bringing
118              light to the situation and now they're- and now what
119              they're talking about is like what do we do next, right?
120              ↑And a lot of times the UN is powerless to make (.) to
121              force countries into you know um (2.0) obeying because the
122              United Nations requires (.) you know soldiers from those
123              nations to enforce it, right. So it's gonna be totally
124              weird, if like you know Nor- you know Pakistani and Indian
125              soldiers are now gonna be like ↓HEY, we are going to a
126              peace keeping mission in Indian and Pakistan about these
127              nuclear weapons and we have to enforce it ↑and all those
128              soldiers are gonna be like ↓No, I'm not right? I'm not
129              gonna enforce against my own country, so that's why it's a
130              little bit strange that the United Nations is making (.) a
131              lot of this calling other countries out, but because they
132              are calling these countries out then you know other
133              countries can actually do something about it, right? Um, uh
134              (.) sanctions on Russia, sanctions on North Korea, like
135              trade embargos like those- those help other countries-
136              those helped change behaviors more than United Nations like
137              telling people ↓Don't do that, ↓you're bad right? Um, so I
138              actually don't know if this has actually been resolved
139              (2.0) ((Fidgeting with laptop))
140              °°How long ago was this?°°
141              (1.5)
142  Erica:     It's probably not resolved.
143  Saba:      No, it's not.
144  Mr. L:     >Not resolved. No, not resolv-<
145  Erica:     Yeah
146  Mr. L:     Um, and I think- I think oka:y. So (.) so what I'm hearing
147              from you ((swoops left arm towards Saba)) is (.) I have
148              this sense of (.) community that's been broken, right?
149  Saba:      [((slight head nod))]
150  Mr. L:     [And maybe you recog]nize that it's (.) unfair to maybe the
151              immediate surroundings but there's still this sense of
152              broken community right? So maybe you can't hold your
153              Chinese  friends  responsible
154              tho[ugh. That would ]completely be unreasonable. But it's
155  Saba:         [yeah, that was- ]
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156   Mr. L:      still this feeling right? That like you know um (0.5) you
157               know people ↑who are like me, are being discriminated
158               against because (.) of their faith right?=
159   Saba:       =And it was like crazy because <I think more that it wasn't
160               just like China and then that.> It was just like- in
161               general everyday there was something like (.) it either was
162               like the- the mosque shootings or it was like (.) the whole
163               thing in Syria how in like- Palestine and everything. It
164               was just like everywhere, like you see like there's- I mean
165               I know there's a lot of Jewish people and there's like so
166               many times when they get targeted (.) and it was just
167               crazy. Every day was like Muslims dying, dying, dying. I
168               [was just like, what the hell you know.
169   (    ):     [((Tian was looking at cellphone. Isabel looking at
170               flashcards. Jiali and Meiyang looking at Saba, Mr. L, or
171               desk))
172   Mr. L:      ↑Yeah
173   Saba:       ∘It was just crazy∘
174   Mr. L:      Okay, so let's talk- I wanna talk about this a little bit
175               right? Like (1.5) um (1.8) my first- the first thing I want
176               to talk about is how can we: um (2.2) address something we
177               don't necessarily have any influence or any power over
178               right? Like, us seven in this room, there is very little
179               that we can do to help change the Chinese government um (.)
180               or you know free these people who are oppressed. But ↑what
181               can we do in our space? (2.9) Any thoughts about what we
182               can do?
183               (7.5) ((Students looking down at desks or fidgeting with
184               items on desk))
185   Saba:       I think being honest, um like if- and having honest like
186               conversations. It's just like you can't change (0.5) like
187               in the long ru- maybe like you can't change much but at
188               least if you're talking about it and you're like sharing
189               feelings you can actually like maybe- in that specific time
190               (.) or like the people that you're with you can like maybe
191               eliminate the feelings that ↑I had. Like, you know feeling
192               anger towards people that didn't deserve (.) to be, you
193               know, put in that position like (.) if I talked like- I was
194               cle[ar about my feelings maybe I would have had an honest ]
195   Isa:          [((Isabel gets up and leaves her desk to throw trash)) ]
196   Saba:       conversation with someone and they would have like helped
197               me. So it was like- (.) it's the fact that
198   Isa:        [((Isabel looks at Erica, whispers 'bathroom.' Erica nods
199               before Isabel leaves))                                    ]
200   Saba:       [we just don't talk about things that kind of make us   ]
201               uncomfortable. And we just keep it in and that ju:st ends
202               up building to something that you can't control anymore,
203               that's how you put out hatred in the community that you
204               live in.
