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Service-learning literacies: Lessons learned from middle school youth

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Service-Learning Literacies: Lessons Learned from Middle School Youth

by

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DEDICATION

To my mother and father, Connie and Gary,

my lovely wife-to-be, Laura,

and to the youth whose voices still go unheard

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ABSTRACT

The dominant ideology driving the current educational reform movement

positions adolescents as deficient in basic literacy skills. To address this deficiency, the

trend has been to implement high-stakes standardized literacy tests and increase

accountability to schools for developing basic literacy skills. Opposing this Discourse of

"deficient youth," literacy researchers have moved to adolescents' cultural spheres of life

beyond school to discover that traditional structures for teaching literacy appear to have

resulted in a growing dissonance between literacies that take place within schools and

those employed by youth in their personal worlds.

This research was conducted to explore how adolescents constructed and

represented themselves through "literate youth" Discourses within a service-learning

community of learners, in order to understand the potential ways a service-learning

instructional approach builds from adolescents' personal literacies to engage youth in

literacy practices in school contexts. Framed by the convergence of sociocultural theory,

Discourse theory, and a multiple worlds model of adolescence and a critical ethnographic

multiple case study design, this study examined the literate lives of 11 urban middle

school students engaged in an environmental service-learning club. The multiple sources of data collected across various contexts during the course of this year-long study included: (1) ethnographic field notes; (2) home/family interviews; (3) visual data (video, photographs); (4) student interviews and focus groups; and (5) teacher interviews.

Analysis of the data was conducted by combining Critical Discourse Analysis and event mapping to account for both the observable literacy practices and the driving ideological motivation for enacting these practices. The findings demonstrate that the this service-learning community represented a Third Space where personal and academic literate Discourses worked together to negotiate new knowledge, new Discourses, and new forms of literacy. These Third Space literate Discourses were constructed through a process of negotiation between three elements of the literate events: power, practices, and positions. By mapping levels of engagement with the various outcomes of these negotiations a Service-Learning Model of Engagement was constructed. This model serves to challenge previous notions of literacy engagement by emphasizing the interaction of various dimensions of engagement: voice, relevance, and knowledge. As a starting point from which to further theory on how service-learning as a pedagogy may support literacy learning for adolescents, this study provides evidence that service-learning contexts may serve as alternative spaces to engage students in using literacy in school settings, if these three dimensions are considered. Similarly, this study also suggests that service-learning contexts can serve as spaces where students can learn new literate Discourse with and from each other.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The importance of today's youth is evident by the multiple discussions

surrounding their influence on the evolving cultural, social, political, and economic

contexts of our nation. The language, themes, beliefs, and values embedded within these

conversations coalesce to construct what could be viewed as constructive discourses or

cultural models of youth (Foucault, 1980; Gee, 2001). The value held for our youth is

couched in the belief that our nation's youth represent our nation's future. This particular

discourse of "youth-as-the-future" was a cornerstone of President Bush's 2004 State of

the Union Address. In his speech, President Bush positioned youth as the developing,

skilled, responsible and caring decision-makers who will shape our nation's future.

This discourse of "youth-as-the-future" is but one perspective of today's youth.

Other discourses representing conceptualizations of our nation's youth abound in various

contexts. These discourses vary from "youth-as-consumers" to "youth-as-explorers."

Discourses are interrelated and at times share overlapping space. For example, in

returning to President Bush's Address, the "youth-as-the-future" discourse is presented as

the ideal or the potential of our nation's young people. However, embedded within this

discourse of hope and potential is language depicting our youth as failing to achieve this

ideal. Drug use, teen pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases, and low academic

achievement are some of the categories of *crisis* that President Bush associated with

youth in contemporary America with the same speech that positioned youth as the *future*. This discourse of "youth-in-crisis" has become a powerful way for our society to make sense of young people and has become a prevailing discourse across political, social, and educational contexts.

<div align="center">Construction of Youth in Crisis Discourse</div>

These discourses concerning youth can be understood as social constructions, emerging from a number of historical occurrences, trends, and ideas that have developed over time (Abowitz, 1999). Labels associated with discourses on youth depend on the ideology underlying the construction of the discourse (e.g., teen, juvenile, adolescent). For the context of this study, the terms adolescents, young people, and youth will be utilized interchangeably to represent individuals between 12-17 years of age. The discourse of "youth-in-crisis" has been constructed from a complex integration of factors from adolescents' civic, social, and academic spheres of interaction. Reports suggest that large portions of our nation's youth are politically apathetic (Andolina, Keeter, Zukin, & Jenkins, 2002); lack knowledge regarding political engagement (Lutkus, Weiss, Campbell, Mazzeo, & Lazer, 1999); feel socially alienated (Cassel, 2001); engage in violence and crime (Puzzanchera, Stahl, Finnegan, Tierney, & Snyder, 2003); and struggle academically (Braswell, Daane, & Grigg, 2003; Donahue, Daane, & Grigg, 2003; Persky, Daane, & Jin, 2003).

Several trace effects deriving from this discourse of a "youth crisis" have been presented for marginalized populations, most specifically, students of color and students living in poverty. In particular, race and family income appear to be predictive of political

and civic knowledge and civic engagement. Students attending schools with high levels of poverty were found to have a lower understanding of the principles of democratic civic engagement and reported more apathy and disregard for civic and political institutions (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). Over 74% of urban students performed at or below basic levels of reading, writing, and mathematics according to the NAEP test results (respectively, Donahue, Daane, & Grigg, 2003; Persky, Daane, & Jin, 2003; Braswell, Daane, & Grigg, 2003). Students most representative of urban settings include students of color and students living in poverty. Approximately 85% of Black, Latino, and poor 8th grade students performed below levels of proficiency in reading and writing. Further, approximately 90% of these same demographic subgroups of students performed below levels of proficiency in mathematics.

From these trends in the lives of America's youth, a discourse of crisis has evolved. The key characteristics constituting the discourse of "youth-in-crisis" are that young people are politically apathetic, socially inept, and academically deficient. Although this discourse of crisis is not new to just the Millennial Generation (Gee, 2002), it is important to understand the ideology underlying this current cultural model of adolescents. The discourse of "youth in crisis" represents a dominant ideology for making sense of contemporary adolescence in our society, and thus influences policies, laws, and institutional practices towards youth. Specifically, for this study it is important to develop an understanding of how the institutional practices of schools have been constructed from this discourse of crisis.

Addressing the Youth Crisis through Education

Historically, education has been viewed as the primary institution for transmitting cultural heritage, developing economic and political competence, and providing knowledge to advance our nation's youth. The general mission of education has been to ensure that all students benefit from learning in ways that allow them to participate fully in public, community, and economic life. Education is positioned as the foundational pillar in the discourse of "youth-as-the-future." Within this discourse, education is regarded as the vehicle for change and improvement. Education is perceived to offer youth a chance for social mobility as they become the future: more access to material resources through better-paid employment; a greater capacity to participate actively in the processes of government; and the dexterity that comes with knowing the world.

With the reauthorization of the National Service Trust Act of 1993, as the Citizen Service Act of 2002, and the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, as the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, the federal government's legislative actions attempted to address the sociopolitical and academic disengagement of our nation's youth. Yet, the reforms promoted by these two legislative acts seemingly address separate educational endeavors. The Citizen Service Act promotes increasing student civic engagement and enhancing the development of student social responsibility. Whereas, the No Child Left Behind Act promotes increasing student academic achievement as measured by standardized tests. However, in line with the "youth-as-the-future" discourse, these two legislative acts are both designed to position schools as the

mechanisms that promote the development of a more effective and knowledgeable citizenry for the future of our country.

These two reform movements have traveled two different paths in the ways that youth are viewed and positioned our youth in different ways. In regards to social and political development, youth have been viewed as resources, possessing some abilities and strengths to be productive in supporting the reform effort. In contrast, academic reform efforts have positioned youth as lacking the necessary resources to effectively participate in society and this deficit is a problem to be filled.

Youth as Resources

The reform movement to develop adolescents' social and political engagement has shifted from a dialogue that was deficit oriented, to one that articulated kinds of supports and opportunities young people need to become healthy and functioning adults (Lewis-Charp, Cao Yu, Soukamneuth, & Lacoe, 2003). This shift has been specifically aimed at engaging marginalized youth in youth development opportunities and community change efforts. For the Youth Leadership for Development Initiative [YLDI] (Lewis-Charp et al., 2003), political involvement is particularly important precisely because it is the medium through which the contexts that shape young people's lives are going to be transformed. Through this shifting of approaches, adolescents are viewed as resources rather than deficient. Strides are being taken by community organizations that advocate channeling the power and resources possessed by adolescents to take action in their communities, while simultaneously challenging communities to embrace their role in the development of youth.

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Within this youth development reform movement, service-learning (Howard, 1998) has emerged as a pedagogy that aims to provide the form of educational experiences that promote civic education and social responsibility. In answering this call to reconnect students to their communities, many schools are implementing service-learning as an integral part of their reform and restructuring efforts to better meet the needs of their students and help resolve political apathy, social alienation, and academic struggles (Skinner & Chapman, 1999). Within this pedagogy, learning is viewed as an interactive and reciprocal exchange of knowledge between two major spheres of students' lives: the community and the school. Schools implementing service-learning as a part of the curriculum attempt to affect change in students by making learning relevant to students' daily lives and demonstrating the connections between learning and how students will use it in their community (Melchior & Bailis, 2002). Through service-learning, students are actively engaged in transforming their local communities, such as providing assistance to homeless shelters, providing tutoring to struggling emergent readers, and addressing water quality issues. In contrast, these same youth are seen as deficient.

Youth as Deficient

Literacy is the heart of the promise of education (Kalantzis & Cope, 2000). As noted in *The Civic Mission of Schools* (Carnegie Corporation & CIRCLE, 2003), "the primary impetus, in fact, for originally establishing public schools was the recognition of literacy and citizenship education as critical to the health of democratic society" (p. 11). Because of the importance placed on literacy as the essential component in the education

of youth, the discourse of "youth-in-crisis" centers on adolescents' poor literacy skills. Within this discourse, the deficiency in our youths' literacy skills is concerning because it impacts the social, economic, and political domains of our nation, leading to unemployment, welfare, underemployment, and a decrease in our nation's ability to compete globally (Chamberlain, 1993; Rayner, Foorman, Perfetti, Pesetsky, & Seidenberg, 2002; Weinstein & Walberg, 1993). Further, Hasselbring and Goin (2004) add that, adolescents' "inability to derive meaning from text incapacitates them in just about every endeavor in life…The serious consequences of this handicap can never adequately be measured, but there is little doubt that illiteracy is a major factor behind poverty and crime" (p. 140).

The concerns raised by the lack of our youths' literacy skills have increased the call from parents, educators, and policy makers to engage in education reform (McGill-Franzen, 2000; Valencia & Wixson, 2000). The dominant ideology driving this reform movement to improve literacy skills, as found in the *No Child Left Behind Act*, asserts that adolescents have not developed sufficient skills considered basic to literacy development (Snow, Burns, & Griffin, 1998). To address this deficiency, the trend has been to develop state literacy standards, implement high-stakes standardized literacy tests, and increase accountability to schools for developing these basic skills (Denti & Guerin, 2004), with federal and state resources tied to compliance.

<div align="center">A Counter-Discourse of Literacy</div>

The general impression promoted by alternative discourses for youth literacy education reform is that adolescents of today are less literate then their parents and

grandparents (Knobel, 1999). Embedded within this discourse is an ideology of what counts as literacy and what counts as being literate. This ideology adheres to traditional conceptualizations of literacy defined as the ability to read and write in page-bound official, standard forms of the national language (New London Group, 2000).

However, in the last two decades much debate has occurred over what counts as literacy (Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Gallego & Hollingsworth, 2000; Gee, 1996; Lankshear & Knobel, 1997; Luke & Freebody, 1997). Following the path of youth social and political development, literacy researchers have looked to youth as resources in understanding literacy development. With this shift from viewing youth as deficient to viewing them as resourceful, literacy studies have moved to adolescents' spheres of life beyond school. The exploration of youth literacy in home and community contexts was aimed at understanding how the literacy resources youth possess and use in these contexts could become resources for literacy development in school.

From this research, new views on literacy have emerged. Contemporary adolescents have demonstrated how they can successfully negotiate today's most sophisticated technologies and flourish in a society immersed in literacies which were previously non-existent (Redmon, 2000). Present and past definitions of literacy all have some characteristics in common – "such as a basis in a technology (e.g., print, alphabetic script), or a set of techniques or competencies, or some combination of these" (Lankshear & Knobel, 1997, p. 96). The ideology driving these new views is that these new literacies or multiliteracies are socially constructed literate practices situated within the context of application (Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Gee, 1996). These multiliteracies have

implications for the way language is constructed and used. With the introduction of the concept of multiliteracies, past definitions of literacy will take on an even broader scope to determine what literate competence might entail. "From a theoretical and a practical point of view, we can no longer talk about Literacy as though it were a single thing--with a big 'L' and a single 'y'—as though 'Literacy' means the same in all contexts" (Freebody, 2001, p.117). Schools will have to move beyond the prior concept of literacy as paper and pencil tasks and the notion that literacy is a set of cognitive skills to be taught, tested and standardized.

Statement of the Problem

Today's adolescents are facing a number of new conditions that are different from those faced by past generations. Our cultural, social, economic, and political worlds are changing in complex and unprecedented ways (Rice & Dolgin, 2005). America's growing economy is also a changing economy. Much of the job growth will be found in high-skilled fields that require literacy skills beyond the basic level. As technology transforms the way almost every job is done, we must ensure that older students gain the skills to meet these changing needs. This poses a need to reenvision literacy education that will enable students, schools, and communities to navigate through these changes (Luke & Elkins, 2002). Due to the technological and social forces of change, traditional methods of teaching and learning literacies may not be adequate for youth in contemporary society (Gee, Hull, & Lankshear 1996; Knobel 1999; Lankshear & Knobel, 1997; Luke & Freebody, 1997). The 'basics' appear to be vacuous now because the main ground has shifted from the old-fashioned, page-bound written texts and the dislocated standards.

What literacy teaching used to promise to do, seems to be insufficient; and even if it is of some use, some of the time, it's certainly not enough (Kalantzis & Cope, 2000).

Many students who are not achieving a sense of literacy development in school have been found to possess strong literacy skills within other social and cultural contexts (Hinchman, Alvermann, Boyd, Brozo, and Vacca, 2003/2004; Hull & Schultz, 2002). Traditional structures for teaching and learning literacy appear to have resulted in a growing dissonance between literacies that take place within schools and those used in other contexts. In order to address this issue, educators need to widen the lens through which literacy is viewed to discover other sites of literacy use. Although research has investigated these new literacies in social contexts outside of school, the difficulty has been in understanding ways to transform traditional teaching methods in ways that make space and account for these non-traditional adolescent literacies. Schools failing to build upon adolescents' literate experiences with the various literacies of contemporary society may potentially run the risk of alienating students. Therefore, the problem addressed in this study was to explore ways that schools may potentially expand the discourse of "youth-as-resource" and build upon adolescent literacies as resources to meet the changing needs of our society.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose for this study was to understand how middle school students construct and represent themselves through "literate youth" Discourses within a service-learning community. This study was designed to examine middle school students' Discourses and funds, the experiences gained through life encounters (Moll, 1992),

across various academic and community contexts (school, peer, family) to understand

how these funds and Discourses impact the generation of a Discourse of "literate youth"

in the service-learning community.

Literacy researchers operating under the "youth-as-resource" discourse have

investigated ways in which traditional education settings may be transformed to promote

supportive and accepting spaces for the development and application of adolescents'

multiple literacies found in community and home contexts. However, already operating

within this discourse of "youth-as-resource," service-learning contexts have been

neglected in this pursuit. Several characteristics of service-learning suggest that it may

serve as a potential site for the support, development, and application of adolescents'

multiple literacies. Namely, as an alternative to traditional teaching methods, service-

learning focuses on transforming the relationship between schools and communities. In

service-learning, this relationship is premised on bidirectional reciprocity, where one

context informs and influences the other. In attempting to understand ways that

adolescent literacies can cross boundaries between school and everyday life contexts, this

investigation into service-learning provides some insight into this endeavor.

<center>Significance of the Study</center>

Exploring the agency of students in constructing literate Discourses can add to

understanding the "productive dimensions of adolescent literacy" (Moore Cunningham,

1998, p. 283). In a broad sense, this study adds insight into how literacy is shaped in

service-learning contexts as well as how various funds or Discourses lead to this

construction. This study identified discursive practices that adolescents use to define and

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participate in literate Discourses and furthers the understanding of the development of adolescent literacy.

Specifically, the field of adolescent literacy has been largely understudied, as an emphasis has been on studying early literacy interventions or adult literacy programs. Studying how adolescents learn increasingly complex literacy practices required in academic discourse communities, how they construct literacies for unique contexts, and how they use literacy as a tool to navigate their social worlds might provide some insight into literacy learning among adults and children (Moje, 2002). Further, investigating adolescent literacy practices in a service-learning context might inform teachers and researchers on ways to connect students' successful out-of-school literacies to those literacies experienced with difficulty in school contexts (Hinchman et al., 2003/2004).

Service-learning is still searching for its official identity as a field of study (Billig & Eyler, 2003) because research has not been able to substantiate its effect on learning particular academic content. Specifically, no service-learning research has addressed the development or construction of particular literacy practices. As service-learning becomes a more prevalent instructional practice, more knowledge is needed regarding the impact such experiences have on the construction of students' literacies in order to develop optimal learning contexts. This study provides both service-learning researchers and practitioners with alternative approaches to support adolescents' development of academic literacies and literacies for success in the broader societal context.

This study was designed to provide insight into how the use of critical ethnographic discourse research can impact the study of adolescent literacy practices in

particular, and research methodology in general. As students and the researcher engaged as co-constructors of knowledge, new understandings were produced about the way the world works through inquiry into the various contextual layers: local, institutional, and societal. When research methods are extended to include students, there are multiple benefits "for teaching and learning, for the construction of new relationships between adults and young people and for the production of sometimes surprising and delightful research data" (Thompson & Comber, 2003, p. 321).

<div align="center">Research Questions</div>

The research questions identified by this study were broad in scope, as is consistent with qualitative inquiry. The research questions posed by this study were as follows: (a) How did middle school students construct a Discourse of "literate youth" as members of a service-learning community? (b) How was literacy defined, enacted, and constructed within this context? (c) What roles did broader social, cultural, and political influences (e.g., the community, teacher, peers, family, and school system) play in the construction of the "literate youth" Discourse in service-learning? (d) How was the Discourse of "literate youth" in a service-learning community transferred to, transformed by, synthesized with, or oppositional to "literate youth" discourses from other contexts?

<div align="center">Definition of Terms</div>

There are several terms used frequently throughout the study that have varied meanings. In order to be specific when describing the form of the design of this study and to be clear when discussing the theory and research behind it, these terms require operational definitions for the duration of the project.

• Literacy practices – For the purpose of this study, a literacy practice refers to any observable behavior in which individuals *use* written language or how individuals *talk* about literacy behaviors. Key to this concept is that it also includes the underlying beliefs and values of the individuals enacting the behavior (adapted from Barton & Hamilton, 2000).

• Discourses- For the purpose of this study, Discourses (purposively capitalized) refer to the particular ways of talking, acting, valuing, believing, and symbols of identifying that are associated with a particular community (Gee, 1996).

Funds- For the purpose of this study, funds serve to define the life experiences and background knowledge obtained through everyday encounters in cultural and social communities (adapted from Moll, 1992).

• Service-Learning – Service-Learning is a pedagogical model that intentionally integrates academic learning and relevant community service designed around a reciprocal relationship (adapted from Howard, 1998).

• Critical literacy – Although this term has come to refer to various instructional methods and interventions, within the context of this study, critical literacy is used to refer to the practice of interrogating the social, political, cultural, and historical contexts in which literacy practices and texts are embedded (adapted from Luke & Freebody, 1997).

• Multiliteracies – For the purpose of this study, multiliteracies refer to emerging new literacies that move beyond reading, writing and listening skills by using

various forms of written and oral texts for communicating and gathering

information (Gallego & Hollingsworth, 2000).

Limitations of the Study

There are several limitations to this study that must be addressed in order to draw

conclusions from the findings. The results of this study are limited in their

generalizability. The Environmental Explorers club represents one particular community

of middle school students engaged in service-learning experiences. The Explorers club

represented a unique way to structure a service-learning context. First, this club was

constructed from three interrelated smaller service-learning clubs. Second, this club was

not directly connected to any particular class, but rather it was connected to the broader

science curriculum of the school. Therefore, these findings cannot be generalized to all

service-learning contexts.

The unique structures of the Environmental Explorers club determined student

membership and levels of participation. All students who joined the Explorers club did so

voluntarily. Most of the students were invited to join based on their higher levels of

academic achievement. Levels of participation were related to levels of achievement.

Therefore, the Explorers club members are not representative of the entire school

population, and these findings cannot be generalized to all student populations.

The unique structures of the Environmental Explorers club also influenced the

data collection procedures for this study. Not all of the members of the Explorers club are

included in this study. However, the sample within this study is representative of the

entire Explorers club membership. In addition, because of the structures of the Explorers

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club, many of the experiences occurred at unscheduled times or through channels of communication outside of school. These moments were difficult to observe directly and were collected as data only through the students' accounts. Therefore, such events could not be corroborated across data sources.

Summary

This study was designed to explore the enactment of literate identities within a service-learning community of learners by examining the patterns of literacy practices that occur while middle school students engaged in a service-learning community. The breadth of literature informing this study incorporates sociocultural theories of learning, evolving theories of literacy, theories of youth development, and theories driving service-learning pedagogy. This study was designed to further theory on how service-learning as a pedagogy may potentially aid and support literacy learning for middle school students.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview

As noted by the most recent results of the National Assessment of Educational Progress test scores (Braswell, Daane, & Grigg, 2003; Donahue, Daane, & Grigg, 2003; Persky, Daane, & Jin, 2003), many middle school students are viewed as unsuccessful academically, particularly in regards to literacy achievement. It is these young people that represent the future of our society. If our future is to be one of hope and promise, it is today's youth who will be responsible for developing and enacting such a vision. Although but one thread constituting the fabric of existence, literacy is a thread that can be found woven throughout the life spaces of adolescents (Alvermann, 2002; Cope & Kalantzis, 2000; Gallego & Hollingsworth, 2000; Gee, 1996; Hull & Schultz, 2002; Luke, 2002; Moje, 2002). The pervasiveness of literacy across various social realms of adolescents' lives means that it is as important for educators to understand identity as it is for them to understand pedagogy. In order for educators to help adolescents succeed as students in developing the literacy skills for capable, ethical, and strong future leadership, we must develop a better understanding of the lives of these young people (Raible & Nieto, 2003; Rice & Dolgin, 2005; Sadowski, 2003).

Adolescence is a particularly significant phase in life, during which young people try to figure out their identity. This study is aimed at developing an understanding of the literate lives of adolescents through understanding the literate identities they construct. In exploring the literate lives of adolescents, this study is inherently about developing an

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understanding of adolescents' identities, the social realities that they construct, are constructed by, and exist in through the everyday movements of their lives.

From this perspective, this study was framed by the convergence of a sociocultural theory of human development, a Discourse theory of identity development, and a cultural model of adolescence. This chapter begins with an overview of this theoretical framework and an explanation of how this framework supported the intention of this study to explore adolescents' literate lives. Relevant literature that informed this study is then presented. The literature review begins with research that examined factors associated with poor literacy performance in school. Following, bodies of work that question and define the conceptualization of literacy are discussed. Next, studies that examined adolescent literacy practices in formal and informal educational settings are discussed. Studies describing how these two contexts may influence each other are then presented. Finally, service-learning research will be examined as it is situated within the concept of a context of enabling or a pedagogy of engagement for the development of literacy practices. Although these areas of research are presented in separate sections, the boundaries between them are not discrete.

Theoretical Framework

Sociocultural Theory of Learning

The work of Lev Vygotsky (1978, 1986) has served as a foundation for understanding the processes of thinking, problem solving, interaction, and meaning construction that contribute to the development of human society. Vygotsky's sociocultural theory of learning rests on the following principles: (a) learning is mediated

first between a person and other people and their cultural artifacts, and then appropriated by individuals internally; (b) learning often involves mentoring provided by more culturally knowledgeable persons, who engage in activity with less experienced or knowledgeable persons; (c) the tools that are drawn on in the act of meaning construction, are constructed historically and culturally; (d) speech, language in use, is the primary tool for learning, meaning construction, and cultural transmission and transformation; (e) the potential for learning is an ever-shifting range of possibilities that are dependent on what the cultural novice already knows, the nature of the problem to be solved or the task to be learned, the activity structures in which learning takes place, and the quality of the person's interactions with others.

By exploring the work of language in action, as it functioned through speech, Vygotsky sought to understand the ways that individuals used speech to negotiate solving problems as an understanding of their cognitive development. Vygotsky valued the role language played as a mediational tool, whereby language functions as a communicative act as well as a means of internally organizing information encountered through interactive dialogue. Based on this principle, that human development occurs through speech use while interacting with others, Vygotsky considered the contexts of interaction to be of equal importance in the process of learning. Thus, understanding individual development involved examining the social and material environment in which individuals interacted. Further, Vygotsky believed that the tools, particularly language, were historically constructed. The tools individuals bring to a problem-solving situation are dependent on the manner and extent to which such tools have been used in the past.

Through interaction with others, the tools that become utilized in certain situations are those that have been learned and passed on to the novices. Thus, the cycle of repetition provides certain tools with historical validity; hence, these tools become the familiar and appropriate ways to address particular problems.

In the last two decades, researchers from various disciplines have turned to Vygotsky's work (1978, 1986) as they struggled to understand the influences of history, culture, and context on human development, both individually and in groups (Cole, 1996; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Moll, 1990; Rogoff, 1990; Wertsch, 1991). As Vygotsky's sociocultural theory of learning and development has been explored, it has also evolved. In particular, explorations were undertaken to determine the richness and complexity of the distribution and negotiation of knowledge as it is situated in social groups.

Situated Cognition

This concept of situated cognition is based on the premise that learning takes place within a certain context, with certain rules or procedures, with certain tools, and for certain purposes. One main area of debate has been the process through which information is transferred from the interpersonal to the intrapersonal levels within particular contexts. The situated nature of learning, as a single concept, does not account for the various abilities or levels of participation, nor does it account for the process of enculturation.

Packer (1993) argues that this process is one that leads to autonomy. Within this construct, the change in an individual's cognitive structure is emphasized. An individual gains knowledge in social contexts with others, integrates this new knowledge with

previous understood concepts, and thus this integration leads to a completely autonomous

reconstruction. In this view, individuals construct a completely unique set of

understandings that cannot be shared by other members of the group. Cobb and Yackel

(1996) view this process as a transmission model where students inherit cultural

meanings from prior generations. Within this construct, the social resources are

emphasized.

Other researchers provide alternative views. Rogoff (1990) rejects the notion of

internalization by bringing something across a barrier. She believes individuals are

constantly involved in the exchanges that blend internal and external—sharing meaning.

Lave and Wenger (1991) believe that learning is not judged best by changes in people's

minds, but by changing levels of practices enacted within the contexts of interaction.

Penuel and Wertsch (1995) elaborate to show that sociocultural processes and individual

functioning exist in an irreducible dynamic tension. They propose that

> knowledge is both reconstructed and co-constructed in the course of dialogic
>
> interaction. It involves agentive individuals who do not simply internalize and
>
> appropriate the consequences of activities on the social plane. They actively
>
> restructure their knowledge both with each other and within themselves. (p. 35)

Communities of Practice

From these debates, models of participation evolved (Lave, 1988; Lave &

Wenger, 1991; Rogoff, 1990; Rogoff & Lave, 1984; Wenger, 1999). These researchers

explored the complexity of joint activity, not as a one-way process of appropriation, but

rather as a process of multidirectional change over time. In such joint collaborative

activity, individuals and even the nature of the task all change over time and are negotiated in complex ways. While differences exist among these researchers, they share the common view that learning is displayed by changes in levels of participation and the structures of participation in specific social practices.

Building from an apprenticeship model, Lave (1988) explored the ways people negotiate knowledge in various everyday contexts. From this work, she proposed viewing contexts of interaction as communities of practice. This concept of communities of practice posits that knowledge is embedded in social, cultural, historical and material contexts. Further, this knowledge is developed in a community of learners with a shared set of social practices and goals.

Wells (2000) adds that these communities of practices need to be viewed as dynamic. Every situation is to some degree unique and may pose challenges that require the community to construct solutions that go beyond their past experiences or historically shared practices. From this perspective, particular situated events can be viewed as sites for transformation in addition to sites of practice reproduction; "history extends in both directions" (p. 56).

For this study, the concept of communities of practice provided a lens from which to explore adolescent literacy practices. The concept of communities of practice moves learning from a position of acquisition to one of active engagement with particular historical, cultural, and social practices, that are enactments of the beliefs and values of a particular group operating in a particular context. The focus of this study was on a community of middle school students engaged in service-learning. The assumption

presented by this theoretical standpoint was that the literacy practices of these middle

school students engaged in the service-learning context were collaborative constructions

of the multiple resources each student brought to the group. Further, in holding these

students as a community of practice meant viewing their literacy practices as contextually

situated and, therefore, constructed through the literacy practices that were socially,

historically, and culturally embedded within the context of service-learning.

Discourse Theory

Based on their research of communities of practice, Lave and Wenger (1991)

discussed learning in terms of changing participation practices that include changes in

identity rather than a change in the mind. They proposed that, "there are ways of

becoming a participant, ways of participating, and ways in which participants and

practices change. In any event, the learning of specific ways of participating differs in

particular situated practices" (p. 157). Wenger (1999) also viewed learning as arising

from the identity work that occurs through participation in communities of practice,

communities "created over time by the sustained pursuit of a shared enterprise" (p. 45).

From this perspective, learning has occurred when an individual has mastered and

is able to appropriate the specified social practices of a particular community. In essence,

changing participation structures can be viewed as the process of changing identity

positions: moving from margins to membership. Initially identified as a newcomer,

novice, or outsider, to a particular community of practice means lacking knowledge of

the social practices deemed valuable and necessary to community participation. Through

interaction and socialization in situated contexts constituted by the community of

practice, knowledge of the social practices is gained. Once enough knowledge is gained and social practices are understood and enacted, recognition of these abilities shifts positioning to being identified as a member of a particular community. Social practices, as situated within communities of practice, then become the criteria for establishing roles, or socially situated identities, and learning becomes the changing of socially situated identities (Gee, 2004).

Vygotsky (1978, 1986) focused on language as the primary tool of development. However, as his sociocultural theory evolved through the construct of a community of practice, language became only one semiotic system or mediation means at work in the process of learning. Although particular communities of practice determine the ways that people use language as they engage in various social contexts, language in itself does not constitute membership with a particular community of practice. Gee (1996) distinguishes between what he calls little "d" and capital "D" discourses. Little "d" refers to language bits or spoken words of a particular community of practice. Capital "Discourse" integrates "discourse" with ways of speaking, reading, writing, interacting, believing, and valuing associated with a particular socially situated identity. Thus, a Discourse can be viewed as the way of identifying membership with a particular community of practice. As people interact in various contexts, different Discourses or identities are taken up. At times, multiple Discourses may be competing for space, and individuals may even struggle with the complexity of shifting identity when faced with membership in simultaneous conflicting Discourses.

In following with membership into a particular community of practice, or Discourse, comes the contextualized way of viewing the world. Gee (2004) proposes that, "when people participate in a community of practice or enact and recognize a Discourse (socially situated identity) they learn cultural models, which are everyday theories, images, schemas, about the world that tell people what is typical or normal from the perspective of a particular Discourse" (p. 40). In maintaining a particular worldview, Discourses can be seen as inherently ideological; these worldviews support certain perceptions, values, and beliefs while marginalizing others. Within society, certain Discourses hold more power over other Discourses, and therefore can offer more social, political, and economic benefits to its members while excluding other Discourses from those same benefits.

Discourse theory expands sociocultural learning theory by looking beyond language as the sole mediator of learning. Discourse theory includes language as a mediational tool within a larger cultural "tool kit" that includes non-verbal mediators. Learning becomes a network of social practices, which changes over time and across domains of interacting, representing, and being with such practices. Although identity construction might appear to be a profoundly personal matter, the conceptualization of identities as Discourses brings to light how it is also a sociocultural matter.

This assumption was important for the work of this study. In exploring the literacy practices of adolescents, this study was focused on a service-learning setting as the primary context. Discourse theory proposes that literacy practices are associated with particular identities, and these identities are dynamic, contextually situated, and

transferred across contexts. Discourse theory provided a lens for this study to view middle school students' literacy practices constructed in a service-learning context as influenced by the immediate context and also by the multiple social spheres in which the adolescents lived.

<p align="center">*Framing Adolescent Studies*</p>

The study of adolescents, as a unique group or culture, has been underway for about a century. During this time, the field of adolescent studies has changed shape and directions to develop a conceptual frame from which to study how these young people develop. As theories of youth development have changed and built upon one another, a brief overview will provide an understanding of the historical and contemporary ways in which young people have been identified in our society.

Age and Stage Theories

G. Stanley Hall is considered the "father of adolescent psychology" for initiating the exploration of adolescent studies. His two-volume book, *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relation to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion, and Education* (1904) is considered the first scientific study in this field. According to Hall (1904), evolutionary forces shaped adolescent behavior and adolescents were destined to be disrespectful and temperamental. Hall's discourse for representing adolescence was a period of "sturm und drang," or storm and stress. In this view, this was a natural period of growth determined by the age of the individual. All individuals will progress through this period, which would be naturally outgrown as the adolescent evolved to a more advanced stage of human development.

Like Hall (1904), Gesell and Ames (1956) framed the study of adolescents from a biological view in which hormonal changes were the unalterable effects of this period of development. They also shared Hall's belief that maturation, and hence, development, occurs as a natural process. From this perspective, both psychologists assumed time alone would solve adolescents' problems. Gesell and Ames accounted for some individual differences in acknowledging that some genetic factors may contribute to a quicker maturation. Both of these concepts of a biologically determined adolescence provided little space for parents and teachers as potential influences and enablers of development.

From these biological views the discourse of adolescents as "raging hormones" was promoted. The identity constructed from this discourse was an image of wild, troubled teens, a discourse that promoted fear of the uncontrollable adolescent (Males, 1996). However, this view failed to account for the various social and cultural influences that worked to construct the identities of young people.

Erik Erikson (1968) provided an eight-stage sequence of developmental stages. Similar to previous discourses on adolescence, Erikson's view was one of linear progression in a hierarchical fashion. Erikson's major concern was the development of identity, or an adolescent's search for goals, self-understanding, and sense of unity or belonging. In contrast to a strict biological determinism associated with adolescent discourses, Erikson proposed that adolescence was a socially sanctioned period of time where individuals were expected and allowed to freely explore various roles before finding their place in society. This lifespan model acknowledged the influence of various social contexts on the identity construction of young people. However, the contexts were

perceived as simply providing opportunities to negotiate specific challenges along the single pathway of becoming an adult. Although accounting for social influences, the lifespan model essentialized those experiences for all young people to progress through in a similar manner.

Youth Cultural Studies

The field of adolescence studies continued to develop and build upon Erikson's (1968) recognition of the social influence on identity development of adolescents. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model for understanding social influences has firmly taken root, and at present is one of the most widely accepted and utilized approaches (Rice & Dolgin, 2005). The ecological model represents adolescents' social influences grouped into a series of systems extending from the individual (micro-, meso-, exo-, and macro-). Further, this model posits that there is a reciprocal relationship between the various systems, each system influencing the others. However, the ecological model positions adolescents as lacking agency within this developmental process. The contexts are viewed as key influences on the youth, but the youth are not positioned to act as influences in transforming contexts.

Recent studies of young people have expanded upon the ecological model to frame youth as resources in their own development. The cultural model of youth development positions young people as active participants in developing the cultural contexts of their existence. Youth cultural studies view identity development as an ongoing process in which young people interact and negotiate with the social contexts in which they live; identity development is not viewed as the final stage or a completed

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product. From this frame, studying youth culture emphasizes how youth construct and represent themselves across various spaces and contexts, as opposed to purely studying how they are positioned by broader influences. From this perspective, youth identity has come to be viewed as hybrid representations, where youth purposefully alter their identities across contexts (Yon, 2000) or even within specific communities (Davidson, 1996). The core of youth cultural studies is to examine the resources young people use to navigate multiple social contexts.

This cultural model of adolescent development added support to the sociocultural and Discourse theories that also framed this study. In line with these theoretical positions, the cultural model emphasizes the importance of cultural contexts on human development. The important contribution of this model to this study was that it provided a framework for thinking about the multiple contexts of interaction that influenced the ways these middle school students constructed their identities. Recognizing that middle school students' identities are constructed within and across contexts provided valuable insight in the pursuit to understand the construction of literate youth discourses. It required remaining cognizant that the way youth construct their literate identities within and beyond school contexts is a complex interaction of a multitude of influences. Therefore, exploring the literate identities of middle school students was more fully understood when the multiple other identities they shaped were also understood.

The next sections of the literature review examine research that explored the literate Discourses of middle school youth in various contexts. The various studies that make up this literature review take different stances toward a pedagogy of literacy. These

various stances demonstrate that any approach to teaching literacy is rooted in cultural and political beliefs and values about what should count as literate identities and literacy practices. This pathway of exploration was chosen for this literature review because the theoretical framework guiding this study suggests context is central to the construction of Discourses. Therefore, the way literacy is viewed and promoted will influence how students construct literate Discourses.

Literate Youth Discourses

School-Based Literate Youth Discourses

Although young people develop identities through interactions among all of the various activities and relationships that they encounter, a great amount of young people's interactions occur within school contexts. Therefore, it can be understood that the educational context of schools plays a crucial role in identity formation (Nakkula, 2003). Specifically for the purpose of this study, the context of the school was viewed as a key influence on how adolescents' literate identities were constructed. The Discourse of literate youth was viewed as influenced by the cultural practices of the school as well as how students interacted with the practices enacted within this cultural context.

In specifically looking at the literate identities associated with adolescents in school contexts, research has highlighted that many middle school students have continued to be identified as struggling readers (Alvermann, 2001; Anderman, Maehr, & Midgley, 1999; Denti, 2004; Guthrie, 2004; Guthrie & Davis, 2003; Hasselbring & Goin, 2004; Hinchman, Alvermann, Boyd, Brozo, and Vacca, 2004; Ivey, 1999; Midgley & Urban, 1995; Wigfield, Eccles, & Rodriguez, 1998). However, the term "struggling

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reader" has come to encompass many meanings. The common feature among definitions employed in the studies above is the notion that an adolescent struggling reader is viewed as a low achiever in school-based literacy tasks. School-based literacy tasks, or academic literacy (Street, 1984), can be viewed as the forms of interacting with, producing, and talking about texts that have value in school contexts. From these studies trying to account for the low literacy achievement of middle school students in school-based literacy tasks, two literate youth Discourses have emerged. One positions these young people as deficient in literacy practices and the other positions them as disengaged from literacy practices in school contexts.

Adolescents as Deficient Readers

With the release of the National Reading Panel's report, *Teaching Children to Read* (2000) came a new era in instructional directives. The dominant ideology driven by the findings of the National Reading Panel's report asserts that students cannot be considered readers until they are able to derive meaning from connected text, and this level of competency cannot be reached until students develop fluency in applying what they have learned about letter-sound correspondence (Snow, Burns, & Griffin, 1998). This view applied to older readers holds that adolescents have not developed sufficient skills considered basic to literacy development. Studies have followed the suggestions proposed by the National Reading Panel's report to identify and teach the abilities with the most relevance for learning to read. Researchers following this view have reported that adolescents struggle with literacy because they lack basic phonological and orthographic knowledge (Denti & Guerin, 2004; Hammill, 2004; Hasselbring & Goin,

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2004; Moats, 2001; Snow et al., 1998; Torgesen, Wagner, & Rashotte, 1994). These studies all report that a lack of word recognition abilities is a major cause of reading difficulty. These studies have stirred a movement to place structured, sequential phonological and orthographic instruction as the core of adolescent literacy teaching.

Hammill (2004) conducted a meta-analysis of experimentally designed research studies. According to his conclusions, the best predictors of reading achievement proved to be other written language abilities (i.e., abilities involving print). Hammill recommended that instruction focused on improving literacy skills should focus on sound-letter correspondences (phonics), word recognition, and orthography, among other graphological skills. Moats (2001) reports that a deficiency in the ability to acquire these basic skills has led to the increased struggles of adolescent students. To address these deficiencies, Moats recommends that "adolescent poor readers often need practice with the same phonological awareness tasks that are known to facilitate reading and spelling acquisition in young children; however, the methods, timing, and conversation about phonology differ. Adolescents are enticed by the challenges of 'linguistic awareness' and 'phoneme manipulation'" (p. 37).

Moats' (2001) recommendations suggest that adolescent struggling readers need more than just the basics of phonological and orthographic knowledge. The suggestion to rename these same beginning reader skills with different terminology does little more than change the packaging of the contents encapsulated by such reading instruction. Words like "enticed" and "challenged" puts forward that there is more to developing literacy skills in adolescent students than merely providing basic instruction. Hammill

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(2004) also hints at the fact that basic instruction is not enough for teaching literacy in schools. He suggests, that beyond phonological knowledge, "Of course, other abilities that stimulate students' interests in reading or that expand their knowledge of functional or school subject matter" (p. 465) may also prove helpful for instructional practices.

Hasselbring and Goin (2004) also viewed literacy competence as essentially comprised of the mastery of these basic skills. In addition, they believed that there are qualitative differences between early readers and adolescent readers. Using this framework as the foundation for their work, they designed the Peabody Literacy Lab to develop phonological awareness and orthographic knowledge through integration of multimedia technology. The premise for their instructional approach was based on the belief that adolescent readers needed to be engaged in the instructional process. By building on young people's affinity for technology and visual images, these researchers believed students would be more engaged in the process of developing their basic reading skills. The results on a standardized reading test show that the students enrolled in the lab did increase their scores across all subtests. However, there were minimal differences in the scores as compared to a control group of similar struggling readers. In fact, the control group outscored the lab group in both subtests of comprehension, suggesting that the premise that comprehension will result from systematic phonological and orthographic instruction is not without flaws.

These studies, coupled with the actual full National Reading Panel's (2000) reported finding that "there was insufficient data to draw conclusions about the effects of phonics with normally developing readers above First Grade" (p. 2-116), suggests that

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there is more to developing the literacy skills of adolescent readers than a basic skills instructional approach. Relying solely on a deficit model may tend to overlook some other variables that influence the development of adolescent literacy skills.

Adolescents as Disengaged Readers

Contrary to the group of studies presented above, other researchers have taken a different stance on the cause for adolescent readers' struggles in school-based literacy. Opposing the argument that adolescents are deficient in basic literacy skills, this group of researchers attributes poor literacy performance in schools to lackluster instructional practices. Researchers have found that middle school students tend to exhibit declines in academic motivation, perception of academic abilities, and academic achievement as compared to elementary school students (Anderman et al., 1999; Gottfried, 1985; Guthrie & Davis, 2003; Harter, Whitesell, & Kowalski, 1992; McKenna, Kear, & Ellsworth, 1995; Midgley & Urban, 1995; Roeser & Eccles, 1998; Roeser, Eccles, & Freedman-Doan, 1999). In addition, these negative attitudes toward reading in school have been linked to decreased participation in school-based literacy practices. From listening to student voices, researchers have suggested various reasons for this lack of participation. Students reported that school reading lacked any connection to their personal lives (Bintz, 1993; Ivey, 1999; Kos, 1991; McKenna et al., 1995; Smith & Wilhelm, 2004), was boring and unmotivating (Bintz, 1993; Gottfried, 1985; Harter et al., 1992; Moats, 2001;), or was too difficult to accomplish (Deshler, Ellis, & Lenz, 1996; McKenna et al., 1995).

In general, it can be suggested that all of these characteristics of school-based literacy practices have contributed to adolescents' lack of participation. From this

reported evidence, some researchers have called for an expansion of the notion of a struggling reader to be viewed as a student who is disengaged from reading activities that are related to schooling (Guthrie & Davis, 2003; Moje, Young, Readence, & Moore, 2000). In attempting to address the issue of disengaged readers, researchers examined the context of schools to understand the ways that instructional practices could be more engaging for middle school students (Roeser, Midgley, & Urban, 1996; Wigfield et al., 1998) found that the structure of reading classrooms decreased students' engagement with the instructional events. Classrooms centered around the process of developing understanding of literacy skills as opposed to purely proving mastery of these skills promoted higher motivation and engagement in the classroom. In additions, Ivey (1999) found that engagement in reading increased if the materials were relevant to students' lives and students' perceived a personal purpose for reading the material.

Building from these studies, Guthrie and Davis (2003) suggested that motivation was the key characteristic of engagement. They proposed an engagement model that held two potential pathways to developing motivation for reading in school contexts. One pathway suggested connecting an intrinsically motivating activity to reading texts. An example of this technique would involve providing objects that would be exciting to students in order to develop a desire to locate and understand more information about the object. The second pathway was to build this intrinsically motivating force for reading. This technique held that if reading is promoted and valued by admired members of students' social realms this will provide the necessary motivation to value reading as important.

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Although these two pathways are designed to promote the necessary motivation for adolescents to engage in school literacy, and in some sense may inspire some disengaged readers to participate with school sanctioned literacy, there appears to be some potential pitfalls. First, it seems to be a big stretch that students would transfer enjoyment from one activity, such as playing with a snake or viewing a pop culture movie, to another activity that they are already disengaged from, like reading a textbook. Second, the notion that admired others may provide the impetus for developing a love for reading is plausible. Yet, middle school age students interact in several social spheres, family, friends, school, and community. These various sphere represent multiple interactions with a variety of individuals, all of who may potentially serve as models for developing a sense of what is valued, especially forms of text. Promoting only the school's valued textual forms may not be similar to what forms are valued in their other contexts of existence.

Moje's (2000) work with adolescent members demonstrates how school literacy may not hold the same value as literacies practiced in other contexts. The youth in this study demonstrated competence with conventional writing practices, but merged these conventions with gangster scripts in unsanctioned ways. Although competent in school based literacy, the young people in this study chose to engage in unsanctioned gang literacy practices. As opposed to the limited power school literacy held in their lives, gang literacy practices allowed these adolescents to gain membership in a valued community by demonstrating proficiency with the literacy tools valued by that community.

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Like Hagood, Stevens, & Reinking (2002) suggest, perhaps it's that adults just don't understand the literacies of today's youth. As will be explored further in the following sections of this literature review, for contemporary adolescents living in times of technological change, literacy is multimodal, and rather than receive information from static texts, they actively create meaning dynamically across diverse media" (Hagood et al., 2002, p. 75). For example, connecting an intrinsically motivating object or event to reading printed textbooks just doesn't seem likely in contemporary culture. At the tip of adolescent's fingers are a multitude of texts that don't resemble the books being used in today's classrooms; the Internet and CD-ROM encyclopedias are just some of the ways that youth currently access the information they desire.

From this, the identity of the "Disengaged Reader" has been placed on middle school students, and more importantly, this identity is one solely connected to the context of school. This distinction is important in light of studies that have found students to be identified as "disengaged" or "struggling" readers within school contexts, yet they demonstrated engagement and success with literacy practices in other social contexts (Ares & Peercy, 2003; Smith & Wilhelm, 2004).

These groups of studies looked solely at school-based, or academic literacy, as these practices are enacted within a formal educational setting. Specifically, these studies examined behavioral and cognitive influences on literacy development, yet their findings suggest that social and cultural contextual factors can play a role in students' development of literacy competence. The way these studies narrowed literacy to purely

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the act of reading print-based textbook materials also seems to have left a gap in the research.

What these studies suggest is that the context in which literacy practices are enacted is as important as the form of the literacy practices themselves. The view of struggle readers as "disengaged"(Guthrie & Davis, 2003), suggests that certain contexts are more engaging than others. Within those contexts, certain practices are more favorable to engage in than others. Specifically, it suggests that literacy practices in the context of school are valued differently by adolescents than those practices they engage in other social spheres of their lives. To gain an understanding of the literate lives adolescents lead outside of school contexts, the next section of the literature review examines young people's literacy practices outside of school.

Literate Youth Discourses in Social Spheres

The framework for this study intertwined sociocultural theory and Discourse theory to construct a perspective from which to view adolescent literacy. From this framework, literacy was understood in terms of activities and beliefs about written language, which people create to define themselves in particular settings and circumstances (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Barton & Ivanic, 1991; Heath, 1983; Scribner and Cole, 1981; Street, 1984; Street, 1995). This stance holds literacy as a social practice associated with a particular Discourse, or identity, that is linked to a particular community. What makes communities unique is their specific practices or ways of living and viewing the world. These differences shape and reflect the Discourses of each community. Influenced by these two theories, the field of literacy has expanded over the

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last two decades. This expansion has moved the field from focusing on the cognitive

aspects of literacy development to include exploring how social, cultural, and political

influences impact literacy development.

Scribner and Cole (1981) provide a seminal study that assisted in moving the field

of literacy from a cognitively dominated perspective. Through studying the local cultural

practices of the Vai community in Liberia, West Africa, they found that particular

reading and writing activities foster particular, specialized forms of thinking. Vai

community Members used the local script for everyday practices of letter writing and

record-keeping, but they did not perform well on measures of literacy associated with

school literacy. They concluded that a cognitive process such as a logical argument could

not be associated with a reified literacy but rather with a particular language taught in

Western-like schools. From their findings, the researchers conceptualized literacy as a

practice, or a "recurrent, goal-directed sequence of activities using a particular

technology and particular systems of knowledge" (p. 236). They further elaborated that

literacy, as a socially organized practice, "is not simply knowing how to read or write a

particular script but applying this knowledge for specific purposes in specific contexts of

use" (p. 236).

Street (1984) extended this line of thinking to go beyond just viewing literacy as

different social practices employed in particular social contexts. His work demonstrated

how literacy practices are constructed by broader contexts. His work with villagers in

Iran supported the findings of Scribner and Cole (1981) that different literacy practices

existed in different contexts. However, beyond just being different in nature, certain

literacy practices were valued more than others and with this valuing, certain literacy

practices were totally discounted by dominant institutionally sanctioned notions of

literacy. Villagers were referred to as illiterate even though many of them had in fact

learned to read and write through Qoranic classes. Moreover, some villagers had adapted

their Qoranic literacies to the needs of commercial literacies, filling in forms, keeping

product lists, and writing checks. Yet even these modern societal demanded literacies

were not recognized. Rather than a set of neutral or technical skills that are found in

particular social contexts, this study provided a view of the way literacy practices are

constructed through ideology.

Heath's (1983) ethnographic exploration of literacy practices also demonstrated

that literacy was a sociocultural practice that was used by different cultures in different

contexts in particular ways. However, she wanted to expand the descriptive findings of

Scribner and Cole (1981) by understanding the differences between home literacy

practices and the literacy practices associated with school. Heath entered into a long-term

examination of and participation with three diverse communities—a black working-class,

a white-working class, and a racially mixed middle-class. This work illustrated how each

community socialized their children into very different language practices. She

documented each community's "ways with words" and found that, "The place of

language in the life of each social group is interdependent with the habits and values of

behaving shared among members of that group" (Heath, 1983, p. 11).