205   Mr. L:      Yeah=
206   Saba:       =∘That's like about talking and having conversations∘
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207   Mr. L:     Yeah, I agree. Anybody else have any other thoughts?
208              ((Looks at remaining students))
209              (5.5)((Tian shakes head. Other students look at desk))
210   Mr. L:     Do you guys understand the question?
211   Mei:       [((Shakes head))   ]
212   Jia:       [((Nods slightly))]
213   Tian:      [(unclear)        ]=
214   Mr. L:     =Huh?=
215   Tian:      =°make me feel (unclear)°.
216   Mr. L:     ↑Well, (1.0) I understand that. And to some degree I am
217              with you on that. °Sometimes some things are too big to be
218              like (.)↓I have an AP test tomorrow, I can't worry about
219              that right now.° But, what Saba is saying that she felt
220              this way (.) about this you know larger political issue umm
221              (2.7) what I am asking is like you know if one of our
222              friends is feeling this way um how can we:- (.) what can we
223              do about this situation?
224              (7.1) ((Tian raises eyebrows. Others stare blankly))
225   Mr. L:     Jiali, you said you understood the question, right?
226   Jia:       [((nods head))                                       ]
227   (   ):     [((Meiyang and Saba look at Jiali briefly))]
228   Mr. L:     Do you have any ideas, any thoughts on ↑what we could do?
229              You know even in a small- like our classroom setting?
230   Jia:       <°I think um if this kind of thing happens to me, I would
231              just choose to ignore it. I think the things between two
232              countries is not actually related to us°>
233   Mr. L:     °Okay° (0.5) Okay, ↑what if you can't ignore it right? Wr
234              what if somebody else can't ignore it?
235   Jia:       [umm]
236   Mr. L:     [And]- and I'm not saying that that's- (.) like ignorance
237              is bad like I think- and and (.) I think we can
238              compartmentalize (.) like what's happening over there, is
239              happening over there. Yes it's important, yes, it's you
240              know (.) important to the people over there, but (.) you
241              can also say like right now I have my own (.) concerns I
242              have to con- you know I have to deal with right. And that's
243              sometimes, you have to do that, right?
244   Tian:      [((pretends to wipe desk dust onto Jiali's lap. She looks
245              down at her lap briefly))                              ]
246   Mr. L:     [I have an AP test or like I have a presentation due, I ]
247              have you know, you know teen stuff to worry about um (.)
248              right now is not the time to worry about, you know (.)
249              international relations between these two countries, right?
250              That's okay. Now, (1.0) ↑tackling it at an appropriate
251              time? Yes, you know your- you write an essay on it, you
252              write your Congressmen Congresswomen on it, that's what I'm
253              gonna do, okay. ↑But what about in a- in a time when you
254              can't ignore it? What would you- what would you do?
255              (3.0)((Saba and Meiyang glance at Jiali briefly))
256   Jia:       Mmm
257              (8.5)
258   Mr. L:     Tian, Meiyang (.) Any thoughts?
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259   Tian:      [((Shakes head))                ]
260   Mei:       [((shakes head and looks down))]
261              (17.1)
262   Mr. L:     Umm, (2.5) So I'm big on talking things out. I think (.)
263              expressing yourself is something that everyone should be
264              able to do and (.) I think people don't do it enough,
265              right? Number one it's this idea that if I don't express
266              myself, I'm gonna get- would get physically frustrated and
267              on top of that emotionally and mentally frustrated, right?
268              Like how come no one's listening to me, how come I can't-
269              you know vent or get this out. Um, the second thing is- is
270              just this idea of um if we're able to listen to one
271              another. Right? Um, (1.5) that's like the first step to
272   Isa:       [((Comes back and sits in chair)) ]
273              [understanding each other and then] you know, getting to
274              some sort of reso- resolution. Um, (2.1) I hope that this
275              could be a space where we can talk about things like this
276              (.) because um (0.5) first of all, it's a safe space number
277              one, right?  Like, um, I will- Erica and I do what we can
278              to make sure everybody is respected here and that everyone
279              can share their thoughts and their beliefs. And number two,
280              this idea that (.) we can have tough conversations in here
281              while at the same time respecting one another, like, w-
282              people don't do that enough, right? People either are so
283              afraid of getting- of offending others or people are so
284              afraid- or at the slightest challenge or offense or
285              perception of offense, people stop talking to each other
286              right? But the reality is we have to have these difficult
287              conversations right. Sometimes, it has say- and I just
288              wanna say right off the bat ((Looking and waving arm
289              towards Saba)), I really appreciate you for being honest
290              with yourself and saying like ↑I was a little racist right?
291              Like I think that's a huge thing to recognize in yourself
292              um and then also at the same time say ↓I shouldn't have
293              been racist, but I was, right? And I think that's huge to
294              understand that even about yourself because I feel like
295              people aren't- like a lot of people aren't (.) that self-
296              aware. ↑See I'm not being racist, you're hurting my
297              feelings right? Or I'm not being bigoted or discriminatory
298              like (.) this is my opinion, I should have my opinion,
299              right? But if you base it on one particular aspect of
300              somebody or one unreasonable part of a story then (.) we
301              can't have that conversation, right? And then we can't come
302              to like- at the very least an understanding of one another,
303              right? Um, so I'm big about talking it out. Right? Um, and
304              I hope that if we do have hard conversations like this in
305              the future that we as a group can talk it out A::nd that
306              (.) because we can talk about it here that gives you
307              courage to talk about it outside of this place. Right? And
308              I'm talking like you know (.) you have difficult
309              conversations with your friends right? ↑HEY, listen! We
310              can't use that word that's a racist word, right? You have
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311              to be able to say that to your friends because you know you
312              and your friends don't wanna be known as racist or you
313              don't want to do racist things in front of other people and
314              you have to be able to call your friends like that. ↑Oh my
315              goodness, with your parents, right? Sometimes your parents
316              are like super old school, and you're just like, ↓oh my god
317              mom, don't say stuff like that right? You need be like-
318              have those difficult conversations with your parents and
319              say that's like- you're judging somebody based on their
320              ethnicity, country, um sexual orientation, right? You don't
321              know them, you're just judging them based on one thing
322              about them, right? And that's a very difficult conversation
323              to have because they're your parents, right? When you're at
324              work, you have a difficult conversation with your boss,
325              difficult conversations with your co-workers, right? Like
326              hopefully, you have that courage to do that, right? Um, and
327              (1.0) I want you guys to challenge yourself in that way,
328              right? A lot of times, we choose not to, because we don't
329              have all the facts, we don't have the education, we don't
330              speak that well, right? But that's why they're hard
331              conversations right? Um, but, same time, we have to have
332              those hard conversations because otherwise then we don't
333              come off- we don't come off as- or we end up staying within
334              our own minds and we end not having these conversations
335              about things like oppression, racism, sexism, right? The
336              number one thing about sexism and specifically um (1.5) um
337              like assault or attacks on women is that women don't feel
338              like they have the voice to explain themselves or to call
339              somebody out. ↑Until, that one person does that. And as
340              soon as that one person does it then everybody feels they
341              have the power to do it, right? Imagine if we lived in a
342              world where people get called out as soon as it happens, we
343              take it seriously, and then everybody knows this is not
344              okay. Right? And that is the world we want to be in right?
345              Hey, you can't touch me like that. Hey, you can't talk to
346              me like that. As opposed to like, oh, I don't know, this is
347              just how it is. Or maybe you know, it's just me, I'm being
348              crazy right? That's how the world treats women! A:nd we
349              need to be in a place where we can say No. What she says is
350              serious, we're gonna take it seriously and then we're gonna
351              stop this right? And the reality is (.) if people weren't-
352              if people weren't so oppressive or sexist in the beginning,
353              we wouldn't (.) have to you know wait till people come out
354              in mass and say all these things. Or accuse you know- or
355              have one person have multiple accusers until that's the
356              time we're actually thinking okay, maybe he i::s someone
357              who sexually assaults people, right? Does that makes sense?
358  (    ):     [((All female students nod. Tian does not move))  ]
359  Mr. L:      [Right? So please (.) thank you,((looking at Saba)) I
360              appreciate you k]now your honesty with us. Um and thank you
361              ((looking at rest of students)) everybody for (.) you know
362              being honest also. So I think you know sharing your
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363              thoughts and feelings even on hard things is very
364              important. Umm, okay, ↑let's do one fun one because that
365              one got super heavy just like the first one did.
366              [((students start relaxing and stretching in their seats))]
367  Mr. L:     [Okay, who wants to choose?                                ]
368  Isa:       I think the first one
369
370  End of excerpt (35:00)
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Appendix C: Interview Questions