The most significant understanding from Heath's (1983) work is the impact that

community culture has in relation to school culture. The functions and uses of literacy

practices in these particular communities provided children with different literate experiences, and therefore, these children brought different literacy practices to bear on their engagement in school contexts. In line with Street (1984), Heath found that a dominant ideology of what counts as literacy privileged certain literacy practices over others within the school context. These valued practices were those resembling the middle-class students' early language experiences, and students possessing these valued literacy practices were found to be more successful in school.

Social Literacy Practices

This reconceptualization of literacy as a variety of social practices provided evidence that literacy development is contextually dependent, and therefore literacy associated with schools was representative of only one context. In recognizing that community literacy practices prepared students for academic success in schools in different ways, the agenda was set to describe the ways in which young people used language in successful ways, out of school, in order to provide avenues for building on these literacy practices within the culture of school. This opened up the field to explore literacies that may exist in other contexts.

The premise for these studies was that schools do not serve as the primary or single context for developing literacy competence. Building from sociocultural theories, these studies viewed life experiences of people as significant factors contributing to knowledge development. These experiences were viewed as the funds of knowledge that provided enculturation into social practices in various cultural realms (Moll, 1992). It is proposed that these funds of knowledge serve as social and cultural capital that can be

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used to build other knowledge. Specifically in relation to literacy practices, it is believed

that students' community and personal literacy practices provide the funds of knowledge

from which other literacy practices can be learned. Various sites have been explored in an

effort to understand what sets school and community literacies apart, from home

communities (Aguilar, 2002; Au & Jordan, 1981; Au & Mason, 1983; Knobel, 1999; Lee,

1993; Moll 1992; Moss, 2001; Reyes, 2000; Skilton-Sylvester, 2002) to community-

based programs (Gutierrez, Baquedano-Lopez, Alvarez and Chiu, 1999; Gutierrez,

Baquedano-Lopez, & Tejada, 1999; Heath, 1996; Heath, 1998; Long, Peck, & Baskins,

2002; McNamee & Sivright, 2002).

These studies all demonstrated that within their own personal and social

communities students engaged in successful literacy practices that were not evident in

school. In examining home funds of knowledge, Au and Mason (1983) found that Native

Hawaiian children were engaged and successful in literacy through overlapping, story-

telling structured speech events of the community, which did not match the language

patterning of the school culture. Skilton-Sylvester (2002) provided an account of the

mismatch between a young Cambodian girl's home literacy practices and those required

at school. Her oral, visual, and creative focus was often at odds with what mattered most

in school writing. At home, her strengths as a speaker, an artist, and a storyteller were

assets. These strengths did not serve as powerful literacy tools at school, where the

written word was more powerful than speech and words were more valued than pictures.

Non-print literacies, such as mechanical literacy (repairing a bicycle with tools),

consumer literacy (comparing prices while shopping), and interactive literacy (reading

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the people in one's surrounding environment), came to be understood as different ways in which children construct meaning through various symbolic systems of various social contexts (Voss, 1996).

Adolescent Social Literacy Practices

Although a majority of the research conducted in the area of understanding funds of knowledge has focused on young children, work that explores youth literacy practices outside of school contexts has demonstrated similar findings. Knobel (1999) presents a case study of a young boy and demonstrates the vast differences between his school and social literacy practices. The funds of knowledge gained from his community practices were not valued in school. Through his involvement in church, Jacques had developed funds of knowledge that developed his personal literacy practices. Reading religious texts was a part of his everyday life, and this reading served real purposes; he would have to write introductions for Theocratic School that related text sections to his life, and these thoughts would be shared with the greater congregation. In addition, his outreach work for the church made it important that he understand the religious texts in order to present the ideas to a wide range of people. These real-world purposes for reading, writing, and discussion were not found in his classroom, and such activities were not promoted with any sense of importance other than the completion of school tasks.

Other everyday uses of language demonstrate adolescents' literate skills. Cushman (1998) documents inner-city adolescents' "institutional" language—those oral and literate skills crucial for daily negotiations with gate keeping institutions. This study reveals the ways in which urban youth learn to hone their abilities to understand, function

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within, and circumvent the powers that be. She identifies the ways in which students navigate the broader social structures that constrain them; through everyday language and literacy activities, they youth positioned themselves in powerful positions to alter, undermine, accommodate, or resist the social forces that try to structure their lives.

Long et al. (2002) and Aguilar (2002) serve as examples of how community-based programs can serve as funds of knowledge for youth. Both of these community programs worked to support youth in developing positive identities through various literacy practices. STRUGGLE (Long et al., 2002) worked to develop a process of community literacy. Through community engaged partnerships, teens and adults collaborated on the construction of personal narratives to deal with the struggles they were facing in their daily lives. Through this process, the members delved into devising solutions, evaluating the potential outcomes of those solutions and then revisiting alternative possibilities. Writing provided teens access to literate practices to support their personal narratives and life plans.

The Community Based Theater Program (Aguilar, 2002) provided similar motivation for personal development by using language through performance. Modeling provided the funds of knowledge to understand how to develop identity associated with particular uses of language. These funds of knowledge provided an understanding of the literacy practices required to fulfill the desired role. Both of these programs provided the shared power structures to assume agency in using literacy practices to develop an identity as a literate youth. This identity was fostered through a view of literacy practices as tools to build human capacity, distribute expertise, and give voice.

Adolescent Multimedia Literacy Practices

Research has also explored other communicative practices than those similar to literacy practices found in traditional school curricula that emphasize reading and writing in traditional forms. Across multiple sites beyond the boundaries of the school walls, adolescents were found to possess a wide array of meaning-making capabilities that incorporate diverse media filled with visual and auditory modes (Hagood et al., 2002). For many adolescents of our contemporary society, literacy in their social worlds appears to expand beyond traditional modes of communication that are centered on print-based materials. Today's adolescents are immersed in a technologically advanced society. These diverse modes represent an intersection of media and print-based texts. Such technologies are common in adolescent's everyday lives. They connect with friends through e-mail, instant messaging and chat rooms online (Lewis & Fabbo, 2000); search the internet to explore their interests and gather information (Leu, 2000); learn with educational software and play video and computer games in virtual realities (Alloway & Gilbert, 1998); manipulate digital photos through cell phones, and explore films and TV in non-linear sequences through digital technology (Tobin, 2000).

These studies suggest that adolescents are engaged in successful literacy use with technological tools found in their everyday lives. The influence of these tools has transformed how adolescents have come to view the acts of reading and writing because of the unique characteristics of these textual forms (Reinking, 1998, p. xvi). These studies reveal "a profound disjuncture between the literacies adolescents competently learn and use on their own and the ones adults expose them to and require them to learn in schools"

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(Hagood et al., 2002, p. 81). From these studies, it would appear that instructional practices that include these types of literacies and tools might work to develop adolescents' engagement in literacy practices within the school context and better prepare students for their future in a complex and digital society.

Despite tremendous growth in new technologies, this has not diminished the need for traditional literacy practices, nor has it fully replaced old forms of meaning making with new ones. Instead, they are assimilated to create a mixture of multiple genres of literacy practices (Bruce, 2002). Digital forms of reading and writing hold potential for transforming the way literacy instruction is approached in school contexts. Yet, Alvermann (2001) points out that merely broadening the conceptualization of literacy to include technological forms of literacy practices does little to alleviate the ambiguity of how such literacies can be incorporated into school practices. Research does demonstrate that literacy is more than just school literacy, and therefore privileging one form of literacy (academic) over the multiple other forms (computer, visual, graphic) ignores how different contexts require and employ different literacy skills. In addition, failure to incorporate these everyday literacy practices, that appear to be relevant to the social and economic spheres of society, into school instructional practices may further alienate adolescents by increasing the irrelevance that is already perceived for school-based literacy tasks. This may prove even more detrimental to those students from home environments where such technological tools are unavailable. Failing to provide marginalized students with the tools to succeed in the digital communities of the future may push them further to the periphery of society.

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School versus Social Literacy Practices

In researching out-of-school literacy practices, these researchers tended to contrast those literacy practices most often associated with school to those literacy practices enacted beyond school walls. School literacy was viewed as "uses of written language that are undertaken to display competence with a particular form and register of written language…to display the skill of the user (and to be evaluated)" (Bloome, Katz, Solsken, Willett, & Wilson-Keenan, 2000, p. 155). Community literacy was viewed as a broad range of ways students make meaning in symbol systems. These studies set out to identify the distinctiveness of literacy in these different domains by analyzing what is common and what is distinct about literacy practices enacted in different domains.

However, this contrast has created a dichotomy of school/home, bad/good, engaging/disengaging, and new/old. The gap left vacant is in understanding the ways to transform literacy teaching to account for the findings presented by this research. These studies suggest that the literacy practices and textual forms adolescents employ out of school contexts may serve to support school-based literacy practices. The work done to document and describe out of school literacy practices and textual forms has made their existence visible, and visibility may be the first step to recognition by schools. However, as noted by Alvermann (2001), the structure of schools privileges one form of literacy while ignoring any other. The next section of this literature review presents a group of studies that questions this privileging and explores ways that bridges may be formed between school and community literacy practices.

New Literacy Studies

Beginning with the work of Heath (1983) and Street (1984), a group of work referenced as the New Literacy Studies (Gee, 1996) also expanded beyond the classroom contexts to investigate the nature of reading and writing in the everyday contexts of people's lives (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Barton & Ivanic, 1991; Barton, Hamilton, & Ivanic, 2000), the workplace (Hull, 1997), and community youth groups (Heath & McLaughlin, 1993). Like the out-of-school literacies studies discussed above, a cornerstone of this work is the assumption that literacies are multiple rather than singular and take multiple forms depending on the contexts in which they are constructed and enacted. Yet, what sets these studies apart as a unique body of work is that they build on the ethnographic tradition of documenting literacy in local communities by adding an analysis of the interplay between the meanings of local events and a structural analysis of broader cultural institutions and practices (Gee, 2000). The key for New Literacy Studies scholars was to move beyond just documenting literacy practices to looking at the social, political, and economic structures that influence the shape of these practices.

The New Literacy Studies added a critical thread to the sociocultural perspective of literacy. In following its critical theory framework, The New Literacy Studies tradition connects microanalyses of language and literacy use with macroanalyses of discourse and power. In specifically looking at the context of schooled literacy, these studies critiqued the reification of schooled notions of literacy. Street (2001). Through descriptions of multiliteracies practices, the New Literacy Studies serve to question the authoritative power of a single schooled literacy to be the standard against which other literacy

practices are judged. Recognition of alternative literacy practices provides a premise to weaken the power of school literacy to count other practices as valuable or not.

They argue that those in control of school literacy overlook or misunderstand practices that emerge from communities other than their own, leading to a perspective that views other communities' practices as deficient. The aim of the New Literacy Studies is to promote a more equitable approach to literacy education. New Literacy studies research provided support for particular pedagogical practices, specifically, critical literacy pedagogy.

Critical Pedagogy and Multiple Literacies

Critical pedagogy is grounded in the Frankfurt school of critical theory (Giroux & McLaren, 1994; McLaren & Lankshear, 1994; Shor & Freire, 1987). The Frankfurt school emphasized attaining emancipation by the critique and social action of critically conscious citizens: as citizens become aware of how social and political systems work and become conscious of themselves as agents, they can identify and critique the domination by oppressive and authoritative structures embedded within those systems. Further, critical theory proposed that these conscious citizens must recognize that they are members of a community within which they must come to understand the context in which their actions take place. Through this awareness, a commitment to democracy is enacted through continual social critique and transformation of social, political, and organizational structures.

Paulo Freire is most often credited with bringing critical theory to life in education (Aronowitz, 1993; McLaren, 2000; Shor, 1993). Freire believed that the point

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of education was to illuminate reality to unmask how domination works and to be the catalyst for changing society. In addition, however, the political goal of conscientization is important. It is achieved as learners, collaboratively and individually, recognize oppressions and as they acquire and use literacies to name the world, that is, to write and thus transform it (Freire, 1974). Freirean pedagogy "incorporates both critical thought and critical action" as readers of the world and the word develop and act on critical projects that are transformative, emancipatory, and democratic (Freire and Macedo, 1987).

Freire dedicated his life to helping people emerge from the shadows to transform their own lives, and to challenge the oppression that thrives on and perpetuates ignorance. In Freire's approach, literacy workers studied the lives of their students and derived a curriculum in which politically charged words and images acted as generative themes that evoked discussions on exploitation, the meaning of culture, and the power of written language. Explicitly rejecting "banking" modes of instruction where the teacher acts as an authority stuffing the heads of students with inert facts, Freire and his colleagues constructed an approach that encouraged participants to reflect with each other and to draw deeply upon their collective experience to grasp how society functioned. In this endeavor, teachers acted as partners in learning, deeply respectful of the knowledge that each participant brought to the class. Steadfastly opposed to teaching as indoctrination, he insisted that learning is inescapably political and that educators should help students articulate their own vision of social justice. He argued for a pedagogy that draws on the

lives of our students to engage them in asking critical questions about the larger society (Graff, 2000).

From Freire's (1974) work, the term *critical literacy* emerged as a way to conceptualize educational praxis. Critical literacy has come to represent a vast array of practices, and with this variety of enactments. Although critical literacy does not stand for one unitary approach, "it marks out a coalition of educational interests committed to engaging with the possibilities that the technologies of writing and other modes of inscription offer for social change, cultural diversity, economic equity, and political enfranchisement" (Luke & Freebody, 1997, p. 1).

Critical literacy has been fused within a broader pedagogy of multiliteracies (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000). This pedagogy of multiliteracies movement maintains a critical focus on broad political and economic influences on the literacy practices of marginalized populations. Characterized by multiple communication channels, hybrid text forms, and new social relations, the multiliteracies pedagogy movement aims to reconfigure school literacy to be more responsive to home and cultural practices of those students marginalized by the privileging of academic literacy (Au, 1995). Multiliteracies create a different kind of pedagogy, one in which language and other modes of meaning are dynamic representational resources, constantly being remade by their users as they work to achieve various cultural purposes (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000).

Within the current climate of schools that privilege certain literacy practices over others, adolescents that are disengaged from the school-based literacy continue to be pushed to the margins. As King and O'Brien (2002) suggest, adolescents appear to be

caught in a "literacy Catch-22" where they have access to and success with a variety of textual forms and communicative tools, yet are attempting to function in school cultures that privilege print bound texts. The New Literacy Studies has provided the groundwork to address this disjuncture between deciding who gets to define literacies and how they are valued in school contexts. The importance of this work rests on the notion that as schools continue to privilege traditional literacies the result is a growing dissonance between the literacies that take place in schools and the literacies that adolescents use in other contexts. Without addressing these various literacies and building upon adolescents' literate experiences, school risk becoming anti-educational sites (Hagood et al., 2002).

Bridging Adolescent Social Literacies with Academic Literacies

Following the foundation laid by the New Literacy Studies, scholars have analyzed the way these multiliteracies, personal/out-of-school literacies, and critical literacies may become part of the school structure in order to ameliorate this disconnection from traditional literacy approaches dominating the school context. Through developing an understanding of the literacy practices youth do use in their community contexts, researchers have attempted to develop ways school and community literacies can be bridged (Cushman & Emmons, 2002; Guerra & Farr, 2002; Hall, 2002; Hinchman et al., 2004; Knobel, 2001; Lankshear & Knobel, 1997; Luke & Freebody, 1997; Moje, Ciechanowski, Kramer, Ellis, Carillo, & Collazo, 2004; Noll & Watkins 2003; Skilton-Sylvester, 2002; Smith & Wilhelm, 2004; Thomson & Comber, 2003).

The movement to bridge literacies from two spheres of adolescents' lives is an attempt to engage the disengaged and include the marginalized. Studies exploring this agenda work from "students' cultural capital – i.e. their life experience, history, and language'' in education (Freire and Macedo, 1987, p. 148). This cultural capital is a culmination of the various funds of knowledge (Moll, Velez-Ibanez, & Greenberg, 1989) that students accumulate as they interact within and across various social spaces and relationships. It is through the bridging of these various funds of knowledge that supports students "reading" their world, both in the classroom context and their everyday lives (Freire & Macedo, 1987). Through this view, the imperative is to build bridges to connect students' out-of-school knowledge resources with those promoted within traditional academic contexts to ensure all students can achieve success in developing academic competencies that are real, relevant, and necessary for participation in the world beyond school.

These studies maintained that the classroom represented a site of literacy formation where patterns of power and identity are constituted in the Discourses of the classroom literacy events. What has been found in looking at ways of making space for adolescents' personal literacies in school contexts is that the school structure can either work as an enabler or a constraint for such practices. The dominant institutionalized structures of the classroom procedures and the authoritative Discourse of the school were reported as common constraints in promoting this bridge.

Smagorinsky and O'Donnell-Allen (2000) reported that the school structure placed many constraints on how the students were able to use their personal literacies.

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Time limits, specified material use, and the concept of having to complete a particular assignment transformed the personal literacies from authentic to school based practices because they had to change to fit a new structure. Even though the teacher had attempted to position the students in control of the process, they still turned to her for final approval of the finished product. The students recognized that the ultimate control for the construction of the task rested in the evaluative authority of the teacher.

Myers (1992) also suggests that simply bringing personal literacies into the classroom context doesn't necessarily change the way academic tasks are approached. This study also demonstrated that students recognized the teacher as the authoritative voice of what counts as acceptable literacy practices in school context. Like Smagorinsky and O'Donnell-Allen (2000), this study showed that students accepted this authority and conformed to the practices expected by the classroom setting. This study found that even students that devalued academic literacy didn't totally discount or resist engagement in the classroom. For these students, academic literacy was valued for the purposes of success: success with peers in being perceived as smart and success as a future adult. Even students resistant to academic conventions acquiesced by at least faking to comply. However, the students in this study represented middle-class mainstream populations, so perhaps as Heath (1983) noted, their personal literacies were more closely aligned with the academic literacies of this classroom.

Contrary to the conforming nature of the students reported by Myers (1992), Gutierrez and Stone (2000), Obidah (1998), and Fecho (1998) found that when the teacher's intentions are the guiding force for the literacy event, students may resist the

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teacher and subvert the event with their own literacy practices or just resist participating. Gutierrez and Stone (2000) found that the official script or Discourse for literate behavior in the classroom was one that allowed personal literacies only if they were transformed to fit within the appropriate range established by the teacher. This created a counterscript that maintained resistant behaviors and attitudes towards literacy within this classroom context. Obidah (1998) and Fecho (1998) both reported African American students resisted engaging with content that was based on their funds of knowledge, both culturally and linguistically.

Prentiss (1998) suggests that the ways of being student and teacher are constructed through the historically situated experiences with school, and over time, certain practices have become attached to these particular roles. This would suggest that as the Discourse of academic literacy becomes historically entrenched as the accepted mode of literacy and other literacies are positioned on the margins or ignored totally, acknowledging and employing personal literacies in classroom contexts may be perceived as just another way of doing school. If the structures of school remain unchanged, this perception of being forced to conform personal literacies to the authoritative standards of school may impose a sense of succumbing to the dominant Discourse.

However, several studies have reported success when school structures provide space for adolescents' personal literacies. Thomson and Comber (2003) engaged in a project with six disadvantaged schools in Australia to investigate ways in which students' community, peer, and home resources of knowledge impacted the construction of new

literacies within a school context. Within the contexts of these schools, students made five-minute documentary films from their viewpoints about technology in their schools. With assistance from independent filmmakers, the students created visual documentaries that incorporated the use of various traditional literacies. Students constructed questions, wrote dialogue for scripted segments, researched printed texts to locate information describing functions and specifications of technological tools in preparation of the visual imagery to capture.

The authors emphasize how the students bridged traditional school literacies with literacies originating from out-of-school contexts. In the planning and design phase, students utilized traditional forms of reading and writing to generate information to include in their documentaries. Further, the authors noted that the active engagement in the filming process was complemented by the need for semiotic concepts. In the design and editing process, students used knowledge from their personal, home contexts to construct visual representations of their concepts. Many of the documentaries incorporated visual images associated with television and local celebrities, not included within any particular school curriculum. The authors posed that the selection of particular non-school images represented the socially constructed nature of this form of communication. Students were attempting to communicate ideas to an audience, and in turn, needed to consider the desires and expectations of this audience in developing the product. Thus, the audience had been positioned within the context of the literacy act.

The documentaries produced demonstrated the ability for students to actively engage in extending the traditional forms of school-based literacies to incorporate a

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socio-cultural perspective. These particular products provided avenues for students to engage in bridging their out-of-school literacies with in-school literacy practices to create a unique and engaging academic environment. Such an instructional approach may appear to meet the criteria for successfully engaging students in literacy practices within the school context.

However, one must question the feasibility of such an approach to addressing the need to create a more engaging context of literacy instruction. Several issues arise for the expansion of such practices beyond the contexts of this study. As noted by the authors, schools were specifically selected based on the following qualities: innovative literacy curriculum; commitment to working with technology; a tradition of action research; democratic decision-making structures; and an understanding of social justice. All of these qualities would certainly make for an engaging and effective school; however, the likelihood of all of these components being present in large numbers of schools is very low. Teachers engaged in this type of learning environment must feel empowered as noted by the action research and decision-making process criteria. Working under the mandates of paced and scripted curriculum materials leaves little space for such empowerment. Further, as schools are increasingly pressured to meet state standards through mandated curricula, there is little that can be considered innovative in literacy curricula design.

Further, each group of students was engaged in this form of literacy construction for half of a school day. Finding time to devote extensive instruction to one group of students for half a day would be difficult to manage for a self-contained classroom

teacher. However, it would appear necessary in order to provide students the proper technological training, research skills training, and space for designing such a project. In addition to the time required to train the students, time must be allocated to creating the documentary and then editing the video for final production. Each project was accomplished in one school day, with one small group of students, under the supervision of an expert trained in using the equipment and software. However valuable and effective such an approach may have been, the construction of this type of active learning environment in everyday schools would very difficult.

Various textual forms of pop culture have been used to merge adolescents' personal literacy practices into the curricula. The appeal these textual forms hold for adolescents in everyday life appear to hold promise for engaging students in literacy practices in classroom contexts (Lee, 2000; Mahiri, 1998; Morrell, 2002; Moss, 2001; O'Brien, 1998). Lee (2000) and Mahiri (1998) report that the use of pop culture is especially successful with urban students whose funds of knowledge and literate Discourses are less visible in traditional literacy instructional practices. These two studies involved the use of African American and pop culture vernacular as bridging points to academic literacy. Through critically analyzing the language practices involved in pop culture, students transferred those skills to interpretation of school based literary texts.

Similarly, Morrell (2002) provides three examples of what are described as successful and engaging uses of pop culture as bridging tools. Students used hip-hop music and culture as a component in their traditional literacy class along with other genres of poetry from various historical periods studied. Students had to analyze poems

and rap songs from its historical context, to understand the differences in literacy use across time and cultures. Second, students honed critical and analytical skills necessary for deconstructing classic literature pieces by using the same strategies, skills, and techniques with pop culture films. Both of these practices reported to engage the students in the literacy class and that the students were successfully able to transfer across contemporary and historical textual forms.

O'Brien (1998) also studied how pop culture could be used to support the literacy development of at-risk adolescent students. However, contrary to the studies above, pop culture was not used as a method to transfer to other traditional textual forms. Students did not use components of pop culture magazines or music as one textual form to develop a similar process to understand more traditional print bound school texts. Through a special literacy lab, students used pop culture texts, multiple modes of symbolic representation, and computers to construct products that were open to their own interpretive designs. The use of pop culture as the sole content for the literacy practices did not include any direct comparison to school based texts. Students perceived their literacy practices to be the sanctioned ways of using communicative forms and the audiences served as the evaluators as opposed to some predetermined level of accomplishment.

These studies open up the question of whether such practices still work in ways to change personal literacies into ways of doing school. Using pop culture as a text in a school context automatically removes it from its natural context. Even adolescents' engagements with pop culture in school contexts are usually doing so in unsanctioned

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ways (Moje, 2000; O'Brien, 1998), and perhaps that is a part of what makes it engaging. In addition, analyzing movies for metaphor interpretations or rap music for poetic themes may not be the genuine ways adolescents would use these texts in real community and social contexts. These appropriations of personal literacy practices position these practices as rungs on a ladder that one can use to reach a higher, more desirable and valued form of literacy.

This issue brings to the fore the complex nature of Discourses coming into contact with each other. Janks' (2000) notion of an "access paradox" appears appropriate in describing the potential conflict with bringing personal literate Discourses in contact with school literate Discourses. The "access paradox" could be applied to this context as follows. Providing students access to the dominant literacy practices of school perpetuates their dominant position by suggesting that these are the practices necessary to succeed in life. Evidence supporting that students' personal literacy practices allow them to be successful in their present social lives may suggest that these are the literacy practices that should dominate the school context. Yet, denying students access to work with the dominant literacy practices located in school may perpetuate students' marginalization from other social contexts where such literacy practices are valued, like higher education and workforce environments. Delpit (1988) takes a position that attempts to address this paradox. She believes that students must be taught the Discourses needed to participate fully in mainstream America,

> not by being forced to attend to hollow, inane, decontextualized subskills, rather
>
> within the context of meaningful communicative endeavors; that they must be

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allowed the resource of the teacher's expert knowledge, while being helped to

acknowledge their own expertness as well; and that even while students are

assisted in learning the culture of power, they must also be helped to learn about

the arbitrariness of these codes and about the power relationships they represent.

(p. 296)

This caveat needs to be recognized in exploring potential constructions of

classroom environments that promote and value adolescents' personal literacies. These

studies demonstrate that classrooms are contexts that do not just simply exist; rather, they

are "actively created, sustained, negotiated, resisted, and transformed" through ongoing

daily interactions of students and teachers (Gee, 2000, p. 191). These studies also provide

compelling evidence that bridging adolescents' everyday literacy practices with academic

literacy practices holds promise for engaging students in classroom contexts. However,

the theme emerging from the studies reporting success shows that this bridging of

adolescents' personal literacies and school-based academic literacies only occurred when

space was provided by the dominant structure of the school. In addition to when and if

such space was provided, the amount of space provided was also restricted to suit the

needs of dominant Discourses of school literacy.

This situation demonstrates that schools as institutions are entrenched in their

historically constructed structures, and these contexts appear not easily open to change. In

this view, even though adolescent literate Discourses are acknowledged, they are still

marginalized by traditional classroom structures. The current dominant reform movement

to improve adolescent literacy skills continues to increase the development of literacy

standards, the implementation of high-stakes tests, and the accountability on schools to develop basic reading skills (Denti & Guerin, 2004). Embedded within this movement is an ideology of what counts as literacy and what counts as being literate. This ideology adheres to narrow conceptualizations of literacy defined as the ability to read and write in page-bound official, standard forms of the national language (New London Group, 2000). As this movement increases, the ability to create spaces in classrooms for new literacies will decrease.

It was the premise of this present study that current research has neglected to explore non-traditional instructional practices that are already implemented, prevalent, and sanctioned in school contexts. In answering the call to reconnect students to their communities, many schools are implementing service-learning pedagogy as an integral part of their reform and restructuring efforts to promote active democratic citizenship and help resolve adolescent social alienation. According to a report issued by the National Center for Educational Statistics in 1999, 64% of all public schools and 83% of public high schools now organize some form of community engagement for their students (Skinner & Chapman, 1999).

The following sections will explore service-learning pedagogy in general, examine research exploring its implementation within middle school contexts, and situate service-learning within current research on literacy engagement.

Service-Learning as a Pedagogy of Engagement

Foundations of Service-Learning

The most common reasons cited for this adoption of service-learning stem from

two perceived needs: youth reform and educational reform (Conrad & Hedin, 1991).

According to Bhaerman (1995), service-learning holds a great deal of potential for

contributing to school reform for it is

> highly consistent with the elements of systemic educational reform, particularly
>
> the common focus on transforming relationships between schools and
>
> communities; linking curriculum/instruction/assessment; developing integrated,
>
> cohesive curricula; and improving instruction by having students demonstrate
>
> what they know, and through application, what they can do. (p.55)

Although service-learning has its roots in the early writings of John Dewey (1998)

and is often linked with related early philosophical foundations of experiential education,

it has only been in the last decade that service-learning has grown by leaps and bounds in

K-12 contexts (Skinner & Chapman, 1999). Service-learning has been viewed as a

powerful pedagogical alternative that promotes the development of competent and

effective citizens by combining academic instruction with the opportunity to practice

democratic citizenship while engaged in service to the community (Billig & Furco, 2002;

Eyler & Giles, 1999; Kahne, Westheimer & Roger, 2000; Mendel-Reyes, 1998; Morgan

& Streb, 2001; Schine, 1997).

Service-learning, though, is variously defined, and discussion of its definition is

often the source of disagreement among proponents; within the literature, Schine (1997)

had located "147 different definitions of service-learning" (p. 188). The Alliance for Service-Learning in Education Reform (ASLER) provides the most cited definition of K-12 service-learning as, an educational experience:

1. Where students learn and develop through active participation in thoughtfully organized service experiences that meet actual community needs and that are coordinated in collaboration with school and community;

2. That is integrated into the students' academic curriculum and provides structured time for students to think, talk, or write about what the students did and saw during the actual service activity;

3. That provides students with opportunities to use newly acquired skills and knowledge in real-life situations in their own communities;

4. That enhances what is taught in school by extending student learning beyond the classroom and into the community and helps foster the development of a sense of caring for others. (Alliance for Service-Learning Educational Reform [ASLER], 1993, p.1)

However, among the field, there is general agreement that service-learning pedagogy explicitly links community service to the curriculum; meets a genuine community need; is collaboratively designed with the service provider and the recipient; and includes the four essential elements of planning, service implementation, structured reflection, and celebration or recognition of accomplishments (Howard, 1998; Morgan & Streb, 2001; Schine, 1997).

Service-Learning Enacted K-12

In analyzing the literature, it appears that much of the research is aimed at investigating the impact of service-learning in three broad areas: academic achievement, civic engagement, and personal/social development. The existing research on academic achievement rests heavily on standardized measures of academic performance for specific content areas, such as mathematics (Akujobi & Simmons, 1997), science (Melchior, 1999), and reading achievement tests (Scales, Blyth, Berkas, & Kielsmeier, 2000; Weiler, LaGoy, Crane, & Rovner, 1998). However, these studies are specifically focused on school-based academic competencies that are measured outside the context of the service-learning experience. The actual engagement of service-learning is not explored to determine how such academic competencies are enacted within such contexts. Thereby essentially dismissing the founding premise of service-learning, integration of academic content within a community service context.

The existing research on K-12 civic engagement and service-learning reveals a range of results for various groups of students. Tolo (1999) showed that young people who participated in service-learning became more "civic-minded," and learned they could improve their community by working through civic and political processes. Stephens (1995) reported that middle school students who participated in service-learning experiences developed a greater sense of civic responsibility. Several studies reported that service-learning provided an avenue for students to become active, positive contributors to society (Melchior & Bailis, 2002; Morgan & Streb, 2001; Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1997).

Even anecdotal accounts and descriptive portraits paint service-learning as an effective pedagogy to promote outcomes of personal, social, and academic student growth. These cases describe service-learning in a particular school or classroom, or they provide a general discussion of the benefits of including service-learning in a school's curriculum. For example, seventh grade followed the espoused model of service-learning to address issues with the drinking water in their local community (Boston, 1999). This class of adolescents assessed the needs of their community and planned a course of action to gather evidence and analyze the problem. Through researching the problem and testing their water, they noticed that, although it tested pure before entering their homes, once into their homes lead pipes affected the quality of the water. Continuing with the cycle of reflecting on and evaluating their actions, they confronted city policymakers and learned that this problem only affected older homes. Their project then turned to a community awareness campaign.

Service-Learning in the Middle School (Fertman, White, & White, 1996) is an entire volume dedicated to describing students' service-learning experiences and the beneficial social, personal, and academic outcomes. Examples center on students providing services to needy groups and focus on the benefits accrued by the students through personal reflections. Invariably, the students were reported to have developed social responsibility through the development of understanding and tolerance of others, by playing games with elderly people at a facilitated-care home; through reporting a sense of feeling good about being able to provide something for someone else, by reading

to children at an after-school Head Start center; or, through the belief that they can make changes by helping someone else, by cleaning and repairing a women's shelter.

However, all of these accounts fail to consider the impact of the social context on the development of students' literacy competencies. The process of engaging in a service-learning classroom has not been explored. The present study aims at attending to this gap in the research by examining the practices of a community of students engaged in service-learning instruction, both in the classroom context and in the field, to understand how literacy competencies are developed. In specifically looking at literacy achievement, the current research has focused on the outcome measures of reading achievement from a service-learning experience on standardized tests and has neglected to analyze literacy practices. The present study aims to examine literacy practices in action to understand what practices are represented in a service-learning community.

Potential for Literacy Engagement

Based on the premise that many middle school students are disengaged from literacy practices in school, literacy researchers have examined the context of schools to understand the ways that instructional practices could be more engaging. Research suggests that service-learning pedagogy may serve as a way to engage students in school practices. Middle school students engaged in service-learning showed increases in measures of self-efficacy, self-esteem (Shaffer, 1993; Switzer, Simmons, Dew, Regalski, & Wang, 1995), and educational competence (Weiler, et al, 98). In addition, middle school students engaged in service-learning showed increases in measures of school

engagement (Melchior, 1999) and completed more classroom tasks (Loesch-Griffin, Petrides, & Pratt, 1995).

Several studies researching adolescent literacy practices have hinted at contexts resembling the experiential nature of service-learning (Knobel, 1999; Moje, 2001;Smith & Wilhelm, 2004; Coskie, 2003). Smith and Wilhelm (2004) studied adolescent boys literacy practices in and out of school contexts. The boys in this study rejected literacy in school, but the boys were attracted to literacy tasks outside of school where they felt competent. In studying alternative instructional contexts, the researchers noted that a community service project tutoring younger students in reading provided an engaging activity. The boys reported that the tutoring experience was interesting because they were good at reading with younger kids. Knobel (1999) studied ways to bridge literacies from home with school contexts. In recognizing that simply incorporating these literacies in a school context may just lead to traditional academic literacy, she suggested that, "perhaps this approach to language and literacy pedagogy is best done in collaboration with…groups outside of the conventional school contexts" (p. 227).

Coskie (2003) studied the literacy practices of adolescents involved in an after-school community leadership program. The teens read brochures and completed applications to get involved with various civic organizations. They engaged in letter writing and other literacy activities while involved with the organizations. These literacy opportunities offered the adolescents spaces to bridge what they viewed as valued literacy practices with the genres and texts valued by the civic organizations. Through community

engagement, students were able to merge institutional literacy practices with personal literacy practices.

Although these students were actively engaged in service experiences that met actual community needs and used skills in real-life situations, there was no direct connection between the students' academic curriculum and the service skills provided. However, these studies lend support to the potential such community contexts can offer in engaging students in literacy practices that represent both academic and personal literacies. More importantly, these studies demonstrate how engaging in such a community context provides a space where multiple forms of literacies can flourish together.

Moje (2001) initiated a project-based science curriculum to foster middle school adolescents' engagement in learning. Groups of students generated questions about broad social issues that would stimulate inquiry. The groups then researched the issues using multiple resources and constructed visuals to accompany a presentation made to the class about the findings of the research. Although the projects were generated by the students and involved multiple forms of literacy practices, the students lost interest, became disengaged, and even resisted continuing with the projects. Moje suggests that this lack of participation was because the project-based learning still represented school tasks.

However, when the project-based learning incorporated a community-based component, students were more engaged. Students went into the community to explore issues that concerned them; some investigated the quality of the local river, and others investigated the quality of the community's air. At the end of the unit, students developed

presentations, such as a newscast to dramatize a role-play of interviewing community members about the air quality. The projects were reported to be useful tools in fostering motivation and engagement. The projects also provided an opportunity for students to bring their personal experiences into the classroom and engage with multiple forms of literacy practices.

Although these projects were not representative of service-learning practices, this study does demonstrate how the community environment can serve as a mediating influence of engagement. This study also shows that just providing space for students' experiences and interests in a classroom does not necessarily lead to motivation and engagement. Students reacted differently when the context of interaction was moved beyond the walls of the classroom. Researching the community by going out into it did not detract from the students' uses of textual resources and academic literacies. In fact, this study suggests that the community context provided impetus to locate, read, analyze, synthesize, write, and present information across multiple texts.

Emergence of New Literate Youth Discourses

Building from the framework of a sociocultural theory of literacy (Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Gee, 1996; Street, 1984), literacy is best understood as a set of social practices enacted within a specific context. As Scribner and Cole (1981) noted, "Literacy is not simply knowing how to read and write a particular script, but applying this knowledge for specific purposes in specific contexts of use" (p. 236). Therefore, literacy practices must be recontextualized based on the context and the social practice embedded within the context of enactment. These practices can be viewed as general cultural ways

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of utilizing written language which people draw upon in their lives (Barton & Hamilton, 2000).

In line with this concept of contextualized literacy practices, different contexts require different practices. As students are engaged in service-learning experiences, the contexts created will be synthesized situations of social interaction involving the merger of community and academic discourses. These contexts will be unique in that the students will not be solely immersed in one or the other. Service-learning contexts, whether enacted within the school or in community settings will neither be divorced from nor immersed in the daily discourse rules or the conventions of academic discourse. The service experience in the community will still hold an academic overtone to the purpose of engagement and the practices associated with that context. Similarly, a service-learning classroom will find community discourse and practices intertwined within its structural parameters.

Cushman and Emmons (2002) provide a revealing account of how service-learning pedagogy constructs unique instructional contexts that produce unique literacy practices. Through a service-learning course, college students tutored children at a local YMCA. As the college students worked with the children, they began to question the children's literacy skills. The college students initially perceived the children to lack any proper literacy skills. In viewing themselves as tutors charged with the duty of assisting the children in developing literacy skills, the college students focused on activities that represented their values and beliefs about literacy. However, the children easily steered these attempts aside in favor of reading comic books, drawing pictures, or telling stories.

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Frustrated at the resistance to their attempts, the college students were guided to reflect on the context in which they were trying to conduct literacy teaching. In realizing that the context of the YMCA did not represent school for these children, they reflected on their own literacy practices and how different contexts supported and required different literacy skills.

Through this interaction in which individuals representing different literate Discourses, with different, yet overlapping, agendas came together, reading and writing practices meaningful to all involved were constructed. For the college students, their agenda was to have the students create texts that represented school-based literacy, but for the children the agenda was to enjoy having an audience to listen to the stories they wanted to tell orally. The language generated during such collaborations drew from the distinctive literacy practices associated with both school and non-school contexts.

The authors suggest that the interaction between college students' literate Discourses and the young people's literate Discourses generated hybrid literacies. These hybrid literacies were constructed by combining elements of oral and written discourse; facets of storytelling, dialogue, letter-writing, and personal journals; as well as print and imagery. These hybrid literacies can be understood as a completely unique Discourse of literacy constructed specifically for and within the service-learning context by a merging of literate Discourses where both college students and children learned from each other in dialogic relations. The college students learned about language and learning use in a new and unfamiliar context by observing and interacting with the children, and the children learned to make meaning that was significant to them and the tutors by merging academic

literacies and personal literacies. During these literacy activities, the Discourses had to negotiate form and genre to produce hybrid texts. These hybrid literacies allowed all members of the service-learning context to redefine and affirm their individual sense of self-worth, to represent aspects of their culture they deemed important, and to recognize the literate Discourses of the other members.

The importance of this study above is twofold. First, it suggests that service-learning by its inherent attempt to be mutually beneficial, forces all members involved to engage in new strategies. All members of a service-learning community are positioned into a synergistic relationship where beliefs, values, agendas, in essence Discourses, are merged in order to accomplish a common goal. Second, it would appear that engaging in such synergistic relationships forces individuals to recognize and understand their own Discourses in order to negotiate merging with another. Service-learning appears to offer a context that promotes the negotiation of the multiple potentials of Discourse. Foucault (1978) believed that

> Discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it also undermines it and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it. (p. 101)

Specifically, for this present study, this work suggests that fostering a dialogic relationship between community and academic literacies may be one of the benefits of service-learning. Service-learning contexts may serve as a place where different Discourses are forced to make contact, negotiate, and construct something new in order

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succeed in the common goal. Bhabha (1994) considers this type of interaction as Third Space, which he argues is constructed in discursive practices through language as unique Discourses come together to share the same context.

Moje et al. (2004) related Third Space to literacy practices. These researchers present third space as "a space of cultural, social, and epistemological change" (p. 44), in which the knowledge and Discourses of different spaces are brought together to challenge and reshape academic literacy practices and the youths' everyday literacies. In line with the findings of Cushman and Emmons (2002), service-learning appears to provide the Third Space for apparent oppositional Discourses to work together to generate new knowledge, new Discourses, and potentially new forms of literacy. They suggest that, "the reading and writing that emerge from these interactions may harmonize with what we know as "academic" and "out of school" literacies. And in that harmonizing, these literacies may also help us listen for something new" (p. 231).

<div align="center">Summary</div>

Concern over adolescent literacy achievement has prompted an expanse of studies examining the literacy practices of contemporary youth. Through analyzing youth literacy achievement in school contexts, two perspectives have been taken regarding the causes of poor performance. One perspective has positioned adolescent readers as deficient in basic reading skills and has proposed instruction focus on developing phonological and graphological knowledge. A second perspective has attributed adolescents' struggles with reading to lack of engagement and has proposed instruction focus on ways to engage students in the literacy practices at school.

Research has documented that the literacy practices adolescents employ in other social contexts don't match the practices dominating educational contexts. Research has shown that the literacy practices dominating classrooms are not meeting the technological and social changes facing today's youth. Research has analyzed various attempts to connect school and contemporary adolescent literacy practices. Such approaches have included critical literacy approaches and multiliteracies approaches. However, research has demonstrated that these approaches are only successful when the structures of schools are changed, and this has proved difficult.

Other research has suggested that students may become engaged with school literacy practices when those practices are connected to experiential learning beyond the classroom walls. However, there is little research to support these recommendations. Service-learning is a prevalent instructional practice that is based in principles of experiential learning and has been found to generate student motivation and foster engagement in general school practices. However, there is little research to document how service-learning may function as a pedagogy of engagement that can bridge academic literacies with contemporary adolescent literacies.

It is within this space that the present study focused. The purpose for this study was to understand how middle school students construct and represent themselves through a "literate youth" Discourse within a service-learning community. This study was designed to examine middle school students' Discourses and funds across various academic and community contexts (school, peer, family) to examine how these funds and Discourses impacted the generation of a Discourse of "literate youth" in the service-

learning community. In attempting to understand ways that adolescent literacies can cross

boundaries between school and everyday life contexts, this investigation of service-

learning provides some insight into this endeavor.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

The purpose for this study was to understand how middle school students

constructed and represented themselves through "literate youth" Discourses within a

service-learning community. This study was designed to examine middle school students'

Discourses and funds across various academic and community contexts (school, peer,

family) to examine what role, if any, these funds and Discourses played in influencing the

generation of Discourses of "literate youth" in the service-learning community. Framing

this study through a sociocultural perspective on literacy development espoused an

ideology that literacy never exists in isolation. It is always a part of a context, an

environment; it is a part of a set of language practices and cultural values and dispositions

that can be called a Discourse of the situated community (Barton & Hamilton, 2000).

The exploration of this construction of literate Discourses was guided by the

following research questions: (a) How did middle school students construct Discourses of

"literate youth" as members of a service-learning community?; (b) How was literacy

defined, enacted, and constructed within this context?; (c) What roles did broader social,

cultural, and political influences (e.g., the community, teacher, peers, family, and school

system) play in the construction of the "literate youth" Discourses in service-learning?;

and (d) How were the Discourses of "literate youth" in a service-learning community

transferred to, transformed by, synthesized with, or oppositional to "literate youth"

discourses from other contexts?

Research Design

Investigating the complex nature of the construction of Discourses of literate

adolescents required the investigation of formal and informal educational contexts.

Gutierrez and Stone (2000) argue that a syncretic framework for studying the

construction of literate identities in such contexts requires, "the principled and strategic

use of a combination of theoretical and methodological tools to examine individual

actions, as well as the goals and history of those actions" (p. 152). Following the advice

of these researchers, a critical ethnographic multiple case study design formed the core

syncretic framework that shaped the procedures of this study. This approach allowed for

the investigator to analyze and interpret the multiple aspects of everyday lived

experiences while maintaining an interest in the larger social, historical, and political

structures influencing these events and practices. In addition, studying the collective and

the individual within the collective allowed for an understanding of learning across

contexts (Putney, Green, Dixon, Duran, & Yeager, 2000).

Ethnographic Methods

The qualitative research method of ethnography (Clifford & Marcus, 1986) was

appropriate for generating data for this project because it centers on the observation of

cultural members in their own environment. Ethnography refers to "a range of possible

procedures for structuring one's experiences into a systematic account which renders the

social practices of the situation into patterns through which social forms are constructed

and maintained" (Simon & Dippo, 1986, p. 201). In line with the sociocultural theory of

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literacy development that guided this study (Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Gallego & Hollingsworth, 2000; Gee, 1996; Lankshear & Knobel, 1997; Luke & Freebody, 1997) that sees literacy practices as socially situated, ethnography "is based on the assumption that actions of participants in a social group are goal-directed and governed by socially constructed norms of expectations" (Zaharlick & Green, 1991, p. 220). Further, Putney, Green, Dixon, and Kelly (1999) report that ethnographic "research has provided ways for understanding the local and situated nature of everyday life, how this life is consequential for those who are members, as well as those seeking membership" (p. 374).

However, conventional ethnography has fallen under criticism for its neglect to account for the effects broader social and political forces have in influencing people's behavior, forces not directly observable in the immediate cultural context. Habermas (1987) criticizes conventional ethnography for its neglect to account for the constraints operating on people being studied because they are portrayed as simply exercising their freedom. This criticism is based on the ways cultural members' understandings of the world are taken at face value rather than interrogated for ideological influence and because conventional ethnography fails to identify the macro-social structural determinants of people's behavior, specifically social conflict and power differences. Hammersley (1992) sums up the argument as such, "In short, it is argued that simply to describe people's behavior as if it were the product of a freely expressed culture is systematically to misrepresent that behavior" (p. 99).

These issues appear to hold extreme importance in conducting educational research. Delamont and Hamilton (1993) believe that "while it is possible…to regard the

classroom as a social unit in it own right, it is only with considerable difficulty that it can

be regarded as self-contained. An adequate classroom study must acknowledge and

account for the internal and external aspects of classroom life" (p. 38). The limitation of

conventional ethnography in education is that it excludes issues in a broader cultural

perspective. The classroom is a culture embedded within a school and a district as well as

larger societal structures representing various cultural systems. "Across these various

cultural systems, expectations, norms, and values change. Behavior in a classroom cannot

be understood apart from the influences of smaller peer groups, the larger school, and the

total school-district or community" (Lutz, 1993, p. 116). In essence, conventional

ethnography focuses on describing observable behaviors and language use of members of

an immediate context. Merely using observable actions and language as the primary ways

of defining and understanding culture fails to acknowledge and inquire into the

motivation and reasoning for producing the actions and language.

Critical Ethnography

In addressing these criticisms, researchers have reconstructed conventional

ethnography so as to transform it into a critical ethnography (Hammersley, 1992;

Springwood & King, 2001). Although a singular definition is difficult to locate, a

common set of features unite the field of critical ethnography. Anderson (1989) labels

critical ethnography as the "marriage between critical social theory and ethnographic

methods" (p. 263). The sense of the term 'critical' used by critical ethnographers derives

from Hegelian and Marxian philosophical ideas and their further development over the

twentieth-century by scholars influenced by feminism, post modernism, and post colonialism (Siegel & Fernandez, 2000).

Critical ethnography is characterized by a shared value orientation that inequalities are deeply embedded in everyday social life in systematic, but often taken-for-granted ways, and that such ethnographic work serves a transformative function in addressing these inequalities (Carspecken, 1996; Giroux 1988; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000; McLaren, 1994). Conventional ethnographic inquiry is guided by efforts to grasp local experiences and situated practices to contextualize them in the local sphere. Critical ethnography extends this contextualization to understand how these local, situated practices have been contoured by history and society (Springwood & King, 2001). Critical theories are aimed at producing the emancipation of oppressed groups through enlightenment, that is, by enabling members of such groups to recognize their own interests. It is claimed that ideology prevents oppressed groups from seeing their true situation and interests, and is therefore a major factor in sustaining their oppression.

In risking oversimplification, I sum the differences between these two factions of ethnography. Generally, conventional ethnography focuses on the practices of a local, immediately observable context. Critical ethnography shares this observation component; however, it also tends to hold that these practices are not just controlled by social factors within this local culture and seeks to uncover the broader social and political factors imparting power over these practices.

However, this general perspective of critical ethnography tends to essentialize oppressed groups into predetermined actors lacking consciousness of their conditions in

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life. This study was conducted from a position that acknowledged that adolescents act and interact based on socially constructed norms within local contexts of interaction. Yet, the perspective of this study also held the view that adolescents are capable of human agency. It is this "agency that can be re/presented in the form of explanations that problematizes and/or adds complexity to the relationship between human agency and the larger social structure" (Anderson, 1989). From this stance, this investigation fit with the critical tradition and extended this tradition in a way that facilitated raising consciousness, but a consciousness of alternatives for transformation rather than a recognition of oppressive conditions. From this stance, this study maintained a non-deterministic view of context shaping literacy practices in which adolescents were seen as active participants in the construction of social activity. This facilitated the examination of "what counts as membership within and across disciplinary boundaries…to understand what members of a group can say or do, with whom, when, where, under what conditions, for what purposes, and with what outcomes" (Yeager, Floriani, & Green, 1998, p. 121).

Recent enactments of critical ethnography have built from the belief that members of a community are cognizant of the broader social and political influences over their lives, not ignorant to their own oppression waiting for some informed outsider to shed light on their situation. These recent versions of critical ethnography have come to present critical theory as the outcome of collaboration between researchers and oppressed, rather than the former bringing to the latter a theory that will dispel their ideologically generated ignorance and/or confusion. Working from this premise, and

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especially relevant to this study, Barton (2000) and Heath (1983) found that one of the best ways for students and others to increase their understanding of literacy is for them to reflect upon their own practices and the everyday practices around them by carrying out their own research on literacy. These studies used ethnographic methods to engage students in exploring language variations in and out of school. This approach was found to be effective in providing students opportunities to understand language use in various contexts and translate these literacy practices across contexts.

Building from the success of these two projects, this study positioned the adolescent participants as co-researchers. As described below in the sections on data collection and analysis, the adolescent members of this service-learning community were vital collaborators in this study. This inclusive participation was appropriate for this study because it fits within the critical tradition's call for critical self-reflection as the basis for the development of conscientization (Freire, 1974), or consciousness-raising of understanding alternative actions. In addition, it follows the principles of the sociocultural theory that framed this study. Knowledge is socially constructed among members of a community, and through this interaction in constructing knowledge, more knowledgeable others support the learning of novices within this community. The students were more knowledgeable than the researcher regarding specific literacy practices constructed within their community, and in turn, the researcher was more knowledgeable regarding theories of literacy construction. In collaborating to construct knowledge, valuable insights were gained to address the questions of how literate

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Discourses were shaped, how Discourse shaped what was offered and how these
Discourses shaped what was learned.