Focal Student Interview Protocol

The interview will follow Patton's (1990) and Brenner's (2006) recommendations for a semi-structured interview with some probes. The approach allows an exploration of the main ideas while affirming the integrity and experience of the interviewee.

<u>Opening statement</u>**:** Thank you for being willing to participate in this study. I'm currently a graduate student at Rutgers University in New Jersey. I'm conducting research on the experiences of immigrant youth in relation to ideas of belonging and citizenship in different educational settings. As a focal student, we will do this interview 3 times throughout the 2018-2019 academic year. For the study, all information will be kept confidential and private. However, you should not describe any illegal activities or crimes as I may need to break confidentiality to report this information to local authorities. As we go through the interview, if you have any questions about why I'm asking something, please feel free to ask. Or if there's anything you don't want to answer, just say so. The purpose of the interview is to get your insights.

Do you have any concerns or questions so far? The interview will be recorded. Do you give consent to being recorded?

Interview 1 Questions:

1. Could you tell me about yourself?
    a. country of origin
    b. immigration history

     c. family situation

2. What was it like when you first came to America?

     a. Any surprises

     b. Anything excited about

     c. Problem areas of adjustment

3. Do you still have contact with relatives/friends in _____?

     a. If yes, what does that look like?

         i. How frequent

         ii. What type of technology

         iii. What kind of topics

     b. If no, why?

4. Do you read news, watch shows or listen to music from _____ (country of immigration)?

     a. If yes, tell me about them.

         i. Why those instead of American ones?

     b. If no, why?

5. What does a typical school day look like for you now?

     a. Classes

     b. Friends

     c. Feel welcome?

6. What did a typical school day look like for you in _____ (country of immigration)?

     a. Differences from American schools

     b. Similarities to American schools

7. What do you usually do after school or on weekends?

8. Could you tell me about your involvement with ACE?

    a. Reason for joining

    b. Things you usually do

    c. Your favorite aspects or dislikes

    d. What do you learn

    e. New experiences

    f. Friends

9. How is ACE different from regular school?

    a. What is different about what you are learning?

    b. Relationship with teachers/adults

    c. Why do you continue to participate in the program?

10. How is the service-learning project going at ACE?

    a. Level of involvement

    b. What are you looking forward to?

    c. Anything apprehension?

11. Did you do community service in _____(country of immigration)?

    a. If yes, what did you do?

12. You've lived in different countries or have family not in America. Where do you think

    you "belong"?

    a. Why

    b. Would you say it feels like "home"

    c. Are there instances when you don't feel like you belong?

13. Where do you see yourself 10 years from now?

    a. Country

    b. Community

Interview 2

14. Tell me about what's been going on since we last talked?

    a. School, classes, teachers

    b. Family/friends

    c. Afterschool and weekends

15. How is the service-learning project going at ACE?

    a. Level of involvement

    b. What are you looking forward to?

    c. Which activities do you remember the most and why?