Case Study Methodology

Constraints inherent in this study necessitated enhancing the ethnographic
fieldwork. The initiation of this investigation occurred after the school year had already
started; hence, the culture of the classroom was already established. As with any
historically situated community, the classroom context was already evolving through
stages of development, and the procedures and practices of the classroom as a culture
already had a historical foundation. This study's initial point of reference provided
limited understanding of this evolution purely through participation and observation.
However, this limitation was addressed through prolonged engagement in the service-
learning community and intense involvement with particular individual members of the
community, who acted as key informants. However, this positioning of the researcher as
novice, or newcomer may also be seen as a beneficial stance because the researcher was
provided a distance from familiarity that may have otherwise allowed taken-for-granted
practices to go unobserved.

The phenomenon of Discourse construction that was explored in this study was
complex and required the identification and interpretation of complex interrelationships
among participants and contexts. This required an understanding of particular
negotiations of Discourses for particular individuals in particular contexts for particular
purposes. To generate knowledge about the particular in complex social phenomenon,
case study methodology is recommended (Merriam, 1998; Patton, 2002; Stake, 1995;

Yin, 2003). Yin (2003) suggests that case study method is particularly fitting for studies exploring "how" or "why" contemporary phenomena exist within real-life contexts. In seeking to understand how literate Discourses were constructed and why certain literate Discourses were constructed across adolescents' various social realities, this study's intent matched these criteria.

A case study approach involves delimiting the object of study so that it becomes both an integrated and a bounded system. A case can be a specific phenomenon such as a program, an event, a process, a classroom, an institution, a social group, or an individual member of a social group (Merriam, 1998). Each case is investigated within its real-life context through examination of multiple data sources (Yin, 2003). For this study, cases were individual middle school students who were members of the Environmental Explorers club service-learning community. The format for this study can be characterized as a 'bounded' case because it had a defined chronological, social and physical boundary (Stake, 1995). The research was bound to a six-month period during the spring of 2005, in which thirty-four students from an urban middle school were engaged in the service-learning Environmental Explorers club, an extant form in the existing structure of the school culture.

Research Procedures

Participants

The participants in this study were two middle school science teachers and thirty-four students from an urban middle school (grades 6-8) in the southeastern United States. This particular group was selected through snowball sampling, due to the unique

structure of their instructional context. Specifically, these teachers and adolescents collectively formed the Environmental Explorers Service-Learning community. This group was engaged in community activism that addressed environmental issues through service-learning. The Environmental Explorers club provided a rich context for exploring how adolescents negotiate literate Discourses that are constructed within a service-learning community. The participants had selected this service-learning club as an elective course to fulfill their program of study requirements.

The researcher and Explorer club teachers explained the purpose and procedures of the study to the students during the first Explorers club meeting of the Spring 2005 semester. After this explanation, a consent packet (a letter, a parent consent form, and a student assent form) (Appendix A) was distributed, and all participants had the option to voluntarily participate in this study. Students took home the consent packet to obtain parental permission to participate in the study. The two Explorers club teachers collected parental consent and student assent forms.

Purposive Sampling

The Environmental Explorers club served as the community that was studied throughout this investigation. Purposive sampling was used to select eleven students from this larger community to become individual case study co-researchers. Purposive sampling was appropriate for this study because it allowed the researcher to select informants from whom the most about specific criteria could be learned (Merriam, 1998). Strauss and Corbin (1998) indicate that purposive sampling allows a researcher to minimize the differences among cases to highlight basic properties of a particular group

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and to maximize differences among cases in order to integrate categories and increase densities of properties related to them. The purposive sampling procedure employed by this study was not aimed to present typical or common cases. Rather, its intent was to present telling cases that could be used to investigate theoretical propositions and social relationships from a particular theoretical stance (Mitchell, 1983). Ethnographic telling case analysis permitted the researcher "to show how general regularities exist precisely when specific contextual circumstances are taken account of" (Mitchell, 1983, p.239).

These ethnographic telling cases benefited this study. Adolescent students bring different life experiences to their contexts of interaction, that is, "what they know, who they feel themselves to be, and how they orient themselves to education" (Kalantzis & Cope, 2000, p. 121) will vary. Selection of telling cases maximized the potential to explore various perspectives on literate Discourse construction and provided a deeper understanding of the motivation for the use of particular literacy practices and how these practices represented various youth cultural spheres.

After analyzing the field notes, focus group interviews, and visual data from the first two observations of the Explorers Club, purposive sampling was conducted, and eleven students were selected from the Explorers club to participate as case study students. These students were selected because of differences they exhibited in their levels of participation in the service-learning contexts, their levels of interactions with peers, and their use of various literacy practices in the service-learning contexts. The selected students also varied in gender (6 girls, 5 boys), ethnicity (1 African America, 1 Asian American, 4 Latino/a, 5 European American), and grade level (3 sixth grade, 3

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seventh grade, 5 eighth grade). The case study students also represented diverse

socioeconomic backgrounds, though a majority of them were from working/middle class

families where both parents worked outside of the home.

<center>*Data Collection Procedures*</center>

Data collection occurred across a variety of contexts in this study. It was critical

to examine the funds in which Discourses were generated to make visible the social

construction of these Discourses. This study sought to examine funds of knowledge from

home, peer groups, and school social contexts. "If the social nature of all funds—whether

schools, community, disciplines, pop culture, peer groups, or families—is not recognized,

then knowledge and Discourses generated in each seem to take on a life of their own, as

if they are somehow natural constructions that exist outside human interaction and

relationships" (Moje, Ciechanowski, Kramer, Ellis, Carillo, & Collazo, 2004, p. 40). This

investigation of multiple contexts, such as home, peer groups and school, allowed for a

more comprehensive perspective of the construction of adolescent literate Discourses, for

as Street (2004) warns, "If we look only inward to…the educational context, …we will

miss the important contextualizing features that give communicative practices their

meaning…" (p. 329).

The Environmental Explorers club members served as the primary culture being

studied. At times, these members were in the classroom, engaged in preparations for their

service time in the field, and other times they were engaged in service experiences out in

the community. For students selected as case study co-researchers, other sites of

investigation included their regular education science and language arts classroom

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contexts. In addition, these case study co-researchers were involved in investigating their home and community contexts. From these various contexts, multiple sources of data were collected using an assortment of tools. However, the common tool of data collection across contexts was the researcher.

Researcher/Participant/Observer

The ethnographic method of participant observation (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003), was used in this study to investigate school and community service-learning sites. The researcher's roles of participant and observer were expected to lead to a positioning of the researcher that fell in line with Discourse theory's premise that context influences identity. The various contexts under investigation influenced the manner in which the role of participant observer was enacted. This role can be visualized as a sphere comprised of two components; the participant component is red in color, and the observer component is blue in color. Together these components interacting create a purple sphere. Depending on the positioning of the researcher throughout this study, the sphere may have been redder or may have taken on a more bluish tint. Carspecken (1996) advocates that within critical ethnography, "understanding other people necessitates a movement between the claim of a floating third-person position and the claim to totally immersed insider positions. Understanding occurs not through occupying one position or the other but rather in learning the cultural movement between them. Understanding is intersubjective, not subjective or objective" (p. 189).

As an observing participant (a very red sphere), the researcher participated in the various service-learning experiences of the Explorers club community. The researcher

participated in thirteen club meetings, which took place in the school or along the river

behind the school. The researcher also participated in seven service experiences in the

broader community beyond the school site. This role entailed serving as a service-

learning coach, assisting with the design and implementation of the service-learning

experiences. The positioning was not at the authority level of the teachers. Rather, the

position as an adult concerned for students' safety was explicit.

As a participant observer (a very blue sphere), the researcher observed in case

study co-researcher students' science and language arts classrooms. Classroom visits

occurred twice a week from February to May. Each visit included an observation of

either a science class or a language arts class for 45-minutes each. Each case study

student was observed at least five different times, and some students were observed on

nine different occasions in classroom settings. The number of observations differed due

to various circumstances. School assemblies, student absences, and teacher refusals

altered the observation schedule at unforeseen and unplanned moments. This role entailed

assuming an observer position on the periphery of the class, watching and listening and

taking notes. At times, interaction during classroom visits entailed assisting students with

assignments and discussing tasks with them. This was determined by teacher discretion.

The stances as participant-observer and as observing participant (Patton, 2002)

were two positions assumed by the researcher while focusing on the literate Discourses

that were enacted in classrooms and the service-learning community contexts. Due to the

researcher's immersion in the Explorers club community for the entire semester, an open

discussion with the study participants generated an intensive understanding of the

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participants' interactions and the many factors that influenced their behavior (Bissex & Bullock, 1987; Morgan, 1997). As with most qualitative research studies, the researcher's presence in the classroom had some form of impact on the participants. It was always a tenuous situation to retain the balance between participant and observer, to become immersed enough in the culture to understand the members' perspectives yet to retain enough distance to see patterns the members did not recognize or acknowledge. As explained below, the use of a researcher's journal provided a source of data to self-monitor this balance.

As a former classroom teacher observing in schools and as a service-learning practitioner studying the community service experiences, the researcher faced certain issues. In many ways, the researcher was already a member of the cultural context under study. Having spent so much time in classrooms, the researcher was comfortable within the contexts of the school as well as the service-learning sites, and therefore the researcher possessed the wherewithal to attempt to remain unobtrusive. Yet, the multiple identities of white-male, adult, university researcher, school volunteer, and person in authority also made the researcher an outsider to this community. However, an open relationship formed with the participants over the course of the semester. Once data collection began, the researcher was in the school daily, and the students became accustomed to the researcher's presence. This relationship added to the richness of the data. Further, involving the students as co-researchers bridged the distance between these lived experiences by coming together as a community engaged in accomplishing a shared goal.

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A researcher journal provided a reflective space to examine this position in order to stay alert of its impact. In the journal, the researcher recorded analysis of observation trends, observation gaps, and researcher positioning. In addition, a doctoral student colleague assisted in monitoring the researcher's positioning during the study. As a former urban middle school teacher and a scholar of cultural identity, this colleague was well qualified to assist in monitoring the researcher's positioning. Through the use of a Web Log (Blog) via the Internet, the researcher posted typed notes from the journal for this colleague to read. This colleague posted weekly responses to call the researcher's attention to issues of positioning. In addition, the researcher met with this colleague on a weekly basis to discuss responses that had been posted. These discussions allowed for the colleague to elaborate and clarify on the issues of positioning. The timely manner of these weekly discussions facilitated the researcher's continual adjustment in the field.

Data Sources

The position as participant-observer allowed the researcher both closeness to the culture under study and the distance needed to effectively analyze and interpret the data. An ethnographic perspective calls for extensive information to be collected in order to create a "thick description" (Geertz, 1983) of the culture under study. Data was collected in a variety of ways to obtain a picture, as comprehensive as possible, of the literate Discourses that were enacted while the students were engaged in the service-learning classroom, service-learning community contexts, as well as in their science and language arts classrooms. This data included: (1) ethnographic field notes; (2) a researcher journal;

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(3) home/family interviews; (4) visual data (video, photographs); (5) student interviews

and focus groups; (6) student reflective journals; and (7) teacher interviews.

<center>*Researcher Sources*</center>

Ethnographic Field notes

During Participant observations, the researcher used a double entry journal to

write down in systematic ways what was observed and learned while participating in the

lives of the adolescent participants. This double entry journal was comprised of two

columns. One column provided space for descriptive observations of behavior as seen

and heard, and the other column provided space for interpretation or labeling of the

observed behaviors. This systematic recording of observations provided rich descriptions

to take into account relevant and theoretically salient micro/macro contextual influences

in relationship to events being investigated (Graue & Walsh, 1998). In this study, field

notes served to document the visible details of the everyday interactions. These

observations provided insights into the kinds of actions that students engaged in

individually and collectively to gain an awareness of the various relationships between

peers, teachers, literacy events, and dimensions of power and authority that influenced

interactions and literate Discourses in the contexts observed.

Although the attempt was to capture local meaning as represented by the

adolescents studied, field notes are but written interpretations of filtered experiences

through the perspective of the researcher (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). In recognizing

this limitation, this study was designed to gather other forms of data that directly

represented the adolescent students' perspectives regarding literate Discourses across

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educational and social contexts. To check for validity of these observations, descriptive field notes were shared with the classroom teachers, Explorer club teachers, and a doctoral student colleague. Member checks were conducted with students during each Explorer club meeting as the initial activity during each focus group interview. Students were made aware through the IRB that they could receive a complete transcript of each session held. However, member checks typically centered around themes or events from previous sessions. The researcher began each focus group, subsequent to the first session, with an overview of the dialogue from the previous session. This overview played out like such, "Last time we met, the notes showed we talked about the ways you used digital photography to make the identification booklet and how you all liked that activity. Did I miss anything?" or, "The records from last time show that there was some disagreement about reading; some of you felt that the PowerPoint was an example of reading and some of you thought it wasn't. Is that what the disagreement was, or was something else missed?"

Researcher's Reflective Journal

Critical ethnography questions the neutrality in researcher interpretations and understandings of members. The researcher journal served as a tool to "document actions, circumstances, and emotional responses as these factors shape the process of observing and recording others' lives" (Emerson et al., 1995, p.11) The use of a journal allowed for the researcher to document tensions, contradictions and negotiations encountered from the role of researcher. This journal also allowed the researcher to elaborate on mistakes

made, personal feelings, attitudes, and emotions while in the field as well as record subjectivity (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003).

After each day of interacting with students, thoughts from that day were written in the researcher journal immediately after leaving the context of interaction. Upon returning home each night, the journal entries were posted to the researcher's Web log (Blog) on the Internet. This reflexive process of interrogating personal positions and agendas (Springwood & King, 2001) began from the initial engagement with the Explorers club. During this initial observation, the focus was on examining students' social interactions, peer relations, participation structures and social practices. At the end of this initial participation, the researcher stepped back and reflexively examined what was observed and why these observations were noted. Through this process, field notes, the focus group interview, and visual data were analyzed to compare trends and gaps in the researcher's observations with what unfolded in the other data sources. Observations and self-reflections were shared with a doctoral student colleague, via the Blog, to check for researcher bias. On a weekly basis, the doctoral student colleague posted comments on the researcher's Blog to provide feedback on the research process. A weekly meeting was also held to collaboratively interrogate each other's data regarding the researcher's positioning during the study.

Home/Family Interview

The researcher attempted to conduct one interview with each student co-researcher's family members. For this study, family members represented any adult who served as the guardian of that child (i.e., grandmother, uncle, step-mother, foster parents).

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The researcher initially gained access to family members through the study consent form letter (Appendix A). Next, personalized letters were sent and phone calls were made to each family explaining the purpose of the interviews. These interviews were held after the midway point of the study. This allowed for the researcher to have ample observations and conversations with the students in order to construct some initial interpretations about the literate Discourses constructed in formal education settings.

The protocol for these informal conversations (Appendix F) probed for family members' perspectives on literacy practices in general, perspective on the child's social life, and perspectives on the child's literate lives outside of school. Three families requested written interviews. These families were sent a questionnaire, which was completed and returned the next day. Six families requested phone interviews. These interviews were tape recorded over a speaker phone with the permission of the family members. Two families were unable to be contacted. These families received the initial letters, three different phone calls over three months, and a final letter requesting an interview. One family moved after the school year was over, and the other family never responded.

Student Generated Data Sources

Visual Data

The Explorers service-learning community collectively visually recorded their engagement in various contexts. Most often these contexts were community service sites, such as a regional environmental preserve or the riverbanks behind the school. The case

study student co-researchers also used these tools to document their literate lives across home and community social contexts.

Photographic images have a material and symbolic significance that act as important vehicles of communication that contributes to the fabric of social relations where people can locate their experiences and share the meanings of these experiences (Harrison, 2002). Ziller (1990) found that encouraging students to document their social lives provided insight into their sense of identity. This sense of identity is a key component to the construction of Discourses. As such, this visual data provided valuable information in understanding how these Discourses are constructed. Rich and Chalfen (1998) used video to have adolescents with asthma create visual narratives about aspects of their social worlds and life experiences to teach people about their condition. They argue that students felt more active in having some control over the research process and gave them greater control over their illness. The students in the present study may have reaped similar benefits in feeling a sense of control over their literate lives in school, a context in which their personal literacies were not always valued. Photos were particularly appropriate for documenting the students' uses of texts, the sites of enactment, and how these texts were used, since the photos were able to capture moments in which interactions around texts take place (Hamilton, 2000). In investigating the construction of literate Discourses, the "who, where and how" of literacy practices were essential to this study.

Furthermore, building from the review of literature, if literacies are viewed as multiple and multimodal, using more than verbally or print-based forms of inquiry was

viewed as a way to support students in their representation of literate Discourses. In addition, it seemed hypocritical to examine multiple modes of literacy practices using a single mode of inquiry based solely on print. Although literacy practices, as constructed from beliefs, values, and goals, could only be inferred from solely analyzing photos and video, interviews provided understandings about the practices captured in the visual images.

Student Interviews

Viewing literacy as a set of social and cultural practices embedded within a Discourse holds that these practices are not just observable behaviors; they involve internal values, attitudes, and beliefs. As such, researchers must withhold nomination of events as literacy events until the significance is acknowledged by members of the culture (Freebody, 2001). Interviews were conducted to seek the insider perspectives and contextualized meaning of literacy practices observed in order to understand the literate youth Discourses that were constructed. In addition, interviews served as a time to conduct member checks on the researcher's observations and emerging interpretations.

During focus group and case study student co-researcher individual interviews, student generated video, photographs, texts, and artifacts served as the catalyst for more specific questions regarding specific literacy practices. Analyzing the characteristics of products created within literacy practices lead to understanding the decisions that were involved in the construction of these products, rather than just researcher observation and interpretation. Ormerod and Ivanic (2000) suggest, "Features pointed out by the researcher can bring to mind specific events, purposes, problems, thoughts and feelings to

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do with the construction of the text. This can provide understandings of relationships between texts and the practices in which they are situated" (p. 92). Images used in conjunction with interviews or ethnographic fieldwork as eliciting techniques is called photo-elicitation. Harrison (2002) reports that photos reference experiences; they are embodiments of lived life. Narration of the experiences depicted in the photos assisted students in making sense of their own social and cultural practices and allowed the researcher to come to understand these experiences. Photo-voice is a similar approach where participants produce images and then analyze them in collaboration with the researcher. Hevey (1992) suggests that such approaches allowed students to produce counter-narratives by displaying their self-identity rather than the identity society holds for them. In seeking to understand how students construct literate Discourses, this study benefited from students' candid accounts of their identity constructions and representations.

Student focus group interviews. The researcher conducted twenty-minute audio taped semi-structured focus group interviews (Seidman, 1998) with the collective Explorers service-learning community students immediately following each group session. Although there were thirteen service-learning club meetings at the school site, only three focus group interviews were conducted immediately following these club meetings. Since most of the students rode busses to school, there was little time at the end of the club meetings at the end of the day to hold these interviews. However, seven focus group interviews were held following the seven experiences in the broader community. The semi-structured interview questions (Appendix B) allowed the participants an

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opportunity to verbalize their thoughts about the literacy practices of the Explorers community. These group interviews also allowed the researcher to understand students' perceptions about various practices observed as well as an opportunity to observe the community's peer Discourse.

Vaughn, Schumm, and Sinagub (1996) reported that focus groups provided several benefits to understanding a cultural phenomenon. Group interview settings encouraged interaction between moderator and participants as well as peer interaction. Participants received support for individual responses and the safety of group membership elicited more open and candid responses. Bogdan and Biklen (2003) report that respondents tend to talk more expansively in group settings with peers. These factors increased the richness of the data obtained from the focus group interviews. Plus, in line with a sociocultural perspective of learning, the collaborative peer interaction provided by the context of the focus group interview facilitated new learning or enhanced members' understandings of the community's practices.

Student Co-Researcher Individual Interviews

Selected students were provided a letter (Appendix H) and a brief explanation to describe their roles as case study co-researchers. Once students agreed to accept this role, individual interviews were scheduled. During the first interview, students were provided tools (researcher journal and digital camera) to conduct their research.

The researcher conducted three thirty-minute formal semistructured individual interviews with the selected case study co-researchers. Formal individual interviews occurred prior to school during homeroom period and at the end of the day in the science

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lab. Each In-depth interview used a separate protocol. The first interview (Appendix C)

focused on constructing a literacy biography where literacy beliefs and experiences

revealed students' personal literate Discourse identities. The second interview (Appendix

D) occurred midway through the study. This interview served as a moment for the

researcher and student as co-researcher to collaboratively interrogate each other's

observations and interpretations regarding the literate youth Discourses being explored.

The third interview (Appendix E) occurred at the conclusion of the study. This interview

also served as a point of interrogation of observations and interpretations. As well, this

interview provided an opportunity for the researcher and student co-researcher to

examine the structure of this research procedure to determine how it influenced the study

and the data obtained. In addition to these formal individual interviews, informal

discussions occurred while engaged in the Explorers community and other school

contexts (hallways, lunchroom, etc.). Due to the indeterminate nature of these

conversations, topics were generated in situ.

Student Co-Researcher Journals

Case study co-researchers were provided decorative felt-covered journals as a

data collection tool. These journals were included as data collection tools where case

study student co-researchers could document their personal feelings, attitudes, and

reactions regarding their literacy practices across various contexts. However, none of the

eleven students used their journal as a research tool. Most of the students never brought

their journal to school. When probed, all of the student co-researchers reported that they

did not use their journal at all. Although a part of the initial design of this study, the

journals were disregarded following the second interviews. The students appeared to favor the digital camera as a collection tool over the journal.

Teacher Sources

The researcher conducted two thirty-minute interviews with the eleven teachers involved in this study. The eleven teachers interviewed were the students' science and reading teachers; two of these teachers were also the supervising teachers for the Environmental Explorers club. The first interview occurred at the beginning of the study. This interview was an informal conversation that explained the study to the participating teachers, highlighted their role in the study, and allowed an opportunity for teachers to privately ask questions regarding the study.

The second interview was a semi-structured formal interview held at the concluding stages of this study. These interviews were recorded and transcribed. Transcriptions were provided to each teacher for a member check of the validity of the information recorded. The protocol (Appendix G) for these second interviews focused on the eleven teachers' perceptions of student engagement in the various educational contexts. Specifically, these interviews probed to understand how the teachers perceived the students as literate or engaged in literacy practices. This information allowed the researcher to understand the ways teachers acted as sources for funds of knowledge in the construction of youth literate Discourses.

In addition to these two formal interviews, the researcher and the Explorers service-learning community teachers engaged in informal conversations throughout the Explorer sessions and while engaged in service at community sites. After each

observation period, the researcher shared observational field notes with both of these teachers. This sharing served as a member check to support or alter the content of the notes.

Data Analysis

In line with the employment of multiple design methods, this study also utilized multiple analytic methods. This study was framed by a sociocultural theory of learning that posits learning is not solely to be found in the minds of individuals, but rather in connection with their interactions within contexts Wenger (1998). This suggests that observable social actions are a key to understanding the practices of a particular community. However, since the heart of this enterprise was the exploration of the socially situated identities, Discourses, constructed by middle school students engaged in a service-learning community, this study maintained that observable literacy practices were but one component of these Discourses. To show how this distinctive community of practice was constituted out of specific social practices (across time and space) and how patterns of participation systematically changed across time, both for individuals and the collective community as a whole entailed analyzing the social practices, as well as the ideological values and dispositions driving those practices.

Observational Data

This phase of analysis involved data gathered through field notes, the researcher's journal, and visual data. Analysis started with initial memos regarding field notes and reflections in the researcher journal. Memos afforded the opportunity to make note of ideas emerging from data as it was collected (Emerson et al., 1995). This allowed for

connections in the researcher's thinking to be traced through the various stages of the study.

The data sources within this category were analyzed using an adapted form of event mapping (Tuyay, Floriani, Yeager, Dixon, & Green, 1995). Event mapping can be viewed as the "graphic transcription or representation of an event, a cycle of activity (a series of intertextually tied events), or a segment of history constructed by the actors" Knobel, 1999, p. 95). The form of event mapping employed in this study focused on tracing intertextual and intercontextual ties backward and forward in time. Analysis started with locating key events or social practices. From the point of observation of a particular practice, analysis proceeded to trace backwards through the data to identify how knowledge to conduct particular practices was established. Analysis then proceeded forward across time through the data to see what opportunities were presented that allowed for the performance of particular practices in subsequent events.

The purpose for employing this analytic procedure from a sociocultural framework was to understand how practices came to be routinely reenacted, how these routines expressed values of the community, and what part certain practices played in the general patterns of the culture of the community. In essence, the purpose behind this procedure was to analyze and understand how the collective community developed. The strength of this approach was that it enabled patterns of social practices to be established within and across contexts over time. From this analysis, emerging themes were coded and patterns of interactions were recognized.

Discourse Analysis

Rex and McEachen (1999) advocate that discourse analysis works as a productive methodological tool to support ethnographic explorations of how individuals construct practices and make sense of those constructions. Discourse analysis was appropriate for this study because it provided the exploration of local face-to-face interaction of middle school students and the ways they used literacy to establish, maintain, and change social positions, identities, and relations (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993; Gee & Green, 1998). Discourse analysis is a systematic procedure designed to describe, interpret, and explain the relationship between the forms and functions of language. The form of language consists of grammar, morphology, semantics, syntax, and pragmatics. The function of language includes how people use language in different situations to achieve an outcome.

In the sense that all systems of meaning are linked to socially defined practices that carry more or less privilege and value in society, such analysis is also an exploration into power as it is embedded in language. From this perspective, the intention of the analyst is to explore the networks of discourse patterns that comprise social situations (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). To accomplish this task, this study employed a critical approach to discourse analysis. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Chouliaraki, & Fairclough, 1999; Gee, 1999) is different from other discourse analysis methods because "it includes not only a description and interpretation of discourse in context, but also offers an explanation of why and how discourses work" (Rogers, 2004, p. 2). Although there is no formula for conducting CDA, researchers who use CDA are concerned with a

critical theory of the social world, the relationship of language and discourse in the construction and representation of this social world, and a methodology that allows them to describe, interpret, and explain relationships. The sense of the term 'critical' used by critical discourse analysts derives the from Frankfurt School critical theory of social power relations and their further development over the twentieth-century by scholars influenced by feminism, post modernism, and post colonialism (Rogers, 2004).

CDA involves going beyond the relationships between the form and function of language to explore how such form-function correlations themselves correlate with particular social practices that are inherently ideological (Gee, 2004). Further, CDA is framed with the assumption that certain networks of form—function relationships are valued in society more than others. A critical discourse analyst's goal is to study the relationships between language form and function and explain why and how certain patterns are privileged over others. The basic premise of CDA is that "how people say (or write) things (form) helps constitute what they are doing (function). What they are saying (or writing) helps constitute who they are being at a given time and place within a given set of social practices (socially situated identities). Who they are being at a given time and place within a given set of social practices produces and reproduces, moment-by-moment, their social, political, cultural, and institutional worlds" (Gee, 2004, p. 48).

Teaming CDA with ethnographic methods of inquiry allowed the researcher to establish contexts for the sort of knowledge CDA can extract from language use. This study drew on two of the most common sets of CDA methodologies used by educational researchers: Gee (1999) and Fairclough (1995). Gee's conception of Discourse offered a

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sound theoretical construct of the relationships among discourses and social practices. This construct provided a way for studying language in action because it accounts for complex, mutually constituting, multiple and simultaneous identities. The analytic tools suggested by Gee of social language, situated meanings, and cultural models assisted in the process of identifying students' literate Discourses. These three analytic constructs were represented as follows. Social languages were the ways words are used, the patterns of grammar and language, that are associated with a given social practice or socially situated identity. Situated meanings were viewed as the meanings attached to words or phrases within the actual context of use. Cultural models were the everyday theories, consisting of the values and beliefs, about how things work in the world, and these models inform normative ways of speaking, acting, reading, and interacting.

In conjunction, these constructs were analyzed for how they are put together and influenced within Fairclough's (1995) three levels of social contexts. Fairclough's analytic procedures include a three-tiered model that includes description, interpretation, and explanation of discursive relations and social practices at the local, institutional, and societal domains of analysis. The local domain may include a particular text or event. The institutional domain is the next level of abstraction and includes the social institutions that enable and constrain the local domain; this may be the school or the family. The societal domain is the next level of abstraction and includes the policies and meta-narratives that shape and are shaped by the institutional and local domains; this may be the school district, government, or media outlets.

The overall purpose of employing both of these approaches was to provide a continual mediation between local uses of language and extended social influences. The use of CDA within these two frameworks allowed for a balance between looking at the form and function of language as it was situated in the students' local enactment of Discourses as well as looking at larger social contexts that served as funds for construction of the local Discourses.

Through this combined CDA approach, the researcher studied transcripts to examine the ways that students took up particular worldviews and patterns of talk as they engaged in the various contexts of this study. After reading through transcripts, the researcher reread the transcripts and cross-coded episodes using the three constructs proposed by Gee (1999): social languages, situated meanings, and cultural models. The following procedures guided the researcher's thinking about the data. Construction of literate Discourses were analyzed through questioning the data for the ways students use literacy and language in different domains, the cultural models represented by this particular use of language and literacy, the potential identities these languages are attempting to represent, and the emergence of patterns across contexts. Once coded, constructs were entered as categories into Hyper Research, a computer software program. Hyper Research was selected because of the researcher's familiarity with its capabilities. The Hyper Research software easily imports multiple documents, allows for multiple categorical trees to be constructed, and provides multiple methods of pattern analysis (e.g., cross-case, cross-data source, cross-context). In addition, Hyper Research is unique to other data analysis software in that visual documents can be analyzed as well. This

special feature allowed the researcher to analyze and code video footage from the field. Hyper Research was used to look at the general patterns that emerged within and across domains. Once these patterns were determined, the researcher returned to the original data to analyze the complexity of the boundary crossings in conjunction with the analysis of the observational data collected (Rogers, 2004).

The combined analysis of Discourse construction and interaction patterns facilitated the understanding of the ways in which middle school students construct literate Discourses across contexts. The two analytic methods accounted for both the observable literate practices and the driving ideological motivation for enacting particular practices. The analysis of the social practices and the values, beliefs, and intentions behind those practices, allowed for youth literate Discourses to be understood. In addition, analyzing the construction of these youth literate Discourses across contexts allowed for an understanding of the funds and larger social influences that impacted their constructions. The design of this study also served to inform the field of CDA by expanding the exploration of Discourse constructions to understand how they are linked to various structures and identities in dynamic ways.

<center>Trustworthiness</center>

Evaluation of the trustworthiness of ethnographic case study data and interpretation relies on the "credibility of portrayals of constructed realities" (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000, p. 157); it depends on the perceived coherence of the researcher's questions, theoretical framing, and data collection and analysis designs (Guba & Lincoln, 1988; Lather, 1993). The present study employed a number of strategies for maximizing

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communicative validity and the overall trustworthiness of the study. Communicative

validity (Carspecken, 1996) reconfigures traditional constructions of internal and external

validity in terms of verifying the research process. This is in contrast to the measure of

control found in traditional validity measures. The main goal of communicative validity

processes is to present the reader with trustworthy interpretations and evidence. Thus,

communicative validity claims are built on the premise of multiple truths and multiple

ways of knowing. Accordingly, these claims of validity have more to do with the

soundness of the argument put forward than with the truth of the statements. Deliberate

strategies to enhance communicative validity included in this study were: cross-

examination of multiple sources of evidence; member checks with the students, families,

and teachers involved in the study; researcher reflexivity through self-monitoring analysis

in a researcher's journal. In addition, an external colleague was consulted to analyze

observation data, interpretations of this data, and the interactive process through which it

was obtained.

Analysis of any group of people of which one is not a member raises concerns.

This is especially true in viewing the complexities regarding representation of young

people (Moje, 2000). With all of the various complexities of the researcher's own

identity, he was an outsider in multiple ways to the cultural practices of the young people

investigated in this study. Age, gender, and position as a researcher from a university

were obstacles to becoming a full participant in their lives. Work to develop a

relationship, as a trusted adult, was undertaken while in the field. In addition, researcher

memos and analyses were shared with the students during the course of the study, both in

interviews and during informal conversations. The initial case study drafts were shared

with the respective individual students. These drafts were emailed to students for their

feedback and critique of the researcher's analysis. This collaboration allowed this study

to combine youth insights and researcher perspectives, in order for the researcher to

speak with the youth of this study rather than for them.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and analyze the Discourses of literacy

enacted by the 11 environmental club student co-researchers within the context of a

service-learning program in middle school. This study was framed by the convergence of

the theory of communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991), a Discourse theory of

identity development (Gee, 1996), and a multiple worlds model of adolescence (Phelan,

Davidson, & Yu, 1997). The convergence of these orienting theories provided a

kaleidoscopic lens with which to explore the literacy practices of these middle school

youth as they engaged in service-learning experiences. Through this lens, literacy

practices were viewed as collaborative constructions by the members of a particular

community and subject to the boundaries of that community (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

This framework holds that literacy never exists in isolation; it is always a part of the

languages, practices and cultural values that can be called the Discourses of the situated

community (Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Gee, 1996).

For this study, the Environmental Explorers service-learning club represented the

situated community of learners. The Discourses, or identities, associated with being a

member of this service-learning club were understood to be the ways the students talked

about and enacted various textual practices in this context. The analysis of the

construction of these literate identities in this particular community was guided by the

following research questions: (a) How do middle school students construct Discourses of

"literate youth" as members of a service-learning community? (b) How is literacy

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defined, enacted, and constructed within this context? (c) What roles do broader social, cultural, and political influences (e.g., the community, teacher, peers, family, and school system) play in the construction of the "literate youth" Discourses in service-learning? (d) How are the Discourses of "literate youth" in a service-learning community transferred to, transformed by, synthesized with, or oppositional to "literate youth" Discourses from other contexts?

Chapter four is divided into two parts. In order to understand the Discourses that were constructed within the Environmental Explorers club, it was necessary to understand the resources and identity kits that individual students brought to this particular community. Part I portrays the descriptive aspect of this ethnographic research. First, the school context in which the Environmental Explorers club was embedded is described. Next, the Environmental Explorers club is described through a service-learning frame. Part I concludes with rich case study descriptive narratives of the student co-researchers involved in the study. These narrative case studies serve to reveal these students' identities and how they approached and valued literate practices in various contexts beyond the service-learning club.

Part II reveals the identification and analysis of surfacing themes, which are organized into three broad sections. Each section addresses particular research questions. The first section of these three sections addresses the first two research questions. This section speaks to the literate youth Discourses constructed in the Environmental Explorers club by looking at how literacy was defined, enacted, and constructed. The second section addresses the roles of broader social, cultural, political influences on the

literate Discourses of this service-learning club. Next, a final section presents a

description of how the literate Discourses of the Environmental Explorers club compared

to these students' literate Discourses in other contexts is presented. Part II concludes with

a summary of these individual sections that presents the findings from this research.

Part I

Descriptive Analysis

School Context

This study took place at Clara Frye Middle School (the names of the school,

teachers, and students are pseudonyms), located in a working class/poor, racially and

ethnically diverse urban neighborhood in the southeastern United States. Frye is a

mathematics, technology, and science magnet school. Approximately fifty percent of the

students attending the school are from the local neighborhood. The rest of the student

body is bussed in from demographically diverse neighborhoods spread throughout the

school district's boundaries. The 1,100 students who attended the school represented

almost equal numbers of students from European American, African American, and

Latino/a backgrounds, and 62 percent of the students qualified for the free or reduced

lunch program.

Frye was viewed as one of the top middle schools in the district. On several

school climate surveys administered by the district the students, families, and faculty felt

that Frye provided a safe, creative, and supportive academic environment. The state

department of education awarded Frye an "A" grade for two consecutive years, and the

school district presented Frye with an award for the highest average daily attendance of

any middle school in the district. Various local and national community organizations and private industries awarded Frye students numerous awards for community involvement, academic contests, and athletic competitions.

Environmental Explorers Club

During my fieldwork at Frye, I focused on the 6th, 7th, and 8th grade students who were enrolled in the Environmental Explorers club. This club served as a service-learning organization to address environmental issues through community activism. The Environmental Explorers club consisted of three smaller clubs united together under the service-learning umbrella. One club, the Environmental Action club, was a part of the school-wide initiative to engage students in extra-curricular activities. This club met one Friday a month and was supervised by two science teachers. The other two clubs, the Wheelabrator Environmental club and the Earth Force club, were separately funded grant initiatives. These two clubs functioned primarily as after-school clubs and met sporadically throughout the year as members could coordinate their schedules. The student members managed these two after-school clubs, and the two science teachers as well as a gifted education teacher provided support and guidance as requested by the students. In total, there were thirty-four students enrolled in the Environmental Explorers Club, and most of the students were involved in all three of the smaller clubs.

The following sections describe the structure and activities of these three smaller groups and how they coalesced to construct the Environmental Explorers club. Each section describes the activities of the three subgroups as they relate to the four essential elements of service-learning: preparation, service implementation, structured reflection,

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and celebration or recognition of accomplishments (Howard, 1998; Morgan & Streb, 2001; Schine, 1997).

The Environmental Explorers club was in its fourth year of operation as an extracurricular club at Frye. The Explorers club was established to allow youth to identify and address environmental issues of local concern. Frye is located on a large river that serves many industrial and recreational purposes for the region. With its proximity to the school and its importance to the cultural, social, and economic conditions of the city, the river served as a yearly focus of the Explorers club. However, each year the student members identified particular issues to address. The following sections describe how this process worked over the course of the current school year.

Preparation

First, the students analyzed the ecosystem of the section of the river behind their school. At the first Environmental Action group meeting during Frye's monthly club day students conducted water tests to gather data on the quality of the river. Some of the tests conducted looked at nitrogen levels, oxidation levels, fecal levels, and traces of harmful bacteria. Additionally, during after-school meetings, Wheelabrator and Earth Force members digitally photographed the vegetation growing along the banks of the river. Using field guides and Internet resources, these students identified the various plants, flowers, grasses and trees to determine if they were native or invasive. Compiling the results of the initial water tests, students determined that the water was borderline hazardous. Students concluded that the amount of trash and the large numbers of invasive species could be leading to the borderline conditions of the river.

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This phase of the service-learning project was put on hold during the early months of school. Within a period of six weeks, four powerful hurricanes swept across the region, forcing schools to close. During these storms, the river overflowed its banks and flooded the school, causing classes to be disrupted and schedules to be altered. The Environmental Action monthly meetings were cancelled until the second semester. However, during after-school meetings, in between this chaotic time at school, the Earth Force and Wheelabrator groups met to reflect on the data they had collected and share thoughts about potential projects and activities to address the conditions of the river.

In preparation for their service experiences, the Environmental Explorers club visited the state aquarium and a regional state preserve. These trips, organized and supervised by the service-learning teachers, allowed students to connect with experts to support and affirm their data discoveries. These field trips also exposed the Explorers club students to knowledge and first-hand experiences regarding the efforts experts were taking to manage natural flora and fauna and conserve and preserve natural environments.

Service implementation

To address these environmental conditions, the Earth Force and Wheelabrator students organized a river reclamation project. This project involved several separate activities. First, these students organized a river clean-up as a way to relieve the ecosystem of the trash and waste that polluted the river and its banks. Earth Force and Wheelabrator students created posters to hang around the school, called and wrote letters to the mayor and other city officials, and contacted various news media sources as ways

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to promote their cause and attract volunteers. In addition to the river clean-up, these two groups of students organized a restoration event. The Earth Force and Wheelabrator students worked with community leaders, peers, and family members to replant native grasses along the banks of the river as a way to restore native vegetation and increase the oxygen levels in the river.

Structured Reflection

Once the second semester began, the Environmental Action group resumed meeting during Frye's monthly club days. During these club meetings, members continued to conduct tests on the water and soil along the riverbanks. During these meetings, the two supervising teachers led reflective discussions about the work the students were doing to preserve the aquatic environment around the school.

In addition, during Earth Force and Wheelabrator club meetings after school, students also reflected through peer led discussions about their accomplishments. It was during these reflective discussions that members of these two subgroups of the Environmental Explorers club began designing a plan for continued action. These students were concerned that their efforts alone would not significantly impact the conditions of the river ecosystem, so they decided to engage in an effort to raise community awareness about the issue. They decided that teaching younger students about the importance of environmental activism would provide future generations of concerned youth, who could continue the work that they were beginning. The Earth Force and Wheelabrator groups used their work as a model as they explained their discoveries about the conditions of the river and showed local elementary students how they, too, could

help the environment. The Environmental Explorers students created activity packets about aquatic environmentalism and led discussions in these fifth grade classrooms. They also conducted field-based eco-tours around the river. During these eco-tours, they taught the elementary students how to conduct water and soil tests. They also constructed a field guide from their digital photographs to use as a scavenger hunt to teach the younger students about the flora and fauna native to the river ecosystem.

Celebration

As a way to reinforce the students' recognition of their efforts and accomplishments, the Environmental Explorers students celebrated their service-learning experiences by sharing their work with other youth. These opportunities to share their work provided the Environmental Explorers students with a chance to reflect on their work. As they designed their various presentations, the Explorers students had to recount the experiences they had and how these experiences were orchestrated. These various events also provided the students with public recognition of their efforts to improve their local area.

The Earth Force group shared their work at a regional summit with other youth environmental activists. During this summit, students provided a brief oral description of their efforts to address the environmental issues of their local river. The group also led visiting schools on an eco-tour of the aquatic areas around the park where the summit was held. Modeling their work with the elementary students, the Earth Force members constructed a field guide of the flora and fauna native to the park to demonstrate how they orchestrated their scavenger hunt with the younger students.

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The Wheelabrator students presented their work at a state summit on youth environmental activism. This celebration and sharing provided these students an opportunity to inform other youth from around the state about the work they had accomplished. To prepare for the summit, the Explorers club students constructed a PowerPoint presentation detailing their analysis and restoration of the river. The students also performed a skit they had written as a way to increase awareness of the importance of river ecosystems. Following their performances, the students went before a panel of environmental scientists to support their findings and their service to the community. At the conclusion of the summit, the Explorers club was presented with the Environmental Education Award and funding to support the club's future endeavors.

Framed as a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991), the Explorers club is understood to be a situated community simultaneously constructed by external and internal influences. As a community situated within the context of Frye Middle School, the Explorers club was subject to the structural boundaries established by the school. This section described how the Explorers club operated as a model of service-learning within these structural boundaries to illustrate the context in which the Explorers club was embedded. In addition to the broader context of the school, the individual members' literate identities from their other social spheres worked from within the Explorers club to shape the literate identities of this community. The following section describes the members' multiple literate identities that were brought into the Explorers club as internal influences.

Narrative Case Study Analysis- "The Breakfast Club"

As I began this ethnographic case study with the eleven student co-researchers, the main focus of this research was to understand the youth literate Discourses that were enacted in a service-learning community. In order to understand the literate Discourses that were constructed within the Environmental Explorers community, it was necessary to understand the personal resources and identity kits (ways individuals construct themselves) that students carried into that community. The Breakfast Club subtitle serves as a metaphor to symbolize the ways these individual students' personal and social identities were brought into contact and reshaped during their interactions in the Environmental Explorers club.

The Breakfast Club metaphor originated from a conversation with Franklin, one of the student co-researchers. As we passed in the hall early one morning, Franklin called to me, "Hey Mr. Hart, rumor has it there's donuts. I know you brought them on the other days." Franklin was right, as a courtesy to the students for taking their time to talk with me, I brought donuts to munch on during morning interviews and focus groups. Chuckling, Franklin continued, "Each time we've met in the mornings you bring donuts. It's like instead of the environment club, we should call this the breakfast club" [Field notes, May 25].

Franklin's comments reminded me of the 1980's teen movie, The Breakfast Club (Hughes, 1985), a pop culture classic film that explored the construction and destruction of youth culture stereotypes. The Breakfast Club is a collection of high school students who attend a Saturday detention for each of their indiscretions. Each character

represented a distinct identity associated with various school social groups that remained separate in the everyday school environment: the Nerd, the Princess, the Jock, the Rebel, and the Recluse. As these individual identities shared the space of the club (detention), the characters bonded, formed friendships, and morphed identities. For example, the Nerd disobeyed the rules like the Rebel, and the Recluse primped herself like the Beauty. Through their interactions in the Breakfast Club, these individual characters came to understand that although they were each uniquely different they shared a lot in common.

Similar to the Breakfast Club, the Environmental Explorers club co-researchers are a collection of students who represent distinct identities. Each of these students portrayed a particular identity outside of the club. Each student became a member of the Explorers club for their own unique reasons. Although some of these students were friends, these small clusters remained separate during their everyday movements through school and their social worlds. Yet, they worked side by side to construct and enact the service-learning projects in the Explorers club, and in so doing, constructed a shared component across their diverse identities.

Continuing with the Breakfast Club metaphor, this last section of Part I introduces the Explorers club student co-researchers as individuals. The following case study descriptions of each of the student co-researchers explore their identities in various contexts beyond the service-learning club, with particular attention given to the literate Discourses constructed in personal/social contexts and academic/school contexts. This section lays the foundation to understand the literate Discourses these individual students brought to the Explorers club. Part II will then provide an analysis of how the identities

and literate Discourses of these individual students morphed in the Environmental

Explorers club to construct shared literate Discourses.

In the final scene of The Breakfast Club, the Nerd reads a letter to the principal.

We think you're crazy for asking us to write an essay telling you who we think we

are. You see us as you want to see us - in the simplest terms, the most convenient

definitions. (Hughes, 1985)

The following section reveals short descriptive accounts of the literate identities

these students constructed in describing who they were. In an effort to avoid portraying

these students "in the simplest of terms" or "the most convenient definitions," the

students' voices are used as much as possible and more detailed descriptions are

presented in Appendix I.

Amanda- "She acts Preppy."

Amanda, an 8th grade Latina, was a leader of the Environmental Explorers club

and a vital contributor to every facet of the club. Amanda played a major role in the

overall organizational structure of the club. She planned all of the events, meetings, and

activities. Amanda also distributed tasks and informed the other members of their various

roles and responsibilities. As a veteran member of the club, Amanda understood the

complete picture of the club and all of the various individual components that held the

club together.

Amanda had been a member of the club the previous year at the invitation of

some of her older friends who were in the club. She described her process of becoming a

member as follows.

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Well, last year I knew 8th graders who were in the club. They said, "We need extra people. You're a good student. Do you want me to talk to Mr. Vernon [service-learning teacher]?" I was like, "Yeah, sure, okay." So he [Mr. Vernon] talked to my science teachers, and they were like, "Yeah, she does her work," and all this stuff. Then I became a part of it. [Student interview, May 23]

Amanda was a very social and friendly person, and she had many circles of friends. Her Language Arts teacher described Amanda as a student with "character and personality to fit in anywhere" [TWLA050905.ti]. A self-admitted "chatterbox," Amanda worked as a primary distributor of social news through the school. On any given day, Amanda could be seen in the hallway walking and talking with groups of friends. Because of her social personality, Amanda had many different groups of friends.

Some of these friends described Amanda as a preppy because of her concern for fashionable clothes and purses. Although Frye required a uniform that included a polo shirt, Amanda usually wore designer pants or skirts to complete her outfit. In addition to her clothes, Amanda was considered to be a preppy because of her excessive concern over her hair and her nails. One of Amanda's closest friends and a fellow member of the environment club added, that Amanda sometimes talked like a preppy girl. "Amanda does that sometimes, like the "Oh, my gosh. Did you see her yesterday?" [Imitating valley-girl type voice] [Student Interview, May 24]. Although contrary to this preppy image, Amanda enjoyed playing softball. She was on several different teams in her neighborhood youth league.

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In school and at home, Amanda demonstrated an interest in her Latina heritage. At home Amanda loved watching programs in Spanish, especially the soap operas. These TV shows were a constant source of discussion for Amanda and her friends. In addition to TV programs, Amanda enjoyed listening to Latin style music, such as merengue and salsa.

Amanda usually associated her personal and social literacy practices with reading and writing texts. Amanda often talked about her personal literacy practices in connection to how the practices were similar or different from the practices she used in school. Amanda explained how she viewed the use of writing as a different practice between the two spheres of friends and school.

> Well, when friends write, we kinda write like the Internet language with the "2's" and just single letters and shortened words, so when we write between friends, like when we write a note between each other it's very slang. Some people look at it and they're like, "Is this English?" [Laughs]…Like if you're writing for a teacher, you can't put slang words in it. You have to use the right terms and prepositions and all of that stuff…I think it's harder for us to write than it is to, like in the classroom it's harder for us to write stuff because what we want to say is like slang, so we have to change it and write it the right way. [Student Interview, May 23]

Amanda only described her personal literacy practices as they centered on communication via the Internet and email textual forms. For Amanda, using the Internet to send emails was a daily ritual that extended over from her social interactions at school.

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As noted above, this is how Amanda described her writing within her personal sphere. Likewise, Amanda also only described her reading as it related to email communication. "At home when I read, I normally read like emails and stuff" [Student interview, May 23].

Amanda's dominant identity as a socially interactive person during her daily encounters in school is also evident in her description of her personal/social literate practices. For Amanda, communicating through the Internet is her primary literate practice at home. Email represented the dominant textual form, and this form of text was constructed through the ongoing cyclical process of writing, reading, and responding thorough writing. Amanda portrays a social view of literacy practices in general. She defines the practice by the intended audience. The expectations for the form and function of the practice are decided by the accepted and expected practices of this intended audience.

Amanda's teachers viewed her as a good student who does all of her work. Her teachers described Amanda as a responsible student who took her work seriously and took the initiative to turn in work she missed while absent from class, without having to be reminded. Amanda was in all honors level courses and excelled in school. She received an award for high honor roll; this award was for students who received almost all A's in their classes over the course of the entire year. On the state writing exam Amanda had almost a nearly perfect score. Her teachers complimented Amanda on her strong reading and writing abilities. However, her science teacher also believed that Amanda was a good student, but she held back on asking questions. He believed that her

literacy levels needed to be expanded more. This desired expansion was in reference to her vocabulary development, which was a concern he shared for all of his students.

Amanda viewed school as important, and she worked hard to achieve academic success. To achieve this success and get good grades, Amanda worked to complete all of her activities and assignments. She was extremely disheartened to learn that her grades were not good enough to be accepted into an International Baccalaureate [IB] program next year in high school. In general, this desire for success permeated Amanda's view of school literate practices as tasks that involved the completion of a product to be evaluated by the standards established by the teacher.

In line with her social affinity, Amanda enjoyed to work together in groups or partners. Even during these collaborative structures, Amanda hesitated on engaging in the construction of a literate product until she was sure it was correct. During collaborative structures, Amanda compared her texts to other classmates' products. An example of this process took place as Amanda prepared a data sheet for a lab experiment, conducted the experiment, and then wrote up the results from the experiment. Each phase of the experimental procedure required the students to use writing to construct a product. Within each phase, Amanda continually checked with classmates to ensure she was constructing her product correctly [LE4.SC.042505.fn].