16. What is your favorite part of the ACE program so far?

    a. Activities

    b. Peers

    c. Adults

    d. Projects

17. Have you learned anything new at ACE?

    a. Like what?

18. Can you draw the idea of a "strong community" for me?

19. From ACE, what have you learned about community?

    a. Does it make you feel connected to a community?

      i. Why or why not?

    b. Did you have a sense of community in the previous place you lived?

20. You answered this question last time, but I want to see if you have any changes. Where do you think you "belong"?

    a. Why

    b. Would you say it feels like "home"

    c. Are there instances when you don't feel like you belong?

21. You answered this question last time, but I want to see if you have any changes. Where do you see yourself 10 years from now?

    a. Country

    b. Community

Interview 3

1. Tell me about what's been going on since we last talked?

    a. School, classes, teachers

    b. Family/friends

    c. Afterschool and weekends

    d. Summer plans?

2. How was the service-learning project?

    a. What happened?

    b. Similar or different from expectations

3. When you were in the community implementing the service project, what was that like?

    a. Memorable events?

    b.   Interactions with community members

4. How do you feel about this community now compared to last year?

    a.   More comfortable walking around?

    b.   Greater knowledge?

    c.   Attend events?

5. As the academic year is ending, what was your favorite part of ACE?

    a.   Activities

    b.   Peers

    c.   Adults

    d.   Projects

6. What have you learned at ACE that you will use in the future?

    a.   Would you have learned that in school?

7. If you were recruiting new participants for ACE, what would you say?

8. Who do you go to advice?

    a.   Any adults?

          i. How might ACE facilitators be similar or different from teachers?

9. You answered this question last time, but I want to see if you have any changes. Where do you think you "belong"?

    a.   Why

    b.   Would you say it feels like "home"

    c.   Are there instances when you don't feel like you belong?

10. You answered this question last time, but I want to see if you have any changes. Where do you see yourself 10 years from now?

a. Country

b. Community

Non-Focal Student Interview Protocol

The interview will follow Patton's (1990) and Brenner's (2006) recommendations for a semi-structured interview with some probes. The approach allows an exploration of the main ideas while affirming the integrity and experience of the interviewee.

Opening statement: Thank you for being willing to participate in this study. I'm currently a graduate student at Rutgers University in New Jersey. I'm conducting research on the experiences of immigrant youth in relation to ideas of belonging and citizenship in different educational settings. For the study, all information will be kept confidential and private. However, you should not describe any illegal activities or crimes as I may need to break confidentiality to report this information to local authorities. As we go through the interview, if you have any questions about why I'm asking something, please feel free to ask. Or if there's anything you don't want to answer, just say so. The purpose of the interview is to get your insights. Do you have any concerns or questions so far? The interview will be recorded. Do you give consent to being recorded?

Questions:

1. Could you tell me about yourself?

   a. country of origin

   b. immigration history

    c.   family situation

2. What was it like when you first came to America?

    a.   Any surprises

    b.   Anything excited about

    c.   Problem areas of adjustment

3. Do you still have contact with relatives/friends in _____?

    a.   If yes, what does that look like?

        i.   How frequent

        ii.   What type of technology

        iii.   What kind of topics

    b.   If no, why?

4. Do you read news, watch shows or listen to music from _____ (country of

immigration)?

    a.   If yes, tell me about them.

        i.   Why those instead of American ones?

    b.   If no, why?

5. Could you tell me about your involvement with ACE?

    a.   Reason for joining

    b.   Things you usually do

    c.   Your favorite aspects or dislikes

    d.   What do you learn

    e.   New experiences

    f.   Friends

6. How is ACE different from regular school?

    a. What is different about what you are learning?

    b. Relationship with teachers/adults

    c. Why do you continue to participate in the program?

7. As part of ACE, you perform community service or get involved in the community. Which activities do you remember the most and why?

    a. Do they make you feel connected to a community?

        i. Why or why not?