Amanda's approach to literate practices in school resembled the way she approached literate practices in her social life as well. Amanda maintained a strict social view of literacy that dictated the form and structure of her literate products. For Amanda, the construction of literate products was completely bound to the rules and expectations

established within the particular site that the literacy practices were being enacted. Whether at home or in school, Amanda consciously recognized the various expectations for acceptable practices and worked to meet these demands set by the members involved in the particular community. Amanda would not commit to constructing a written product unless it met the standards of correctness held by the authority over the practice. In school literate practices, this authority was the teacher. In social literate practices, this authority was her peers.

DJ- "I want to be more of a sports person."

DJ was an active European American 6th grade boy with a love for adventure and outdoor activities. DJ's mother noted during an interview that he enjoyed "typical young boy things, getting dirty playing down by the river with friends" [JD060805.fi]. This affinity for outdoor activities prompted DJ to join the Environmental Explorers club. DJ loved a variety of sports, but since he participated in these types of activities on a regular basis, the Explorers club provided an opportunity for him to help the environment and engage in a fun activity outdoors.

DJ was passionate about sports, and from skateboarding to playing baseball DJ was involved in some form of activity on a daily basis. Every conversation we had was filled with anecdotes about his various adventures. As DJ relayed each story, his face beamed with excitement and reddened to match the color of his crew cut hair, a style that was fashionable among the male athletes at Frye.

For DJ, athletics and outdoor activities were very social events. DJ's stories about these active interests almost always included friends and family members. DJ and his friends held sports in high regard, and membership in their group required a shared love for athletics. As DJ talked about what it meant to be a part of his group of friends, he explained, "Well, they have to do sports. If they don't do sports in our neighborhood, then we don't really even know them" [JD051705.si].

Although DJ loved these outdoor activities, his true passion in life was for being on the water. DJ loved wakeboarding and knee boarding, and this was an activity that he could do with his friends as well as his family. DJ's mother explained during an interview that as compared to DJ's other interests, wakeboarding served as a way for the family to spend time together [JD060805.fi].

As with DJ's prowess with athletics, he was also a very accomplished musician. As a school band member, DJ had previously played the drums and bells, and he was currently studying the trumpet. DJ's favorite instrument was his deep black guitar covered in flames [JD040505.si]. DJ played his guitar daily, and as with DJ's other interests, he had mastered the guitar rather easily.

DJ first described his view of literacy as "books" and "writing" [JD033005.si]. As DJ elaborated about his own literate practices he responded that, "I'm not much into reading. I want to be more of a sports person" [JD051705.si]. DJ's mother also noted DJ's dislike for reading, "He really does not enjoy reading… if I can get him to read a book at home it's an accomplishment" [JD060805.fi].

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DJ's present dislike from reading appeared to stem from the struggles he had endured with school literacy practices in his elementary grades. Early in his school career, DJ appeared to enjoy all school activities, even reading. However, as he progressed through the grades, DJ progressively became more disengaged. In order to provide DJ extra assistance in his literacy development, his mother enrolled him in a national learning center for after-school tutoring. DJ held a negative view for these tutoring sessions because they did not allow him time for the outdoor activities he loved so much. In addition, DJ did not enjoy the tutoring sessions because these activities resembled the school literate practices with which he struggled. "They teach you how to read. You have to do a lot of tests and stuff" [JD051705.si].

Although DJ viewed his tutoring experiences as negative literacy practices connected to his personal world, he was extremely excited about other literate practices that were directly connected to his various personal and social activities outside of school. One of the earliest connections DJ made to his personal literacy practices was through his music. In response to how he saw himself using literacy at home, DJ replied,

> Playing the music. Like trying to take the notes on the sheet and turn them into sounds. You have to read the notes and be able to play them. I normally like take a tape recorder and write it or type it up or something. I can tell what note I'm hitting. Then I put it on the computer and I print it out. [JD040505.si]

DJ also used the computer to connect to the Internet. DJ's affinity for the Internet was linked to the connection he had with his family. Conversations in chat rooms or via email enabled DJ to keep in touch with family members that lived in different areas of the

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country. DJ also spent a lot of time navigating the Internet with his father in a collaborative manner that was focused on their shared personal interest for knee boarding.

DJ's personal interests also drove his use of other textual resources besides the Internet. DJ's mother reported that although he disliked books, DJ was an avid reader of magazines that related to his personal interests.

He does read a lot of magazines. He'll read magazines about boating and fishing. He'll read magazines about cars and all that stuff. Every time we go to the store it's, "Mom, can I buy a magazine? Can I buy a magazine?" He loves to read magazines, because it's not a book. [JD060805.fi]

Unlike the literacy practices involving books that DJ associated with school, the literate practice of reading magazines served a socially relevant purpose in his personal and social worlds. For DJ, reading magazines served as a way to share with his friends the knowledge he gained from reading various magazines.

I read the wakeboarding, the cars, the baseball. Sometimes Samuel and I tell each other the tricks we are learning to do. He's much better on the wakeboard, and I'm better on the kneeboard. So we teach other tricks about those different things this way we can both get better at both of those… it's fun to find out about those things. [JD051705.si]

DJ's literate practice of reading magazines was also another way to bond with his mother and father. "He saves them, and he reads them again and again. You know, 'Here, look at this mom. Read this.' He shows his dad. He wants us to know what he's reading, too,

when it comes to that stuff" [JD060805.fi]. DJ's mother's example illustrates how DJ is eager to read content that is of personal interest. In addition, this example demonstrates how DJ enjoys reading content that has social value in his multiple circles outside of school.

DJ did not hide his aversion to school literate practices, as he often disengaged from these events in his classes, playing with change in his pockets, staring blankly into space, resting his head on his desk, or leaving the room to go to the bathroom. DJ's lack of enthusiasm for the literate events of his classrooms caused his teachers to view him as lazy and unfocused. His science teacher reported, "DJ is very lazy. Very lazy. Like he'll do whatever it takes to get by… He just wants to get it [class assignment] done, as quick as possible. Get it in and get it done" [COSC051005.ti].

DJ confirmed his science teacher's perceptions when he discussed the ways he saw himself using literacy in school contexts.

> We had to read that story [Maniac Magee] and then write a book report about it. I
> mostly read it at home, so I could get it done. In school we didn't do all that much
> reading of it. Well, she gave us a lot of time, but I didn't read it. I just mostly
> pretended to read it. I just read the parts that I liked. Then I just slept.
> [JD051705.si]

DJ's words illustrate how his lack of value for school literate practices caused him to disengage from these events. He participated at a level that allowed him to accomplish the task and be done with it.

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DJ believed that if school literate practices were different he would engage more often. He offered the following suggestions for ways teachers could make the literate events in school more engaging for students like himself.

> Give them a book or magazines and stuff about sports, and then give them some questions to answer about those books. The students could choose the sports books they wanted. Anything that they wanted to read. [JD051705.si]

DJ's suggestions to improve school literate practices match some of the characteristics of his personal literate practices. According to DJ, school literate events could be more engaging by allowing students to select the material that they'd like to read, by covering topics that are relevant to students' personal lives and interests, and by utilizing textual sources that resemble those used in students' personal spheres. All of these characteristics illustrate that DJ valued literacy practices that most closely resembled those he engaged with in his personal/social spheres outside of school.

Franklin- Technology Wizard

As I approached Franklin, a seventh grade European American boy, about joining the study as a co-researcher, he calmly smiled and agreed as he removed the camera from its box. As he pushed his glasses up on his nose and loaded the batteries into the camera, he clarified his role, "So, you want us to document about the various resources we use throughout our lives outside of school?" [Researcher's Journal, March 18]. In classic Franklin fashion, he demonstrated his unique use of vocabulary and language structure that distinguished him from the rest of his 7th grade classmates.

Franklin's personal and social spheres were dominated by his involvement in various extra-curricular clubs and activities. Franklin was a member of the Young Astronauts club, the National Junior Honor Society [NJHS], and a member of the band. Franklin's widespread involvement in these diverse activities made him well known by the faculty at Frye, and because of the teachers' familiarity with his involvement, the supervising teachers invited Franklin to join the Environmental Explorers club. Franklin accepted the offer because he believed that this would be a way to help the environment and help others learn about the importance of protecting the environment. Helping others was a cornerstone to Franklin's personality.

Above all of Franklin's diverse interests and activities, he preferred anything to do with technology. At Frye, he participated as a member of the school's morning newscast as a cameraman. In addition to working on the morning news show, Franklin also helped as a student technology technician. He would attend to teacher's network connection issues, connect printers to computers, install software, and run system analyses to address computer troubles on computers in classrooms and the media center. Franklin's love for technology also extended over into his home. During his free time he worked on components for the morning news show and loved to play *The Sims: House Party*, a computer video game.

Franklin's extracurricular clubs and activities also served as his source for social interaction. When he wasn't involved in these activities and clubs, Franklin was often by himself. Because of his busy schedule, Franklin rarely had time to stop and socialize with other students in the hallways. The students Franklin shared membership with in the

various clubs formed his circles of friends. Franklin described his relations with friends at school as follows.

> I just kinda hang out with everyone. I'm like an in-between person. I tend to float in between groups of people, which sometimes kinda makes the other groups mad, but they're not really a friend if they only base being your friend on your other friends or only being their friend. That was kinda confusing [laughs].
> [Student Interview, May 25]

Franklin's literacy practices outside of school were dominated by the use of his computer. Franklin reported that he used his computer on a daily basis to play *The Sims: House Party* video game. In addition to entertainment value, Franklin also discussed the connection *The Sims* held for him in relation to school. "I like designing the houses on Sims and stuff, so it's kinda like my drafting class… It teaches you about economics and kinda about living in real life. Cuz you really have to earn your money" [Student Interview, May 25].

Franklin was also used his computer to design web pages for the Internet. Franklin's grandfather taught him the basics of the web page design coding language, Hyper Text Markup Language [HTML]. Franklin used HTML to design web pages that contained images or linked to other pages. As he was learning about HTML, Franklin also began his study of image editing, a practice he planned to pursue deeper.

> I'm actually doing picture editing, which I'm really starting to get into a lot. I did that a lot for my fan site for my friend Renee. I animated it so that Britney Spears is in a picture and she keeps on hitting herself. [Student Interview, May 25]

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Although Franklin primarily talked about his literacy practices revolving around technology, he did discuss his literate practices using various print resources. Franklin browsed the daily newspaper for multiple personal purposes, "Sometimes the front page catches my eye, and then I read that. Then sometimes I go into the classifieds and stuff, because we were looking for houses to buy" [Student interview, April 7]. Franklin also read a number of different magazines that he had ordered over the Internet. At times he read *Time* and *Newsweek* to keep pace with current events, and he also read through *Forbes* and *Money* as resources about stocks and investment issues to prepare himself for his future.

Although Franklin's biological father was in prison in Wisconsin, he still had a strong influence over Franklin's literate identity. On a weekly basis his father wrote him and called him from the correctional facility. During these correspondences, the two discussed books and Franklin's academics and school activities.

Yeah, he likes to talk about books a lot, so we usually do that on the phone when he calls. The letters are more for events that are going on, and the phone calls are more like book talks. [Chuckles] So, that's why I have to read a different book every week to try and keep up with him, because he's got lots of spare time [laughs]. [Student interview, May 25]

Franklin's teachers viewed him as a very involved and helpful student who always completed his work and participated in lessons. In describing his reading, his teachers viewed Franklin as an avid reader who read all of his class assignments. His science teacher added, "He does read a lot to find out answers to questions, especially if

it's something he doesn't know and he wants to find out" [RD3SC052005.ti]. Franklin's teachers also viewed him as an excellent writer who had a very clear way of expressing himself. Franklin's teachers discussed his essay writing on tests, and noted that his "sophisticated vocabulary" set him apart from his other seventh grade classmates.

Franklin rarely discussed the literacy practices he engaged in during his classroom lessons. When prompted to talk about ways that he used literacy in school, Franklin would list practices that occurred outside of his classrooms. Franklin primarily talked about the textual resources found in the media center; he emphasized the books, newspapers, and various magazines that were located in the media center.

Although most of my observations in Franklin's classrooms were accounts of silent reading, there were a few occasions when his classes were more actively engaged. I observed Franklin and his group perform their play in front of his Language Arts class. They're play was modeled after a popular yet controversial cartoon, *South Park*. Although *South Park* is designed for adults, it has a popular following among youth. The title of their play was "We Need a Play." Franklin was the teacher, and he got very into role with inflection and emotion. He followed some of the idiosyncrasies of the character from the TV show, such as his movements and pauses in speech patterns. The play was about the *South Park* kids in their classroom having to come up with a play. However, none of the characters can agree on the type or the theme, so they decide to create a play about writing a play. The play concluded, with the teacher (Franklin) offering the students extra credit if they go back and rewrite the play to make it better.

After this performance the teacher led a discussion and critique of the skit. During this discussion, Franklin explained how the idea came about. "Well, we were having all of this trouble with coming up with a play, and Eddie wanted to do a play about *South Park*, so we though it would be kind of funny to do one with those characters and making fun of our situation" [NAT1LA051605.fn].

Franklin's academic/school literate practices differed from his personal/social literate practices in a number of ways. Franklin's personal/social literate practices incorporated diverse textual forms and tools; Franklin didn't solely use books and worksheets. In addition, Franklin's school literacy was dominated by one purpose that was externally determined, whereas his personal literacy was driven by various self-initiated purposes. Lastly, Franklin's school literacy practices focused on individual construction as compared to the use of a variety of ways he worked to construct literacy practices personally and socially.

Javier – Scholar Athlete

"This person represents the true spirit of Frye, academically and athletically, the pride of the hallways, the classrooms, and field. This person represents the outstanding qualities of character, leadership and academic ability." So went the words of Principal Bryson's speech as he announced Javier as the recipient of the annual Principal Award [May 10 FN]. The words of Principal Bryson provide an accurate portrayal of Javier, an 8th grade Latino boy who was one of the most popular students in the school. Sporting the beginnings of a goatee and wearing his dark hair slicked back, as was the popular style of

many Latino students, Javier could often be found joking with friends around his locker. He was well liked and respected by peers and teachers alike.

Although he excelled academically in the classroom, he was most proud of his athletic accomplishments on the field, and every Friday, Spirit Day, Javier was sure to wear one of his Frye athletic T-shirts. Javier was a member of every school sports team except for basketball. He was the captain of the boys' soccer team, the boys' volleyball team, and the boys' flag football team. He would have been made captain of the track team, but his soccer schedule overlapped at times, so he was unable to make all of the track meets.

Javier lived with his mother and father who were very supportive of his extracurricular interests. They were always willing to make arrangements and alter their schedules to be able to pick him up late from school after practice or a game. Although his extensive involvement with sports took up a lot of his time, he was still able to balance getting his work done.

Because of his popularity, Javier had many circles of friends in school, most of which were also members of his different sports teams. Javier was also friends with several members of the Environmental Explorers club, especially Joaninha, the president of the Environmental Explorers club. They had been in the same classes throughout most of middle school and had developed a strong friendship over the years. This friendship prompted him to join the environment club. He explained his decision. "Well, I really wanted to be a part of this club, Joaninha and a bunch of my friends are in here, and I

want to hang out with them sometimes. It's like you get something back, too. You know, you're helping the environment" [Student interview, May 25].

As Javier described his personal/social literacy practices he said, "Well, I use it [literacy] every day just to talk with your friends. You know, at home I use it everywhere…for everything. You got to write and you got to read" [Student interview, May 25]. As I probed about his example of talking with his friends he responded, "Well, it's mostly on the phone because none of them live around me. But talking face-to-face, that's a literacy, too" [Student Interview, May 25]. Javier's literate practices of communicating with friends were not limited to oral conversation. During many of the trips with the Environmental Explorers club he would share pictures he had saved on his cell phone with his friends in the club. Javier also took pictures of his friends while waiting to board the bus on these trips out into the community or while waiting around to board the bus home. These pictures became a source of entertainment. Javier would snap candid shots with his cell phone and then share them with those he had photographed, and the entire group would erupt in laughter. Javier's words and actions illustrate his broad view of literacy as any form of communication that involves written, spoken, or visual symbols.

Javier also described a variety of his personal/social literacy practices that involved printed texts. Like his affinity for actively participating in sports, Javier also enjoyed reading about sports. He had a subscription to his favorite weekly magazine, Sports Illustrated. Javier reported that he also read the sports section of the newspaper to keep up with local pro and high school sports.

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Beyond personal interests, Javier discussed his literate practices at home as they related to school. As part of Frye's Home Reading program, students were required to read 100 minutes per week outside of school. Javier reported that his language arts teacher was "especially into that" and that it was a big part of his grade in that class. Javier explained that this program allowed you the choice of what to read, but "not like a newspaper or nothing, as long as it's a book" [Student interview, May 25]. To fulfill the requirement and not get points deducted from his grade, Javier didn't include his magazine reading as part of his reading log for school, but instead, he read a thick adult fiction novel, Marine Force One.

Javier's personal/social literacy practices represent his broad view of literacy as the process of communicating. Javier considered his oral conversations with friends via telephone and in person as one form of literacy. Javier also used his cell phone as a tool to document events and share visually through digital photographs. These literate practices demonstrate the social nature of Javier's literate behaviors. The participants constructed the content, activity structure, and textual form based on personal relevance and interests, and with an intended audience under consideration.

Javier also constructed personal or individual literacy practices, which involved reading printed texts, such as magazines and newspapers. Personal relevance and interests also drove these literate events. Javier's extreme love for sports provided the motivation for him to engage in these practices. These practices were not constructed for an external audience, other than himself. Javier also determined the content, textual form, and activity structure for these practices.

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Javier received an almost perfect score on his state writing exam, and as illustrated by his receiving the Principal Award, Javier was very successful in all of his classes. His teachers reported that Javier has a strong work ethic, he participates a lot in class, and he is very involved in the discussions and conversations that take place in the classroom. His science teacher reported that Javier "is a very conscientious student who cares a lot about his grades and doing the work for class" [NWSC051805.ti].

Javier echoed this desire for getting good grades. However, even with his strong value for succeeding academically, he was not always engaged in the classroom practices. His science teacher noted Javier tends to mentally drift off. She believed he needed to focus to become a better student.

Javier discussed his views of the various literate events from his science classroom, and he explained his lack of engagement. As I questioned Javier about the practice of two-column note taking he replied, "It sucks. You have to look at a chapter and then, like put like the title of the chapter and then put what you're learning and why. It sucks" [Student interview, May 25]. For Javier, the literate practices of his science classroom weren't enjoyable or engaging, but he was motivated by the accountability to complete the work for his grades.

Javier's Language Arts class was in constant fluctuation throughout the school year. Javier had multiple substitute teachers over the course of the second semester. His original regular teacher had taken pregnancy leave, and one long-term substitute lasted until Spring Break and then took a different job in private industry. As Javier described his views about the literate practices of his Language Arts classroom, he emphasizes that

each teacher brought different practices to the classroom. In turn, Javier held a different view for these different teachers.

Silent reading was a common practice across all of the teacher's Javier had. Yet with each teacher this particular practice differed in unique ways, which prompted Javier to engage or resist the activity. Javier viewed the practice of silent reading as connected to some form of accountability. The lack of a worksheet or accountability measure did not increase Javier's engagement with reading. It actually increased his resistance. Javier viewed reading a teacher selected text as meaningless unless it was connected to some teacher-selected purpose. As I probed his view of the worksheets used by his teachers, Javier replied, "Nobody was really into it. Nobody really wanted to do it, but you know, at least we had work" [Student Interview, May 25]. So, although it was not an enjoyable task, the worksheet gave significance to an otherwise insignificant task.

Javier's accounts of his literate events at school further illustrate his desire to succeed academically. Although not enjoyable literacy practices, Javier completed the tasks in order to maintain his academic success. The accountability for grades served as the primary motivator to complete these tasks and generally represented his purpose for working through the literate events.

Javon- "He's always in trouble."

Javon was one of three African American students in the Environmental Explorers club. His cornrow-braided hair was easy to spot in the hallway as his tall lanky frame towered over the other 6th grade students as they shuffled between classes. Javon

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lived with his mom and older brother in a low-income housing neighborhood just north of Frye Middle School. He was part of a group of students who had been re-assigned to Frye in an effort to ease the overcrowding in their neighborhood middle school. However, changing schools was not new to Javon; he had moved each year for the last two years, and during the second semester of the school year he was in the process of preparing to move again in the upcoming summer, and during his family's preparations for this move Javon often stayed with his aunt on the other side of the city.

Javon was considered a troubled student in school by many of the sixth grade teachers. Over the course of the school year, Javon was often absent from his classroom. Because of his move to his aunt's, he was unable to make it to school many days. In addition to his absences, Javon spent many days in ISS [In-School Suspension] for various infractions against school policy. Javon took real pride in his friendships, and often defended his friends in physical altercations. A keystone to Javon's identity was "not being scared." This identity characteristic often landed Javon in trouble in school. Javon attributed his circumstances to the attitudes of the teachers. "It's like some teachers try and get me in trouble. Like if something happens with another kid, they only listen to their story. Like when they ask what happened, it's like they don't even listen to what I have to say" [Student interview, April 13].

During my initial interactions with Javon, solely in the Environmental Explorers club, he acted reserved, quiet, and he kept to himself [10/28 FN; 2/25 FN]. However, during my first attempt to observe him outside of the service-learning club context, I saw

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a different identity emerge. Javon called one of the teachers a "fat bitch" out the bus window and was removed from the field trip [March 16, FN].

Javon had an affinity for being active outside, and this prompted him to join the Environmental Explorers Club. Javon initially selected to join several different sports clubs. However, the clubs he had selected were full, so he chose to join the environment club because he could still be outside and active by the river where he could get "wet and dirty" [field notes, Oct 25]. Javon represented this love for sports and outside activity through the pictures he took of his friends playing various sports and his motorbike. However, Javon's move to his aunt's house caused him to miss many of his favorite activities from his old neighborhood.

Unlike his everyday interactions with peers during sports or outside activities, Javon's literacy practices outside of school tended to be in isolation. Javon mostly talked about his out of school literacy practices in connection with visits to the public library. With the move to his aunt's house, Javon visited the public library almost on a daily basis since it was so close. Although he reported that friends from school sometimes joined him, his descriptive accounts of his visits to the library are told as individual endeavors. When questioned about his activities at the library, Javon responded, "I sometimes read, like books about motorcycles and stuff like that, like dirt bikes, because I like them. I read on that. I be reading books about animals and that stuff, and I be goin' on the Internet to look for stuff about animals" [April 13, Student interview].

Javon showed a fascination for the Internet, both as a source of fun and a resource for information. Lacking access to a computer or the Internet at home, Javon reported,

"That's why I go to the library, to use their computers" [student interview May 25].

Javon used the Internet to locate information about particular subjects of interest, and he

also used the Internet as a tool to solve real personal issues. His personal passion for

riding motorcycles drove him to create a plan to not only fix his old one, but to also buy a

new one. Using the Internet, Javon located dealerships in the city and analyzed the costs

of various new bikes. From this information he devised a plan.

> I'll have to save up my money from working, so I'm gonna get it…I searched the
>
> Internet, and there's this place called Cycle Madness… That's the place I'm gonna
>
> go to because I want to get me a brand new one. I'm tired of having to fix them.
>
> [Student interview, May 25]

The library served as Javon's primary space for literacy use outside of the school

context. However, he also talked about some of the ways he used literacy inside his

home. Again, Javon described these practices as individual acts. Additionally, all of the

events that Javon described in the home setting were connected to school assignments.

The books Javon reported reading at home were to complete the Home Reading program,

where students were required to read 100 minutes at home. For this assignment, Javon

reported that he mostly read motorcycle books that he had checked out from the public

library.

In general, Javon expressed a liking for being in school, and he especially enjoyed

his science, business, and physical education classes. This enjoyment can be traced back

to his fascination with computers, his personal interest in animals, and his affinity for

active involvement. However, in class Javon fluctuated between extreme engagement and

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total indifference. His teachers view him as a "good kid who just needs some extra help" [DELA051805ti.txt]. Javon's teachers consistently talked about his desire to achieve academic success. However, his teachers also reported that this desire was hindered due to Javon's personality traits. Javon's differing levels of engagement led his teachers to view him as a struggling student. As his science teacher explained, "Javon will give you a lot of attitude and it's weird…He's different because he doesn't want to get bad grades, but he's also lazy" [COsc051005ti.txt].

As his teacher noted, Javon did hold a desire to achieve success, and he demonstrated this desire as he engaged with textual practices in various settings. While completing worksheets in science class [CO3sc040605fn], navigating complex vocabulary on a computer program [CO3sc042005fn], or completing grammar exercises from a textbook [DE1LA050305fn], Javon found these tasks difficult, but he continued to engage with the tasks. Reaching the point where he could not complete the tasks on his own, Javon sought teacher assistance. Completion of these tasks was followed by broad smiles on Javon's face, whispering cheers, and physical celebration.

At other times, Javon was totally disengaged from the literacy practices in school. This usually occurred in his Language Arts classroom. During his Language Arts class, the teacher played the cassette that accompanied the novel the students were reading. Periodically, the teacher would stop the tape to discuss the events of the story. Javon would passively resist the activity by pretending to following along or actively resist by reading another book, bothering other students, or cause a commotion.

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When probed about his various levels of engagement with literacy practices in school, Javon attributed his level of engagement to the particular structures of the literacy practice. For Javon to be engaged in reading, he believed it needed to be enjoyable and relevant to his personal interests.

> Javon: It depends on what I'm reading. Like I don't like some book about, I don't know. It was like a long book, and it was kinda boring. Make it fun, like put it in games. Cuz then, for me, then I'd read more.
>
> Interviewer: You said you don't like the big long chapter books, but you read that big thick animal book.
>
> Javon: Well, try and make me read books that I like. Cuz you don't do that I ain't goin' to be wantin' to read it, and I ain't never goin' to want to read. But if it's a book that I want, I'm goin' to read it. Like that book or books like it. [A052005si]

As with his personal literacy practices, Javon's engagement with school literacy practices centered on books and computers. Unlike his control over his personal literate practices, most of the content, form, and activity structure of Javon's literacy practices in school were controlled by his teachers. Yet, despite this lack of power over these practices, Javon was guided by his value for academic success to engage in these literacy practices. When the purpose of the designated school literate event was personally meaningless, Javon constructed literacy practices that subverted the authoritative practices. Javon's various levels of engagement with literacy practices in school provide a view of the multiple values he holds for different literate practices in different contexts.

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Joaninha- A "Model" Leader

Environmental Explorers club president was one of many roles and identities Joaninha assumed throughout her various spheres of life. As president of the club, Joaninha coordinated and arranged for the various meetings and events, divided tasks among the individual members, and worked as the liaison between the club members and the supervising teachers. Joaninha had first joined the club the previous year. She had been invited to join by one of the supervising teachers, who was also her science teacher at the time. Filled with a passion to help the environment, Joaninha eagerly accepted the offer.

Joaninha was an 8th grade Latina female who prided herself on her academic accomplishments. She had a strong desire to achieve academic success and stressed out about her grades. At Frye, Joaninha received many honors and awards for her academic achievement. She received an award for her perfect score on the state writing exam. She also received an Honor Roll award for maintaining straight A's for the entire school year. Since Joaninha maintained such outstanding grades and scored so well on standardized achievement exams during her years at Frye she also received the Presidential Academic Achievement award. Joaninha was involved in various other clubs and sports at Frye. She was captain of the girls' volleyball and girls' soccer teams, and she received several awards for her excellence as leader of these sports teams. In addition to athletics, Joaninha was also a member of the National Junior Honor Society [NJHS], and through this organization she tutored students at Frye.

Joaninha was originally born in Brazil, and had lived in the United States for about nine years. In her home, she spoke mostly Portuguese with her mother and father, but would switch between English and Portuguese with her older sister. For this study, Joaninha selected her pseudonym from a childhood nickname. Because of her long red hair and freckles, Joaninha's mother used to call her "little ladybug."

Joaninha's Brazilian identity was a major influence in her life outside of school. Joaninha's discussions about her activities outside of school revolved around events with friends from her Brazilian church that her father founded and headed. Joaninha shared many photographs of her interactions with the members who attended the church. She explained how these experiences influenced her identity.

> Okay. So like in each group [at church] that I hang out with, I'm the youngest one. So it's like, 15 and up. Like here [Frye], it's kinda weird when I hang out with them because it's totally different. I have to act like, not somebody different, but I don't know, a little bit more immature, I guess. [Laughing] I don't know. They're just so different. Like they think of some of the stupidest stuff and I just think, "Oh my god, how did you think of that?" [Student Interview, May 24]

Joaninha's Brazilian identity also influenced some of her other interests. Joaninha loved listening to Latin style music. She also reported that she loved watching Brazilian soap operas on the Brazilian channel that her family received through their satellite dish.

However, attending modeling school was Joaninha's most cherished activity to do outside of school. Despite her intense schedule of classes, and hours of homework, Joaninha managed to find time to attend Barbizon modeling school. Joaninha's

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excitement was very obvious as she talked about her modeling, especially since she was getting ready to graduate. Although modeling was a dream future for Joaninha, she also had other plans for her career path that allowed her to build off of her academic achievements.

> I like computers. I want to be a technologist or something. But now I'm doing modeling. I always wanted to have my own computer company. I'm thinking what I want to do is take the money I get from modeling and make my own computer company. Cuz like I'm not going to be a model the rest of my life [laughs]. I know that. [Student Interview, May 24]

When asked about her literacy practices outside of school, Joaninha commented, "Well, that's [reading and writing] like everywhere" [Student interview, May 24]. As I probed for specific examples, she immediately responded with, "My homework. Five hours of homework every day" [Student interview, May 24]. For Joaninha, her determination to succeed academically prompted her to use the literate tools and practices from her school life in her personal life at home. Further, Joaninha's strong work ethic forced her to focus on her homework, and thus this literate practice dominated her social sphere.

Because of her involvement in so many activities at school and with her father's church, Joaninha relied on writing as a literate practice that served to keep herself organized. Joaninha reported that she made lists of things she needed to remember, such as chores to be accomplished or items she needed to buy. Similar to Joaninha's practice of writing lists to keep organized, she also noted how she used a planner as an

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organizational tool. Joaninha's use of this literate practice went against the values and customary literate expectations of her friends. Despite the ridicule, Joaninha continued to use the planner in this format.

Joaninha's writing in the planner was not a socially accepted literate practice among her friends, yet her use of the planner was a dominant literate practice the crossed all spheres of her life. In contrast, when Joaninha discussed letter writing she was clear about her different approaches to this practice in different contexts.

Okay, like if you're writing a formal letter you got to use big vocabulary words and make it sound all fancy and nice and stuff. Like when you're talking with your friends or writing them a letter, it doesn't matter. Like you write "u" instead of "y-o-u". You just write the letter. For "your" you just write "u-r", the letters. It doesn't matter I guess, because they actually know who you are. Like if I write a fancy letter to my friends, they'll be like, "What the heck is she talking about," you know. Like they'd joke me about it like they joke me about my planner.

[Student Interview, May 24]

Joaninha's perspectives illustrate how her literacy practices are constructed very purposefully. At times her practices are for personal purposes, such as her planner. At other times, she constructs literate practices for social purposes with a specific audience in mind, like her letter writing. Joaninha's views also demonstrate how purpose overrides site in the construction of her literate practices. Joaninha's purpose to achieve academic success overrides the lack of social acceptance of using a planner from school.

With her strong desire to succeed academically, Joaninha was always engaged in her classes. Joaninha's teachers described her as a model student who is able to balance all of her various activities and still complete her assignments. Joaninha's Language Arts teacher described her as "a precious sweetheart that's got brains and is going to go far and excel in anything she wishes to exceed at. I think she's just a well-rounded person" [TWLA050905.ti].

When discussing school literate practices, Joaninha offered this advice for students to follow if they wish to succeed academically.

> Try to read more books. Get a book that you think is interesting and start reading it. Reading helps you out a lot. Some words that I never knew and I use on essays and stuff, I found out on books and posters and stuff like that. So everything you see, make sure you read it. Writing, practice. Like for your FCAT writing, if you don't practice, you're not going to get a 6.0. Practice and work hard, and don't give up. [Student interview, May 24]

Joaninha viewed school literacy as the production of written texts that stemmed from reading. At times these literate products were answers to questions at the end of a textbook chapter, at the end of a lab report, or at the end of a story. Joaninha also held the belief that school based literate products were textual products constructed for an external audience, sometimes the teacher and sometimes a test evaluator. In holding to her value for academic success, Joaninha engaged in all of the textual practices she encountered in school, and in so doing, held to the features that were expected for literate products constructed within the school context.

Malibu- "It's for a grade."

Malibu was a 6th grade Vietnamese American girl and the only Asian American student in the Environmental Explorers club. The pseudonym Malibu came from her continual thinking about her family's approaching move to Malibu, California. She was eager to move to California to experience the Pacific Ocean and see her family that already lived there. Yet, at the same time, she was processing how she was going to deal with missing her friends. Her parents were planning on opening a Vietnamese restaurant in California. However, as the year progressed, the financial burden involved in such an endeavor made it seem less likely. Yet, Malibu continued to think about the potential move.

Malibu lived with her mother, father, younger sister, and older brother, who was an eighth grader at Frye. Malibu's parents only spoke Vietnamese in the home, so Malibu served as their translator for any correspondences between her teachers and her parents. In fact, for the family interview for this study, Malibu read the questions to her mother in Vietnamese and then wrote English translations of her mother's responses on the form. Malibu was one of a handful of Vietnamese students that attended Frye, and she was very shy about her cultural background. Whenever her brother would speak to her in Vietnamese at school, she would become embarrassed and tell him to speak in English. Malibu did demonstrate pride in acknowledging her cultural background by providing many of the cultural artifacts (clothing, crafts, pictures) that were used as part of a display on Vietnam that her geography class constructed for the school cultural fair.

Malibu spent a lot of time hanging around her house for both work and pleasure. Malibu's chores included doing her laundry, and at times the whole family's laundry, taking care of the family's pet dogs, and tending to her pet chickens. Malibu also spent time at home relaxing. Her favorite spot in her house, and a common topic of discussion during our conversations, was her bedroom. For Malibu, her bedroom was the hub of her social existence. Malibu used her bedroom to relax, privately talk to friends on the phone, display her favorite celebrities' pictures on the walls, and hang out with friends.

Most of Malibu's friends were former elementary classmates who lived in her neighborhood. Malibu emphasized how this group of friends was very accepting.

> Well, you just have to be yourself. You know, you don't have to act like all cool and show off. Cuz like my friends, they're really cool and they don't really care how you act, just as long as you get it under control and don't act all crazy.
>
> [L051905si]

As a group, they would hang out at each other's house, or go to the mall to shop and hang out, or spend a lot of time chatting with each other over the phone. In addition to hanging out and socializing, Malibu enjoyed playing volleyball and basketball with her friends, and in seventh grade she was planning on joining every sport at Frye. In fact, Malibu only selected to join the service-learning club after her initial sports club was filled.

Malibu consistently reported that she hated reading. Throughout the course of the study, Malibu consistently associated the term "reading" with books and practices that took place at school. However, Malibu also consistently brought in new photos documenting the literate practices she used outside of school, which demonstrated the

various ways she did engage with literacy in her personal and social spheres, many of which involved what others might not consider "reading."

Malibu's personal/social literate practices were bound together by the social nature of their construction and incorporated various textual tools, such as books, magazines, computers, cell phones, and the Internet. Malibu used the phone as a tool to connect with others. In addition to using verbal communication over the phone, Malibu often used her cell phone's digital camera to document events that she could later share with her friends.

Malibu also used the Internet on her computer to communicate. For Malibu, going on line to chat with people was an everyday ritual. Malibu reported that out of all of her literacy practices at home, chatting on line was her favorite activity, "Cuz you get to meet people and find out about people from all over the world. You get to talk with them and know more about them and get to have more friends" [Student interview, April 6]. In addition to building new friendships, the social practice of chatting allowed Malibu to construct various, fictitious identities in order to fit into a particular chat group. "Yeah. When I go in there, I'm only twelve, but I pretend like I'm eighteen or nineteen and stuff" [Student interview, April 6]. Unlike the value of "being yourself" held by her neighborhood friends, Malibu's on line community of friends held different values.

The majority of Malibu's use of printed texts involved magazines. She had a weekly subscription to Teen People, and she reported that the magazine was enjoyable for her because she liked reading about celebrities. She also reported that reading Teen People was different than other types of reading that she disliked. "Like [Teen] People

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magazine they just have stuff that's easier to know, because it already says it on the page,

like the topic. It has the topic on the page and then like a story about that topic and then

the pictures go with that topic" [Student Interview, April 6].

Both Malibu's Language Arts and science teachers describe her as a model

student. They reported that her work is excellent and always complete. They also viewed

Malibu as a very courteous, respectful, and involved student.

Malibu usually followed the expectations for the classroom literacy practices:

following along as classmates read aloud, completing worksheets independently, and

reading silently from the textbooks. However, at times Malibu disengaged from these

independent practices, reading notes from friends, writing personal letters, or just staring

blankly into space. Other times Malibu faked engagement, "I just look at the pictures or

just stare at the page if there's no pictures. I just flip the pages and pretend like I'm

reading it" [Student interview, May 19].

Malibu consistently reported an extreme dislike for reading, especially in school.

Malibu's mother reported that she recognized this dislike of reading when Malibu was in

elementary school. "Reading was really hard for her because she disliked it"

[L051005.fi]. Malibu attributed this aversion to reading in school to several factors.

Malibu didn't like reading long amounts of text, like chapter books.

> I don't really like reading…cuz like when we read all of it and then you really try,
> you know, to know what they're saying, and then your mind goes blank when
> you're done reading the whole story. So then you have to read it all again, slowly,
> so you can like understand what they're saying. [Student interview, April 6].

She attributed this lack of attention while reading to the topics and content covered in class. "Cuz it's kinda boring. You know you have to read and answer questions at the end, and the topics are kind of boring" [Student interview, April 6].

Despite Malibu's unfavorable opinion of the literacy practices in school, she still worked to complete the activities. She explained that her motivation to complete the literacy activities in school centered on her desire to get good grades in school.

> Well, it's like you're supposed to do it, and it's for a grade. So, it's just like, "Read it and get it over with." So, it's like they're putting the pressure on you. Well, not really putting the pressure on you because you're supposed to do it. [Student interview, May 19]

Malibu's suggestions for how school literacy practices could be improved match the ways that she uses literacy in her personal and social spheres.

> They could like either make the reading easier and let you like do whatever you want to be comfortable to read the book. Me, I like reading at home on my bed because it's all comfortable. You just got to lay down and read until you fall asleep, and at school you have to sit in these hard chairs and you have to be quiet, look at the book and read it. It's not really fun. I like reading together, too. We get it done real quick.…like, if you're going to change the reading, don't get a book that's really, really long, like Harry Potter with no pictures or anything. Like have some books with some pictures. Plus, like read a book that we like. [Student interview, May 19]

As with her personal literacy practices, Malibu sees reading as an engaging activity when it is structured around personally relevant topics, grounded in social purpose, and takes place in a comfortable site. In addition, like the magazines she reads at home, Malibu believes the texts should be shorter stories accompanied by pictures. Although Malibu performs the literacy practices associated with school, she does not find them engaging.

<center>Nikiha- "They call me WEIRD."</center>

Although not the official leader of the environment club, Nikiha, an eighth grade European-American female, served as one of the key, core members collaborating on the design and implementation of the service-learning experiences. As a self-described "social outcast" of her own choosing [SL042705FG], Nikiha could often been seen strolling down the hall solo as her sandy-brown hair, usually pulled back and held together by a single black hair band, bounced with her cadence. Although Frye Middle School required a uniform consisting of polo shirts with the school emblem and slacks or skirts, Nikiha dressed to maintain her distance from those she referred to as the so-called popular crowd. As par for the rest of her attire, Nikiha was usually wearing a black school polo, black pants, and black sneakers. Her outer appearance of black was usually finished off with black nail polish.

Nikiha joined the Environmental Explorers club because she is "way into nature" [SL042005FG]. Both she and her father talked about her daily visits to the large wooded area behind their home, where she should would gather herbs, observe animals, climb trees, and take in the sights during the evening sunset. Nikiha represented her world

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outside of school through many photographs involving scenes from this wooded area, depicting the dark silhouettes of trees foregrounding the amber and indigo hues of sunset [MO8052305SI].

Nikiha often connected this love for nature and the environment with her faith and religious beliefs as a Wicca. Nikiha explained that Wiccans are deeply concerned about the environment, respect and care for the earth, and feel that humans should live in cooperation with other species and with the universe. Beyond deepening her sense of unity with the environment, Wicca provided Nikiha with a system of values that promoted self-reflection and self-awareness. Through this process of self-discovery, Nikiha was able to work through a tumultuous period in her life, which involved several family crises and being placed on medication for bipolar disorder.

Oh man, seventh grade was a really volatile time. I acted really bad. It was bad. I was in the crisis center. Yeah, it wasn't happy. I have mild bipolar disorder…I used to have to take these pills, right, and they screwed with me so bad. So I was just like argh [clenches fists]. I was still pity mongering then. I was still like, "Feel bad for me [weepy voice]." So I stopped taking them and I got really bad for a while. Then I realized, "Wait. This is stupid, what am I doing? I am wasting my life." So I had a totally 180 degree turn around… I examine myself, because I really do take my faith seriously. So when it says, "Know yourself," I look at every part of me that makes me feel bad or in danger or irritates other people, and I'll try to change it. [MO8052305SI]

At home, Nikiha engaged in a variety of literacy practices. She often talked about her love for GAIA Online, a forum community on the Internet. As an everyday ritual, as soon as she came home from school she logged onto the site to check for friends who might also be logged on [MO8052305SI]. On GAIA, each user can create their own virtual character and customize it through clothing and accessories. This character was often a topic of conversation among her friends at school. They often debated the "coolness" of their characters' updated accessories or new look [LESC042605FN]. Beyond the virtual role-playing through her character, Nikiha enjoyed the diversity of users and their opinions and views of the world. For Nikiha, this online community served as a forum for constant and varied conversation. Through the instant messaging protocol and the chat rooms, she carried on multiple conversations about multiple topics with people from all over the world [MO8052305SI]. In addition, many of her friends from school also participated on GAIA, and thus this site offered her a way to communicate with them about local social events and the daily happenings she might have missed at school. Besides engaging in chats through GAIA, Nikiha used the Internet to conduct research, check the daily news, and as her father put it, "do the typical teen surfing stuff" [MO8060605FI].

In addition to using the computer as a tool to navigate the web, Nikiha constantly had stories in progress saved on the desktop of her computer. Many of her stories and poems were not shared with others. However, she did have three poems published through an Internet poetry contest [MO8060605FI]. For Nikiha, writing was a self-

selected activity, in which she enjoyed taking her experiences in the world and spinning them with her own creativity.

As with her love for using the computer to gain information through chatting or researching, Nikiha shared the same love for learning through books. Her interest in nature and her Wicca religion served as topics of the books she read. She made weekly visits to the local library to check out books, and her parents were constantly supplying her with books about nature. Her inquisitive desire to know and understand the world she was experiencing motivated her to read. As she discovered new vegetation in the woods behind her house, she would locate books from the library to determine if it what an herb of some sort and of what good it may be [MO8052305SI]. As part of her cycle for sharing knowledge, she would quiz her parents about animals and trees they saw along family drives in the car [MO8060605FI].

As Nikiha's father described her voracious reading habits, her creative mind for writing, and her prolific skills as a writer, I responded, "That's amazing!" In turn, he simply replied, "Nope, that's just Nikiha" [MO8060605FI]. It can be seen that Nikiha is an adolescent who is very engaged in the literacy practices she uses as part of her social and cultural spheres of life. For Nikiha, literacy in these contexts provides a sense of ownership and control. She decides on the activity structure. She decides on the content. She decides on the form the text will take.

In addition, for Nikiha, literacy is a tool that serves many purposes, and these purposes guide the selection of the practice. In these social and cultural spheres, Nikiha's purpose sets the agenda. This agenda may be personal, like a desire to appease her

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personal curiosity of a newly discovered plant or to learn more about the history of her religion. This agenda may also be social, as she constructs meaning and understanding with a shared community on the Internet or she publishes a poem on line for future audiences to share her thoughts and construct their own emotions and feelings.

Although Nikiha possessed a strong desire to engage in literacy practices within her home context, she held very little value for the literacy practices associated with school. The dominant image that resonates from the pages of my field notes is one of Nikiha hunched over her desk reading an Anime or Manga book as the rest of the class was going over an assignment [LESC042505FN; LESC042605FN; TWLA050505FN). As I shared this theme about her lack of engagement with reading and writing in school, she replied, "Well, the reading and writing in school is pointless. I mean I understand most of the material. It's like busy work for me, so I don't do it until I absolutely have to" [MO8052305SI]. These words sum up Nikiha's engagement with school literacy practices and were repeated in variations on several occasions.

Compared to Nikiha's extensive use and enjoyment of writing in her home context, her perspective on writing in school, and especially in her Language Arts class, does not match.

> Nikiha: Yeah, Ms. Townsend had this huge thing on [the state writing test]. You had to write in this certain format, and I hated it because it was so repetitive, and boring, and stupid. It's like you're writing a handbook, but you're supposed to make it [dramatic pause, whispery, flowery voice] interesting.
>
> Interviewer: Now wait; didn't you get a perfect score, a 6.0?

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Nikiha: Yes I did. Just because I did well doesn't mean I had to like it.

[Giggles]… Because the way I write, I'm an avid writer. I love to write. I love

writing, and I can't stand doing it in this boring, repetitive, god, blah way! I just

hated trying to write in that format. It sucked. [MO8052305SI]

As with the literacy practice of writing, Nikiha does not see much relevance to the

rest of the literacy practices that are promoted in her school experiences. Despite her love

of learning, school appears to provide little spark to her curiosity. Nikiha engages with

literacy as a tool for communicating with others through dialogue and conversation.

Rather than joining into the classroom discourse of reviewing answers to a completed

assignment or checking the answers on a worksheet, dialogue is engaged when it serves a

purpose of gaining a deeper understanding of an issue of personal relevance or

knowledge is constructed together.

Samuel- "He's like a genius"

Samuel was an 8th grade European American boy who was revered, by classmates

and teachers alike, as a very talented and intelligent student. Samuel strived to achieve

academic success in school, and his teachers noted his efforts and abilities. Samuel's

science teacher reported he was "by far one of the brightest students I've ever had"

[LESC052605.ti]. His peers also admired Samuel's intelligence. Franklin considered

Samuel a "genius… with brains that are like computer chips" [NA052505.si].

Samuel's academic success was also publicly recognized. Samuel received an

award for his nearly perfect score on the state writing exam. He also received an Honor

Roll award for maintaining straight A's for the entire school year. Since Samuel

maintained such outstanding grades and scored so well on standardized achievement

exams during his years at Frye he also received the Presidential Academic Achievement

award. In addition, Samuel received an award for his advancement to the finals of the

state science fair. Samuel's project for the science fair competition explored the quality of

various water sources. A service-learning teacher, who invited him to join the club,

recognized the expertise Samuel gained through this project and invited him to join the

Environmental Explorers club.

In addition to being a member of the Explorers club, Samuel was involved in

various other clubs at Frye. These academic clubs also served as social networks for

Samuel's friendships. As he explained, "The group that I hang out with is the smart kids.

Like they're in World of Wisdom and Math Counts" [E052605.si]. These two clubs were

teams of honors students who competed against other schools in academic contests. Like

Samuel, many of the students involved in these two clubs were also members of the

National Junior Honor Society [NJHS].

Samuel's group of friends was small and selective, and he believed that more

popular students at Frye shunned him and his friends. During a focus group, Samuel

commented about this seclusion by the other groups of students at Frye. "You kind of get

made into a social outcast. Although, I guess we did that on our own free will… We're

just not the popular people" [SL042705FG].

In Samuel's adolescent spheres beyond school, he had an eclectic selection of

interests and hobbies. Samuel was very involved in various performance and visual arts.

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Samuel was very proud to play violin as a member of the junior philharmonic orchestra at the city's performing arts center. "We meet every Monday and we've been practicing for a Pops Concert. Like, we're going to be playing movie scores" [033105.si]. Samuel was also passionate about exploring and understanding the natural world. He photographed many of the landscapes that surrounded his house and shared his knowledge about these natural environments [E052605.si]. In addition to exploring the natural environment around his home, Samuel held a deep curiosity for understanding the properties of various crystals and minerals. Samuel's initial comment about his hobbies was, "I like researching minerals and the metaphysical stuff" [E033205].

Samuel initially defined literacy as activities that involved "reading and writing" [E033105.si]. The Internet served as the primary text for many of Samuel's literate practices in his personal spheres. The Internet served as a tool for Samuel to conduct research related to his personal interest in rocks and crystals. However, Samuel's favorite literate practice involved chatting with other members through an on-line forum, GAIA.com. Beyond the virtual role-playing through his character, Samuel enjoyed the diversity of users and their opinions and views of the world.

> Well, there's GAIA, which is where you type. You're typing to pretty much a
> bunch of other people, and you have to be able to get your point across, and they
> have to do the same for you, which is one of the most literate things you could do.
> [Laughing] [E033105.si]

In addition to using the Internet, Samuel read books as other literate texts at home. When Samuel spoke of reading books at home, he usually connected this practice to the

school context. Samuel was not very engaged in reading books connected to his school experiences. Samuel noted how the texts that were required by the school were boring and didn't match his particular interests. In order to meet the assignments for his classes, Samuel selected shorter books that were geared for adolescent readers and excluded books of interests that were aimed at adult audiences.

Like Samuel's enjoyment of complex story structures, he also enjoyed interacting with complex language structures. He made a very unique connection between his role as a member of the orchestra and the construction of language.

Reading music and reading words I guess is kinda similar because when you group different notes together and different rhythms it creates different feelings and sounds. And when you group different words together you get different sounds and feelings because of the connotation of the word or anything like that. How different words go together would be a phrase, like in music. [E052605.si]

Samuel held a high value for academic achievement. As such, he was always actively participating in class discussions and assisting classmates. Yet, throughout my interactions with Samuel, he often mentioned how some of his school literacy practices were not that engaging for him. Specifically, Samuel held little value for the literacy practices of his language arts classroom.

Our teacher dragged it [novel] on for so long. I think there was a question on our final about it… Like she had us write an essay on the exam and it was about how this one character in the book, what would the book have been like without it. It would have been an obvious answer, but you had to have seven sentences per

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paragraph and five paragraphs or something, and it had to be in a specific way.

[E033105.si]

This structure for constructing written texts was also prevalent in other writing activities connected with Samuel's language arts classroom. As with the example of the essay above, Samuel did not find any value in such practices.

Then with the creative writing she used to have us do free-write. She used to make it that we had to have certain things in our free-write. You know, free-writes are supposed to be about whatever you want. That's the whole purpose of it.

[E033105.si]

This disregard for the literate practices of his language arts class was also strongly connected to how the class served as preparation for the state writing exam. When Samuel was probed about other literate practices in this classroom, he replied they hadn't been doing much "now that the [state writing exam] was over" [E052605.si]. Samuel's language arts teacher had structured the literate practices of the classroom to align with the literate expectations of the state writing test. Again, Samuel's pattern of disengagement was caused by a mismatch between the literate practices he valued in his personal life and those valued by his school sphere. In the following interview excerpt, Samuel emphasized how he saw the practices from these two worlds differently.

Oh, that was absolute torture. This [state exam] style is so messed up. It's screwball. I don't think that's the right way that you should be writing. It's just, they make, it's, first off, it's botched up with a bunch of rules. To me, it's, it's just, mainly it's just a bunch of guidelines that you have to follow. You shouldn't have

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to follow a bunch of guidelines in order to make a good essay. They shouldn't be making people think that they have to follow, [mechanical voice] "Oh you should give them two reasons to think about." They make it absolutely meaningless. [E052605.si]

Samuel's patterns of engagement were similar across his personal and his school spheres. Samuel was very engaged with literate practices that contained content that was personally meaningful. Samuel was also very engaged with literate practices that matched the purposes he held for various literate texts. As such, Samuel viewed literate practices as socially constructed ways to communicate with others.

This disengagement was enacted in different ways across Samuel's life spheres. In his personal/social world, if Samuel was disengaged from a literate practice he did not even participate in it. Samuel exercised his will to determine which practices and at what times he would participate. In contrast, Samuel always participated in school literate practices. Even if he was not interested in the practice, Samuel was driven by his desire for academic success to participate.

Tammy-The "Good" Student

Tammy was a very friendly and helpful 7th grade European American girl who was described by her teachers as an intelligent and motivated student. These characteristics prompted Mr. Vernon, the Environmental Explorers club supervisor and Tammy's science teacher, to invite her to join the club. Tammy accepted the invitation and explained that her choice to join was "because my friends are in there, and I thought,

'Oh, ok, this would be cool,' you know with the water and stuff" [Student interview, May 25]. Tammy contributed as a member of the Environmental Explorers club by designing activities and engaging in projects, but she wasn't very involved in leading these activities. Tammy tended to hang on the edges of the group until other members assigned her activities to do, and then she engaged with intense focus [Researcher's Journal, April 23].

Tammy loved being at Frye. As her father reported, "She's definitely a good student as far as wanting to be at school, attends school, and doesn't want to miss a day, doesn't want to be taken out early" [SA053105.fi]. Tammy's value for school drove her to work hard to excel in her academic courses. Tammy was one of the only seven 7th graders at Frye to receive a High Honor Roll Award, which honored those students who achieved nearly all A's throughout the entire year.

Her family shared Tammy's value for academic success. Tammy's father explained how this value was emphasized on a daily basis.

At the dinner table, she'll tell us about events that took place at school, how things are progressing, and what classes seem hard, which ones seem easy, and what she likes. We just encourage it to be a fun activity and not a chore. [SA053105.fi]

These dinner conversations were just one way that the family made sure to spend time with each other. Tammy's family was very involved in their church. Her parents were members of the church band, and Tammy was a member of the youth ministry. Music also played a major role in Tammy's life outside of church and was an interest

shared by the entire family. Tammy's parents played in a Christian southern rock band; Tammy attended weekly piano sessions; and the family would regularly jam together in a music room at their house. In addition to playing music with her parents, Tammy also enjoyed playing Dance Dance Revolution, a video game, with her mother.

When Tammy initially described her thoughts about literacy, she said it brought to mind "learning vocabulary words… You know, like things that we read in school" [Student interview April 1]. When probed about how she saw herself using literacy at home, Tammy replied, "Most often, I, well, I'm not really into reading. I really don't like reading" [Student interview, April 1]. Tammy's view of reading focused only on the use of print-bound texts, specifically books. Tammy's father offered supporting comments to Tammy's position. "I wouldn't say she's always carrying a book around. She'll do it, but it's not her most desirable thing to do at times" [SA053105.fi].

Although Tammy reported that she didn't enjoy reading books, she did report a number of literacy practices that she used at home. As with many of her other social activities, many of her literate practices were constructed collaboratively with family members. Tammy and her brothers often went to a web site called Brainstorm.com to solve logic puzzles. During family dinners, Tammy's parents would engage the children in conversation about books they were reading at school. At times, Tammy's mother served as a primary influence in the construction of some of her literate practices. "I might pick up an article in the newspaper. My mom might say, 'Oh look at this. Look at what happened to this person, in this place, and she's around your age.' Then I'll read it" [Student interview, April 1]. Tammy's father also played an influential role in her literate

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practices at home by providing Tammy and her brothers weekly topics to write about. At the end of the week, the children would share their stories with their parents.

As noted previously, reading books at home was not Tammy's primary personal literate event. However, reading books was an act she constructed individually in her home. She reported that, "Mostly when I read at home it's for the DEAR [Drop Everything And Read] thing, for the minutes…Yeah, we have to do this thing for my Language Arts teacher. It's like you have to read 100 minutes each week." [Student interview, April 1]. Despite her lack of enthusiasm for reading, Tammy's engagement with this practice was motivated to get a good grade.

Tammy's drive to achieve academic success played a significant role in her engagement with school literacy practices. Both Tammy's Language Arts teacher and science teacher reported that she was very engaged in class and focused on her academics. "She gets everything. Part of that, I think, is that she knows how to find out what she needs to know. She's top notch" [CXLA0517ti].

Extracting information from textual resources and constructing a written product about that information were dominant literate events in Tammy's classrooms. In Tammy's science class, the textbook served as the primary information resource. Students were often expected to read certain sections of the text and then write answers to questions or complete worksheets about the content read. Tammy did not enjoy these tasks. She approached this type of task as a chore, and worked to get it done quickly. Tammy had mastered this type of literate practice, and she had devised a method to shorten the task. In her words, "All you have to do is look in the book and find the

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answers. I just look for the key words in the question. Plus the answers are usually in order" [SM7sc031105fn.txt].

As in her science class, Tammy also constructed a method to hasten the process of completing the literate tasks in her Language Arts classroom. In the following example, the class was given a worksheet with questions about the novel they just finished reading. Before setting the students to work, the teacher leads a discussion about the book.

> "There's several things I want to mention about the last section of the book. First, there is a change in the writing. What's the shift in this particular chapter?" Tammy is copying notes about what the teacher is saying...She writes, "There is a shift in the writing." As the teacher continues to talk about the book and highlight events that are important, Tammy takes notes on what he is saying…After the explanation is finished, the teacher tells the students to complete the questions that are listed on their notes page. As I glance at the questions, they are similar to the questions raised during the previous discussion of the text. Tammy apparently has caught on to this pattern, and has most of the questions filled in. It was on this sheet that she had been taking notes during the discussion. [CX2LA042005fn]

In recognizing and understanding the procedures and practices of her language Arts teacher, Tammy was able to meet the literate expectations of this type of task by in a quick fashion.

Repeatedly, Tammy emphasized her lack of enjoyment in reading. However, Tammy was always involved in her classes. Regardless of the structure of the literate practice or form of the textual resources, Tammy always completed her classroom work.

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As I probed about this inconsistency, Tammy replied, "I want to still have good grades. Sometimes people depend on me to do some of the work. You know, I still have to do reading and stuff even if I don't like it cuz it's boring" [Student Interview, May 25].

Tammy's words sum up her engagement with the literacy practices associated with her school contexts. Although she didn't enjoy the literate events in her classrooms, she worked to complete them. Tammy valued the literate practices in her classrooms to the extent that they served to advance her levels of achievement. Tammy worked to meet her need to succeed and the literate expectations of her teachers by negotiating literate practices in her classrooms. In this negotiation process, Tammy developed specialized literate practices that operated below the surface of the expected classroom practices. These specialized practices served her purposes of completing the task and obtaining good grades, and exerting as little time and energy as possible.

Tammy's academic literacy practices were socially driven; the focus was on meeting the demands of the practices established by the teacher and constructing a product for the teacher. The construction of these literate events took social and individual forms. At times Tammy collaborated with classmates on literate activities. Tammy also worked independently to enact her school literacy practices. It was during these independent enactments when Tammy used her specialized practices to negotiate the literate events of the classroom.

Veronica- Anti-social Artist

Wearing her favorite black Tigger sweatshirt, Veronica could often be found weaving through the swarm of students making their ways through the hallways between classes. Because of her size, Veronica often disappeared into the sea of bodies, her long, dark ponytail serving as the bouncing marker denoting her location. Veronica was a quiet seventh grade Latina who was liked by all but could usually be found walking through the halls by herself. Veronica maintained a small but close group of friends. Veronica attributed her small group of friends to her "anti-social behavior" in 6th grade.

Veronica liked being at Frye. However, Veronica didn't enjoy the academic side of school. Veronica's teachers described her as an average student who was often uninvolved in the classroom. Veronica's enjoyment for school came from the social interaction she had with classmates and friends through extracurricular activities. She was a member of the yearbook club and worked for the guidance office as a student assistant. Veronica came to be involved with the Environmental Explorers club as a sixth grader. Her older sister, an 8th grader at that time, was a member of the club, and Veronica helped the club during an annual river clean up. Veronica enjoyed this service to the community, "I like taking care of the Earth and the environment to make it clean and better" [Student Interview, May 24]. At the request of the club's supervising teacher, her present science teacher, Veronica continued to work as a member of the club during her 7th grade year.

Veronica's digital photographs demonstrated her love for social interaction. Most of her pictures from outside of school portrayed the times she spent with family

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members. Throughout her childhood, Veronica had moved often and went to five different elementary schools. During these times of transition and her parents' divorce, Veronica discussed how her family served as a stable and supportive factor in her life. Veronica was the youngest member of her large working-class family. She had three brothers and one sister, all of who were in high school. Since her father, stepmother and brothers had to work, Veronica was charged with taking care of some of the chores around the house. She cleaned, took care of the family's four cats, and often cooked dinner for the family. However, Veronica didn't view cooking as a chore; cooking was one of her favorite hobbies, especially making an assortment of desserts.

Much of her interactions with her family involved hanging out and having fun together. Occasionally they watched MTV, movies on HBO, or played video games together. On one occasion, Veronica and her siblings were grounded from all TV and video games because they hadn't cleaned the house. They decided to use Veronica's digital camera and hold a fashion show. She and her siblings put on music, raided their closets for different combinations of clothes, and strutted and posed their way through the afternoon.

Veronica also spent quite a bit of time alone at home. She enjoyed a peaceful respite from the constant clamoring of all of her siblings and their friends. These moments alone allowed Veronica to engage in her true passion, drawing. Veronica described how she escaped from the hectic social sphere inside her home to construct a personal and quite place to work on her drawings. "What I do, what I like to do is go in this room, which is like the kitty room in our house, I like to sit on the desk, because the

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room is really messy now. I like to sit on the desk and just listen to music" [Student Interview, 033005]. Veronica explained that listening to music helped her develop ideas for her drawings.

Veronica consistently reported that she hated reading. Veronica reported that she didn't read books as a child and continued to dislike reading. Veronica's stepmother also noted Veronica's extreme dislike for reading and attributed this view of reading to her early years. She wrote on the parent survey,

> Unfortunately Veronica had very little at home help during the first few years of her education. She actually started a year behind (Pre-K) the time she should have. Her mom kept her at home. She also had very little if any help at home, which is why (probably) she ended up in the SLD program. [EA051101.fi]

Veronica's first response about her personal and social literate practices was, "Well, I don't really use literacy at home. It's kind of more just little stuff that I read. You know, it's not like books and stuff" [Student interview, 033005]. As I probed to uncover what Veronica meant by "little stuff" she replied, "I go on computers, and I like looking at magazines" [Student interview, 033005]. Veronica reported that she liked reading *IN Touch* magazine because it provided her information and gossip about the world of celebrities. Veronica also reported that she used her computer on a daily basis to chat with friends on line. Veronica reported that she liked chatting on line because "you get to talk to other people, and you get to see what's going on in their lives, and they tell you things that are going on at school" [Student interview, 033005].

Despite her repeated hatred for reading, Veronica reported that she used a variety of textual resources (art books, poetry books, internet) to construct literate practices at home. However, Veronica's view of her literate practices discounts her personally motivated constructions and elevates her school-motivated practices. The following interview transcription sheds light on Veronica's view and value of various literate practices.

> Well, I only like art books. And poem books… Well, I guess it's the style of writing that it is… Well, it's because the writers write in a style of poetry that just flows and makes you keep reading, and regular chapter books and books like these [points around the library] are boring… Yeah, and sometimes I'll go on line and get the lyrics for a song [starts giggling]. Okay, I don't mind reading certain things. If you tell me read this book, I don't like reading it. It has to be interesting to me for me to read it…Well, that's [reading songs and poetry] not like work. It's like I want to read that stuff. Nobody's making me read it. And, it's not like a whole book; it's just short paragraphs and stuff. [Student Interview, May 24]

Veronica's teachers described her as intelligent and capable of achieving academic success when she decided to put forth the effort. However, they felt she didn't always put forth the amount of effort required to succeed. Veronica's teachers described her literate competencies as lacking, specifically with comprehending written text.

When asked about her literate practices in school, Veronica listed Language Arts class, reading, and worksheets. Veronica followed this list of practices with, "I don't really like them. I don't like anything to do with reading. I don't like reading, reading

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anything" [Student Interview, 033005]. Veronica engaged in certain practices, resisted and refused to engage in the other practices, and negotiated her levels of engagement with some practices.

Although Veronica reported a strong dislike for reading, she was extremely engaged in her technology class. Even though worksheets served as a primary textual tool, both in the computer lab and in the workshop, Veronica still enjoyed the class. The motivation of building something provided the purpose for her to complete the necessary worksheets.

In contrast to this engagement, Veronica resisted the literate practices of her science class. When completing worksheets for her science lab or assignments from her science textbook, Veronica viewed this work as tasks that needed to be *complete* rather than *correct*. Veronica recognized her teacher's standard procedures and negotiated a path of least resistance.

> I never do these ones [pointing to webs and graphic organizers]. I always put question marks because he never reads it… I just don't like these kinds...you have to read all of this first [pointing to the text around the blanks]. I didn't read these sections because…he never goes over it, so why read it? I'm leaving it blank, and if he makes me, I'll do it again. [SM2SC050405.fn]

In her Language Arts class, Veronica resisted the classroom literate events through letter writing and drawing. Veronica explained her disengagement as follows.

> Well, I don't like reading, and that's what me mostly do in here. We mostly read on our own… I don't like writing, so I don't like that part either… It's [letter writing] a

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different kind of writing. There's no format. Like with essays, you have a format, Mr.

Jeffers' format. So I don't like that kind of writing. This [holds up letter] is a different

kind of writing. It's not the same. You don't have to follow the format the same way"

[CX1LA044805.fn].

Despite Veronica's continued mantra for hating reading and writing, she did

attempt to complete most of her classroom assignments, although this was often done in a

way that resisted the practice. She explained her motivation for engaging at all in the

literate events of school.

Well, that's because it's mandatory. We have to do it…it's our work and for our

grade…and if you don't do it you'll get a bad grade…My mom gets upset when I

get B's and C's, so I try not to do that. [Student Interview, May 24]

Veronica predominantly associated "literacy" with literate events connected to

school literate practices. She holds little value for these practices other than to get good

grades. Veronica's motivation for good grades stems from her strong connections to her

family, and she seeks to make her family proud of her, especially her stepmother.

Although Veronica sees the value in completing the literate practices of school as a way

to increase her academic success, she attempts to resist and alter the structures established

by such practices.

Part I explored the individual student co-researchers' perspectives about their

personal/social and academic/school literate identities. The case studies presented

accounts of how these students viewed literacy in general and within the specific contexts

of their social life and their world of school. These narrative explorations demonstrate

that each of the students enacted different literacy practices in different contexts for

different purposes. The students' voices illustrated how they valued literate practices

differently across these contexts.

Part II

Literate Discourses of the Environmental Explorers Club

Part I of this chapter introduced the participants and their literate Discourses in the Environmental Explorers club. In Part II of this chapter, some of this data will be revisited, but for a different purpose. Continuing with the Breakfast Club metaphor, Part II provides an analysis of how the identities and literate Discourses of these individual students morphed in the Environmental Explorers club to construct shared literate Discourses of the club. As the students entered the Environmental Explorers club, they each brought unique identities. These identities contained various literate Discourses, as presented in Part I. By working together as a community, the students' various Discourses interacted with each other and negotiated the shared space to construct a shared vision that embodied the Discourses of literate identities in this service-learning context.

As I analyzed field notes, interviews, and other data collected through event mapping and Critical Discourse Analysis, certain patterns and themes emerged in the practices that were enacted in the Environmental Explorers club and in the ways the student co-researchers talked about these literate practices. In Part II these themes are organized into three broad sections. Each section addresses particular research questions. The first section combines the first two research questions. This section speaks to the literate youth Discourses constructed in the Environmental Explorers club by looking at how literacy was defined, enacted, and constructed. The second section addresses the

roles of broader social, cultural, and political influences on the literate Discourses of this service-learning club. Next, a description of how the literate Discourses of the Environmental Explorers club compared to these students' literate Discourses in other contexts is presented. Part II concludes with a summary of these individual sections that presents the findings from this research.

Student Construction of Service-Learning Literate Discourses

Question #1: How do middle school students construct Discourses of "literate youth" as members of a service-learning community?

Question #2: How is literacy defined, enacted, and constructed within this context?

Examining the literate identities the Explorers club members constructed required an analysis of both observable behaviors as well as the ideological values and dispositions driving those practices. The multiple observational and visual data sources were analyzed using an adapted form of event mapping (Tuyay, Floriani, Yeager, Dixon, & Green, 1995). Practices were mapped across locations and time and established as part of the cultural tools of the Environmental Explorers service-learning community. In conjunction with event mapping, Critical Discourse Analysis [CDA] (Gee, 1999) was employed to examine the ways that students took up particular worldviews and patterns of talk as they described their literate actions. The Environmental Explorers club student co-researchers' words were analyzed individually, and then themes were formed to group common beliefs and values about membership in the club and how literacy was enacted via membership in the club. The event mapping and CDA combined to provide an

understanding the literate events of the Explorers community and how the members collectively valued particular literate events.

Within this community of service-learning students, literacy practices were used in a variety of contexts. Each context provided a unique setting for the Environmental Explorers students to construct unique literacy practices. The specific activities, structures, purposes, and literate tools varied across these contexts. As the students described the literate practices they constructed within the Environmental Explorers club, four prominent Literate Youth Discourses were expressed: Discourse of empowered literate youth, Discourse of literacy as a learning tool, Discourse of literacy as performance, and the Discourse of literacy as a shared construction.

The students reported and demonstrated various levels of engagement with literate events across contexts. Therefore, each of these Discourses is discussed below in regards to students' engagement or disengagement, that is, whether the literate events of a context matched or did not match their Discourses of literate youth in service-learning. Although these Discourses are discussed separately, that is not to say that they did not often overlap or occurred in isolation.

Discourse of Empowered Literate Youth

This Discourse was enacted when students voiced control over their literate practices. Several characteristics of the Environmental Explorers club facilitated the students' sense of empowerment over their literate events. These characteristics are summarized here and then elucidated in the following sections. Empowerment was facilitated by the independence afforded through the structures of the club. In turn,

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students felt in control and took the initiative to adapt literate events for the various components of their projects. Student empowerment was also facilitated by the value held for their individual areas of expertise. In turn, this value for expertise promoted the students' to take responsibility for the literate practices enacted in the Explorers club.

Independence. Students often associated empowerment with the way the club's structure allowed them their independence. Both Amanda and Nikiha reported that the supervising teacher, Mr. Vernon, let them run their own meetings. Amanda elaborated, "We just tell him, 'Mr. Vernon, we need you to talk to this person,' or, 'Did you get this or that?' He kinda supervises. He really doesn't run the meetings. He lets us be independent, which is good" [SLFG042005]. Most of the service-learning activities were self-guided explorations with adult assistance called upon, as the students deemed necessary.

Adaptation. The control the Explorers students possessed over their literate practices was facilitated by this independence. Students took leadership roles in the phases of selecting, designing, and implementing service activities. Students made the formative decisions during these three phases. Students demonstrated complete control over their literate practices as they constructed literate events for particular audiences with whom they engaged. This sense of empowerment allowed the students to switch between literate practices to meet their own intended purposes and the needs of their intended audience.

Distinct audiences were viewed in different lights, and the Explorers students felt empowered to adapt their literate practices associated with each audience. Oral language

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represented one literate practice that the students' felt empowered to adapt to their target audience. Joaninha summed up this view when she said, "You have to speak in their language. Like every group you have to use a different language" [NV052405.si]. In discussing their interactions with adult community members, the students often spoke of the need to be professional in their various literate practices. Amanda explained, "Well, to get our sponsors for some of the activities, there were some people that we had to write to, and others we had to call up on the phone. So we had to act, I guess, professional, you would say" [AX.052305.si]. Nikiha added, "Around our friends we can slang it out all we want" [042005FG].

Oral language as a literate practice was also adapted to meet the needs of the elementary students during the eco-tours. Joaninha explained how this process was negotiated,

> In the room [elementary classroom], we talked to them about watersheds and the water cycle and how important water is to us. Then Samuel started talking about the water testing [laughing]. He used those big words, and the kids were like, "What?" So then I got up there and said, "What he's saying is that we test the river to make sure it's healthy." Like when you're talking to them, you can't use big words and stuff… If you talk to fifth graders about ph and choleform bacteria they're not going to know what you're talking about. [NV052405.si]

In addition to adapting oral language practices to meet the needs of the elementary students, the Explorers club students also adapted the textual resources they provided the students during the eco-tours. Amanda explained that the purpose for

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working with the younger students was to get the "elementary kids and other kids to understand how important it [environmentalism] is" [042005FG]. In line with this purpose, the Explorers students constructed literate practices that would address the needs of the students. Amanda explained that they constructed activities because, "Everyone knows you don't want to go and listen to someone talk on and on and on about the ecosystem, so we try to make it fun" [042005FG]. Joaninha added, "We have to make it educational, and make it fun and cool, so they don't go, 'Oh my gosh. Water, plants, who cares?'" [042005FG]. In order to make the literate event more engaging for the elementary students, the Explorers club students constructed an identification booklet, packets of word puzzles about the environment, and designed activities about water conservation.

The other youth and adults at the various celebration events also represented an audience for whom the Explorers club students adapted their literate events. Franklin described how he suggested changing the skit the students were constructing to perform at one of the celebrations because it sounded to "corny" to present to their peers.

I wanted to change, "Who's causing all this disaster," when Freddy [character] says that because it doesn't sound natural. You know, [slow monotone voice], "Who's causing all this disaster?" It would be more like, "Who's littering this place?" [NA052505.si]

Franklin also suggested changing the group's PowerPoint presentation for the youth summit. Franklin's proposed change was a way to enhance the communication potential of the PowerPoint by making the presentation more visually appealing.

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I could have made the presentation better if I could have made it more varied and stuff. I could have made it go with the theme of the section more, like for the future endeavors section, I could have had like grass in the background. For native plants it could've been good things in the background, like the river and it being clean and all that. Then for the non-native plants you could show adverse effects, just to kind of give a negative connotation to non-native and a good connotation to the native ones. Help them [the audience] visually. [NA052505.si]

The examples above demonstrate how the Explorers club students constructed literate practices that matched their goals and their perceptions of the literate expectations of the audience they were addressing. Tammy provided a summary of her process in designing the activities for the eco-tours with the elementary students.

I've glanced through it [book on water activities] and stuff. Most of the stuff is like do this, do that, and then come back and see it in three days. Well, I can't do that even though it's a good plan, a good thing to do. I can't do that. Then all of the other stuff is like so much materials…I look like in my shoes. You know, "This would be a good idea." Then I'm jumping to other kids' shoes, and saying, "Oh, this might be fun for them," or "This would be the best activity to do." [SA052505.si]

Her process serves as an example of the procedures used by the Explorers club students in adapting the content and structure of their literate practices. The initial conception of the literate event is stimulated by their purpose to promote environmental awareness.

Empowered to take the initiative to alter the design of the literate practice, the students positioned themselves in the shoes of their audience to meet their literate desires.

    Expertise. The students used their power to design the overall structure of the club. Another characteristic of this sense of empowerment was witnessed by the value the Explorers group placed on each members' strengths. Empowerment was constructed through the contribution individual members could make to the collective through their personal expertise. The value the Explorers club community placed on individual members' expertise empowered these students to become more engaged in the literate practices of the community. Amanda described how this value for expertise as a way to contribute focused the daily events of the Explorers club.

> Well, we had a whole lot of things to do, and since we only had a certain amount of people in the club, we had people just, like he's [Samuel] really good at science and math, so we gave him the water testing stuff, and he wanted to do it. Then me and her [Joaninha] are writing letters to the mayor because we're just good writers I guess. Then we just kinda split up the work. [042005FG]

Franklin expanded on the roles that individual members played. As he discussed the roles of the various members, he emphasized how this diversity of expertise was an asset to the club and ensured that it operated at peak level.

> You'd want one technology person, one leader person, like Joaninha, and one person that can kinda keep the mood lighter, so that you're not completely stressed all of the time…Javier and Nikiha were like that. Then Samuel was just the really   smart one. He's kinda the person that informs everyone when they

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don't know something. So, you want people with a lot of different abilities and all

that to be in the group. You don't just want a bunch of people who just like the

environment.

[NA052505.si]

Franklin's comments demonstrate how individual members understood their roles

and the roles of their Explorers peers. The group members were familiar with each

other's identities, and thus they were able to call upon certain members to engage in

certain tasks. Franklin didn't mention himself in his description of the "technology

person"; however, the rest of the club recognized his role with technology, and he was

often called upon to deal with technology issues [051605FN]. Javier explained his own

contribution as, "I took pictures. That was my role" [Y052505.si]. Javier was positioned

in this role because he was always taking pictures with his cell phone. He also lived near

the park where the Earth Force youth summit was being held, so he had easy access to the

site after school and on weekends. Samuel explained his own role and how it related to

his expertise in what he could offer the club,

> Well, with our science fair project, I learned a lot of stuff about water testing
>
> procedures…So I kinda know a lot about that [water testing], so that's probably
>
> why I was chosen for that part [conducting water tests]. [042005FG]

As with other students involved in the Explorers club, Nikiha was given a task that

matched her interests with plants. She described this process as follows.

> Well, I, well probably this is just my perception. But it's because I'm around a lot
>
> of plants a lot because I do, I have woods in my backyard and I go back there and

gather herbs and stuff. And I ended up doing the project because Joaninha came

up to me and said, "Hey you know a lot about plants, right?" I said, "Yeah, I

guess, a fair amount." [Group laughs]. So that night I ended up staying up half the

night trying to identify blurry pictures. [042005FG]

This task of identifying the flora for the scavenger hunt matched Nikiha's

interests and she was extremely engaged in the process. In fact, upon completion of the

booklet she recounted the number of late-night hours the process took.

I was up till like 12:30 working on that. Joaninha gave me some pictures of plants

and stuff. Then she emailed them to me so that I could maximize them and make

them easier to see. They were crappy quality, so I was like, "Hmm. This kinda

looks like this. Well, I'm just going to say it is." There was a lot to do for that. I

ended up getting eighteen out of twenty-three, and I was still feeling bad about the

other five. I was like, "I can't believe I didn't get them [Starts laughing]."

[052305.si]

Joaninha explained how this value allowed all of the members to be vital

contributors even if they weren't directly involved with working in the aquatic

environment, "You can still help out, like being a good researcher if you're good at

reading and writing. If you're good with technology, you can still help out with the

presentation. If you know a lot about animals, that helps out A LOT!" [NV052405.si].

Tammy's engagement fits with Joaninha's description above. Although Tammy wasn't

completely engaged in working on the river, she valued the environmentalism efforts of

the club and recognized the role she played in the Explorers community. She described

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how she contributed to the club, "Since they knew that I wasn't into water testing, they thought, 'Oh, well she can do more of the talking about things or do more parts of the presentation'" [SA052505.si].

Responsibility. However, with the Explorers students' independence came responsibility. The students viewed this responsibility as another characteristic of the club that made them feel empowered. Being responsible was a way to demonstrate that they were in charge. Joaninha explained how the value for individual members' expertise and their roles in the club was directly linked to the concept of responsibility, "We split it [the work] up, so that like everybody does the same thing, but one person is in charge of each major section" [042005FG]. This responsibility was often linked to the various events and activities the group conducted. Javier summed up membership in the Explorers club through this connection to responsibility when he stated,

> Basically, just do whatever assignments you have to do and come to the clean ups and stuff. Cuz if you don't do anything, people are going to get mad and kick you out…you have to participate and do the eco-tours. You have to do the presentation [Wheelabrator Symposium]. You do that and you're a member of the club. [Y052005.si]

As described in the previous section, each member played a vital role in various components of the club. As Javier noted, these roles and the value of responsibility for literate practices associated with the various roles coalesced during the Explorers students' celebration at the Wheelabrator Environmental Symposium. For their celebration performance at this symposium the students put together a PowerPoint

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presentation and wrote a skit to perform, both of which described their service in the community. These literate events represented the connections between individual student roles and the attached accountability to the Explorers community. Amanda explained how this literate practice was constructed.

> For the presentation, we put together a PowerPoint slide…okay, in the group we divide, you know, this person…you two are going to do water testing. You two are going to help with eco-tours…or whatever. When it comes to the PowerPoint, we did, like Javier took photos of the flora and fauna, so we gave him the flora and fauna slides to do. Since Samuel did the water testing, then he works on the water slides…So each person has their own part that they do, and at the end we put it all together…That way you don't mess anything up because you that's what you did, what you worked on. [AX052305.si]

As Amanda noted, individual members of the Explorers club were responsible for constructing particular slides based on their individual roles in the club. The responsibility attached to this literate construction held the individual members accountable to the collective community. Each member's slides would contribute to the final product that would represent the group and their efforts as a community of service-learners. This responsibility worked to promote student engagement in the literate practices of the Explorers community. Javier went to the park and river on his own free time after school and during the weekends. Javier reported that his motivation for engaging with the literate practices to this extent was for his friends in the club and for the project, "I need to do my part to go on the trip [to the Wheelabrator Symposium]"

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[042705FG]. Even though Veronica reported a dislike for anything involving reading, she also spent extra time engaged in working on the PowerPoint project. She explained how her engagement was directly linked to her role as a member. Veronica reported that she engaged in the practice because, "I took the pictures, so some of the others didn't know what they were of or where I took them. So, I helped them get it right and match with the words on the slide" [EA.052405.si].

The actual presentation at the Wheelabrator Symposium served as another literate act that marked this value for individual responsibility to the Explorers community. As with the construction of the PowerPoint slide show, individual members were held accountable for their particular contributions to the presentation. After the Explorers completed their presentation, a panel of judges posed questions to the group. As each question was posed, the group looked to the individual member responsible for that content, and that particular member moved to the podium to address the question.

Disengagement. Not all of the service-learning contexts in which the Environmental Explorers club engaged were empowering. At times when students believed their independence was being restricted, they actively and passively resisted the literate events of that particular service-learning context. Students were often disengaged during the Environmental Action club meetings that did not involve active work connected to the river. The following field notes detail one example of this form of literate practice.

Mr. Vernon began by distributing two separate pieces of reading material. One was a newspaper from an environmental organization that detailed the

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environmental activism work middle school and high school kids are doing all over the country. The second was a packet of reading materials detailing tests used for analyzing various environmental conditions. Nikiha's immediate response was, "What's with teachers' obsession with packets of sheets?" Judging by the rest of the students' reactions, I would say they agreed. Many of the students began scanning through the packets as soon as they received them and followed along for the first few pages, but the attention didn't last long. Malibu started staring around the room, then just took out a piece of paper and began writing a letter, and then later moved seats in order to play with a balance scale. Javon switched back and forth between browsing through the environmental newspaper and following along in the packet. DJ paged through it once, put the packet on the table, and started chatting with his neighbor.

As the teacher is going over the packet, Nikiha and the two boys sitting at the table together are taking the content of what the teacher is talking about and having their own private discussion with it, while the teacher is still talking. Every once in a while, Nikiha will make a comment aloud about something the teacher has said. The comments are not to facilitate discussion or add to the conversation, but they are more sassy type remarks or plays on words, and attempts to steer the conversation in another direction. Nikiha was especially adept at this strategy. With just about every statement made by Mr. Francisco, she had a comment or a question that challenged the statement. [022505 Researcher's Journal]

Malibu described her lack of engagement with such types of literate practices in the service-learning context as, "Sometimes it's cool to learn the stuff there, and then sometimes it's just like boring. You just sit there and listen to the teacher talk and talk and talk" [L051905.si]. Malibu's comments illustrate how this literate event opposed the dominant Discourse of empowered literate youth. At no point in this event are the students provided power to construct the literate practice. The content, structure, textual resources, and the purpose are established external to the students and reside within the teacher.

Another example of a disconnect between the Discourse of empowered literate youth and the literacy practices constructed in the service-learning context occurred during the Earth Force summit. During this summit, students led eco-tours around a lake at the local park. These eco-tours were a major component of the overall project for the Explorers club. The students planned and constructed flora and fauna identification booklets that would serve as field guides during their eco-tours. In addition, the students also planned and constructed the literate events that would incorporate the use of these identification booklets. At the summit, a service-learning teacher reorganized the activity and coordinated the event, changing the students' initial plans. During the tours, the students were visibly unhappy. Many led one group around the lake and then went off exploring other pathways on their own. [042705.FN]

During a focus group debriefing session [042705FG] the students were asked what they would have changed about their service-learning experience. Joaninha immediately responded, "Ms. O'Reilly." She elaborated on her response, "We do these

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projects. We know what we're doing." Nikiha added, "Yeah, we do all of the planning

and most of the work putting these ideas together, and then she [Ms. O'Reilly] comes in

at the last minute and starts taking over and controlling how things are going to work."

The actions by Ms. O'Reilly directly contradicted the Discourse of empowered literate

youth that led to the construction of the literate event. In addition, Joaninha clarifies how

this change in the literate event caused so much disengagement.

> Yeah, she tries to always make it her way. It's sometimes hard to make sense of it
>
> because it's like one day, she's like, "Oh, just do it however you want. Make the
>
> activities that you want to do." Then the very next day, she comes in and just says,
>
> "Oh, this needs to be changed. That needs to be changed. Do it this way."
>
> [042705FG]

Joaninha comments depict how the Explorers community operated under conflicting

messages about literate expectations. Following the course of empowered literate youth,

the students engaged in the literate practice of constructing a field guide to lead eco-tours.

However, the service-learning teacher's changes to the design of the literate event forced

the students to abandon their independence and disengage from the literate practice.

Discourse of Literacy as Tool for Learning

This Discourse was deployed when students voiced their value for using literate

practices as a way to gain knowledge and understanding. Students described a variety of

literate tools and practices that they used to construct these learning events in the

Explorers club. This Discourse of literacy as a tool for learning is marked by the students'

perceptions of relevance. Students reported personal relevance as a driving force for engaging in the literate practices of the service-learning community. Students also reported that "service relevance" was a value that promoted literate engagement. High value was held for literate practices that were perceived to be directly connected to the service experiences of the Explorers club. Students engaged more deeply with practices that were perceived to hold strong connections to the service experiences, and as this perceived connection waned, so did the students' levels of engagement.

During their visit to a regional preserve, students were guided on an eco-tour and conducted water testing at the spring. Each of these events provides examples of how this perception of connection to their service-learning project influenced their levels of engagement. At times students were disengaged with the activities. As they recognized potential connections between the resources at the springs and their service projects, the students became more engaged.

During the eco-tours, many of the students were disengaged, following along toward the back of the pack. Tammy and Veronica both expressed boredom to me throughout the tour [SL041205.FN]. Javier, Joaninha, Amanda, and Nikiha were grouped together at the back of the group taking photos of each other with Javier's cell phone. None of these students were engaged in the eco-tour around the springs. As Ms. K, the preserve guide, is relating information about the various plants along the banks of the springs, Javier and his group start discussing the names she mentioned. None of the names sounded familiar to the students as they recalled their work on the flora identification booklet. They began discussing the potential for these same plants to be

located along the river by their school. Joaninha encourages Javier to take pictures with his cell phone, "Take the picture anyway, we need more pictures. We can just figure it [plant's location] out later" [SL041205.FN].

The students perceived a connection between the eco-tour at the springs and their development of a flora field guide for their own eco-tours that they would be conducting to raise community awareness about environmentalism. Javier and Joaninha negotiated the relevance of taking the photo. The potential for these plants to be a part of their future eco-tours engaged the students to use the cell phone and take the pix. This literate act would then be continued back at their school site.

The flora identification book and its literate value as a tool in the students' eco-tours at their school served as motivating force at another point during this visit to the springs. As students gathered into the visitor center to listen to Ms. K continue her tour, many of the students walked in a very lackadaisical manner. The students appeared uninterested in the Ms. K's tour. Many students had their heads on the tables, were looking around the room, or just stared at Ms. K with blank looks [Researcher's Journal 041205]. Amanda noticed posters on the wall that depicted Florida native and invasive species of plants and trees. She nudged Javier, and he went over to take some pictures with his cell phone. He also jotted notes down from the informational text on the posters. This information would assist these students in the continued construction of their eco-tour identification booklet.

Another example of relevance is illustrated in the following video excerpt [SL041205.VID]. During a visit to a regional preserve, students conducted water tests at

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the springs. Groups of students were assigned different sites around the springs to conduct their tests. The service-learning teachers provided the students with test kits, test directions, and worksheets to record their data. In this excerpt, the group is split into two smaller groups. This description focuses on the group that included Veronica, Nikiha, and Tammy. Both groups constructed this event in a similar manner. Initially, the students were unsure of what to do. Nikiha opened up the kit, readied the materials and distributed the test directions to Tammy. Veronica took the data collection worksheet and moved closer to the group. As Tammy read the directions, Nikiha followed the procedures manipulating the materials. Veronica recorded the data. In this excerpt, these students were engaged in the literate practice of reading water test directions and conducting water tests to record data to compare to the section of river by their school site.

Time constraints forced all of the groups to convene at the visitor center to complete the tests as a whole group. As the students crowded around the visitor center, they expressed concern at not having completed the tests. Ms. K, the preserve guide, told the students not to worry because the water is tested daily and the results the students did obtain would be merged with this other data. Upon hearing this, all of the co-researchers moved away from the activity except for Tammy and DJ. Each of these students continued testing in their separate groups. Veronica assisted Tammy in continuing the tests; however, she was highly disengaged. Veronica just sat and watched Tammy navigate the procedures alone, stared off into the trees, or sometimes even wandered away. Tammy slowly faded into disengagement; her face was drawn, and her head rested in her hand. Tammy leaned forward, pushed the card and test kit away, and uttered, "I

don't know what it is we're learning. I don't like this. I'm not getting the concept of what we're doing." Veronica shared in Tammy's frustration, "I got to miss worksheets in class, but now we have to do this worksheet out here. Well, if we don't finish it oh well" [SL041205.FN].

Two different events constructed the water testing activity, and students approached these two activities with different levels of engagement. First, students worked as a small groups by the springs to read directions, conduct water tests and record data on a worksheet. The purpose for this activity was to draw a comparison between this section of the river and their school's site. In the second event, students worked in much larger groups away from the river, and the purpose of this new activity structure did not match the initial purpose of the first phase of the event.

Tammy explained her different levels of engagement during these phases of the water testing. In response to why she engaged differently, Tammy replied that "it's kinda like, do your best, so that when the kids come, you know what you're doing" [SA052505.si]. Tammy expressed that she engaged in attempting to complete the first phase of the water testing because it was a practice that she was going to use in the future with the elementary students. Understanding how to conduct these tests was going to facilitate her work with the younger students. However, this motivation was not enough to keep Tammy engaged during the second phase of the testing, even though it was the same worksheet and testing procedures. Veronica's response to the same questions was very similar to Tammy's response. Veronica reported that she engaged in the activity because, "The water test cards told you what to do, so I needed to read those to make sure

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I was doing it right" [EA.052405.si]. Like Tammy, Veronica is concerned with conducting the tests the right way to collect the data for the Explorers community. Despite her lack of enthusiasm, Veronica engages in the literate event of conducting water tests. However, this motivation does not provide enough stimulus to keep her engaged once the literate event is altered. DJ, who had maintained involvement with the task across the two different settings, reported that he had to read the test cards to "know what I was doing, so I didn't do it wrong" [JD.052005.si].

Several other students shared their thoughts about their different levels of engagement with various literate events in the Explorers club experiences. Although Veronica often reported that she detested reading, she engaged in reading over the flora identification book many times, and collaboratively negotiated some of the vocabulary with Nikiha and Tammy. In addition, she read over and practiced the skit for the Wheelabrator Symposium numerous times with the group. She explained the motivation for her engagement, "The eco-tour book and the play I read so I knew what I was doing at the Wheelabrator thing. You needed to know that so you don't look like a fool in front of everyone up on stage" [EA052405.si]. Tammy talked about her disengagement with the water activities book that she had pored over for hours in search of fun things to do on the eco-tours for the Earth Force summit. She said that she had read through the book, found a few activities, but had stopped short of constructing the activities because, "Mr. Vernon said that we're not doing the water testing now. We're only guiding students on the plant hunt. Well, I wish someone would clarify what we're supposed to do" [SL042505.FN]. In line with the plant identification tours for the Earth Force summit,

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Joaninha reported that she wasn't into it, and she didn't think it went all that well. "Yeah, we didn't know a lot of the plants there, but here we know more and more about them. We know everything here. We're used to the plants here because we studied these more" [042705FG]. Javier reported that he was initially disengaged from the construction of the texts for the eco-tours. However, he pursued the construction of the activity packets for the younger students. After the eco-tours with the elementary students, Javier reported that the construction of the books was a valuable endeavor.

> The eco-tours were fun for me. At first, it was like doing the books, I was like, "Oh man. This is silly." They took a lot of time to make. They worked out well with the kids, though…they kept looking at them. [Y052505.si]

Discourse of Literacy as a Shared Construction

Literacy as a Shared Construction is represented by the ways students actively engaged in collaborative work and the ways students vocalized the importance held for such collaborative work as a component of literate events. Two distinct features mark this Discourse of shared construction. First, collaboration was a visible cornerstone to the daily functioning of the club. Across the multiple contexts members actively worked together to construct various literate events connected to the overall goals of the Environmental Explorers club. Second, this collaboration served as a purposefully designed strategy for experienced club members to apprentice novice members into the established literate practices of the Explorers club.

Collaboration. The Explorers students approached nearly every literate event as a collaborative endeavor. As described in the section on the Discourse of Empowered

Literate Youth, the students expressed the expectation that all individual members would serve a role that added to the completion of various projects. The structure of the collaboration differed between members and across projects. At times the students worked in arrangements that shared a physical space and involved direct, face-to-face, interaction. At other times the collaboration was enacted through a "recursive authoring" process. The process of "recursive authoring" represents an iterative cycle in which authors work on a product individually and then transfer the product on to successive authors until the final product is completed. In the Explorers club, students worked on components of projects individually and then transferred the information and products on to other members across time and distance to continue the iterative cycle to complete the products.

The literate practice of constructing the skit to perform at the Wheelabrator Symposium serves as an example of these multiple forms of collaboration. The initial construction of the skit began during a group meeting after school. Joaninha explained how the idea for the skit was generated through collaborative discussion.

> It was me, Javier, and Franklin. We got together, and Franklin thought of the idea for Scooby-Doo. He just came up with it, and I was like, "Are you serious?" It was like a joke. We were joking around about it. Then he said, "No I'm for real." So it sounded fun so we chose it. [SL042005.FG]

This process of collaboration encouraged the constructive discussion of ideas and respected the contributions of individual members. Franklin also commented on this

phase of the construction of the skit. Franklin's comments demonstrate how the collaboration worked to meet a shared goal.

> Well, me, Joaninha, and Javier…we were trying to decide what we wanted to do. We picked a bunch of different cartoons, like the Jetsons and the Flintstones, but Scooby-Doo seemed like it would be the easiest one because you can make anything about it into a mystery. [N.052505.si]

The direct collaborative interaction continued as Franklin, Javier, and Joaninha began writing the script that afternoon. Franklin and Javier huddled around Joaninha positioned at the keyboard. As Joaninha typed, the students read the work in progress aloud and offered suggestions for dialogue and stage directions [041805.FN].

After the construction of the rough draft was completed, the collaborative process expanded across time and distance. Joaninha saved the draft to disk and handed it over to Franklin to continue with revisions and additions. In turn, Franklin's draft would cycle back to the group for more direct collaborative interaction. Franklin explained how this process worked.

> Well, actually Joaninha started typing it, but then she was making it sound kinda too corny…so I tried to change it, but she changed it back afterwards. I added a bunch of stuff, though, and they just kinda tweaked it to where it was better…I had to write it and rewrite it, and pass it on to them, like an editor type thing. [N.052505.si]

Individual members continued to work on the skit and bring it before the group during

club meetings. This process of collaborative "recursive authoring" took the skit through

an iterative process that continued until the skit met the group's expectations.

Once the written script met the approval of the group, the Explorers students

began practicing the performance part of this literate event. During this phase of direct

interaction, the students collaborated to transfer the written text into a performance text.

Although the skit looked good "on paper," some students raised concerns to change some

of the movements for the characters. Amanda elaborated on this phase of the construction

of the skit. Her comments highlight the collaborative structure of this process.

> But later on, when we were actually putting it together, everyone looked at it and
>
> we were like, "No this should be like this," and we all put it together…like for
>
> example, the one part where Shaggy and Scooby ran off the stage, I said, "Oh no,
>
> he should say, 'Let's go Shaggy.'" She changed that instead of just "ok." So it's
>
> kinda just like we fixed it as we were going through it. [AX.052305.si]

This process of collaborative negotiation of the skit continued up until the evening of the

performance. As with the writing of the script, the performance of the skit was also a

process of direct collaboration that continued until the revisions met the group's

expectations. The following excerpt from field notes on the eve of the performance

demonstrates this interactive collaborative process.

> When they get to the point where they break from the play into their presentation,
>
> there is a negotiation about special effects to signal that it's a special interruption.

Franklin suggests a particular sound to represent something like a special news

bulletin. Nikiha suggests they can do some sort of sound like the flipping of a

VCR tape, and she makes the sound. Samuel adds, "This is all too much. Let's just

keep it simple." Joaninha agrees. "Okay, Franklin, you get to make whatever

sound you want." [SL.051805.FN]

The literate act of constructing a skit was accomplished through varying degrees of

collaboration among the members. Through "recursive authoring," where the skit was

worked on individually and cycled back to the group, as well as through direct interactive

collaboration, individual members' voices were recognized and valued by the group. The

collaboration associated with the literate practice of constructing the skit also represents a

form of "content" collaboration. The collaboration focused on the content and structure

of the written script and the transformation of the script to a performance piece.

Different collaborative arrangements were exhibited during the students'

construction of the flora and fauna identification booklets for the various eco-tours. The

students constructed two separate identification booklets. One was designed for the eco-

tours with the elementary students, which took place around the school site. The second

was designed for the eco-tours at the Earth Force Youth Summit, which took place at a

local park. Various members engaged in the construction of these booklets at different

points during the processes. Some students maintained continuous input throughout the

processes and were involved in constructing both booklets, while other students only

collaborated on particular components of the booklets. Although the processes for

constructing these two booklets occurred simultaneously during the same time frame and

were quite similar, I trace the construction of these literate products through separate vignettes that sequence the multiple phases of these projects.

The booklet for the Earth Force eco-tours began with Javier using his cell phone to take digital photographs of flora and fauna from the local park where these eco-tours were to be conducted [040805.FG]. Javier emailed the pictures to Joaninha, who then emailed some of the pictures to Nikiha [040805.FN]. At their individual homes, Nikiha and Joaninha used the Internet and field guides to identify the flora and fauna pictures. Once Nikiha identified the pictures, she emailed the pictures with scientific names attached back to Joaninha, who organized all of the pictures [041205.FN]. The pictures that Joaninha and Nikiha could not identify on their own were worked on collaboratively with other members during group meetings. Amanda and Javier assisted with this process by using the Internet and field guides at school [040805.FN].

Once most of the pictures were identified, the students began researching information about the flora and fauna to combine with the pictures to construct the book. The following field notes from a homeroom period at school provide an illustration of how the students negotiated this process. Joaninha continued the identification process, while Amanda, Javier, and some other members of the Explorers club researched information on the Internet.

> Amanda, Joaninha, Javier, and [two other members] went to [computer] room. As soon as they entered, they sat by a computer and booted up the Internet. Joaninha scanned through the pictures that they had taken and printed out. She looked at the list of names that had been checked off. Then she looked at the list of names

she had left. These were pictures that she had recently identified by hadn't had time to collect information about. She wrote the name of a plant on a slip of paper and handed each of the students a separate paper with a name to research. Joaninha informed the group, "Find information about it and then write something about it so we can put it in the book." Amanda questioned the directions, "What should we find?" Joaninha replied, "The scientific name, what it looks like, and where to find it." Amanda and Javier looked at their papers and typed the names of the flowers in the box on the GOOGLE search engine. [One student] found a bunch of sites and started scanning the list. She clicked on each link, scanned the page, and then returned to the hit list to continue the process. Once she found some information, she wasn't sure what to do next. Amanda told her to open up WORD and copy and paste the info on a blank document. Amanda showed [her] as she demonstrated. She [Amanda] copied the entire paragraph on her screen, pasted it onto a WORD document, printed it, and handed it to Joaninha. Joaninha gave her a new name and Amanda continued searching again. While the three of them searched the Internet, Joaninha was scanning through a field guide to identify the flowers that Javier had photographed… As Joaninha is moving through the identification faster than the others can search, she just places the pieces of paper on their keyboards for later searches. Then she [Joaninha] returns to the digital photos and field guide. [SL.042505.FN]

After the period concluded, Joaninha took the information these students gathered home and matched it with the digital photos on her computer. Once Joaninha had all of the

photos matched up with the informative, text she printed out the pages and gave the booklet to Mr. Vernon to duplicate.

In contrast to the Earth Force eco-tour booklet, the identification booklet for the elementary eco-tours began with a booklet the Explorers club had constructed the previous year. As members of last year's club, Amanda and Joaninha were charged with designing activities for the eco-tours with the younger students. Since these eco-tours were to be conducted behind Frye Middle School, the same site as last year, Joaninha and Amanda decided to expand the old booklet. Building on the booklet created the previous year, Javier, Joaninha, and Amanda walked along the river behind the school site to gather more photos for this year's booklet [041205.FG]. They used digital cameras and the cameras on their cellular phones to take pictures of plants, trees, and flowers to add to the older booklet.

While the new pictures were being taken, Franklin worked on the old booklet to improve it. During an interview, Franklin described his role in this restructuring process.

I'm redoing the book that Joaninha made last year. [Pulls out the booklet]…You have to have a picture of the flower so they [elementary students] know what it looks like, and then the name of it. Then in the back in the new one that I'm making, it's going to have information on them [flora and fauna]. It's also going to have like a guessing part right above here [points above the picture of the flower]. It will say "native" or "non-native", like what's your guess, or something. Then they [elementary students] would say "native" or whatever, and then in the back it would say if it was native or non-native. This way they can check their guesses.