8. Did you do community service in _____(country of immigration)?

    a. If yes, what did you do

9. You've lived in different countries or have family not in America. Where do you think you "belong"?

    a. Why

    b. Would you say it feels like "home"

    c. Are there instances when you don't feel like you belong?

10. Where do you see yourself 10 years from now?

    a. Country

    b. Community

Adult Facilitator Interview Protocol

The interview will follow Patton's (1990) and Brenner's (2006) recommendations for a semi-structured interview with some probes. The approach allows an exploration of the main ideas while affirming the integrity and experience of the interviewee.

<u>Opening statement:</u> Thank you for being willing to participate in this study. I'm currently a graduate student at Rutgers University in New Jersey. I'm conducting research on the experiences of immigrant youth in relation to education, citizenship and civic engagement. For the study, all information will be kept confidential and private. However, you should not describe any illegal activities or crimes as I may need to break confidentiality to report this information to local authorities. As we go through the interview, if you have any questions about why I'm asking something, please feel free to ask. Or if there's anything you don't want to answer, just say so. The purpose of the interview is to get your insights. Do you have any concerns or questions so far? The interview will be recorded. Do you give consent to being recorded?

Questions:

1. Could you tell me about yourself and how you became the facilitator for the Castle Leadership Program (ACE)?

    a. background

    b. experience with English Language Learner or immigrant youth

2. Could you tell me about ACE?

    a. Mission

    b. Structure

    c. Activities

3. Can you describe your role in ACE?

    a. Favorite aspects of your role

    b. Least favorite aspects of your role

    c. If the students come to you for advice, what are they usually concerned about?

4. Could you tell me about the students the program serves?

    a. What makes them join

    b. What do they learn

    c. What difficulties do they face as immigrant youth

5. Could you tell me what the typical meeting is like?

    a. Goal

    b. Student interaction

    c. Student motivation

6. I see the program consists of youth from different schools, grades, and background. Does this ever create conflict or problems?

    a. If yes, why

    b. If no, why

    c. Are there strategies you use to solve potential problems

7. Usually, it is not common for American born and recent immigrant students to interact. How is it for these groups of students in ACE?

    a. Can you give me some examples of them interacting or not interacting?

8. The youth perform community service or get involved in the community. Do you think these activities help the students feel connected to the community?

    a. Why or why not?

9. How do the students seem when they interact with the community members?

    a. Is there a difference between the immigrant and non-immigrant students?

10. How do you think the students see you?

11. For the students who are recent immigrants, do they talk about their country of origin?

    a. If so, can you give me an example

    b. If not, why do you think that is

12. Do you feel like the youth feel a sense of belonging in America?

    a. Why or why not

13. If the program could be improved, what would you change about it?

    a. Why

I will be observing the weekly meeting and special community service events thus I will be adding questions to the interview based on my observations.

Appendix D: Transcription Key

((phone ring))	Transcriber comments on embodied actions
(word)	Uncertain hearing
(unclear)	Unrecoverable speech or speaker identifier
(word1/words)	Two possible hearings
NA?	Uncertain speaker
(.)	Micropause, less than 0.2 seconds
(0.8)	Silence measured in seconds
[]	Square brackets indicate the beginning and end of overlapping talk
=	Latching; continuous talk between speakers
Wh<u>at</u>	Underlining indicates stress or emphasis in the speech
<…>	Indicates slowed down delivery relative to the surrounding talk
>…<	Indicates faster delivery relative to the surrounding talk
::	One or more colons indicate lengthening of the preceding sound; each additional colon represents a lengths of one beat
↑↓	Pointed arrows indicate a marked rising or falling in speech intonation
°…°	Reduced volume than surrounding talk. Double degree signs indicate whispering.
Dar-	A dash following a word indicates a cut-off sound at the end of the talk
THAT	Talk is noticeably louder than the surrounding talk
.	Falling or final intonation contour
?	Strongly rising intonation
,	Slightly rising intonation
!	Animated delivery
#...#	Creaky delivery
@@@@	Laughter
Star	Words that are translated into English