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> Then in the back it will say where it is from and information on it, so that they can
>
> learn more about it. [N040705.si]

As Franklin reformatted the previous identification booklet, Joaninha, Amanda, and

Javier engaged in the process of identifying the new pictures of the flora and fauna in the

same format as described above for the Earth Force booklet; Joaninha and Nikiha worked

individually at home, and unidentified pictures were worked on by the group during

Explorers club meetings. Once all of the pictures were identified, the group researched

the flora and fauna on the Internet and field guides. As with the Earth Force booklet,

Joaninha matched the pictures with the informative text to create the pages for the

identification booklet, printed the pages, and gave it to Mr. Vernon to duplicate.

The literate practices of constructing the identification booklets illustrate a

different collaborative structure from that employed during the construction of the skit.

As with the construction of the skit, students did work on these literate products together

in direct interactive collaboration. While searching for flora information in the computer

room, students worked side by side to assist one another in navigating the research

process. However, the construction of the identification booklets also included a form of

"process collaboration" as well as the "content collaboration" structure displayed during

the construction of the skit. During Explorers club meetings, students collaborated

directly to identify the flora and fauna (the content of the literate product). In addition,

while researching the fauna on the Internet, students assisted each other through the

process of collecting information.

Like the construction of the skit, the construction of the identification booklets also involved a "recursive authoring" structure of collaboration that focused on the content of the literate product. Successive iterations were handed on to other members to continue to develop the content of the booklets. The identified fauna pictures were passed on to other members to continue constructing the identification booklet. However, construction of the skit involved iterating the literate product as a whole; the skit as a whole was under continuous evolution with each iteration. In contrast, the identification booklets were constructed in an assembly line fashion. Individual members constructed particular pieces, which were then passed on and joined into a completed whole. Students worked on identifying particular species of plants and flowers. The pictures and names were passed on to students to research descriptive information. The pictures, names, and descriptive information were then passed on to other members to construct pages and ultimately the completed booklet.

The construction of the PowerPoint slide show for the Wheelabrator Symposium illustrates another example of the collaborative structures employed during the construction of the identification booklets. During the construction of the slide show students engaged in direct interactive collaboration that focused on literate content and literate processes. This literate event also incorporated "recursive authoring" that focused on "content" collaboration. The following comments by Amanda explain how the Explorers club students collaborated to construct the slide show.

When it comes to the PowerPoint, we did, like Javier took photos of the flora and fauna, so we gave him the flora and fauna slides to do. Since Samuel did the water

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testing, then he works on the water slides…so each person has their own part that

they do, and at the end we put it all together. [AX052305.si]

In this assembly line fashion, each member contributed pieces to the completed product.

At times these pieces were constructed through direct collaboration. The direct

interaction involved students working together to construct slides for the complete literate

product, i.e., the slide show. Samuel explained how he negotiated this interactive

collaboration.

I just had to fill in the tables with data…I didn't really have to do that much with

writing, unlike the other people. They had to figure out little summaries for the

PowerPoint. I made the summary for the [state] aquarium. I just had to remember

how it was set up and stuff. I had to tell the person who was writing the slide what

to put on it. [E052605.si]

Through this direct collaboration, Samuel and his partner had different roles in the

construction of the slide. One served as information provider and the other as typist.

Once members contributed their individual slides, the process of constructing the

PowerPoint turned toward "recursive authoring," where successive revisions were left for

other members to continue developing. The following field notes from Explorers club

meetings demonstrate this "recursive authoring" process as it was facilitated through

direct interactive collaboration.

Samuel and [his partner] were sitting next to each other navigating through the

slides. As they continue to flip through the slides, they debate about what to

include or change. Samuel asks, "Do you think we need to write the new slides,

like for the Eco-Tours. That's something we've already done at [the local] Park and we'll be done doing it again by the time we present this." [His partner] adds, "Well, we can keep the slide there, but we need to change the words. It says that it's something that we will do, but like you said, it's something that will be done by the time we present, so we need to change that to say that we did it." They make changes to the verb tenses. [051005.FN]

Samuel and his partner review the slides that have already been constructed. Based on their concept of the group's expectation for the final product, they negotiate appropriate revisions. Through this "recursive authoring" process, all of the Explorer members have a role in their individual components as well as a voice in the overall finished literate product.

On another day, more of the Explorers club students showed up at the computer room to continue working on the slide show. During this time frame, the Explorers students were dispersed throughout the school site working on various projects. This process demonstrates how the members often collaborated with different students during these events. The following vignette captured Tammy, Veronica, and another member as they negotiated their space in this "recursive authoring" process.

Tammy and Veronica continue the process of looking at slides, determining changes, and updating slides. On a slide about the animals located in the region, Tammy notices that the text describes a picture of a brown anole and lists it as below the text. But there is a blue crab picture below. Veronica clicks on the text box and deletes the text to correct the error. The girls to decide to run the show

from the beginning to see if anything doesn't look right in the final product.

Veronica and Tammy read through the slides again, this time searching for slides

without pictures. Tammy notices that there isn't a slide for [The] Springs, "Hey,

there's no slide for [The] Springs. We need to show about that. That was

important. We went there." So, she and Veronica click over on the file of pictures

and start browsing through them looking for something to add to create a slide for

[The] Springs trip. As the girls are locating pictures about [The] Springs, they

start pointing out pictures that they took, "Oh, here's one I took." "This one's

mine." "I took this one and this one and that one." Veronica suggests, "I think we

should use this one. It's a picture of the spring, and that's what that whole trip was

about, the spring." Tammy agrees and the girls work to create a title for the slide

and paste the picture onto the slide.

Veronica leaves and [another Explorers club member enters] and sets up the blank

slide. Tammy types in the title, and then [her partner] pastes the picture on the

slide, "Hey Tammy that looks pretty cool, huh?" Tammy responds excitedly,

"Yeah, but where are we going to put the word? The picture is taking up the

whole slide." [Her partner] isn't sure what she means, "Words for what?" Tammy

clarifies, "We have to put words to tell what it is." Not quite following Tammy's

request [her partner] explains the picture, "Oh, that's the little waterfall from the

spring that leads into the pond." Tammy takes the description and types it on the

screen. [Her partner] recognizes what she's talking about and says, "Oh, let's

move the picture." Not sure how, Tammy defers to [her partner], who takes the

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mouse and shrinks the picture to a space both girls agree on. Tammy continues, "OK. What else do we need to add? Oh, I know. What's that place where the water came from under the ground? From beneath the sand, what's that called?" [Her partner] seeks the picture Tammy is talking about, "Oh you mean this one [as she clicks on the picture]. That's the actual spring." [Her partner] pastes the picture onto the slide. Tammy suggests, "If this is the spring, then we need to go back and change the other slide. We said that was the spring." [Her partner] adds, "Well it was the spring. It's all the spring. The water is just coming up through the sand. That's how the spring is made." Tammy clicks on the previous slide, "Oh okay, good let's add that." They change the text on the slide to coincide with a more precise description of the picture. [051105.FN]

During this process of collaborative revision, Tammy, Veronica, and the other Explorers club member work to focus on the process and the content of the construction of the slide show. The content is addressed as the girls focus on the inclusion of important service-learning events, such as the examination of the ecosystem of the springs, into the slide show. In addition, the girls focus on the content of the PowerPoint presentation as they discuss the appearances of slides and adjust pictures to match appropriate text. Tammy is unsure about the process for constructing slides. Assisted through direct collaboration, she and her partner are able to each add input into the construction of the literate product.

Like the construction of the identification booklets, the literate practice of designing a PowerPoint presentation also involved a "recursive authoring" structure of collaboration. Successive iterations were handed on to other members to continue to

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develop the content of the slide show. The individually constructed slides were pasted into the larger slide show and left for other members to continue the process by adding individual slides or reviewing the slide show in its entirety. This process of "recursive authoring" continued until the group's expectations for the literate practice of constructing a slide show were met.

A final example of the collaborative structures employed within the Environmental Explorers club involved the students conducting water tests at a regional preserve. The following video excerpt from this water-testing event illustrates direct interactive collaborative structures that combined both "process" and "content" collaboration. In this video segment students are grouped together to conduct water tests on the springs in the preserve. Students collected data to compare to the tests conducted behind their school site. Each group was provided a test kit that included materials, a data collection worksheet, and testing directions. This segment of the video focuses on how Nikiha, Veronica, Tammy, and another student negotiated this task.

> Veronica reads over the data collection worksheet and questions her group, "What are we supposed to be doing?" Nikiha opens the test kit, takes out all of the materials, and places them on the cement structure where the group is working. Nikiha is sorts through the materials and responds to Veronica's question, "We have no idea. We're improvising. We're improvising." Another member adds, "We'll just have to work with what we have." As Nikiha is speaks, Veronica moves to the test kit while scanning the data collection worksheet. One of teacher chaperones addresses the group, "You should not have to improvise." Veronica

notices a match between the data worksheet items and the test kit directions, "Oh, these come with directions. Oh, ph, turb... What's this word?" Nikiha reads the word, "Oh, that's turbidity." Veronica repeats the word and reads the next water test on the worksheet, "Dissolved oxygen." The teacher hands Veronica the directions for the dissolved oxygen test. Veronica holds the card to read the directions as the other members gather around her. Veronica scans the card and asks, "How do you do this?" Tammy takes the card and reads the directions aloud, "Okay, fill a small test tube to overflowing with sample water." Another group member grabs a test tube from the pile of materials, "I got a test tube! I'll do it," and she fills the test tube with water. Tammy continues reading, "Okay, add two dissolved oxygen test tablets." Nikiha searches through the kit and hands the packet of tablets to the girl holding the test tube. Veronica peers over the girl's shoulder and notices that the packet of tablets is incorrect, "That's ph." Nikiha adds, "That's ph, dude, you need dissolved oxygen." Nikiha and Veronica reach into the pile to find the correct packet. Nikiha hands two tablets to her partner with the test tube. Trying to open the packet, the girl hands the test tube to Nikiha, "Here hold the test totally tubular." Tammy reads through the directions silently as Veronica holds the clipboard with the data worksheet and watches the process. Tammy eyes the process and then begins to read the directions, but notices the girls are not ready, so she pauses. [SL.041205.VID]

In this segment of the water-testing event, the four girls engaged in the collaborative construction of the literate practice of data collection. This process is a form

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of direct interactive collaboration; the four girls worked together to construct the data

worksheet as a literate product. Like the construction of the identification booklets, the

data worksheet represents a literate product constructed as individual members

contributed pieces to the whole. Each girl took a role in the construction process. Tammy

read the directions to the group. Nikiha and the other group member manipulated the

materials and physically conducted the test. Veronica recorded the data on the worksheet.

However, this collaboration is unique to the other forms of collaboration exhibited

by the Explorers students in other literate events. The event portrayed in the video

segment illustrates a structure that combines "content" and "process" collaboration that

did not involve "recursive authoring." Each girl in the group assumed a role in the

process, and each role contributed a piece to the "content" of the completed product. The

collaboration was aimed at the joint construction of content, i.e., test data for the

worksheet. Simultaneously, the girls also demonstrated "process collaboration" as they

supported the other through their roles in the process of constructing the shared content to

be written on the worksheet.

In sum, the Explorers club students engaged in vast amounts of collaboration as

they enacted literate practices during their service-learning experiences. These

collaborative structures took several different forms, and the arrangements were guided

by the nature of the literate practice. Direct interactive collaboration was employed as a

strategy to negotiate both content and processes of the various literate practices when the

students were able to meet in the same physical space. "Recursive authoring" was

employed as a strategy to that mainly focused on the development of the content of

literate practices. This method of collaboration was purposefully employed when students could not meet in the same physical space or when the literate practice involved individuals constructing parts of a unified whole.

Apprenticeship. As noted in the previous section, collaborative arrangements served as key structures of the literate practices enacted within the Environmental Explorers service-learning community. As a part of the Discourse of literacy as a shared practice, these collaborative structures were purposely designed to facilitate the shared construction of literate practices. In addition, through this shared construction of literate practices, experienced Explorers club members were able to impart the literate knowledge, processes, and values of this community to new members. Collaboration arrangements were intentionally designed to apprentice the new members into the literate activities of the Environmental Explorers club.

Amanda explained how collaboration on the identification booklets served as a way to apprentice the new members into the literate practices of the Environmental Explorers community.

> So, what we had to do was show them, you know, "This is what you're supposed to be doing." We want to make sure that it gets done right, and if we let them do it, and they don't know what they're doing, then it's going to be something that's not, there's going to be a mistake. You don't want that to happen. So we do it, and at the same time we show them, "This is how you're supposed to do it. This is the format. This is the layout," and stuff like that. [AX052305.si]

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Amanda's comments highlight how the experienced students worked as guides to support

the new students' understanding of the literate practices used by the Explorers club.

Specifically, Amanda emphasizes that the identification booklets, as literate products,

were characterized by a particular format and layout. Through collaboration, the

experienced students were able to model how the literate practice of constructing the

booklets was to be negotiated. At the same time, these collaborative structures also

provided the experienced members with opportunities to observe the new members'

understanding of the literate activities through participation in these practices. As the

experienced Explorers club members worked with the novice members in the

construction of the identification booklets, they could observe how the new students were

meeting the expectations for this literate event. Amanda's words above emphasize that

this process of apprenticeship was utilized because the new members lacked knowledge

of the Explorers club's practices, and understanding these practices was necessary to

become a productive member of the Explorers community.

The experienced members reported that the apprenticeship was a historical social

practice of the Environmental Explorers club. Each year experienced members

apprenticed new members into the literate practices of Environmental Explorers

community. Amanda described how this process functioned as a historical social practice

of the Explorers club.

The 8th graders showed us what to do. Cuz when they're leaving, it was going to

be me and Joaninha doing most of the work this year. So, you know, we were

showing the seventh graders this year, "This is how you do the PowerPoint. You

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can only have one background, so make sure you don't have like rainbow colors

throughout the whole thing." You have to show 'em eco-tours go here, this and

that goes there. You just have to make sure that they know what they're doing cuz

you don't want the group to fall apart next year. [AX052305.si]

In Amanda's account, she emphasizes how the apprenticeship is historically embedded

within the structure of the Explorers club. Amanda's details point out that this is a

recurring process that works in a cycle. Each year the older, more experienced members

take on the role of developing new members' understanding of the club's practices.

Specifically, Amanda describes how the construction of the PowerPoint slide show is a

literate practice that the community holds to certain expectations. These characteristics

are taught to the novice members through this apprentice model.

In Amanda's description above, she reveals the various components or phases to

this apprenticeship cycle. The cycle begins with new members entering the

Environmental Explorers community. Experienced members model and guide the new

members participation in literate practices through collaborative arrangements. Finally,

the new members take over the next year as experienced members of the Explorers club

and continue the cycle. The apprenticeship cycle works as a self-sustaining mechanism to

ensure the club will continue to exist by continuing to foster the literate practices this

service-learning community values.

Joaninha provided an example of how the literate practice of constructing the

identification booklets evolved through this apprenticeship cycle. The various phases of

this apprenticeship cycle are portrayed in the following account from Joaninha.

They did research on the plants and stuff, and I'm like, "Oh, we should make a

scavenger hunt." I made the first booklet, but this [year's] booklet was ten times

better than the one I did last year. But, I don't know. Me and Amanda were in

charge of activities last year, so we made up that and continued with that this

year… Now the work is easy because we researched most of the plants. There's

probably two plants out there, at most, that I couldn't find the name of. That's all

they have to do, and know where the plants are and what to tell the kids. We made

it easier for them. [NV052405.si]

Joaninha's description reveals the phases of the apprenticeship cycle as it applies to the

identification booklet as a literate practice of the Explorers club. As a beginning member,

Joaninha was apprenticed into the literate practices experienced members of the

community used to gather information about flora and fauna located around the river. As

she participated in the community, Joaninha used these information-gathering practices to

construct a unique literate product, the identification booklet. As an experienced member,

Joaninha apprenticed the new members on the literate practice of constructing the

identification booklet. Joaninha viewed this literate product as a staple in the literate

practices of the Explorers community, and in turn, expects that this product will continue

to be a literate practice enacted by the Environmental Explorers club community.

Joaninha's example demonstrates how the literate practices valued by this service-

learning community are modeled by experienced members, practiced by novice members,

and then promoted on to new members.

However, this apprenticeship cycle was a complex process, and various levels of involvement marked each phase. New members entering the Explorers club were initially not involved. Amanda related this low level of involvement to her first entry into the club.

> [It was] probably because they didn't know exactly what they were doing…
> Because last year, me and Joaninha were like, "Right? What are we supposed to be doing now? Okay, so now what are we supposed to be doing?" [AX052305.si]

As new members became more familiar with the literate practices of this service-learning community, they participated at deeper levels. Amanda recalled how her involvement had changed through this apprenticeship process.

> Like last year, me and Joaninha didn't do a lot. We just kinda helped with the PowerPoint here and there, you know. But, well, we did eco-tours, too. But this year, it was a lot more of us. We were trying to show the seventh graders what to do and do it right at the same time. [AX052305.si]

Amanda's comments illustrate her view of how her role changed as a member in the club and how this change was connected to deeper involvement. As a novice member, Amanda noted her participation entailed collaborating by "helping" construct the slide show without being too involved. As an experienced member, Amanda reported that she became more involved as a leader in the design and implementation of the service-learning experiences. Amanda also described how her leadership role in the club included apprenticing the new members into the club's practices.

As with Amanda's initial entry into the club, the new members of the Explorers club felt they did not get involved in too many of the projects. Yet, these novice members recognized how their roles would change as they progressed through the apprenticeship cycle to become the experienced members leading the new members. During an interview Veronica expressed these thoughts about her levels of participation.

> I guess I'll be one of the ones leading the club. Mainly it was Joaninha and the other 8th graders who did that, and now they're leaving, so I guess it will be up to me and the others to do the work… like, getting people together and organizing the stuff. Planning the activities, like what activities to do and who will do them. [EA.052405.si]

Veronica recognized the cycle of apprenticeship. She noted how the experienced Explorers club members worked at the deepest levels of involvement, leading the rest of the members. Veronica mentioned the minimal role she played as a novice member in the Environmental Explorers community, and simultaneously emphasized how she saw her role changing to resemble the leadership exhibited by the more experienced members. Through her apprenticeship process, Veronica learned the literate practices that the experienced members modeled: planning activities, assigning members roles, and organizing the structure of the club to foster collaboration.

The Discourse of literacy as a shared construction emerged from the collaborative structure of the literate practices and the ways the Explorers community taught new members the group's literate values. The Environmental Explorers community worked from a historically established apprenticeship cycle. This apprenticeship model allowed

novice members to learn and understand the literate practices of this service-learning community as they engaged in collaborative arrangements with more experienced members. Through the various collaborative structures, students worked together to construct the literate practices that constituted the literate values and expectations of the Explorers club community. The collaborative structures involved direct interaction as well as interaction between members across time and space through "recursive authoring." The collaborative structures focused on the content as well as the process of literate practices, and at times these two areas were combined. The collaborative structures were connected to the literate practices being constructed and depended on if the product was being constructed as a unified whole, or if individual members were responsible for individual components that would be connected into a finished product. The collaborative interaction provided an avenue for new members to internalize the literate practices of the Explorers community. Once these literate practices were recognized and understood, the apprenticeships cycle worked to enable members to transfer this new knowledge on to other members. Collaboration was the linchpin of the apprenticeship cycle and allowed the literate practices of the Environmental Explorers club to sustain the continuation of the literate values of this service-learning community.

However, all students were not motivated to engage in all of these practices with equal levels of involvement. Novice members who were still learning the practices of the Explorers community did not engage as deeply or as often with such collaborative events that worked across time and space. Direct collaboration was more engaging for all students, and this appeared to stem from a deeper understanding of literate practices as

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they were constructed with peers. The direct interaction also created a social environment where students could be together with their friends. Working on projects together provided more engagement because it was a more enjoyable activity.

Discourse of Literacy as Performance

This Discourse of literacy as performance is represented by the multiple literate practices that the Explorers club students designed as mediums to construct meaning for future audiences. These performance events were key service-learning projects for the Environmental Explorers club, and the club members purposefully designed the content and the structure of such literate practices as ways to accomplish their service-learning objectives. As the club members discussed these literate practices, they described two distinct purposes for the literacy practices associated with the various performance events. Students described one form of purposeful literate performance as a way to impart knowledge to others. Such performances were linked to the service-learning objective of raising community awareness about environmental issues related to the river ecosystem. Students described a second form of purposeful literate performance as a way to display the knowledge they had gained through the service-learning experiences. These types of performances were linked with the celebration phase of service-learning, where students share their knowledge and community activism with a broader audience. The Environmental Explorers community attached separate characteristics and values to these two purposes for constructing literacy practices for performance. Each performance literate practice is described in more detail in the following separate sections.

Impart knowledge. The Environmental Explorers service-learning projects worked on two fronts to address the issues around the river ecosystem. On one front the students worked to decrease the existing negative conditions of the river by actively removing trash and invasive species. On another front the Explorers students worked to prevent the conditions from worsening in the future by raising the community's awareness through environmental education.

The Explorers students valued the environmental education component of the club's service to the community. Tammy reported that "going and helping the elementary students learn about what types of plants there were and why you shouldn't litter" [SA052505.si] was her favorite part of being in the club. Franklin also valued the educational service the club was providing to the community, and he added that he liked the Explorers club because he was "helping to educate a lot of people about the river" [NA052505.si].

As stewards of the environment, the Explorers club members took the environmental education component of their community service very seriously, and consciously constructed literate events to teach others about the community. As the Explorers students enacted and discussed these literate events, they revealed their views of the characteristics that make literacy practices effective tools to impart knowledge. The dominant characteristic of these literacy practices was that it had to be fun. As Joaninha expressed, "We have to make it educational, and make it fun and cool, so they don't go, 'Oh my gosh. Water, plants, who cares?'" [042005FG]. One of the ways that the Explorers club designed literate activities that were fun and worked to impart the

knowledge about the environment was to make these events active. Amanda explained the importance of being active in a teaching situation, "Everyone knows you don't want to go and listen to someone talk on and on and on about the ecosystem, so we try to make it fun" [042005FG].

In order to make the environmental education events active and fun, the Explorers students conducted eco-tours using identification booklets. Franklin described the booklets as literate tools designed to make the teaching events engaging yet informative.

> You have to have a picture of the flower so they know what it looks like, and then the name of it. Then in the back in the new one that I'm making, it's going to have information on them. It's also going to have like a guessing part right above here [points above the picture of the flower]. It will say "native" or "non-native", like what's your guess, or something. Then they would say "native" or whatever, and then in the back it would say if it was native or non-native. This way they can check their guesses. Then in the back it will say where it is from and information on it, so that they can learn more about it. [NA040705.si]

Franklin's comments demonstrate that the Explorers club designed the identification booklets as a way to engage their audiences in the learning process. The goal for this literate event was for the learners to connect their observations in the field with the text and visual images that were provided in the identification booklet. In this case, the Explorers displayed a view that to impart knowledge to others involved a literate practice the linked the written word and visual images with real world experiences.

The following video clips [SL042705.VID] demonstrate the various ways the Environmental Explorers used these identification booklets during the Earth Force eco-tours as performance literacy practices. These instructional performances focused on real world experiences in order to teach audiences about local fauna and flora. The Explorers students expressed different values for the ways the booklets were used as literacy tools to teach about the local flora and fauna. Some students believed that these instructional performances were best conducted as exploratory events. Other students believed that as the knowledgeable experts, the Explorers members should explicitly instruct the tour groups about which species to identify.

This first excerpt depicts how Joaninha, Javier, and Amanda negotiated this teaching experience. The Explorers students handed their tour group the booklets to peruse, and Joaninha instructed the group, "Today we're going to go and look around that area over there [pointing to the left] and that area over there [pointing behind the group]. We're going to look for certain animals. So, take a little bit of time to look through your booklet to see what we're going to see. Just look at your booklet to get a visual to see what the different things look like." As Joaninha's group led the tour, they pointed out the species and then directed the tour members to the appropriate page to read about the particular plants and animals that were observed. This episode demonstrates that this group believed the knowledgeable club members should direct the instructional process and point the tour group in particular directions. The identification booklet served as the instructional guide for the content that was imparted to the tour group. The value the Explorers members of this group held for the information in the identification booklet

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was further illustrated as they ended their tour with an identification quiz about the different species of plants that had been discussed.

Franklin, Nikiha, and Samuel led another Earth Force eco-tour and began in a similar manner. They handed their tour group the identification booklet to scan through before leading the tour. As the tour group perused the booklet, Samuel highlighted some of the fauna and flora that would be seen. Samuel named the species and then pointed the tour group to the correct pages in the booklet in order for them to see the photos of the plants and animals they would be looking for during the tour. Samuel's group began the tour by pointing out the species as the group came to them. As each species was observed, the Explorers students pointed the tour group to the page that contained the information about that species. As the tour progressed, Samuel's group let the tour members explore and then locate the species for themselves in the identification booklet.

During a focus group interview, Nikiha and her group explained their instructional method.

Nikiha: Well we handed them the packet, and they looked at the first page, looked at us, flipped the page, looked at us, and then flipped to the third page. I don't think they knew what to do at first.

Franklin: Well Samuel started out by telling them about all of the things in the book.

Nikiha: Yeah, we were like, "Samuel, shut up it's supposed to be a scavenger hunt."

Samuel: Well, they were going so slow. They walked by this one tree, that's like a hundred feet tall right in front of them. They just walked right by it, so I wanted to point it out and then they'd know what to do. [SL042705.FG]

Here Nikiha and Franklin expressed a value for discovery learning. They believed that the tour group should investigate the environment on their own and then be guided by the Explorers members. Samuel also believed that the process should begin with exploration and then move to instructional guidance. However, he believed the tour group was not gaining the proper knowledge and directed them to the identification book. From this perspective, the tour group students were allowed to direct the learning as long as their exploration of the environment matched the content of the identification booklet. The Explorers students in this group viewed the booklet as a textual guide or template for the content of the environmental observations. The value that this group held for the content of the booklet was illustrated by Franklin's comments about his suggestion for improving this instructional event.

We could spend more time with the groups, so we wouldn't be rushing to get through the things [in the booklet]. We didn't really get time to explain the stuff. They only had enough time to find the stuff then go back and switch groups. [NA.042705.FG]

Franklin's comments highlight the emphasis his group placed on covering the content that was in the text. In addition, his comments also demonstrate that he viewed the process of imparting knowledge through literate texts as more than exposure. Franklin believed that teaching someone new knowledge required more than just presenting them

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with informational text; he felt that a knowledgeable other's explanation of the text deepened the learning process.

Veronica and Tammy's group conducted the eco-tours in a different manner compared to the previous two groups. Veronica's group began with an explanation of the tour as they handed the tour group the identification booklets. Without providing time for the tour group to look through the packet, Veronica addressed the tour group, "We're going to take you on a scavenger hunt. We're going to give like a packet to every two people. Well, or you can each have your own one. We're going to take you on a hike, and you're going to find plants and animals and stuff. You can look in your little book to find out what they are." As the Explorers group begins the tour, Veronica pointed out some trees and instructed the tour group, "If you look in your packet to find these trees, you'll see what they're named." One of the boys in the tour group asked, "What are these trees called?" Veronica responded, "Look in your packet and you'll find out." As the tour continued, Veronica's group pointed out species from the booklet and let the tour group find the pages that contained the different species. As the species were located in the booklet, this Explorers group led the tour on to other species in the same manner.

Veronica's group demonstrated a value for the textual content of the identification booklet. The information in the booklet was emphasized during the tour, and was the only content that was provided. Veronica's group also demonstrated their view of imparting knowledge through textual practices. For this group, the text was a source of information that deepened the understanding of real world observations and could be understood by the reader alone. These Explorers members offered no description or explanation of the

text as they led their tour. In this instance, the text served as a guide to the instructional performance, and solely reading the text was sufficient to obtain the necessary information.

These examples demonstrate how the Explorers club students viewed imparting knowledge as a literate act of performance. Although each of the groups approached the instructional event in a different manner, they all used the identification booklets as the guiding force directing the tours. The content of the booklet was of most importance during these tours; the Explorers students continually drew the attention of the tour groups to the identification booklets. The booklets served as a textual reference to impart knowledge about the various local flora and fauna. In these literate events, text served to provide knowledge prior to exploring the world as well as a way to gain knowledge of the world as it was being explored. Two groups viewed the identification booklet as one source of textual information and added explanations and descriptions to expand the knowledge being taught. The third group viewed the booklets as the only source of textual information that was necessary to understand the knowledge being presented.

As noted above, during the eco-tours, the identification booklets and the Explorers members served as textual information resources. As the Explorers students discussed these performative literate events, they revealed their views on qualifiers for such performances to act as teaching tools. Several students reported that their instructional performances were not successful. Nikiha felt "it was terrible" [SL042705.FG]. Samuel reported that "it was bad," [SL042705.FG] and Franklin echoed these thoughts with, "It was a little embarrassing" [SL042705.FG].

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As these students explained their negative views of their instructional performances, some based this attitude on the content of the identification booklet. Samuel explained his point of view and related it to the lack of information the booklet contained.

> Well, we told them that it was a scavenger hunt to see what items they could find. They wrote checks by the things that they found. But then they were finding species of plants and animals that weren't on the list. [SL042705.FG]

Samuel perceived the instructional event to be lacking because the tour group was noticing things in the environment that were not contained in the identification booklet. Franklin provided an example of such an experience, "Yeah, we saw a snake and none of us knew what it was. They kept asking, but it wasn't a part of our packet" [SL042705.FG]. Nikiha agreed with Franklin's statement and added,

> Yeah, we didn't have very many pictures of the different plants, so they would ask us about certain things, and we would just have to say, "I don't know." There were a lot of species that we didn't identify before going there. We didn't have hardly any of the animals. [SL042705.FG]

The common theme across these statements is that the identification booklets were lacking information about the species of flora and fauna located at the park. These students' statements demonstrate that they believed that a literate product that is designed as part of a teaching performance must completely cover the topic being taught. In this instance, the identification booklet did not cover all of the fauna and flora located at the site of the eco-tours. In turn, the guides (students) felt that the booklets did not provide

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them enough information to adequately teach the tour groups about the species located in the park's environment. The lack of information in the text created a gap in the information the students could impart to their audiences.

This gap in the information that could be presented caused the students to view themselves as lacking knowledge. The Explorers students believed knowing a topic completely was a prerequisite to teaching someone else about that topic. An example of this occurred during the eco-tours. Joaninha and Amanda's group had completed an eco-tour and were heading to get a new group. The following video segment picks up in the middle of the two girls' discussion along the way.

> Joaninha walked slightly ahead of Amanda spoke to her over her shoulder. Javier hung to the side of the conversation.
>
> Joaninha: You did.
>
> Amanda: No I didn't.
>
> Researcher: Did you confuse the plants, Amanda?
>
> Javier: Yeah, Ms. Ecology over here.
>
> Amanda: No.
>
> Joaninha: [to the camera] She's like, she's like, "This is the laurel oak." I'm like, "Amanda, this is not the laurel oak." She rolls her eyes and begins laughing.
>
> Amanda: That too was the laurel oak, hun. Those two [pointing straight ahead] are both laurel oak.
>
> Joaninha: Not there. You said there was one back there [pointing off to the right of the pond].

Javier: Yeah and you did the same thing with the geese.

The conversation ended as these Explorers members approached their new tour group. [SL042705.VID]

This conversation demonstrates how the Explorers students believed that imparting knowledge to others began with mastery of the topic themselves. Although the discussion was mostly in jest, Joaninha's raising of the issue is an attempt to correct Amanda in order to keep the mistake from happening again. Amanda did not follow the Explorers members' expectations for performing instructional events through literate tools. The group emphasized the content within the identification booklets as instructional guidance, and Amanda did not use this textual resource as she miscued during her instructional performance.

Explorers students believed the performance of environmental education as a literate practice should be engaging and active. To accomplish these goals, the Environmental Explorers students linked real world experiences with oral, visual, and written textual resources. During the eco-tour performances, the students valued the content of the identification booklets as a primary text to impart knowledge; however, some students added their comments and explanations as textual resources to deepen the knowledge acquisition of their audiences. The members of the club valued textual resources as literate tools to facilitate learning; however, they believed these constructed products as well as their own knowledge should be adequately developed to be effective literate tools for teaching.

Display knowledge. A key component in service-learning structures is the opportunity for students to celebrate their service experiences and community activism efforts. For the Environmental Explorers club, this celebration phase involved an overnight trip to the Wheelabrator Symposium, a state-wide youth summit on environmental activism. In connection with this event, Explorers students designed literacy practices as a way to display the knowledge they had gained through the service-learning experiences. These literate practices were constructed as a performance event to present to the audience at the Symposium.

Figure 1. PowerPoint slide that combined visual and print literacy practices to as a display of knowledge

The Explorers students used a variety of literacy practices to design their performance. The crux of the performance was a PowerPoint slide show. As a literate event, the slide show combined written text, visual images, and oral presentations. The following slides from the students' PowerPoint presentation provide examples of the ways the students used various literacy practices to construct this celebratory performance.

As the slide above (Figure 4) illustrates, the Explorers students used digital pictures to combine with written text. Here the students displayed their knowledge of the flora found in the river ecosystem. The Explorers students demonstrated that they gained

knowledge of the flora through photographing, identifying, and researching the various

species of the area. As part of this Discourse of literate performances as displays of

knowledge, the Explorers students valued the ways that images and written text

complemented oral presentations to provide a visual portrayal and an explanation of the

knowledge gained.

The following slide (Figure 5) also demonstrates how Explorers members valued

the synergy created from combining images and text to construct literate products that

displayed knowledge. Here the Environmental Explorers students utilized digital video

that portrayed the group actively engaged in the service experiences. The written text

serves as a way to explain the action of the video. This combination of video and text was
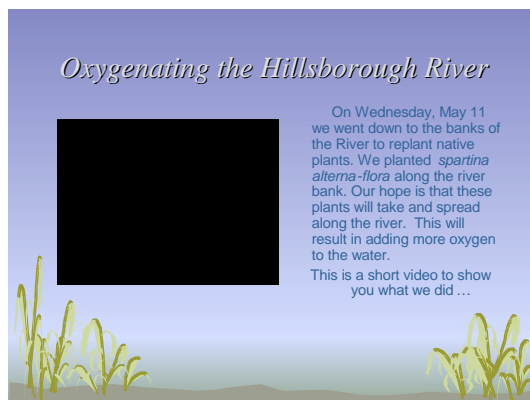
Figure 2. PowerPoint slide that combined video and print literacy practices as a display of knowledge

used as a way for the students to explain the knowledge they had gained and illustrate

how this knowledge was acquired. In this particular example, the students displayed their

knowledge about the low oxygen levels of the river. The students added the written text

to explain how this knowledge guided their service in addressing this environmental

condition. The video then served as a visual text to exhibit how the Explorers students

enacted their service based on their knowledge of the river's condition.

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As seen in the pervious "Oxygen" slide (Figure 5), the Explorers students viewed this visual display of knowledge as a way to provide evidence that they understood the issues with the environment and how to address these issues. Joaninha and Amanda elaborated this view as they explained the purpose behind the slide about the water testing data (Figure 6). Joaninha remarked, "Well, we need to have that [data slide] to back up our information, to see if the river is healthy and how we need to help it" [SL042005.FG]. Amanda added, "Yeah, to show them [Symposium audience] how we know it's healthy. It has this much alkalinity in it, this much pollution in it, things like that" [SL04005.FG].
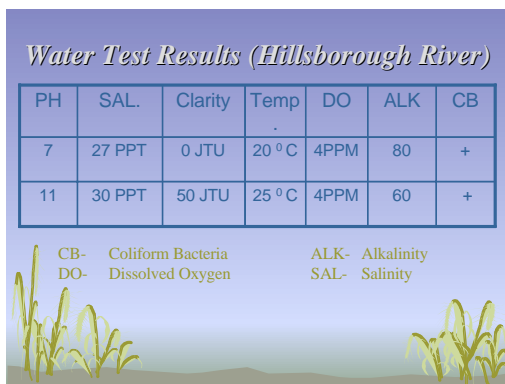
Figure 3. PowerPoint slide that combined print and data tables as a display of knowledge

As Amanda noted, the use if images in the Explorers club's presentation served as a way to "prove" to others the knowledge the group had achieved through their service-learning experiences. In this case (Figure 6), the literate product of a data table combined written text and numerical data as a way to support the work of the Explorers club. The students viewed this literate practice as a way to describe "how" they knew what services to contribute to the river ecosystem.

As a way to display knowledge, the Explorers students demonstrated the value they held for combining written text, visual images, and oral presentations to clarify the learning that was acquired. This connection was not only done with photographs and videos. As part of their overall presentation, the Explorers club students wrote a skit to perform as a way to further illustrate the knowledge they had gained. The following slide (Figure 7) used visual elements from Internet resources and the audio track to the Scooby-Doo cartoon to set the stage for the skit.

Figure 4. PowerPoint slide that combined visual, audio, and print literacy practices as a display of knowledge

Franklin explained the rationale for the use of the skit as a literate tool to display the club's knowledge.

> I think that the play was the only thing that made our presentation really original, since everyone else was just talking about their stuff. We actually did a play around it that incorporated what we learned through the club and all that inside of it. That was really good to have. [NA052505.si]

As Franklin's comments demonstrate, the Explorers club valued connecting various literate practices together to construct literate performances. Just as the PowerPoint slides combined visual and written text to create a more illuminating display

of the knowledge gained by the Explorers members, the skit was viewed as serving the

same function in the overall performance. As opposed to simply "talking" about the

information and displaying it through digital images and written text, the Explorers

students designed a literate performance the incorporated actively displaying knowledge

gained. The skit served as a visual literate practice that added to the content and texts of

the PowerPoint presentation.

In addition to the value for combined literate texts (oral, written, visual), this

Discourse of displaying knowledge through literate performances was also characterized

by the Explorers members' values for preparedness. The students believed literate events

that served as performances to display knowledge should be well orchestrated and fully

understood. This value for being prepared was demonstrated as the Explorers students

constructed both the PowerPoint and the skit for their performance.

The Explorers members went about preparing for the PowerPoint presentation in

various ways. Franklin explained how he and Samuel used the Internet as a literate tool to

hone their portion of the PowerPoint presentation.

Well, we were using the Internet a lot, [laughs] to look up certain things for it.

Like at first, Samuel, he wasn't sure what JTU [Jackson Turbidity Unit] stood for,

and he was using it for a measurement. So you kinda want to know what it is in

case the judges ask you about it at Wheelabrator or anything. [NA052505.si]

In this example, the performance of displaying knowledge through literate practices

entailed understanding the content in order to present it. Samuel and Franklin believed

that displaying knowledge included being accountable to the audience for the content. In

this case, Samuel believed the written text that would be displayed in the PowerPoint needed to fully understood. Veronica also addressed being prepared for the PowerPoint presentation as it pertained to her performance, "The eco-tour book and the play I read so I knew what I was doing at the Wheelabrator thing. You needed to know that so you don't look like a fool in front of everyone up on stage" [EA.052405.si]. Veronica highlights how understanding the literate products was necessary in order to perform a display of knowledge. Like Samuel, Veronica felt accountable for performing correctly in front of the audience.

As the Explorers students rehearsed for their skit performance, this value of understanding the literate practice was made explicit and often repeated. On the eve of the group's rehearsal dinner they practiced during a club meeting after school. One member of the skit continued to delay on his lines. Joaninha addressed him, "Stop playing around! Pretend like you're on the scene" [SL051105.VID]. In another instance during this rehearsal, Joaninha addressed this member again, "Read your line! 'What's that?' Come on you need to do this right" [SL051105.VID].

On the eve of the Symposium performance the group has found a space to practice on the hotel roof. Again, this same member messed up several times. The following field notes depict the events as they unfolded.

> Joaninha became angry, slapped her leg, and yelled, "You've got to take this serious or we'll not get it right tomorrow." Recognizing her [Joaninha] frustration, [he] calms his laughter and says, "I know it. I know it." Joaninha responds, "If you know it, why don't you do it?" The rest of the group sighs.

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Joaninha turns to address the group, "Okay. Let's take it from the top," and then

she turns to the boy, "This time don't mess up." [SL051805.FN]

In this vignette, displaying knowledge through performing literate practices is

viewed as a serious endeavor for many of the Explorers club members. These literate

performances are viewed as ways to demonstrate the knowledge the group has acquired.

These literate performances also serve as a way for the group to ensure that the audience

recognizes the knowledge that is being displayed accurately through the practices. If the

practices are not constructed and enacted in a manner that clearly demonstrates the

members' accurate understanding of environmental issues then the practice does not

serve its purpose. In this instance, if the skit is not performed credibly, the audience will

be distracted from the content and focus on the poor performance.

This Discourse of literacy as performance was represented by the multiple literate

practices that the Explorers club students designed to construct meaning for future

audiences. These performance events were key service-learning projects for the

Environmental Explorers club, and the club members purposefully designed the content

and the structure of such literate practices as ways to accomplish their service-learning

objectives. This Discourse was marked by two distinct purposes. One purpose was to

impart knowledge to others through performing literate practices. The other purpose was

to display the group's knowledge through performing literate practices.

The students were highly engaged with literate practices that matched this

Discourse. Although not all of the Environmental Explorers club members were involved

in these practices, so it's difficult to say how those students would approach such literate

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practices. The Explorers members expressed a value for the practices embedded within this Discourse because they were directly linked to their service objectives. This sense of "service relevance" increased students' motivation to engage with the practices because they were connected to performances for real world audiences. Students also reported that their high levels of engagement were related to how they would be perceived as knowledgeable by these external audiences.

Summary of the Explorers Literate Discourses

Within this community of service-learning students, literacy practices were used in a variety of contexts. Each context provided a unique setting for the Environmental Explorers students to construct unique literacy practices. The specific activities, structures, purposes, and literate tools varied across these contexts. As the students described the literate practices they constructed within the Environmental Explorers club, four prominent Literate Youth Discourses were expressed: Discourse of empowered literate youth, Discourse of literacy as a learning tool, Discourse of literacy as performance, and the Discourse of literacy as a shared construction.

Although these Discourses were discussed separately, they did not occur in isolation, but could often be seen overlapping. Samuel summarized how these literate Discourses were woven together throughout the contexts of the Environmental Explorers club. Samuel's perspective will be used here as a prototype. Samuel stated that to become a member in the club students must be able to "comprehend what's being said to them, know how to change things [revise literate products], and know how to present

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something" [E052605.si]. Samuel's words connect the four Discourses that were presented in this section.

Samuel's notion of comprehension was exhibited primarily through the Discourse of literacy as a learning tool. This Discourse was displayed when students voiced their value for using literate practices as a way to gain knowledge and understanding. This Discourse of literacy as a tool for learning was marked by the students' perceptions of relevance. Students reported personal relevance as a driving force for engaging in the literate practices of the service-learning community. Students also reported that "service relevance" was a value that promoted literate engagement. High value was held for literate practices that were perceived to be directly connected to the service experiences of the Explorers club. Students engaged more deeply with practices that were perceived to hold strong connections to the service experiences, and as this perceived connection waned, so did the students' levels of engagement.

Samuel's belief that being able to "change" literate practices to meet specific needs was exhibited through the Discourse of empowered literate youth. This Discourse was displayed when students voiced control over their literate practices. Several characteristics of the Environmental Explorers club facilitated the students' sense of empowerment over their literate events. Empowerment was facilitated by the independence afforded through the structures of the club. In turn students felt comfortable to initiate adapting literate events for the various components of their projects. Student empowerment was also facilitated by the value held for their individual

areas of expertise. In turn, this value for expertise promoted the students' to take responsibility for the literate practices enacted in the Explorers club.

However, not all of the service-learning contexts in which the Environmental Explorers club engaged were empowering. At times when students believed their independence was being restricted, they actively and passively resisted the literate events of that particular service-learning context. Students were often disengaged during the Environmental Action club meetings that did not involve active work connected to the river. This lack of "service relevance" decreased the students' perception of their responsibility to the literate practices they often disengaged from these activities.

Samuel's belief that presenting information was a valuable skill for membership in the Explorers club was exhibited in two different Discourses. The Discourse of Literacy as performance valued literate acts that were constructed for broader audiences. The Discourse of literacy as a shared construction focused on presenting information to the other members of the Explorers club.

The Discourse of literacy as performance valued literate performances that were part of the service-learning projects for the Environmental Explorers club. The students engaged in teaching peers and younger students about environmentalism through literate performances. The Explorers members also celebrated their knowledge and expertise with other environmentally active youth through performance literate practices. These literate events served as the club's service-learning projects, and the students engaged deeply in these practices. Sharing their knowledge with others allowed them to

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demonstrate their competencies and this also worked as a motivating force to engage the Explorers members in these practices.

The Discourse of literacy as a shared construction emerged from the collaborative structure of the literate practices and the ways the Explorers community taught new members the group's literate values. The Environmental Explorers community worked from a historically established apprenticeship cycle. This apprenticeship model allowed novice members to learn and understand the literate practices of this service-learning community as they engaged in collaborative arrangements with more experienced members. Through the various collaborative structures, students worked together to construct the literate practices that constituted the literate values and expectations of the Explorers club community. The collaborative structures involved direct interaction as well as interaction between members across time and space through "recursive authoring." The collaborative structures focused on the content as well as the process of literate practices, and at times these two areas were combined. The collaborative structures were connected to the literate practices being constructed and depended on if the product was being constructed as a unified whole, or if individual members were responsible for individual components that would be connected into a finished product. The collaborative interaction provided an avenue for new members to internalize the literate practices of the Explorers community.

Collaboration was the linchpin of the apprenticeship cycle and allowed the literate practices of the Environmental Explorers club to sustain the continuation of the literate values of this service-learning community. It was necessary to be able to present the

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literate values and practices to other members as a way to continue the club's future service to the community. This manner of presentation required experienced members to be adept at coaching and facilitating knowledge development. Modeling and demonstrating were two key components of these presentations to peers.

However, all students were not motivated to engage in all of these practices with equal levels of involvement. Novice members who were still learning the practices of the Explorers community did not engage as deeply or as often with such collaborative events that worked across time and space. Direct collaboration was more engaging for all students, and this appeared to stem from a deeper understanding of literate practices as they were constructed with peers. The direct interaction also created a social environment where students could be together with their friends. Working on projects together provided more engagement because it was a more enjoyable activity.

Question #3: What roles do broader social, cultural, and political influences (e.g., the community, teacher, peers, family, and school system) play in the construction of the "literate youth" Discourses in service-learning?

This study was guided by a critical ethnographic approach that is characterized by a perspective that inequalities are deeply embedded in everyday social life in systematic, but often taken-for-granted ways (Carspecken, 1996; Giroux 1988; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000; McLaren, 1994). This study examined the local experiences and situated literate practices of the Environmental Explorers service-learning community. In addition, as a critical ethnographic inquiry, this study also aimed to understand how these

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local, situated literate practices had been contoured by broader social, cultural and political forces.

The broader contexts in which the Explorers community was embedded influenced the structure of the club. The work of the Explorers club was supported by funds from government and private funds. As such, these funding agencies influenced the structure of the club. In addition, the Environmental Explorers club was a situated community embedded within the physical structures of Frye Middle School. Located as such, the Explorers club was part of and directly influenced by the social, cultural, and political practices of the school. The combined forces from these broader contexts worked to shape the structures of the club and in turn designed a community that systematically privileged some students and marginalized other members through participation structures.

The following sections examine these participation structures to uncover how these inequities were produced and maintained. Through this process, the influences from broader contexts on the Explorers club will be revealed. These broader influences are then connected to their impacts on the various members' levels of engagement in this service-learning community.

Influences on Membership

The Environmental Explorers club consisted of three smaller clubs (Environmental Action club, Wheelabrator Environmental club, and the Earth Force club) united together under a service-learning umbrella. Although united by the shared agenda of environmental activism, membership in each of these smaller clubs was marked by

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exclusive standards. These standards for membership were influenced by the grant funding organizations, the school, and the teachers. The two most recognizable standards for membership into various groups were based on grade level and academic achievement. Each of these characteristics is presented as they related to membership within the various smaller groups.

Student grade level. Students' grade levels served as a key factor in determining membership in the various smaller groups that comprised the Environmental Explorers club. As part of Frye's school-wide initiative to engage students in extra-curricular activities all 6th, 7th, and 8th grade students were able to volunteer to join the Environmental Action club. Likewise, all 6th, 7th, and 8th grade members of the Environmental Action club were also allowed to participate in the Earth Force club. Wheelabrator Technologies, Inc funded the Wheelabrator club. As stated in this grant, the Wheelabrator club was only open for 7th and 8th grade students.

Student academic achievement. Student academic success was also used as a gauge for membership in the various smaller groups that comprised the larger Environmental Explorers community. As an elective, the Environmental Action club did not link students' academic achievement to membership criteria; all students could volunteer to enroll in the club. The Earth Force club was open to all Environmental Action club members, but the teachers specifically designed this club for honors students. The Earth Force club service-learning activities were directly connected to the 6th grade honors science students' coursework. Although Wheelabrator, Inc. only set guidelines for

participation based on grade level, the service-learning teachers at Frye selected only 7th and 8th grade honors students to participate in this club.

The Wheelabrator students were the most aware of how the supervising teachers valued academic success as criteria for membership in the Wheelabrator club. Amanda commented on how this teacher held value would determine future student membership in the club.

Well, the science teachers would have to notice these people do their work, they're on top of everything, you know, "They would be good for our club." You can't slack off when you work. You have to be able to miss class and still get the day's lessons. You know, you can't get all F's and everything and expect to be in that club because you'll just get kicked out. Because, if you're going to be in both things you have to be flexible and you have to, you know, know how to deal with, you know, having extra-curricular activities. [AX.052305.si]

Amanda's comments illustrate her view of what counts as academic success. Amanda perceived academically successful students as those students who complete their class work, complete work that was missed, and obtain high grades. Tammy echoed some of these characteristics in her response about future student membership.

I would say that you're probably going to have to be here almost every day, and then you want to keep your grades up in all your classes. If you're around almost all D's and C's, you probably won't be able to be in it. [SA052505.si].

Like Amanda, Tammy believed high grades are a component of academic success and linked to membership in the Wheelabrator club. In addition to attaining high grades and

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completing all class assignments, Nikiha added that to be a member of the club "you

gotta have good conduct" [SL042005.FG].

Membership carried different standards for the different factions of the

Environmental Explorers club. The Environmental Action group was open to all Frye

middle school students regardless of grade or academic achievement. The Earth Force

club was more selective; it was open to only those students in the 6th grade honors

science program and those students already holding membership in the Environmental

Action club. Membership in the Wheelabrator club was most limited. Only 7th and 8th

grade academically successful, well-behaved, teacher-selected students were allowed to

participate in this club.

Influences on Access

Although membership into the Environmental Action club and the Earth Force

club was offered to all of Environmental Explorers students, access to these particular

communities remained a constant challenge. The cultural, political, and social practices

of the school influenced the ways these clubs operated, and in turn these structures

determined which students could gain access to the membership status they were granted.

The Environmental Action club was a part of the monthly "club days" at Frye.

This meant that all of the clubs met during this same time frame. This caused

accessibility issues for many of the Explorers club members. This was especially true for

the Wheelabrator members. They were involved in numerous school clubs and could not

always make all of the Environmental Action group meetings. During a focus group,

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Amanda explained this dilemma as the rest of the Wheelabrator students nodded in agreement.

> I was in yearbook club since sixth grade, so I wanted to stay in that club. Then there's also NJHS [National Junior Honor Society], which is a club that also meets on club days… So you have to split yourself up between each club. It's almost like you have to go in a rotation or whatever. So that's hard because they only meet once a month. That's why we have a lot of our meetings after school.
> [SL042005FG]

Mr. Vernon, the lead service-learning teacher, elaborated on these students' dilemma and connected this issue to the policies of the school.

> Since we're [Frye Middle School] a space and technology magnet, they [Explorers students] need to be involved in those other programs. Plus, since they are the top kids, they also need to be in the honor society. Those clubs take a higher standing than this one
> [Environmental Explorers]. [051105.FN]

These comments demonstrate how the practices of the school positioned other clubs at higher levels of importance than the Explorers club. Because of the school's value for certain clubs, students were directed toward membership in those clubs. Simultaneously, this excluded students from less valued clubs like the Environmental Explorers.

In order to counter the political practices of the school and allow the other members of the Explorers community access to participate in the Earth Force club the teachers also structured it as an after-school program. During these sessions, the

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Explorers members met together to organize the club's service-learning activities. However, this structure did not facilitate access to all members. Since Frye was a magnet school, many of the students lived outside of the immediate neighborhood and were transported between home and school by bus. All of the co-researcher students lived outside of the school neighborhood and rode a bus home. Although Javon began the year living in the school neighborhood, once he moved to his aunt's home he needed to ride a bus. Most of the students were not able to arrange for alternative transportation and could not stay after school to meet with the Earth Force club. Out of the co-researchers, only Javier, Joaninha, Franklin, and Amanda were able to meet during these times.

Membership Has Its Privileges

The different clubs of the larger Environmental Explorers community all participated in various projects related to improving the river ecosystem. Not all of the smaller clubs were equally involved, and members from certain clubs were provided opportunities to participate at deeper levels than others. These differentiated participation structures were influenced by the social and political practices of the funding agencies, the school, the teachers, and the youth themselves. As previously described, grade level and academic success were key factors in determining membership in the various clubs within the Environmental Explorers community. In turn, grade level and academic success were also closely linked with different levels of participation.

The following sections describe the different levels of participation associated with the various smaller clubs as experienced by the co-researchers in this study.

The Environmental Action club, which was open to students from all grade levels and academic achievement levels, was the least involved in the service-learning projects of the broader Explorers community. Javon and Malibu only participated in the Environmental Action club. During their experiences in this club, they only participated at the school site. Their level of participation was limited to conducting water and soil tests on the river ecosystem behind Frye. They were also a part of club meetings that centered on teacher led discussions about environmental issues and procedures to address these issues.

Part of this low level of involvement stemmed from the poor weather conditions that plagued the region throughout the year. Three hurricanes early in the school year led to several meetings being cancelled. Some of this low level of involvement also stemmed from the practices of the school. Many club meetings were cancelled and replaced by school assemblies and other school events. Since the club was only scheduled to meet once a month, this hindered the amount of time Malibu and Javon had to work on the service-learning projects.

Javon and Malibu's low level of participation was also influenced by the ways the social practices of the Explorers community were constructed by the teachers and the Wheelabrator funding agency. Joaninha explained how these broader forces limited Javon and Malibu's involvement based on their grade levels.

> Well, they can go with us [Earth Force] to Lopez Park and the cleanup, but they
>
> can't go with us to the main performance [Wheelabrator Symposium] because

that's only for seventh and eighth graders… But we can use some help with

posters and stuff like that. [040705.FN]

Joaninha's comments demonstrate how the Explorers community was stratified based on grade level. Particular grades were provided certain opportunities to participate and denied others.

As Joaninha's comments highlight, the Earth Force club was open to all students in the Explorers club community. Nine co-researcher students (Amanda, Nikiha, Joaninha, Franklin, Veronica, Samuel, Tammy, DJ, and Javier) participated in this particular club. As members of the Earth Force club, these students were active at their school site as well as in the community. These students went on field visits to various sections of the river to conduct water tests and analyzed the various flora and fauna to compare to the site behind Frye. In addition, these students led peers from other school on eco-tours during the Earth Force Youth Summit at a local park. However, the Earth Force club was geared to the 6th grade honors science class, and this limited the participation levels of some members. This was particularly salient regarding DJ's level of involvement. DJ participated in both the Environmental Action and the Earth Force clubs. Although he had participated in the various field experiences with the Earth Force club, he was not provided the opportunity to take part in the eco-tours at the Earth Force summit. As a sixth grader not enrolled in the honors science class, DJ did not assist with the construction of the eco-tour products, and he was not familiar with that component of the service-learning project.

The members of the Wheelabrator club were the most active in the service-learning experiences of the Explorers community. All eight of these members were also a part of the Earth Force group. In addition to participating in the Earth Force activities, Wheelabrator club members (Amanda, Nikiha, Franklin, Joaninha, Tammy, Samuel, Veronica, and Javier) conducted eco-tours with elementary students around their school site, organized a river cleanup, planted native vegetation along the river banks, and presented the work of the Explorers community at the Wheelabrator regional symposium.

Both the Earth Force and the Wheelabrator clubs provide examples of how the Explorers community was socially constructed to privilege academically successful students. Academic success was rewarded with more opportunities to participate. At the Earth Force summit, the 6th grade honors students and the Wheelabrator honors students were permitted to present, while students like DJ, who participated in other field experiences but was not a member of the honors classes, were marginalized. Likewise, it was a small faction of members from the Explorers community, represented by the honors students in the Wheelabrator club, who were granted the privilege to conduct additional eco-tours and present at a regional summit.

The Earth Force and the Wheelabrator clubs also illustrate how the Explorers community was socially structured to empower older students and marginalize younger students. Although all grade levels participated in the Earth Force group, the teachers positioned the oldest students, 8th graders, in leadership roles. As empowered constructors of the Explorers community, the 8th grade students systematically

marginalized the younger students. The following excerpt from a focus group portrays how these Wheelabrator members viewed this inequality.

Amanda: Well, one is because we're the eighth graders and we have to be in charge.

Samuel: This is our last year here.

Nikiha: We have to go all out.

Amanda: Yeah, this is our last year here, and we have to show them what to do because they're going to be the ones running it next year.

Nikiha: Um-huh. And we might not have really dedicated people this year.

Amanda: But, that's kinda how we were last year.

Nikiha: Oh yeah, seventh grade slackers. Seventh graders are just... well.

Samuel: Well, seventh graders aren't very organized. I remember that in last year's language arts class. Remember every single notebook check we were comparing to see who got the lowest grade.

Nikiha: That's funny. I remember that.

Amanda: Yeah, we weren't very organized.

Interviewer: Is there that big of a difference?

Nikiha: Oh yeah, from sixth to seventh and seventh to eighth, oh yeah.

[SL042005FG]

These 8th grade members of the Wheelabrator club describe the unequal levels of participation as a socially justified practice. Simply correlating age with power is seen as the natural order of things. These students perceive their roles as 8th graders loaded with

expectations to be in charge and teach the younger students what to do. This situation of unequal participation is also historically justified. A particular concept of younger students as unmotivated and disorganized is connected to their personal past histories. The unequal positions of power a justified as part of the natural historical and social order of middle school in general, and the Explorers community in specific.

Engagement with Literate Practices

Membership in the different clubs of the Explorers community was correlated with varying levels of participation. The degrees of the Explorers club students' participation led to varying levels of engagement with literate practices. Although this was an individually based phenomenon, students who were involved with various clubs participated at more intense levels and exhibited higher levels of engagement with the literate practices of the Explorers community. At one end of this continuum of engagement were those students who only participated in the Environmental Action club and were barely engaged. At the other end of the continuum were those students who participated in a number of the smaller clubs, especially the Wheelabrator students. As Mr. Vernon noted during a conversation at the Wheelabrator Symposium, "These students completed ten times the amount of work outside of school than they did at school" [051905.FN].

Malibu and Javon were at the lowest extreme of this continuum of engagement. These two students were only involved in the Environmental Action club and were barely involved in the service-learning experiences of the broader Explorers community. Malibu was extremely engaged in the literate practice of collecting data via water and soil tests

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[SL102904.FN]; however, she held little value for the discussions and reading material that occurred during this club's meetings [SL022505.FN]. Malibu explained her level of engagement, "For the environment club, well, it was kinda like between. Sometimes it's cool to learn the stuff there, and then sometimes it's just like boring. You just sit there and listen to the teacher talk and talk and talk" [L051905.si]. Like Malibu, Javon was really engaged with the literate practice of using the test kits to collect data [SL102904.FN; SL040805.FN]. Javon reported that his favorite part about the Environmental Action club was "when we'd go out to the river. When we went in the water" [A.052005.si]. Javon was also engaged in reading the material that was distributed during the club meetings, but he preferred to read it on his own and did not engage in the ways this material was used during the club meetings [SL022505.FN].

Malibu and Javon's minimal involvement led to a level of disengagement where they actively resisted the literate practices of the Explorers community. This active resistance was illustrated in several instances. On the day of the last Environmental Action club meeting, Malibu planned not to attend, "I wasn't going to go to club today. I was going to go. I want to go outside and play dodge ball and do something outside" [040805.FN]. Even Joaninha's attempts to actively engage Javon and Malibu in taking digital photos for the eco-tour book or make posters to advertise the river cleanup were actively resisted. Joaninha commented that both Malibu and Javon did not want to participate and elected to stay in their homeroom periods [042005.FN].

Even within the Wheelabrator club, which was the most deeply involved group of students, levels of participation were stratified and created disengagement. Joaninha

noted this lack of participation regarding the construction of various literate products for the eco-tours.

> I did like half of the work…I would like give them [other Wheelabrator/Earth Force members] stuff. Like I would tell them, "OK, now do this, and I need it by like the next day," and they wouldn't have it. [NV052405.si]

Joaninha attributed the members' low participation to their lack of desire to be involved. However, Veronica provided a different perspective as she explained her view of the Wheelabrator members' lack of participation.

> I mean mainly it was Joaninha and a few others that did everything. We [the rest of the members] really didn't know what was going on most of the time. They just told us to show up for meetings and we did. They did all of the work… Everyone should be involved. Like I said, a lot of us didn't know what was going on. We weren't there for most of the meetings or when the rest of them got together, so I guess I'd like to see more scheduled meetings, so that everyone could come. This way we'd all know what was going on and who was in charge of what activities. [EA052405.si]

Veronica attributes the Wheelabrator members' lack of participation to their belief that they were not involved. As Veronica noted, these disengaged members realized the limits of their participation levels. Veronica specifically noted that the older students made the decisions and then delegated the work to the younger students. Their roles did not include power to contribute equally to the construction of the literate products, nor did their roles allow for power to share in the decision-making process.

Mr. Vernon, the lead service-learning teacher, was aware of many of the external influences that worked to shape the structures of the Explorers community. He served as the mediator between these influences and the Environmental Explorers club. On the drive home from a long day gathering native vegetation at a wildlife conservation center, Mr. Vernon explained his perspective on the what forces were involved and how they impacted the structures of the Explorers club.

> I wish this whole year could've been done differently. This is definitely not as good as it was last year. But with the hurricanes and the flooding, we lost a good three months of the school year. Then came the [state achievement test] prep period of the year. The administration frowns on taking any kind of trips during that time period… I think that all of those things may have played a part in how this year went. The kids don't seem as into it as they were last year. The teachers are definitely not into it as they were last year… Everyone is so busy, and we all have the pressure of the [state achievement] test hanging over us. Nobody has any time to meet. That's our number one problem, just finding time to get together. Then, I know you've seen how it goes, last minute cancellations, assemblies, and then other field trips. [051105.FN]

Mr. Vernon expressed a variety of influences originating from contexts beyond the situated community of the Environmental Explorers club. Mr. Vernon emphasized that as a community situated within the school culture, the Explorers club was subject to influences from the practices and values of the school's culture. Mr. Vernon even noted that contexts beyond the school site influenced the structures of the Explorers club as he

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talked about the influence of the state achievement test and the unusual patterns of severe weather.

Although Mr. Vernon noted the Explorers members' lack of engagement and involvement, he attributed these conditions to particular influences from broader contexts. He did not recognize, as the students did, that the teachers and school had structured the Explorers club in ways that decreased students' desire and ability to participate. The historically established social structure of the Explorers club caused the inequities within this community to be taken for granted. The teachers' lack of recognition of these conditions of inequity is further illustrated in the following vignette.

During the Wheelabrator Symposium, I sat to dine with the service-learning teachers in the banquet room. As I pulled up a seat, the teachers immediately asked, "So, what are you seeing?" So, I discussed some of the emerging themes I had noticed. The first thing I mentioned was the notion of the variable levels of participation. I discussed evidence that I had accumulated of the different levels of involvement and how these levels were strongly associated with grade levels. As I presented the information, they all nodded in agreement. I then added that some of the students realized the limits of participation that they are allowed, and that this knowledge tended to make them feel less likely to engage in the events. I particularly discussed the issues with sixth grade students; they get to be a part of the Friday club, some of them get to go on some of the trips, but they don't get to be involved in the larger, more interactive projects, or any of the planning processes. Although the teachers acknowledged the various levels of

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participation, and acknowledged how certain students were given more responsibility and space to participate, they didn't realize that the other students, those who are less included, were actually put off or pushed away from the club because of that. "I didn't even think about that. Hmm. You know, it kind of makes sense. We've just always done it that way for the last four years we've been doing this" [SL051805.FN].

In summary, Membership (who could participate), activities (what members did), and the conditions of these activities (sites and purposes) differed across the established boundaries of the three clubs that comprised the Environmental Explorers community. The different structures of these smaller clubs were influenced by broader social, cultural, and political contexts outside of the Explorers community, such as funding agencies, school policies, and teacher beliefs. The different participation structures shaped by these forces worked to privilege some members and marginalize others. Power and privileges were afforded to older students and academically successful students through membership and access to multiple clubs. The membership and access privileges provided these students more opportunities to engage in and design the literate practices for the rest of the Explorers community. From positions of power, the privileged Explorers members promoted the unequal structures of the club from within the community. These unequal structures stratified the Explorers members' levels of participation. As members moved closer to the margins of the community their levels of participation decreased, which in turn increased their levels of disengagement from the literate practices of the Explores community.

Question #4: How are the Discourses of "literate youth" in a service-learning

community transferred to, transformed by, synthesized with, or oppositional to "literate

youth" Discourses from other contexts?

The Environmental Explorers club was a situated, socially constructed community. The members of the Explorers club entered this community with their own unique individual literate identities. The students' individual identities were brought into contact with one another and the broader contexts in which this community was embedded to construct shared literate Discourses. The literate Discourses constructed in the Explorers club were unique constructions to this community.

As students discussed the various links between the Explorers club literate practices and their individual literate identities beyond the club, different members expressed different connections. However, three characteristics emerged as themes by which the students compared their literate practices across contexts. Students often compared the content or subject matter, the language structures, and the textual forms of the literate practices from their various worlds. I reference the data presented in the case studies in Part I of this chapter as a way to make these connections more clear.

Content Connections

The content of the literate practices represents the subject matter that was described or displayed within the literate products the Explorers students constructed. Some students reported that the content of the literate products constructed in the Explorers club was directly connected to their classes, and others reported no connection at all. Franklin noted how the content was similar.

In Geography we started learning a little about the river and some of the

landforms around it. So that kinda tied in with that, too. Science, I guess, because,

well, actually a lot of science. We were learning about the water cycle and stuff.

[NA052505.si]

Javier also noted similarities between the literacy practices of the Explorers club and his

classes. In discussing the construction of the play and the eco-tour books, Javier

responded, "Totally. Like everything we learned in class we used in them [play and

books]. We had to learn new words to write in the booklet. There's a connection, yeah"

[Y052505.si]. Whereas Javier discussed using vocabulary learned in class in general

terms, Franklin focused on specific connections to the topics discussed in specific classes.

In contrast, some students did not see any connection to their classroom content.

Tammy reported that the service-learning content was different from the content she read

and discussed in her courses.

It was kinda different because in some of my classes we were learning about

space and stuff. In the environment club we were pretty much doing water testing

and planting, so it didn't really have much to do with the other stuff in school.

[SA052505.si]

Tammy provided an example that illustrated how the content of the service-learning

community was not associated with the content she was learning during her classroom

instruction. Several other students also noted that the topics discussed in their classes

were not correlated with the subject matter of the Explorers club. The following excerpt

from a focus group discussion highlights this shared perception.

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Joaninha: No, this [environmental science] we don't talk about in science.

Amanda: In science we just talk about chemicals and that stuff.

Samuel: Yeah, our science isn't very environmentally bound.

Nikiha: It's physical science.

Samuel: Yeah, now this year they're trying to focus on earth and space science, which is...

Nikiha: Boring

Amanda: Um-huh

Samuel: Well, yeah it gets boring at some points.

Nikiha: Some points? [Group starts laughing] [SL042005FG]

In this excerpt the students emphasized how their science class is not connected to the subject matter learned in the Explorers club. In addition, the students also demonstrate their disconnection from the topics explored in their science classroom. The fields of science discussed in the classroom are perceived as uninteresting.

In the case studies from Part I of this chapter, many of the students demonstrated a value for literate practices that were personally interesting. Some of the students' personal interests were transferred into the content of the Explorers club literate practices. Both Nikiha and Samuel were avid explorers of the natural environments surrounding their homes. Nikiha explained how this interest was a part of her daily life. "I'm around a lot of plants a lot because I do, I have woods in my backyard and I go back there and gather herbs and stuff" [SL042005FG]. Samuel shared his personal literacy practices involving the natural environment around his home, and he connected these practices to

the content that was researched to include in the Explorers club's booklets for the eco-tours. "I learned about the Brazilian pepper because there's a lot of them on our street. I learned about the Australian pine from my brother and I just kinda picked up a bunch of the other stuff from research every now and then" [E052605.si]. Both Nikiha and Samuel's personal interests in plants and trees influenced their literacy practices in their home worlds. These personal leisure pursuits were directly connected to the content they worked with in the Explorers club.

Structural Connections

The structural connections are represented by the different ways that students used language as meaningful units to construct the various literate practices in the Explorers service-learning community. Many of the students reported that they used variations of language structures to serve different purposes in the club. Nikiha's description echoes many of the other students' comments, "What is it Dr. T said? You have three languages: your writing, how you are with your friends, and how you are with professional people" [SL042005.FG]. Nikiha's comments point out that this labeling of language structures was a concept learned in school; however, the various language structures are also woven throughout the students' life spheres.

As students discussed the language structures they used for the different literate practices in the Explorers club, they referenced these three labeled languages and associated them with particular contexts. Joaninha noted that writing was a central practice of the Explorers club, "Like in the club, we had to do a lot of writing, like when we wrote letters or when we did the PowerPoint presentation" [NV052405.si]. In

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comparing the writing practices of the Explorers club to other contexts, she associates this club practice with the ways language was structured in school writing experiences. "It's kinda the same. Like when you're doing [state writing test] and stuff, it's almost like formal writing. You have to express yourself using high vocabulary. It's the same I guess" [NV052405.si]. Amanda shared this perspective and also noted that the letters the Explorers members wrote resembled school writing practices. "Well, in some ways it's the same, like writing papers. Like if you're for a teacher, you can't put slang words in it. You have to use the right terms and prepositions and all that stuff" [AX052305.si]. Both Joaninha and Amanda draw a connection between the writing practices of the Explorers club and the writing practices they experienced in school. Joaninha made a connection to the state writing exam and the way vocabulary marked these types of formal writing practices. Amanda draws a parallel to writing school papers and the way correct grammar was valued in such writing practices.

Amanda's comments above also begin to differentiate this type of formal writing from other types of writing. She adds that slang words are not acceptable in school writing practices. The following excerpt from a focus group elaborates this point and illustrates what separates these formal school writing practices from the students' personal uses of language in writing.

Amanda: Yeah, because you can't write a slang letter to the mayor. [Group Giggles]

Nikiha: Yeah, "Yo, Yo, Yo, Wuz up homey?"

Amanda: Exactly. You know.

Interviewer: So you mean that it would be a different letter than to someone else?

Amanda: Yeah, like if you're chatting to someone on the Internet or writing a note to a friend.

Interviewer: So it's a different style?

Amanda: Yeah, bigger words.

Samuel: It's in chatting, you use different lingo.

Nikiha: Yeah

Amanda: Yeah in chatting you use numbers and letters.

Samuel: Like if you type in the word people you could just use ppl.

Nikiha: Or peeps.

Interviewer: So that wouldn't be cool in a letter to the mayor.

Amanda: Yeah, Yo mayor, this is your peeps. [Group starts laughing]

[042005FG]

This excerpt demonstrates how the Explorers members used language in writing associated with different contexts. The letter writing the students did in the club was viewed as a similar to the school context. As contrast to the ways the student's used language when writing in electronic formats, the club's letter writing practices were marked by complex vocabulary and different terminology.

Students also noted how their structure of language differed during oral communication events in the Explorers club. Javier commented on how his oral communication practices at home differed from when he was guiding the eco-tours. "When you're at home, you use like a different language sometimes. Like you don't

really care what you say. When you're around little kids you have to watch your mouth and stuff" [Y052505.si]. Javier mentions his use of language as a conscious selection of words. Amanda echoed this process when she discussed her structure of language while calling for corporate sponsors. "It's just more you have to think about what you're going to say, make sure you know what you're going to say, and make sure it's right" [AX052305.si].

As with the Explorers members' writing practices, the oral communication events were also influenced by the students' school practices. The following comments from Amanda demonstrate how the language structures for such oral communication events were similar to the club's writing practices and also matched the formal language practices they associated with school. "If we're like calling up the media, we kinda have top put it into our people skills and our formal writing into verbal" [SL042005.FG]. However, students also reported that their structure of language during oral communication events was also influenced by sources outside of school. During this focus group, Samuel added to Amanda's comments and reported that, "TV always helps" in making the transition to such formal language structures. When probed, he replied that his experiences as an actor in a commercial helped him develop these language structures. Nikiha also added her perspective.

"Or like the business people on TV, you can learn how to make those really monotone voices. [Uses hand to simulate telephone and speaks in robotic voice] "Hello. My name is [Nikiha], and I'm calling from the Wheelabrator club." [Group starts laughing] [SL042005.FG].

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Textual Forms

The Explorers club literacy practices utilized a variety of textual forms. The form of the texts is represented by the mode in which communication was mediated. Examples of textual forms used in the Explorers club would include cell phones, video, digital photography, skits, typed documents, books, magazines, TV, and internet web pages. Students discussed the ways these various textual forms were used in the Explorers club, and described the connections they had to textual forms from other contexts. Although a few connections were made to school contexts, many of these textual forms were not connected with the literate practices the Explorers members associated with school.

The primary textual forms experienced by the Explorers students in their classrooms consisted of textbooks, worksheets, and teacher lectures. Javon noted the connection between these textual forms from his classroom and the texts he used in the Explorers club. In describing the ways that he used literacy as a member of the Explorers community, Javon responded, "When they hand out papers. I read the papers. It was like, like something a kid would write, like about what was going on. It was kinda like a newspaper" [A052005.si]. For Javon, the literacy practices of the Explorers club only involved similar texts to those he experienced in his classroom contexts.

Like Javon, Malibu connected the textual forms from the Explorers club to those she encountered in her school literate experiences. In Malibu's description, she also noted other textual forms that were different from her classroom experiences.

Well, we talked about how we should keep the environment clean and stuff. We went out to take the samples of the water, and he gave us this booklet that talked

about the different tests and they told us how we were going to get the results

from the different samples. I remember one of the experiments was to see if there

was dirty stuff in the water. Mr. Vernon put this little pill inside the water, and he

just left it there. He gave us this little card to tell us if it changed to this color then

it's not pure, you know, nasty. [L051905.si]

Malibu mentioned two of the primary textual forms that were central to her classroom

experiences. Her initial statement is about teacher led discussions. Malibu also noted that

a booklet was provided for the students to read. The literate practice that utilized this

textual form resembled the ways textbooks were used in Malibu's classroom experiences.

The teacher distributed the material and led a discussion about it as the students followed

along in the text.

Malibu also described a textual form that was connected to the testing procedure

itself. Test directions were presented in text form to guide the students through the

procedures. This form did not resemble the texts in Malibu's classrooms. As Malibu

explained her engagement with the various texts during her experiences in the Explorers

club, she replied, "For the environment club, well, it was kinda like between. Sometimes

it's cool to learn the stuff there, and then sometimes it's just like boring. You just sit there

and listen to the teacher talk and talk and talk" [L051905.si]. Like Malibu's experiences

in classroom contexts, she disengaged from texts that took the form of teacher lectures or

textbooks. In the classroom, she participated with these texts because it was part of her

grade. However, there were no grades for participating in the Explorers community.

Malibu reported that her engagement wavered. As with her personal literate practices,

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Malibu engaged with texts when she was interested in them. The texts associated with the testing interested her, so she participated in experiences that centered on those texts.

DJ also discussed the texts associated with the testing procedures. When asked about the ways he saw himself using literacy as a member of the Explorers club, DJ replied, "When we were down by the river. Down by the river, yeah, taking samples. We had to read the bottles to see how much water to collect and which test to do with the different stuff" [JD051705.si]. As DJ explained to what contexts he saw these texts connected, he answered,

> At school, like reading directions on a test. Well, and at home. Because you have to read stuff to figure things out. Like I got a new kneeboard and the instructions. Well, when I first started knee boarding I had to figure out how to strap my knees in and stuff. I had to read the instructions to do that. [JD051705.si]

After making this connection to his personal literacy practices outside of school, DJ elaborated on how these texts differed between these two contexts.

> Well, on the test you have to do what they ask you to do. [With the] directions for the kneeboard you do what they ask you to do, [but] you want to do what they ask you to do. It like helps you to do what you want to do, so like you don't get hurt. [JD051705.si]

For DJ, these texts represented characteristics similar to both his school and home contexts. As he explained, directions serve as a text that explains how to do a particular activity. DJ associated the directions for his kneeboard with the directions for the water tests, yet contrasts these texts to similar looking texts, like test directions. Like Malibu,

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DJ participated with these texts because he was personally interested in them, he wanted to do what the activities, and the texts helped him to correctly accomplish the tasks.

Students saw different connections between other textual forms. Like the examples above, some students connected the same textual forms from the Explorers community differently to school and home contexts, depending on their individual literate identities. Franklin reported that, "We had to write a play for the Wheelabrator thing [presentation], and I had to write a play for Language Arts. So, that's kinda like the same exact thing, so that's related a lot" [NA052505.si]. In contrast, Tammy viewed the skit as a different textual form from those she experienced in her classes. In response to how she would compare the literate practices she used as a member of the Explorers club to her classroom, she responded,

> I would say different because, you know, like acting, you would sometimes do a play in the classes, but most of the stuff didn't involve acting in the classes. The Language Arts one [play] had to do with about learning about reading or writing stuff. The Scooby-Doo one had to do with the environment. [SA052505.si]

Although Tammy recognized that the textual form was similar across both the Explorers community and her classroom, she reports that they were two different literate practices. In her classroom, the play was a textual form used to learn about literacy practices, but, in the Explorers club, the play was used to communicate content rather than style of textual forms. In Tammy's classroom, plays were not common literate events, but the play served as an ongoing central practice within the Explorers club. In addition, the play for the Explorers club was constructed from textual resources in the home environment.

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Franklin explained that his idea for the Scooby-Doo theme came from the movies that he watched [NA052505.si].

Like the Scooby-Doo play, different students connected the PowerPoint slide show differently. Joaninha connected the group's use of the PowerPoint program to construct the slide show as a textual form she had used in her computer class at school. "If you take a computer class at school, the teacher shows you how to use that [PowerPoint]" [NV052405.si]. Joaninha also related her use of the PowerPoint program to projects she had worked on for her father at home [NV052405.si]. Most of the students reported some form of computer use in their personal worlds. Most of these textual forms associated with the computer did not involve PowerPoint. So, even though the computer was a familiar literate tool to a most of the students, a slide show was not as familiar textual form in their personal worlds.

In contrast to Joaninha, Veronica did not view the PowerPoint as connected to school practices at all. As Veronica constructed slides for the presentation, she imported pictures from a disk to support the written text that was on the slide. Veronica had repeatedly stated her hatred for reading. As I questioned her about her engagement with the slide show, she replied, "Well, it's not really reading. It's different" [SL051105.FN]. During an interview Veronica elaborated on this perspective. "It wasn't schoolwork stuff. It was just a little bit of writing that had to match the pictures. It wasn't like reading a whole book or anything" [EA052405.si]. Like her personal literate practices, this textual form was represented by small amounts of written text, and the textual form was constructed of pictures and written text. Although Veronica did not connect this textual

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form to her personal literate practices, her level of engagement resembled the ways she engaged with similar textual forms in her personal sphere. Veronica was fascinated with visual imagery, drawings, photos, and natural scenery. Most of her engagement literate practices outside of school involved some form of textual images. Veronica engaged with her sister's art book, which she described as a similar textual form to the PowerPoint, little amounts of written text accompanied by pictures.

The students used several other textual forms during their experiences in the Explorers community. As with the PowerPoint presentation, the Explorers members utilized many multimedia textual forms. These forms were all connected to contexts outside of the school. Franklin viewed the PowerPoint presentation as a visual textual form that worked to support the communication of information. He connected this visual component of the PowerPoint to his experiences at home with TV. Franklin explained how the PowerPoint can help audiences visually, "Kinda like in Washington, DC. They like to keep things visual. They show most of their stories in pictures because not everyone can read, so that even the younger people can get the story behind it" [NA052505.si]. Franklin viewed this textual form as linked to the TV broadcasts of news events. The visual component was not linked to his school contexts. Most of Franklin's literate practices in his classrooms did not involve the use of multimedia visual texts to support understanding; textbooks and discussions dominated his school contexts.

Likewise, Samuel and Nikiha used media sources from their home contexts as textual forms to enact the literate practices associated with the Explores community. As part of their duty to garner support for the Explorers club's river cleanup, Samuel and

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Nikiha used textual resources that differed completely from any textual form they encountered in school. Samuel explained how the radio served as a textual resource for locating and disseminating information, "I was going to contact Oldies 104.7 because they actually, one of my concerts was advertised for them, but it was in the Friday Next Extra thing at Lowry Park. They seem to do a lot for the youth and stuff, so I figured that they'd probably advertise for us, but I have to get a hold of their number" [SL042005FG]. Nikiha used several textual resources located within the Internet community as a way of disseminating information. "I posted up on Tampa Indie Media, and I've got a list of media contacts that I'm trying to get a hold of. And I've got my Internet group helping me out" [SL042005.FG]. These two examples demonstrate how the Explorers group worked with various textual forms from their personal spheres to enact the literate practices of this service-learning community.

Different Explorers members viewed the literate practices of their community to be constructed from different origins based on their own personal literate identities. However, as the examples above illustrate, a broad pattern emerged that demonstrates that the students viewed the Explorers club literate Discourses as woven together from the literate Discourses they experienced in their classrooms and their personal/social spheres outside of school. The literate Discourses of the Explorers club were not viewed as mirror images of the literate Discourses from any one particular context. Rather, the Explorers members viewed their literate practices in the service-learning community as constructions that represented a conglomerate molded out of characteristics from the literate Discourses of their other worlds. That is, the students reported that the Explorers

club literate Discourses were simultaneously similar to school as well as personal literate

Discourses, yet not completely identical to either of these contexts.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This chapter begins with a review of the purpose of this study and the research

questions that guided this investigation. The results from in Chapter four are then

summarized and linked to construct a model of literate Discourses used by the

Environmental Explorers community who were investigated in this study. This model is

then connected to broader theories presented in the review of literature from Chapter two.

Following the discussion of models, the limitations of the research findings are discussed.

Next, implications for theoretical and practical advancements in the fields of adolescent

literacy and service-learning are discussed. Building from the implications and the

limitations of the results of this study, the chapter concludes with a discussion of

suggestions for future research endeavors. The limitations of this study are then revisited

through the Epilogue to describe future research pursuits that build from the results of

this study.

The purpose for this study was to understand how middle school students

constructed and represented themselves through "literate youth" Discourses within a

service-learning community. This study examined 11 middle school students' Discourses

and funds of knowledge gained through life experiences (Moll, 1992), across various

academic and community contexts (school, peer, family) to understand how these funds

of knowledge and Discourses impacted the generation of these Discourses of "literate

youth" in The Environmental Explorers club. The research questions that guided the

study of this community were as follows: (a) How did middle school students construct a

Discourse of "literate youth" as members of a service-learning community? (b) How was

literacy defined, enacted, and constructed within this context? (c) What roles did broader

social, cultural, and political influences (e.g., the community, teacher, peers, family, and

school system) play in the construction of the "literate youth" Discourse in service-

learning? (d) How was the Discourse of "literate youth" in a service-learning community

transferred to, transformed by, synthesized with, or oppositional to "literate youth"

discourses from other contexts?

<center>Construction of Literate Discourses: Spaces of Negotiation</center>

I return to the *Breakfast Club* (Hughes, 1985) metaphor introduced in Chapter 4

because it is analogous to the findings that emerged from this study. The movie

constructed the "Breakfast Club" as a way to explore adolescents' negotiations of their

social identities. In a similar way, this metaphor is transposed onto the Environmental

Explorers club as a way to explore adolescents' negotiations of their literate identities.

The Breakfast Club was a collection of high school students who served a

Saturday detention together for their individual indiscretions at school. Each character

represented a distinct identity associated with various school social groups, or identities,

that remained separate in the everyday school environment: the Nerd, the Princess, the

Jock, the Rebel, and the Recluse. As these individual identities shared the space of the

club (detention), the characters bonded, formed friendships, and morphed identities. For

example, the Nerd disobeyed the rules like the Rebel, and the Recluse primped herself

like the Princess. Through their interactions in the Breakfast Club, these individual

characters came to understand that although they were each uniquely different they

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shared a lot in common. In the final moments of the movie, the Nerd's voice is heard reading a letter to the detention teacher about who they believe they are: "What we found out is that each one of us is a brain, and an athlete, and a basket case, a princess, and a criminal…" (Hughes, 1985).

Similar to the unique identities of the characters in the movie, the Explorers students each represented unique and individual literate identities outside of the club. Each student held different values for literate practices associated with the different spheres of their lives. In turn, each of the students enacted different literate practices within these multiple spheres outside of the club. Like the characters in the movie, as the students interacted with each other in the space of the Explorers club their individual literate identities morphed with one another to construct shared literate Discourses, which formed the common bonds that represented membership in the Environmental Explorers club. Four literate Discourses emerged from the Environmental Explorers service-learning community: Discourse of literacy as a tool for learning, Discourse of literacy as a shared practice, Discourse of literacy as a performance, and Discourse of empowered literate youth. These four literate Discourses combined to form the literate identities of the members of the Environmental Explorers club. These literate Discourses represented the ways of reading, writing, interacting, and communicating that were valued and enacted by the members of the Explorers club.

Model of Literate Discourse Construction

In line with Discourse Theory (Gee, 1996), the literate Discourses of the Explorers club were influenced by the immediate context and also by elements from the

multiple spheres in which these youth lived. These multiple spheres of influence overlapped and interacted as these youth constructed literate identities as members of the Environmental Explorers club. The Construction of Literate Discourses Model (Figure 5) illustrates the components from these multiple spheres of influence that interacted within the Explorers community: Practices, Positions, and Power. The three components are interconnected to emphasize that the literate Discourses of the Explorers community were constructed through the continual negotiation within and between all three of these interrelated spheres. The use of overlapping circles suggests that each component did not exist in isolation and was influenced by the other components.
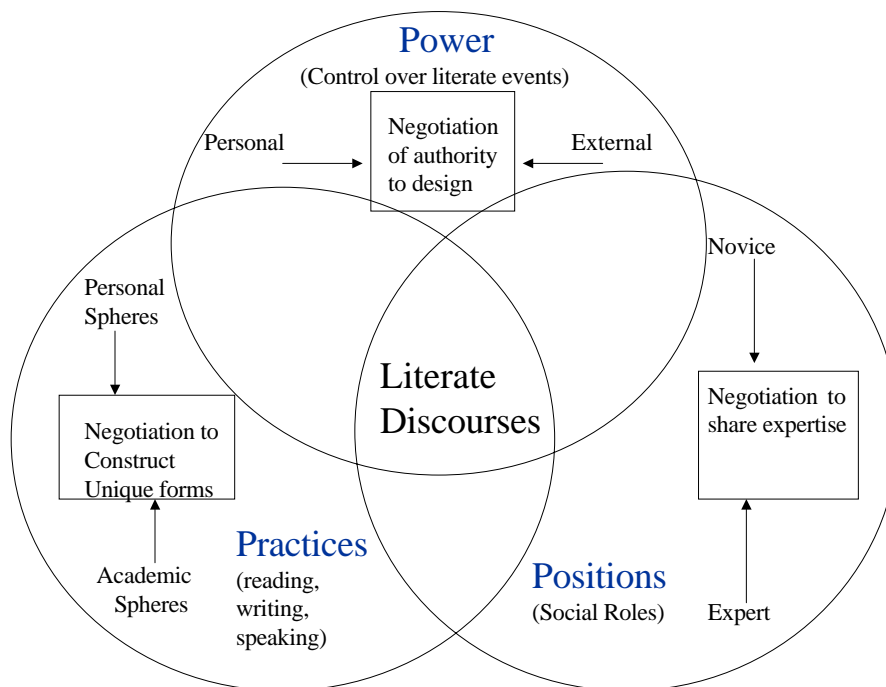
Figure 5: Model of Construction of Literate Discourses

As the following discussion will demonstrate, each component was necessary but not independently sufficient in order for the literate identity of the Explorers members to remain intact. Although each component was interdependent upon the others, I foreground each component individually to highlight its unique structure as it contributed to the overall construction of the literate Discourses of the Explorers service-learning community.

Practices were one of the interactive components of the literate Discourses. In this model, practices are the ways in which literate skills (such as reading, writing, and speaking) were used across various contexts. For this study, practices were represented by the negotiation between literate Discourses from students' personal/social spheres and their academic/school spheres. As practices were negotiated within the service-learning community they maintained some of the characteristics that were associated with both the students' personal and academic/school spheres. Yet they were also unique in that they did not completely resemble practices associated with either the students' personal or academic/school spheres. An example of such a unique negotiation is illustrated through the play the Explorers students constructed for the environmental symposium. The students utilized the genre of the play, which was a literate practice they had experienced as part of the curriculum in their Language Arts classrooms. However, this genre was morphed with students' personal literate practices that involved TV and cartoon genres. The students used the Scooby-Doo TV show as the format for writing the play. In addition, borrowing a characteristic from this TV format, the students incorporated a "news flash" as the breaking point to move into the informative phase of their

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presentation. As such, this practice did not completely imitate the students' literate Discourses from outside of the club. Rather, the play served to combine these other Discourses in unique ways.

Student Positions were another component of the literate Discourses. In this study, positions are the various social roles students held across contexts. Explorers club members negotiated their social roles within the service-learning community in relation to their positions as novice or expert. These social positions were dependent on students' levels of expertise with a given task and with various literate Discourses from their personal/social and academic/school spheres. This form of negotiation is exemplified by the construction of the PowerPoint presentation that was created for the environmental symposium. Students alternated leadership roles as they collaboratively constructed the slides for the presentation. Students who were more adept at formal and technical writing, that is writing associated with school contexts, assumed leadership roles and guided other students in the construction of text for the slides. Likewise, students who demonstrated expertise with visual literacy in their personal spheres guided others in the construction of the visual layout of the slides. This process of negotiating roles provided space for Explorers members to simultaneously take up the positions as "students" and "teachers," or more germane to the context; apprentices and mentors.

Power was also negotiated through the literate Discourses constructed within the Explorers service-learning community. In this study, power was the control the members held in the process of constructing the Explorers club's literate Discourses. Empowering experiences involved the students as decision-makers and designers of these practices.

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Disempowering experiences involved external authorities as the driving force of control behind the construction of particular practices. The control over the literate practices of the Explorers club was a process of negotiation that occurred between peers as well as between students and teachers. Within these different levels of negotiation, the process was a give and take between competing literate Discourses. The literate Discourses that emerged from within the space of the Explorers club demonstrate how all members of the community shared control. Students exercised control over the literate practices by adapting literate events for the various components of their service-learning projects. These adaptations allowed for the construction of hybrid practices that combined their personal/social literate Discourses with the academic/school literate Discourses enacted by their teachers. Likewise, control over literate practices was shared through the dynamic nature of students' roles. Students' expertise was valued within the community's literate Discourses, and they were positioned as leaders in guiding particular literate practices.

Third Space: The Negotiation of Literate Discourses

Like the "Breakfast Club," the Explorers club represented a unique space where youth worked to construct their identities through interacting and negotiating with other identities to form unique hybridized identities. For the Explorers club, these new hybrid identities were enacted through hybrid literate Discourses that emerged from the interweaving of the elements of Practices, Positions, and Power represented by the multiple literate Discourses these youth enacted in other personal, social, academic, and school spheres. As illustrated in the Construction of Literate Discourses model (Figure 5),

the negotiation of these overlapping elements (Practices, Positions, and Power) worked to construct a shared space that represented the Environmental Explorers club. As such, these overlapping elements of multiple Discourses constructed a virtual Third Space (Bhabha, 1994) that was in-between the other spaces of the lives of these youth.

The Third Space is a way to describe the productive space of the Explorers club that brought into existence new possibilities for literate youth identities. In his theory of cultural difference Bhabha's (1994) conceptualized this Third Space as the space in-between competing identity or Discourse structures where hybrid identities are negotiated. The third space of the Explorers club represented the space in-between the members' competing literate Discourses where new hybrid literate identities emerged from their multiple worlds.

Other research has explored the concepts of hybridity and Third Space in relation to youth literate Discourses. Moje, et al., (2004) analyzed youth literate Discourses in secondary science classrooms. These authors reported students negotiated multiple third spaces throughout their everyday lives outside of school to enact multiple literate Discourses across multiple contexts. Although these students enacted personal everyday literate Discourses in school settings, such as hallways and the lunchroom, elements of their everyday literate Discourses were rarely visible in classroom settings. Moje, et al. suggested that teachers may need to actively develop third space by merging texts and literate practices that draw on the everyday literate Discourses of youth with the literate Discourses valued in classroom settings. The authors suggested that teachers' inclusion of

these everyday youth literate Discourses in the classroom would demonstrate that these Discourses are valued and welcomed in the classroom.

The findings of the present study support the suggestion of Moje, et al. (2004) that in order for a third space to exist in situated contexts, youth need to believe that such contexts hold value for their everyday personal literate Discourses. However, the manner through which Moje, et al. (2004) proposed to make the value for students' personal literate Discourses visible is insufficient in light of the present study. Moje and her colleagues suggest that teachers should take the initiative and merge texts and practices as a way to demonstrate that youth literate Discourses are valued in classroom contexts. This is counter to the concept of Third Space. Albeit in the interests of the students, the dominant Discourse of the teacher still remains the authority in determining which characteristics of youth literate Discourses are valued and allowed to permeate the classroom context.

In the Explorers club, when teachers initiated the process of negotiating multiple Discourses, students resisted the literate events. For example, the teachers attempted to lead the construction of the identification booklets for the eco-tours. The students displayed negative attitudes towards the ways the teachers suggested to merge digital images with written text and resisted using the booklets during the eco-tours. Similarly, when teachers attempted to dictate the way the Scooby-Doo TV genre would be merged with the formal presentation, the students resisted the teachers' efforts and withdrew from the activity.

A key element in the construction of the third space is the negotiation of power. Acknowledging and employing personal literacies in classroom contexts may be perceived as just another way of doing school. This perception of being forced to conform personal literacies to the authoritative standards of school may impose a sense of succumbing to the dominant Discourse. The Explorers club students willingly utilized personal literate Discourses in conjunction with academic/school literate Discourses when the teachers stepped back and empowered them to negotiate this third space with each other. Rather than simply incorporating youth literate Discourses into the space of a school context, the Explorers club teachers facilitated the development of third space by restructuring the context and creating conditions that empowered these youth to design, adapt, and enact literate practices to meet their desired goals.

Moje et al. (2004) conjectured that the youth did not make their everyday Discourses a part of the official scripts of the classroom because they subscribed to a separation between the two spheres. One must question whether this separation was due to the lack of value exhibited for youth literate Discourses in the classroom contexts, the students' lack of understanding of how to transfer Discourses across contexts, or the lack of control students had over the construction of third space within classroom settings. The Explorers club represented a third space that was constructed from personal as well as school literate Discourses. Even though the Explorers club existed outside of the classroom, these youth incorporated elements of school literate practices in the Discourses of this community. Multiple literate Discourses were valued and transferred across contexts. The example provided by the Explorers club suggests that when a

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context exhibits value for multiple literate Discourses and empowers youth to control this process of negotiation, they collaborate to teach each other how to merge Discourses.

Cope and Kalantzis (2000) also explored hybrid forms of literate Discourses and described them as multiliteracies. According to Cope and Kalantzis such hybridity of literate Discourses is characterized by multiple communication channels, hybrid text forms, as well as new social relations. The construction of multiliteracies is described as a process of Designing, where the students' voices act to shape the literate events of the contexts.

Like the Explorers club model, the literate Discourses enacted through the concept of multiliteracies (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000) are constructed through a process of negotiation that involves the interweaving of the elements of practices, positions, and power. However, each of these models views these three elements differently. This is where the Explorers model enhances the concept of multiliteracies.

The negotiation of practices within the multiliteracies model is focused on a dichotomy between the individual students' personal literacy practices and the authorized literate practices of the school context. The Explorers model expands upon these spheres to also include negotiations with peers' literate Discourses and community members' literate Discourses (i.e., adults involved with the service-learning projects, business partners, citizens). These other spheres are important to recognize as influential forces in the shaping of literate Discourses within a community of learners. Disregarding these spheres portrays the negotiation process as bilateral rather than multilateral, that is, taking

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place solely between a student and the classroom teacher. This neglects the roles others play in constructing the community Discourses within a situated context.

The negotiations of power and position within the Explorers model are also broader than in the multiliteracies model. Within the multiliteracies model, students hold relatively static positions in "learner" roles, and the teacher is positioned in the "expert" role. Students in the Explorers model shifted positions between "learner" and "teacher" roles. These positions are closely linked with the negotiation of power within these two models. The multiliteracies model allows for some student agency as designers of the literate practices. However, the students' agency over the literate practices is limited to shaping the literate events already established by the authority of the teacher. The dominant Discourse of the classroom forms the foundation of the literate events, and students' literate Discourses serve as add-ons. Within the Explorers model, students hold more power to create and shape the literate events of the community. The foundation itself for these literate events is constructed from hybrid literate practices.

The multiliteracies model has also been described as inadequate because it lacks concrete pedagogical applications. As Kim (2003) expressed, "… teachers seeking to encourage hybridity of local literacy practices and school practices still remain without guidelines and support" (p. 2). The Environmental Explorers club model provides an example of how service-learning experiences can form an instructional approach for teachers to construct learning experiences that encourage hybridity of students' literate Discourses within school contexts.

Cushman and Emmons (2002) provide a revealing account of how service-learning experiences provide students' spaces that encourage hybridity of multiple literate Discourses. In this example, college students tutored elementary students at a local YMCA. The authors noted that the interaction between college students' literate Discourses and the young people's literate Discourses generated hybrid literacies. The hybrid literacies that emerged from this service-learning community were similar to those constructed in the Environmental Explorers club. They were constructed by merging personal and academic literate Discourses that combined elements of oral and written discourse; facets of dialogue and letter-writing; as well as print and imagery. As in the Explorers community, Cushman and Emmons reported that these hybrid literacies represented completely unique Discourses of literacy constructed specifically for and within the service-learning context.

As with the Explorers club model, the service-learning context described by Cushman and Emmons served as a space that involved the negotiation of practices, positions, and power to construct unique literate Discourses. Both the college students and the children held social positions as "teachers" and "learners" within this community. The college students learned about language and learning use in a new and unfamiliar context by observing and interacting with the children, and the children learned to make meaning that was significant to them and the tutors by merging academic and personal literacies. As in the Explorers club context, this dynamic positioning empowered the children and tutors by affirming their individual sense of self-worth, acknowledging the

importance of various aspects of their identities, and accepting the literate Discourses of all members.

Cushman and Emmons (2002) believed that the construction of hybrid literate Discourses within the service-learning community was facilitated *because this community existed outside of the school context*. These authors posited,

> The school context must necessarily, given state mandates for curriculum standards, create borders between official and unofficial texts. Unlike schools, the service-learning context creates an environment… [that] promotes children's blurring of boundaries between official and unofficial texts in order to create meaning. (p. 206)

Contrary to this view, the Explorers club offers an alternative to how service-learning approaches *can* work to construct third space literate Discourses within school contexts. School contexts are inherently a part of service-learning approaches, but represent only one site of enactment. By design, service-learning experiences link community and school contexts.

The Explorers service-learning club worked in both community and school settings. Each of these settings represented different literate Discourses, and each of these settings influenced the literate Discourses of the Explorers club. As a club situated within the physical context of the school, the Explorers club was influenced by academic literate Discourses. Simultaneously, as a club engaged in service activities in the community, the Explorers club was influenced by these potentially non-academic literate Discourses. Thus, members of the Explorers club continually straddled the contexts between

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community and school, never solely immersed in one or the other. In straddling these physical contexts Explorers members also negotiated multiple literate Discourses.

The common thread across these various contexts was the service-learning projects. Whether the Explorers club was engaged in school or community settings, the focus was on the service projects. The aims of the Explorers club to investigate the environmental conditions of their local river and disseminate this information to the broader community united these multiple contexts. In uniting these contexts, the service projects also united the literate Discourses associated with the various contexts. Although both contexts were not simultaneously occupied physically, the Explorers club simultaneously represented these contexts through third space literate Discourses.

The present study, combined with the results of Cushman and Emmons (2002), suggests that this negotiation of third space is facilitated by the inherent principles of service-learning pedagogy. First, as a pedagogy designed to link school and community contexts, service-learning contexts will neither be divorced from nor dominated by the rules and conventions of academic Discourses. Service experiences in the community, linked to content curriculum, will be informed and guided by academic Discourses. Likewise, community Discourses will permeate the structures of service-learning classrooms as students prepare for and reflect on service experiences. Second, service-learning is fundamentally designed to be mutually beneficial. All members of a service-learning community are positioned into a synergistic relationship where beliefs, values, agendas, in essence Discourses, are merged in order to accomplish a common goal. Thus, as these two principles highlight, the service component of service-learning pedagogy is

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the linchpin to constructing a third space that unites multiple literate Discourses in a service-learning community.

Limitations

There are several limitations to these findings that must be addressed in order to draw conclusions about potential implications for practice. The results of this study are limited in their generalizability. The Environmental Explorers club represents one particular community of middle school students engaged in service-learning experiences. The Explorers club represented a unique way to structure a service-learning context. First, this club was constructed from three interrelated smaller service-learning clubs. Second, this club was not directly connected to any particular class, but rather it was connected to the broader science curriculum of the school. Therefore, these findings cannot be generalized to all service-learning contexts.

The unique structures of the Environmental Explorers club determined student membership and levels of participation. All students who joined the Explorers club did so voluntarily. Most of the students were invited to join based on their higher levels of academic achievement. Levels of participation were related to levels of achievement. Therefore, the Explorers club members are not representative of the entire school population, and these findings cannot be generalized to all student populations.

The unique structures of the Environmental Explorers club also influenced the data collection procedures for this study. Not all of the members of the Explorers club are included in this study. However, the sample within this study is representative of the entire Explorers club membership. In addition, because of the structures of the Explorers

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club, many of the experiences occurred at unscheduled times or through channels of communication outside of school. These moments were difficult to observe directly and were collected as data only through the students' accounts. Therefore, such events could not be corroborated across data sources.

The next section describes the potential implications the findings of this study hold for practitioners. With these limitations in mind, this section also offers some challenges that could extend the findings of this present study.

<center>Implications for Practice</center>

<center>*Service-Learning: A Third Space for Youth Literacy Engagement*</center>

Negative attitudes toward reading in school have been linked to decreased participation in school-based literacy practices. From this reported evidence, some researchers have called for an expansion of the notion of a struggling reader to be viewed as a student who is disengaged from reading activities that are related to schooling (Guthrie & Davis, 2003; Moje, Young, Readence, & Moore, 2000). In attempting to address the issue of disengaged readers, researchers have examined the context of schools to understand the ways that instructional practices could become more engaging for middle school students. Ivey (1999) found that engagement in reading increased if the materials were relevant to students' lives and students' perceived a personal purpose for reading the material. Guthrie and Davis (2003) suggested that motivation was the key characteristic of engagement, and they proposed an engagement model that connected intrinsically motivating activities to reading texts. These studies looked solely at school-

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based, or academic, literacy practices only connected to reading print-based textbook materials.

The delineation of school-based disaffected literacy is important in light of studies that have found students to be identified as "disengaged" or "struggling" readers within school contexts, yet they demonstrated engagement and success with literacy practices in other social contexts (Ares & Peercy, 2003; Hinchman, Alvermann, Boyd, Brozo, and Vacca, 2003/2004; Hull & Schultz, 2002; Smith & Wilhelm, 2004). What these studies suggest is that the context in which literacy practices are enacted is as important as the form of the literacy practices themselves. Specifically, it suggests that literacy practices in the context of school are valued differently by adolescents than those practices they engage in other social spheres of their lives.

Through developing an understanding of the literacy practices youth do use in their community contexts, researchers have attempted to develop more inclusive ways school and community literacies can be bridged (Cushman & Emmons, 2002; Hinchman et al., 2004; Knobel, 2001; Lankshear & Knobel, 1997; Moje, Ciechanowski, Kramer, Ellis, Carillo, & Collazo, 2004; Smith & Wilhelm, 2004; Thomson & Comber, 2003). The movement to bridge literacies from two spheres of adolescents' lives is an attempt to engage the disengaged and include the marginalized. What has been found in looking at ways of making space for adolescents' personal literacies in school contexts is that the school structure can either work as an enabler or a constraint for such practices. The dominant institutionalized structures of the classroom procedures and the authoritative Discourse of the school were reported as common constraints in promoting this bridge.

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In this pursuit to bridge adolescents' literacies, the Explorers model of literate Discourse construction may prove most productive for middle school literacy pedagogy. The Explorers service-learning community represents an alternative educational space that blurred the limitations of contextual boundaries and engendered new possibilities for literate Discourses. The third space literate Discourses of the Explorers club were constructed from the literate Discourses of the members' academic and personal spheres and produced engaging literate practices. The Explorers model of literate Discourse construction provides a lens through which to view how students selected to engage with particular literate events. The three elements of the model (Practices, Position, & Power) were each negotiated in order to construct the literate Discourses of the community. Looking at the different outcomes of these negotiations demonstrates the dimensions of literate practices students found engaging.

Dimensions of Literacy Engagement

The Explorers model of literate Discourse construction (Figure 5) was formed by the interdependent negotiation of the elements of practices, position, and power. The different negotiations of these elements led to the construction of different literate events. Members of the club engaged in some of these events and disengaged from others. Tracing the patterns by which students chose to engage or disengage illustrates the dimensions of engagement. These dimensions form a model of engagement that emerged from the Explorers club (Figure 6). The key to the Explorers club model (Figure 6) is that engagement is not based on any single factor. Rather, each of the elements of Discourse

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construction represents a single dimension of literacy engagement. Each element of

Discourse construction is correlated to a dimension of engagement.
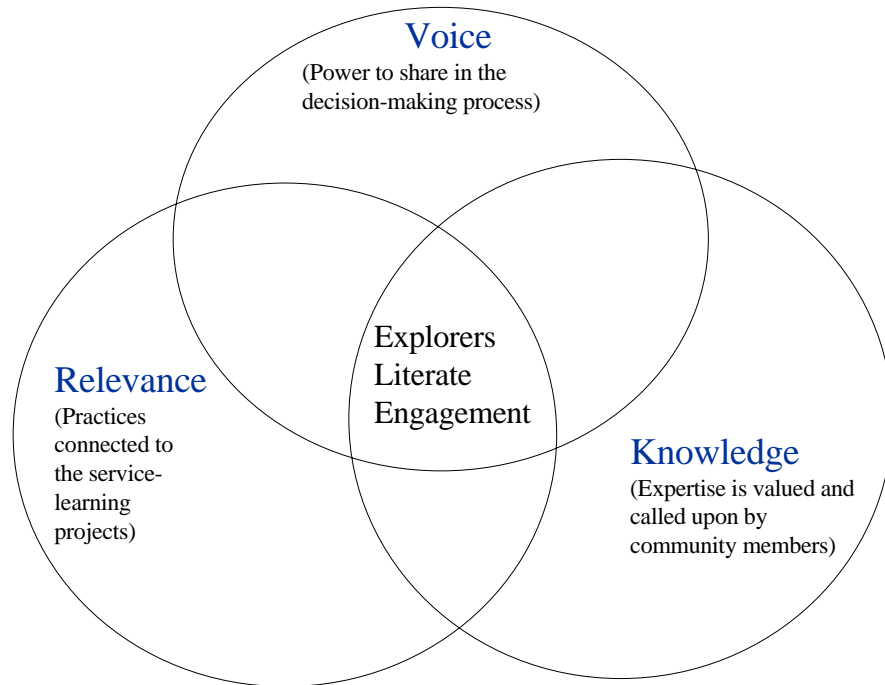
Figure 6: Explorers Club Model of Literate Engagement

Practices were engaging based on relevance. The literate practices of the

Explorers club lead to engagement when the students deemed these practices relevant to

the service-learning work. When literate practices were directly connected to the service-

learning projects students engaged with these practices. Javier initially viewed the eco-

tour books for the elementary students as a lot of work. However, he engaged in their

construction because he believed these books to be valuable tools in providing the service

to the community. If the practices were not meaningfully connected to the service-

learning projects, the students disengaged from them. At the regional environmental

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preserve, students initially engaged in conducting the water tests and completing the data collection worksheets. However, once students recognized that these tests were not directly connected to their specific community projects, the data worksheets were resisted and the students did not continue to participate in this event.

Positions were engaging if these roles built on students' personal knowledge and expertise. Sensing that their expertise was valued and called upon to accomplish particular practices provided motivation and incentives to engage with the literacy practices. Veronica was disengaged from most print-based textual practices. When her expertise with visual imagery was called upon to construct PowerPoint slides, she engaged with both visual texts and constructed written text to accompany the pictures. Tammy was also disconnected from most print-based textual practices, except when connected to class grades. When her expertise with oral presentations was called upon to develop lessons to teach to the younger students, she read through a thick activity manual during her free time outside of school. As noted through the construction of literate Discourses, students occupied both expert and novice roles. It is noteworthy to highlight that students' levels of engagement increased the more their expertise was acknowledged. Nikiha, who was very engaged in most of the literate events of the Explorers club, was extremely disengaged during club meetings that centered on teacher-led review of reading materials. During such events Nikiha actively resisted the packets of material and attempted to guide the discussions toward personal environmental experiences. As her personal expertise was disregarded, Nikiha withdrew from the lesson.

The negotiation of power led to engagement through student voice. Students were engaged when they felt they had a say in the design of the literate events. When students were in total control of the literate events, they were very engaged. As teachers attempted to steer the literate events in particular directions, students actively resisted and disengaged. The students were very engaged in the construction of the play for the environmental symposium. Students met after school and worked individually at home to write the play. In addition, students spent time after school rehearsing the performance with support from the teachers. During the rehearsal the eve of the symposium a teacher attempted to take control of the event and direct the practice. Students disengaged from the rehearsal and voiced their resistance. Similarly, students spent many hours before, during, after, and outside of school constructing the identification booklets for the eco-tours. During one eco-tour a teacher restructured the event, and the students disengaged by wandering the site and disregarding the tours.

Similar to the model of Discourse construction, this model of engagement (Figure 6) illustrates that these dimensions are interdependent and all of them must be addressed in order for the students to be engaged in the literate events. Simply making the literate events resemble home literacy practices but not addressing the dimension of voice leads to disengagement. Although the play for the environmental symposium was constructed from a TV show from the students' personal lives, the teacher's attempt to control the event led the students to disconnect from the activity. Positioning students as experts but not addressing the dimension of relevance leads to disengagement. Although students were positioned as experts in the collection of environmental data, that lack of relevance

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this literate event held in relation to the specific service-learning project led to the students' active resistance. Connecting literate events directly to the service-learning project but failing to address the dimension of voice leads to disengagement. Although the literate texts in the club meeting were related to the service-learning project, students lacked a voice in shaping the literate event and actively resisted the activity.

The Explorers model of literacy engagement expands existent models in the field. Broadening Ivey's (1999) notion that engagement is most highly linked with personal relevance, the Explorers model demonstrates that relevance is but one dimension equally weighted with voice and expertise. Guthrie and Davis (2003) proposed a model that included student choice (voice) and relevant texts (relevance). However, within their model, only teachers are positioned as experts and students' "choices" and personal knowledge are limited to teacher-authorized boundaries. The Explorers model illustrates that setting these boundaries does not truly engage students. When teachers design practices with set boundaries, students are perpetually relegated to novice roles, their worldly expertise is disregarded, and they actively resist and disengage from the literate events.

<div align="center">Service-Learning: A Potentially Marginalizing Space</div>

The Explorers club model provides some insights that can inform service-learning theory and practice. Consistent with previous research (Loesch-Griffin, et al., 1995; Melchior, 1999; Weiler, et al, 1998), the findings of this study support the notion that service-learning pedagogy fosters youth engagement in school practices. The Environmental Explorers students were extremely motivated to work on the club's

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service-learning projects. As one service-learning teacher reported, the students worked ten times as much on the projects outside of school time as they did during school hours. The Explorers club was closely aligned with the school's science curriculum, but it was not directly linked to any one class. However, Explorers members engaged in completing work for all of their classes. This engagement to complete school assignments was directly connected to the Explorers service-learning club. The service-learning teachers established a studious work ethic as part of the membership criteria. Even students who reported lack of interest in class assignments completed them in order to be members of the club. However, it was not the case that the service-learning club was solely used as a motivational lever on behalf of school literacies.

Specifically, the Model of Literacy Engagement provides a beginning look at how service-learning contexts can promote student engagement with literate practices in school contexts. These dimensions can be found woven throughout the fundamental elements of service-learning pedagogy (Howard, 1998; Morgan & Streb, 2001; Schine, 1997). The principles of service-learning inherently construct a third space through intentional and explicit links between community and curriculum. Within this third space, students find room to negotiate relevance, expertise, and voice as they collaboratively design, implement, reflect upon, and celebrate service projects that address real community issues.

Although the Explorers model holds promise for engaging students in literate practices in school contexts, it also brings caution for practitioners who may plan on implementing service-learning experiences. The Explorers club may have represented an

empowering and engaging context for some students; however, it also represented a marginalizing and prohibiting context for others. Membership (who could participate), activities (what members did), and the conditions of these activities (sites and purposes) were bound by various participation structures. Power and privileges were afforded to older students and academically successful students through membership and access. The membership and access privileges provided these students more opportunities to engage in and design the literate practices for the rest of the Explorers community. From positions of power, the privileged Explorers members promoted the unequal structures of the club from within the community. These unequal structures stratified the Explorers members' levels of participation. Members positioned closer to the margins of the Explorers community participated less, which in turn decreased their levels of engagement with the literate practices of the Explorers community.

Such structures seem counterintuitive to the principles espoused by service-learning pedagogy. Service-learning is rooted in the concepts of equality, justice, and democratic participation, and thus, works to promote experiences that value multiple voices, share power, and produce change. Through the apprenticeship model embedded within the Discourses of the Explorers club, members worked to promote these values. The apprenticeship process is a strength of the Explorers model and should be lifted from this context, adapted, and applied in more inclusive terms to future service-learning endeavors.

The apprenticeship component of the Explorers model can serve to be more inclusive in two ways. First, service-learning contexts can be more inclusive through

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shared leadership. Students with experience in service-learning contexts possess knowledge of the requirements, tools, and procedures to accomplish service projects and can serve as valuable peer mentors in developing this knowledge in novice service-learning students. However, as the Explorers model illustrates, this "service-learning" knowledge is not solely constructed of school Discourses. Positioning students into leadership roles based solely on knowledge of academic Discourses marginalizes other students' knowledge of multiple other community/social Discourses. Service-learning contexts should be structured so as to allow all members to equally contribute their expertise by sharing their knowledge with other members. In the current study, academically successful students were placed in leadership roles and directed the Explorers club's activities. Students who struggled with academic practices could have been placed in charge of various activities that built from their areas of expertise. DJ and Javon were proficient at searching the Internet for recreational vehicles. Their expertise could have been employed to lead a group in identifying the fauna and flora for the eco-tour booklets. Malibu was skilled in communicating via email. She could have led a group in contacting organizations for financial support and material donations.

Second, service-learning contexts can be more inclusive through shared access. As previously discussed, service-learning contexts do require the understanding and application of academic content. However, as the Explorers club demonstrates, service-learning creates contexts that promote student engagement with academic content and school practices. Restricting membership to students who are already successful in school contexts does little to build on the power service-learning holds in creating contexts that

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engage the disengaged students. Service-learning contexts offer alternative educational spaces that engage students in developing their academic knowledge and should be most open to those most disengaged in traditional academic contexts. In the current study, environmental science was part of the sixth grade science curriculum, yet only the sixth grade gifted science class was invited into the Explorers club because of their histories of academic success. Opening the Explorers club to all of the sixth grade science classes could have provided an alternative instructional approach to those students who are disengaged and do not exhibit academic success with the traditional science classroom structures. Participation in the Explorers club could have expanded the opportunity for all sixth grade students to engage in connecting the academic content of their science classrooms to real-world experiences with community environmentalism.

Conclusion and Challenges

Today's youth face a number of new conditions that are different from those faced by past generations. Our cultural, social, economic, and political worlds are changing in complex and unprecedented ways. Due to the technological and social forces of change, traditional methods of teaching and learning literacy practices may not be adequate for youth in contemporary society. These traditional structures have resulted in a growing dissonance between literacy practices that take place within schools and those contemporary youth utilize in other social/cultural spheres of their lives. This dissonance has resulted in the growing disengagement of youth from the literacy practices privileged within schools. Schools failing to build upon contemporary youth literacy practices risk becoming anti-educational sites. Although research has investigated youth literacy

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practices in social contexts outside of school, the difficulty has been in understanding ways to transform traditional teaching methods in ways that make space and account for youth literacy practices.

The notions of hybridity and Third Space have a particular contribution to make in this pursuit to transform educational contexts into sites that engage students in literate practices. These theoretical constructs move the discussion of transforming literacy education from a dichotomy of "school versus youth" to a reciprocal structure of "both/and." The hybridity of literacies and Third Space of service-learning contexts that emerged within the present study provide researchers with a new lens through which to analyze the processes and structures of literate Discourse construction. This lens replaces the binoculars that have been dominant in literacy research. The view through binoculars begins with separation and ends with a single picture. Changing the lens to focus on the third spaces between contexts as opposed to across contexts opens up new sites of possibilities.

Service-learning contexts represent some of these new sites of investigation. Based in a Discourse that acknowledges youth as resources, service-learning contexts may serve as potential sites for the support, development, and application of adolescents' multiple literate practices. Like the third space that can be constructed within a service-learning context, research in such contexts can be constructed from a similar third space. Literacy researchers have neglected the potential that community engagement holds to inform the field of adolescent literacy development. Similarly, service-learning researchers have neglected to investigate how multiple literate practices enhance

community engagement. Premised on the bidirectional reciprocity of service-learning, researchers from these multiple fields could jointly investigate service-learning contexts through a shared lens to understand how their fields can inform and influence each other.

As sites for literacy engagement, service-learning presents an alternative to the potentially disempowering and marginalizing traditional structures of academic contexts. Educators must work to construct such spaces in order to enhance the voices of the silenced, engage the marginalized, and empower the disenfranchised. Working to construct educational sites as third spaces offers opportunities for students to develop their abilities to transverse the literate Discourses of their everyday lives and academic institutions, to negotiate and mediate semblance and difference, and to construct literate Discourses that will enable them to navigate the complex society they will enter.

EPILOGUE: "YOU KNOW, SCHOOL STARTED."

During the last week of school, my final week in the field, many students and teachers asked whether I would return and continue working with the Explorers club in the new school year. I was grateful for the invitation and accepted their request to return. At the time, I was puzzled by the inequitable participation structures of the club, a topic I presented to the teachers on a number of occasions, and I was eager to continue the investigation of the Explorers club.

In writing up this research, I found myself continually returning to the data to accurately depict the experiences of the Explorers club youth. These multiple visits were necessary as I was attempting to present the voices of these youth to broader audiences in a manner that would represent these youth as they had portrayed themselves to me. Hours were spent rereading interview transcripts and replaying the voices in my head like a voice over in a movie. Returning to video footage to review interaction and dialogue brought the faces and voices of these youth to life. Seated at my desk, paging through field notes in my journal, I was transported back along the riverbanks, on the bus, around the dining table at the symposium. Images not transcribed into text, but nonetheless, maintained in memory.

As the summer ended and the new school year began, I was still in the process of analyzing data and writing up the research. Lost in my recreated world of interviews, transcripts, field notes, and video, I forgot school had started and did not pay a visit the first week. However, Veronica did not forget my agreement to return and the sent me an

email that weekend, which simply stated, "You know, school started" [personal communication, August 6].

Veronica's email reminded me of the multivocal mental conversations I had as I worked to construct this text. As I reflected on these mental wanderings, these visions rang with the laughter that bonded this group together. It was this common bond of laughter that prompted me to revisit the "Breakfast Club" metaphor. The way the characters in the movie bonded and shared laughter through their various encounters reminded me of how the Explorers club had progressed through these similar phases. As the movie unfolds and the characters are seated together sharing their life stories, the Nerd asks, "Um, I was just thinking, I mean. I know it's kind of a weird time, but I was just wondering, um, what is gonna happen to us on Monday? Will we still be friends?" The Jock affirms that they'll be friends. However, the Princess interjects and disagrees. She notes that because school represents a very different world of social hierarchies and peer relations the friendships that have been formed in the Breakfast Club cannot exist outside its boundaries. "You're not friends with the same kind of people that Andy and I are friends with! You know, you just don't understand the pressure that they can put on you!"

Placing this conversation into the Explorers club context made me start to think if things would be different in a different time. I started to question how the social hierarchies of the Explorers context would be different and how these new arrangements would impact the structures and Discourses of the club. One of the areas that needed to be further addressed was the inequality of power that privileged some students and

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marginalized others. These positions had been historically established and continued by successive generations of Explorers members. Building from the data that demonstrated the marginalized students recognized and questioned their positions, new questions raced through my head. Now that the older students have left, will the marginalized students take up leadership roles? These marginalized students will become the experienced members of the Explorers club, so do they reproduce the historical social hierarchies of inequality they had to endure or do they transform the power structure? How will these new social roles and power positions impact the literate Discourses of the Explorers community? Armed with questions, I aim to continue the investigation of the literate Discourses constructed by youth in the Explorers club. I guess we'll see "what is gonna happen on Monday."

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: IRB Participant Consent Packet

Parent Letter

Dear Parent(s)/Guardian(s):

My name is Steven Hart and I am a graduate student from the Department of Childhood Education at the University of South Florida. My advisor, Dr. Susan Homan and I would like to invite your child, along with his or her classmates, to join our research project called: **Service-Learning and Literacy: Lessons Learned from Middle School**.

The project is looking at the ways middle school students use reading and writing skills in service-learning settings. Your child is currently a member of a service-learning club at Stewart Middle School, and the students in this club are being asked to participate in this study to see how this club may help their reading and writing skills. The study will take place during regular school hours over the next four months. We will observe the different ways that your child uses reading and writing in the service-learning club, in the science classroom, and in the reading classroom. Your child's participation in this study will involve the regularly scheduled courses they are already taking. The only extra time will be a short, 30-minute, interview at school. This interview will allow your child to describe how they use reading and writing in different places.

There are no risks involved with this project. By taking part in this study, your child may better understand his/her reading and writing skills. By better understanding the reading and writing skills he/she does use, this may help to improving those skills.

Only children who want to participate will do so, and any child may stop taking part in the project at any time. You are also free to take your child out of the study at any time for any reason. All information from this study will be kept confidential. The results of this study may be used to report in journals or present at conferences. However, we will not identify your child, your child's teachers, or your child's school. For this study, your child will select a secret code name, and only authorized personnel may review this information.

If you would like for your child to have the opportunity to participate in this study please read and sign the consent form attached to this letter. Keep one copy for yourself and send one signed copy to your child's service-learning teacher. By signing this form you verify that we have informed you about the project's purpose and you are allowing your child to participate in the project.

If you have any questions or concerns about the project please feel free to contact Steven Hart at (813) 974-7080 or Dr. Susan Homan at (813) 974-1059.

PLEASE SIGN THE OFFICIAL CONSENT FORM AND RETURN TO SERVICE-LEARNING TEACHER.

Sincerely,

Steven Hart
Principal Investigator
University of South Florida

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Student Assent Form

You have been invited to join a research project called: ***Service-Learning and Literacy: Lessons Learned from Middle School***. The project is looking at the ways middle school students use reading and writing skills during service-learning. You have been asked to participate because you are a member of a service-learning club at Stewart Middle School, and there are only a few clubs like yours in the entire county.

This letter tells you about the study. You can decide if you want to take part in it. You do not have to take part. Reading this form can help you decide. During the next few months:

I will observe the different ways that you use reading and writing in the service-learning club, in the science classroom, and in the reading classroom.

At the end of each club meeting, we will have a group discussion that will last no more than 20 minutes, depending on the conversation.

Your participation will involve the regular courses you are already taking. The only extra time may be a short interview that will allow you to describe how you use reading and writing in different places.

By signing this form you are agreeing to participate in this study. At any time during the study, you have the right to stop participating. Your decision will in no way change the rights you have as a student or your class grade. If you decide to participate, you will get to select a secret code name to protect your privacy. If you have any questions or concerns about the project please feel free to contact Steven Hart at (813) 974-7080.

I freely give my consent to take part in this study. I understand that this is research. I have received a copy of this consent form.

_____   _____

Student Signature   Date

_____   _____

Witness Signature   Date

Appendix B: Student Focus Group Interview Protocol

At the conclusion of each service-learning club session, a debriefing focus group will be held. The researcher will begin each focus group, subsequent to the first session, with an overview of the dialogue from the previous session. This overview may play out like such:
   A. "Last time we met, the notes showed we talked about [these forms of literacy]. Were there other things that were missed?"
   B. "The records from last time show that there was some disagreement about reading; some felt reading bottle labels was really reading and some thought it wasn't. Is that what the disagreement was, or was something else missed?"

1. What were some of the literacy practices you used today in your service-learning experience?

    a. Did you have to read or write anything?

    b. Did you have to use images to tell about something?

    c. Did you have to discuss or listen to anything?

2. Do you have any photos or video to support those practices? Tell us about that.

3. What did you have to know in order to do this?

    a. How did you know how to do it?

    b. What skills did you use to help you do it?

4. I noticed you were engaged in [some literacy practice] what prompted you to do that?

    a. What were the expected results you were trying to accomplish?

    b. Did you accomplish what you were trying to do?

    c. What skills were you using to do this?

Appendix C: Individual Student Interview #1 Protocol

I.   Adolescent Identity
        a. Tell me about your interests or hobbies. (For example: Sports, Collections,
            Models, Fishing, Television, Video games, Computer use)
        b. What types of activities do you do with others? (For example, siblings,
            cousins, friends, parents, clubs, church)

II.   Literate Identity
        a. What types of activities do you think about when someone says 'literacy?'
        b. What activities do you do that you would consider 'literacy' practices?

III.   Situated Literacies
        a. Tell me about your literacy activities at home.
        (Prompt: Things like reading/writing, magazines, movies, books, music)
                i.   What are they like?
                ii. What do you do most often?
                iii. Which of these are your favorite activities? Least favorite?
                iv. Who do you do these types of activities with?

        b. Tell me about your literacy activities at school.
        (Prompt: Things like reading/writing, magazines, movies, books, music)
                i.   What are they like?
                ii. What do you do most often?
                iii. Which of these are your favorite activities? Least favorite?
                iv. Who do you do these types of activities with?

Appendix D: Individual Student Interview #2 Protocol

1. Would you like to share any of the photos or journal entries that you've collected?
        a. Let's talk about this picture. What made you take this one? What is this
showing?
        b. Is what you're doing [*Literacy Practice*] in the picture something that you only
        do at that place? How is it similar or different from what you'd do elsewhere?
        c. Are others doing this activity [*Literacy Practice*] with you?
        d. Is this a common activity for you or something new you've learned?
        e. Would you be able to this [*Literacy Practice*] at home/school/with friends?
        f. How/Where did you learn to do this [*Literacy Practice*]?

2. What have you learned about your literacy skills the last few weeks?
        a. Have you *learned* any different ways of reading and writing than before? Can
            you give some examples?
        b. Have you *used* any different ways of reading and writing than before? What
            are some examples?
3. Thinking about the ways you use literacy in the service-learning club, do they seem to
be more like the ways you use literacy at home or at school? Why? Can you give some
examples?

4. Let me share some of the interesting ways I saw students using literacy during my
observations. SHARE OUT SOME EMERGING THEMES FROM FIELDNOTES.
        a. Were you involved in any different activities that I missed?
        b. Were you involved in any of those activities outside of school? How were they
the same/different?
        c. How/Where do you think they learned to do these things?

5. What would be some of the activities that you do in the service-learning club that
you'd wish your science teacher would do? What about your reading teacher?

6. How would you describe someone act as a reader or a writer in the service-learning
club? What do they do? How do they act? How/Where do they learn to do those things?
        c. What about in science class?
        d. What about reading class?
        e. What about with your friends or at home?

Appendix E: Individual Student Interview #3 Protocol

1. Would you like to share any of the photos or journal entries that you've collected?
      a. Let's talk about this picture. What made you take this one? What is this showing?
      b. Is what you're doing [*Literacy Practice*] in the picture something that you only do at that place? How is it similar or different from what you'd do elsewhere?
      c. Are others doing this activity [*Literacy Practice*] with you?
      d. Is this a common activity for you or something new you've learned?
      e. Would you be able to this [*Literacy Practice*] at home/school/with friends?
      f. How/Where did you learn to do this [*Literacy Practice*]?

2. What have you learned about your literacy skills the last few weeks?
      a. Have you *learned* any different ways of reading and writing than before? Can you give some examples?
      b. Have you *used* any different ways of reading and writing than before? What are some examples?

3. Thinking about the ways you use literacy in the service-learning club, do they seem to be more like the ways you use literacy at home or at school? Why? Can you give some examples?

4. Let me share some of the interesting ways I saw students using literacy during my observations. SHARE OUT SOME EMERGING THEMES FROM FIELDNOTES.
      a. Were you involved in any different activities that I missed?
      b. Were you involved in any of those activities outside of school? How were they the same/different?
      c. How/Where do you think they learned to do these things?

5. How would you describe someone act as a reader or a writer in the service-learning club? What do they do? How do they act? How/Where do they learn to do those things?
      a. What about in science class?
      b. What about reading class?
      c. What about with your friends or at home?

6. What have you learned about your literacy skills through the service-learning club?
      a. Have you *learned* any different ways of reading and writing than before? Can you give some examples?
      b. Have you *used* any different ways of reading and writing than before? What are some examples?
7. Have any of the practices that you used in the service-learning experience transferred over to other places? Can you give some examples? How did you learn to do those things?
      a. Science classroom?
      b. Reading classroom?
      c. Home/with friends?

8. From what you've discovered during your research, what are suggestions you would provide teachers/parents to support middle school students in developing their literacy skills?

Appendix F: Family Interview Protocol

I.   Adolescent Identity
        a. What are your child's interests or hobbies? (For example: Sports, Collections,
        Models, Fishing, Television, video games, Computer use)
        b.   What types of activities does your child do with others? (For example:
            siblings, cousins, friends, clubs, community center, church, Boy/Girl Scouts)

II.   Literate Identity
        a. Tell me about your child's history with literacy. (Prompt: Reading/Writing)
                1.How did it begin?
                2.What types of literacy activities (reading and writing) did they enjoy
                  when they were younger?
                3.What was reading and writing like for your child in elementary
                  school?
        b. What would you consider your child's strengths with literacy (as a
        reader/writer)?

III.   Situated Literacies
        a. Tell me about your child's literacy activities at home.
                (Prompt: Things like reading/writing, magazines, movies, books, music)

                1. What are they like?
                2. What types of activities are most common?
                3. Which of these are favorite activities? Least favorite?
                4. Who does your child do these types of activities with?

        b. Tell me about your child's literacy activities at school.
                (Prompt: Things like reading/writing, magazines, movies, books, music)

                1. How does he/she describe their reading/writing at school?
                2. What does he/she talk about most often?
                3. Which of these are favorite activities? Least favorite?

Appendix G: Individual Teacher Interview Protocol

1. What are some of the ways that you expect students to use literacy as members of this classroom? How would that look? What kinds of activities are good examples of that?

2. What activities do you find most students gravitate toward or are motivated to do?

3. What activities do you find students tend to shy away from or are unmotivated to do?

4. In general, what are your students' strong literacy skills? Weaker literacy skills?

5. What would be the one literacy skill that you wish your students would do better?

6. Are there any forms of literacy students use that exceeds your expectations or surprises you?

7. Are there any forms of literacy students use that doesn't follow classroom practices? 8. Thinking about these particular students who are in the service-learning club, what are their strong/weak literacy skills? DISCUSS EACH STUDENT INDIVIDUALLY.

Appendix H: Case Study Co-Researcher Information Letter

You have been selected to become a special co-researcher for this study. If you choose to accept this role, you will become a researcher along with me to collect information about the ways middle school students use literacy. As a co-researcher you will keep a researcher journal and take digital photos to describe the various ways you use literacy outside of the classroom and the service-learning club. This part of the study will help teachers see the ways you use reading, writing, and images in the real world so they can use these same tools to make learning in the classroom more interesting to you. As co-researchers, we will meet three times to share the information that we've collected. These three meetings will take place at school or at your home, and will last only about 30 minutes. All audiotapes, journals, photos, video footage, and notes taken during this study will be stored in a filing cabinet in my locked office for security. You and I will be the only people allowed to look at the information you collect.

I would like to be a co-researcher with Mr. Hart. I have received a copy of this letter.

_____   _____

Student Signature   Date

Appendix I: Extended Student Case Descriptions

Amanda- "She acts Preppy."

Amanda, an 8th grade Latina, was a leader of the Environmental Explorers club and a vital contributor to every facet of the club. Amanda played a major role in the overall organizational structure of the club. She planned all of the events, meetings, and activities. Amanda also distributed tasks and informed the other members of their various roles and responsibilities. As a veteran member of the club, Amanda understood the complete picture of the club and all of the various individual components that held the club together.

Amanda had been a member of the club the previous year at the invitation of some of her older friends who were in the club. She described her process of becoming a member as follows.

> Well, last year I knew 8th graders who were in the club. They said, "We need
> extra people. You're a good student. Do you want me to talk to Mr. Vernon
> [service-learning teacher]?" I was like, "Yeah, sure, okay." So he [Mr. Vernon]
> talked to my science teachers, and they were like, "Yeah, she does her work," and
> all this stuff. Then I became a part of it. [Student interview, May 23]

Amanda was a very social and friendly person, and she had many circles of friends. Her Language Arts teacher described Amanda as a student with "character and personality to fit in anywhere" [TWLA050905.ti]. A self-admitted "chatterbox," Amanda worked as a primary distributor of social news through the school. On any given day,

Amanda could be seen in the hallway walking and talking with groups of friends. Because of her social personality, Amanda had many different groups of friends.

Some of these friends described Amanda as a preppy because of her concern for fashionable clothes and purses. Although Frye required a uniform that included a polo shirt, Amanda usually wore designer pants or skirts to complete her outfit. In addition to her clothes, Amanda was considered to be a preppy because of her excessive concern over her hair and her nails. One of Amanda's closest friends and a fellow member of the environment club added, that Amanda sometimes talked like a preppy girl. "Amanda does that sometimes, like the "Oh, my gosh. Did you see her yesterday?" [Imitating valley-girl type voice] [Student Interview, May 24]. Although contrary to this preppy image, Amanda enjoyed playing softball. She was on several different teams in her neighborhood youth league.

In school and at home, Amanda demonstrated an interest in her Latina heritage. At home Amanda loved watching programs in Spanish, especially the soap operas. These TV shows were a constant source of discussion for Amanda and her friends. In addition to TV programs, Amanda enjoyed listening to Latin style music, such as merengue and salsa. During field trips and her free time in school, Amanda would listen to music on her CD player. As with the TV soap operas, Amanda's interest in music was also a social affair. The following field notes illustrate this process.

Joaninha and Amanda shared headphones connected to a CD player and listened to some Merengue. While they were listening, their heads bobbed and swayed.

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Each song was followed by a review or critique and some shared discussions

about its similarity to other songs or artists they had at home. [TW5LA050905.fn]

Although Amanda demonstrated her connection with her native language, she

didn't speak Spanish in school. At home, Amanda mostly spoke Spanish with her mother

and father, and she spoke mostly English with her younger brother.

Personal/Social Literacy Practices

Amanda usually associated her personal and social literacy practices with reading

and writing texts. Amanda often talked about her personal literacy practices in connection

to how the practices were similar or different from the practices she used in school.

Amanda explained how she viewed the use of writing as a different practice between the

two spheres of friends and school.

> Well, when friends write, we kinda write like the Internet language with the "2's"
>
> and just single letters and shortened words, so when we write between friends,
>
> like when we write a note between each other it's very slang. Some people look at
>
> it and they're like, "Is this English?" [Laughs]…Like if you're writing for a
>
> teacher, you can't put slang words in it. You have to use the right terms and
>
> prepositions and all of that stuff…I think it's harder for us to write than it is to,
>
> like in the classroom it's harder for us to write stuff because what we want to say
>
> is like slang, so we have to change it and write it the right way. [Student
>
> Interview, May 23]

As Amanda's words illustrate, she viewed writing as a specialized forms of

communication associated with particular groups. The features of writing that Amanda

described represent the language and commonly accepted practices of the particular audience for whom the writing is constructed.

As Amanda describes, various textual forms and constructions are accepted within her social community of friends. However, within this social community, not all practices are accepted. As I probed to understand her view of this literate practice, I questioned whether her academic style of writing would be accepted among her community of friends. Amanda replied, "They'd be like, "What is wrong with her?" It's so much easier to read the slang, I guess. Because it's the way we talk, we understand it better. It's a shorter, faster way of writing" [Student interview, May 23]. As with Amanda's view that the literate practice of writing in her academic sphere required certain textual features, Amanda describes how her social writing practice is also guided the expectations for particular textual features.

Amanda only described her personal literacy practices as they centered on communication via the Internet and email textual forms. For Amanda, using the Internet to send emails was a daily ritual that extended over from her social interactions at school. As noted above, this is how Amanda described her writing within her personal sphere. Likewise, Amanda also only described her reading as it related to email communication. "At home when I read, I normally read like emails and stuff" [Student interview, May 23].

Amanda's dominant identity as a socially interactive person during her daily encounters in school is also evident in her description of her personal/social literate practices. For Amanda, communicating through the Internet is her primary literate

practice at home. Email represented the dominant textual form, and this form of text was constructed through the ongoing cyclical process of writing, reading, and responding thorough writing. Amanda portrays a social view of literacy practices in general. She defines the practice by the intended audience. The expectations for the form and function of the practice are decided by the accepted and expected practices of this intended audience.

Academic/School Literacy Practices

Amanda's teachers viewed her as a good student who does all of her work. Her teachers described Amanda as a responsible student who took her work seriously and took the initiative to turn in work she missed while absent from class, without having to be reminded. Her teachers' view of Amanda as a responsible student often led to them calling on her to run errands or to provide extra support to fellow classmates.

Amanda was in all honors level courses and excelled in school. She received an award for high honor roll; this award was for students who received almost all A's in their classes over the course of the entire year. On the state writing exam Amanda had almost a nearly perfect score. Her teachers complimented Amanda on her strong reading and writing abilities. However, her science teacher also believed that Amanda was a good student, but she held back on asking questions. He believed that her literacy levels needed to be expanded more. This desired expansion was in reference to her vocabulary development, which was a concern he shared for all of his students.

If they come across words, and they can't pronounce it, they try to skip over it.

What I wish they would do is, if they are struggling with the word, ask what the word is and then try to find the definition of that word…The honor students' books are written at a little higher level, and I'm sure that there's some words in there that they've never seen. It's at that point that they can't pronounce it or they don't understand what it means, they read right past it and go on, rather than going and making a note of it and saying, "Okay, now lets find out what this word really means." [LEESC052505.ti]

Amanda viewed school as important, and she worked hard to achieve academic success. To achieve this success and get good grades, Amanda worked to complete all of her activities and assignments. She was extremely disheartened to learn that her grades were not good enough to be accepted into an International Baccalaureate [IB] program next year in high school. In general, this desire for success permeated Amanda's view of school literate practices as tasks that involved the completion of a product to be evaluated by the standards established by the teacher. Amanda's view of writing, as noted in the previous section, highlighted correctness and appropriateness as determined by an external influence.

Like if you're writing for a teacher, you can't put slang words in it. You have to use the right terms and prepositions and all of that stuff…I think it's harder for us to write than it is to, like in the classroom it's harder for us to write stuff because what we want to say is like slang, so we have to change it and write it the right way. [Student Interview, May 23]

Amanda approached the literate events in her classroom from this perspective. Whether working independently or working collaboratively, Amanda continually checked with others to see if her product was constructed correctly. At times she sought the direct approval of the teacher. The following field notes from Amanda's science class illustrate this process.

> The teacher asks what the process is for making sure the items are not contaminated. Nobody responds, but then Amanda questioningly responds, "Sterilization?" As the teacher acknowledges the correctness of her answer, she opens her eyes big and mouth agape says, "I'm a genius." [LE4SC042605.fn]

At other times, Amanda would follow along, checking her written responses, and then change her responses to match the exact answer the teacher provided.

In line with her social affinity, Amanda enjoyed to work together in groups or partners. Even during these collaborative structures, Amanda hesitated on engaging in the construction of a literate product until she was sure it was correct. During collaborative structures, Amanda compared her texts to other classmates' products. An example of this process took place as Amanda prepared a data sheet for a lab experiment, conducted the experiment, and then wrote up the results from the experiment. Each phase of the experimental procedure required the students to use writing to construct a product. Within each phase, Amanda continually checked with classmates to ensure she was constructing her product correctly. The following field notes detail these events.

> Teacher informs students that today's class will focus on the lab write-ups for the labs that they will be conducting tomorrow. Teacher has students take out lab

books…Teacher reads through the text aloud as students follow in their books. He reviews the components to a lab report and discusses the format for writing the report…Prior to reading the text, the teacher reminds the students about the component of the lab report. The teacher reads aloud the text, names the components discussed, and calls on student volunteers to provide the information that should be included within that component. While the teacher does this, the students are writing down the information. Amanda reads through the text as the teacher reads it aloud…As students give answers and the teacher repeats the answers, Joaninha and Amanda discuss what content to include in their lab reports and under which component it should be included. They do pause from their pace to check the answers as they're given by the teacher. Amanda looks at Joaninha's paper, checks with the book, and then writes the answers on her own lab report. [LE4.SC.042505.fn]

The students start off in pairs, but soon they are moving from station to station independently. Amanda and Joaninha start off as partners… After a while, it seems that the groupings are changing, depending on how students rotate around the room. At times it appears that they are back working as partners, like Joaninha and Amanda. However, it is more of the situated location allows them time to share their thoughts and their findings…The teacher reminds the students to finish up with their last substances and to return to their seats to start the blue dot questions. As the students make their ways back to their seats, there is much discussion about the findings. They compare results and check their own papers.

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Amanda and Joaninha start writing the answers to the blue dot questions. As

Joaninha writes her answer, Amanda peers at her paper and then turns back to her

own paper to write. [LE4.SC.042605]

Amanda's approach to literate practices in school resembled the way she

approached literate practices in her social life as well. Amanda maintained a strict social

view of literacy that dictated the form and structure of her literate products. For Amanda,

the construction of literate products was completely bound to the rules and expectations

established within the particular site that the literacy practices were being enacted.

Whether at home or in school, Amanda consciously recognized the various expectations

for acceptable practices and worked to meet these demands set by the members involved

in the particular community. Amanda would not commit to constructing a written product

unless it met the standards of correctness held by the authority over the practice. In

school literate practices, this authority was the teacher. In social literate practices, this

authority was her peers.

DJ- "I want to be more of a sports person."

DJ was an active European American 6th grade boy with a love for adventure and

outdoor activities. DJ's mother noted during an interview that he enjoyed "typical young

boy things, getting dirty playing down by the river with friends" [JD060805.fi]. This

affinity for outdoor activities prompted DJ to join the Environmental Explorers club. DJ

loved a variety of sports, but since he participated in these types of activities on a regular

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basis, the Explorers club provided an opportunity for him to help the environment and engage in a fun activity outdoors.

DJ was passionate about sports, and from skateboarding to playing baseball DJ was involved in some form of activity on a daily basis. Every conversation we had was filled with anecdotes about his various adventures. As DJ relayed each story, his face beamed with excitement and reddened to match the color of his crew cut hair, a style that was fashionable among the male athletes at Frye.

For DJ, athletics and outdoor activities were very social events. DJ's stories about these active interests almost always included friends and family members. DJ and his friends held sports in high regard, and membership in their group required a shared love for athletics. As DJ talked about what it meant to be a part of his group of friends, he explained, "Well, they have to do sports. If they don't do sports in our neighborhood, then we don't really even know them" [JD051705.si].

Although DJ was very interested in athletics, he was only involved with the organized baseball league in his community. DJ was an accomplished baseball player and played several positions for his little league team. DJ was most proud of making the all-star team. As he explained this honor, "The A all-star team! That's the highest! You have B, and then A is the best" [JD051705.si]. For DJ, this nomination was exciting because it meant that over the summer he would be traveling all over the state playing other teams.

Outside of this organized baseball league, DJ and his neighborhood friends spent a lot of time together engaged in other active hobbies. Skateboarding and riding bikes

were two main hobbies DJ liked to do with friends in the neighborhood. At times they

rode bikes in friendly competition. DJ was quite animated as he related this event.

> Well I go out to the dirt track, and I ride it on the trails sometimes. All of us go,
> and we do like races. We make up our own races and stuff! My friends, we have
> this one trail, we go on this one trail! There's this dirt road, with bushes over here
> [wiggles hand around on the right] and then it curves onto the dirt road. We race
> on the dirt road! We sometimes race in the street, but I don't like to race in the
> street. I like the trails cuz I like the bumps and jumps! We do tricks on our bikes
> and stuff. [JD051705.si].

DJ's excitement for the thrill of racing bicycles with his friends was also related

as he shared his brief adventures as a true competitive bicycle rider during his early years.

> I raced it [bicycle] when I was eight, like seven or eight. I raced with my one
> friend. I was really good, and he was really good! We had like fifty races. We
> only did, I want to say, like five laps around the track. I only won like three times.
> I won the first race, and I tried to win the last race, but I came in third on the last
> one. My friend came in second! We're always near, like when I came in first, all
> three times he was like right behind me. We kinda helped each other. You know
> like NASCAR where they have teammates? We were kinda like that. We used the
> same parts. We were sponsored by the same people. [JD040505.si]

It was through this competitive racing that DJ became so knowledgeable about the

mechanical operations of his bicycle. "I just took it off piece by piece and memorized

where that piece goes" [JD040505.si]. This knowledge was necessary for DJ to be able to

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fine-tune his bike for peak performance in the races. Now that he was finished with his official bicycle-racing career, DJ just tinkered with his bicycle to allow him to do tricks with his friends. "Now it's all in pieces. I took it apart because it was too heavy. Right now all I have on it are the pegs and a light kit" [JD033005.si].

DJ's interest in the mechanical operations of vehicles extended beyond his bicycle. He was very interested in cars, truck, boats, and motorcycles. He was in the process of saving up for a new motorbike, since he had sold his last one after he finished officially racing in that circuit.

In addition to serving as a tool for competition, DJ's bicycle was also a way for him to get together with his friends.

Like my friend Robert, he's on my baseball team. He lives about 2 blocks or about a mile and a half or whatever from my house. We ride our bikes to each other's house and sometimes we meet up in the middle and get ice cream. There's this Twisty Treat at the corner where we meet, and there's convenience stores and other things like that. [JD051705.si]

Beyond a simple transport, DJ's bike served to offer an opportunity to hang out with friends in a socially relaxed manner.

Although DJ loved these outdoor activities, his true passion in life was for being on the water. DJ loved wakeboarding and knee boarding, and this was an activity that he could do with his friends as well as his family. As I discussed DJ's love for these activities with his mother she laughed and responded, "That sounds like him. Well, I

shouldn't laugh so loud because he can ski. He's been skiing since he can walk. I think he was two years old when we first had him on a kneeboard" [JD060805.fi].

DJ's love for the water was a family tradition passed down from his mother and father, who had both been around boats their entire lives [JD060805.fi]. DJ was the only child in his family, and was very close with his mother and father. DJ's mother explained during an interview that as compared to DJ's other interests, wakeboarding served as a way for the family to spend time together.

It's one of the things where as a family we're side by side. Whereas with baseball we're in the stands or my husband's coaching. He's [DJ] the one out on the field. That's not something we can do together. So for us that's [wakeboarding] something that we can do together, and we've been doing it, I mean we had him at three months old in his car seat attached to the inside of our boat. So he's been doing it all his life. [JD060805.fi]

As with DJ's prowess with athletics, he was also a very accomplished musician. As a school band member, DJ had previously played the drums and bells, and he was currently studying the trumpet. DJ's favorite instrument was his deep black guitar covered in flames [JD040505.si]. DJ played his guitar daily. As with DJ's other interests, he had mastered the guitar rather easily. DJ had only been playing the guitar for about three years, but had stopped his lessons long ago.

I used to get private lessons. I already learned how to, I already know how to, I can read notes and everything. So I just practice… Normally, I just make up my own songs because now I know how to hear the notes. [JD040505.si]

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Personal/Social Literacy Practices

DJ first described his view of literacy as "books" and "writing" [JD033005.si]. As DJ elaborated about his own literate practices he responded that, "I'm not much into reading. I want to be more of a sports person" [JD051705.si]. DJ's mother also noted DJ's dislike for reading, "He really does not enjoy reading… if I can get him to read a book at home it's an accomplishment" [JD060805.fi]. DJ's disengagement from reading was associated with school related tasks, and his mother relayed this connection during an interview.

> The school has that assignment in reading where they have to read a book. He did it last year no problem. This year he's like, "Aw, again?" I'm like, "Yeah, buddy, I'm sure it's a small book like last year. I'm sure you can make it through." So that's pretty much as far as his literacy goes… if you ask him anything about a schoolbook that he' s read, it's, "I don't know. I don't know." [JD060805.fi]

DJ's present dislike from reading appeared to stem from the struggles he had endured with school literacy practices in his elementary grades. Early in his school career, DJ appeared to enjoy all school activities, even reading. However, as he progressed through the grades, DJ progressively became more disengaged. In order to provide DJ extra assistance in his literacy development, his mother enrolled him in a national learning center for after-school tutoring. DJ's mother noted how this extra assistance elevated DJ's reading level.

> His [DJ] reading, I really didn't, he got pretty good grades until like the fourth grade, and I… From that point I saw it go down hill. I had taken him to [The

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Center] to get him tested. He was at a 1.0 reading level. So he spent basically the

rest of that year going to [The Center], and they brought him up to a seven point

something. I think a 7.8 he ended up reaching in his final testing. [JD060805.fi].

DJ' initial descriptions of the literacy practices in his personal sphere focused on

his tutorial experiences at the learning center. He did not view these experiences very

favorably.

Well, my mom used to have me go to this after-school program at the [Learning

Center]. I had a D in reading and she wanted it to go to an A… I didn't like going

there because it was after school, and I didn't get to do anything. Like right now, I

can go wakeboarding after school. I went three times a week. It was like, 2, no 3

hours. It started off that I went 3 hours a day. Then the last two or three weeks I

only went 2 hours. So three times 2 is 6, so six hours a week. Three times three is

nine, so nine hours a week. It was a lot of time that I had to be there.

[JD051705.si]

As DJ noted, the literacy tutoring took a lot of his spare time outside of school. DJ held a

negative view for these tutoring sessions because they did not allow him time for the

outdoor activities he loved so much. In addition, DJ did not enjoy the tutoring sessions

because these activities resembled the school literate practices with which he struggled.

"They teach you how to read. You have to do a lot of tests and stuff" [JD051705.si].

Although DJ viewed his tutoring experiences as negative literacy practices

connected to his personal world, he was extremely excited about the other literate

practices he associated with this sphere. As with most of DJ's personal interests and

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hobbies, his personal literate practices were very social in nature. In addition, DJ's literate practices were directly connected to his various personal and social activities outside of school.

One of the earliest connections DJ made to his personal literacy practices was through his music. DJ noted a connection between the ways he used literacy to read books and the ways he used literacy to read music. In response to how he saw himself using literacy at home, DJ replied, "Playing the music. Like trying to take the notes on the sheet and turn them into sounds. You have to read the notes and be able to play them" [JD040505.si]. DJ also noted how playing instruments facilitated the use of other literate tools. "I normally like take a tape recorder and write it or type it up or something. I can tell what note I'm hitting. Then I put it on the computer and I print it out" [JD040505.si]. For DJ, playing music represented a unique form of literacy, "reading" the notes in order to communicate through sound. In addition, playing music allowed DJ to merge his musical notes with written text. As he "jammed" on his guitar, he recorded the songs he was constructing. Then, transferring the sound back into written notes on his computer allowed him to keep a record of his creation to practice at another time.

The computer served as a primary textual tool for DJ's personal literate practices. As noted above, DJ used the tool to write the musical signatures of his songs. DJ also used the computer to connect to the Internet. Through the Internet, DJ engaged in a number of literate practices. These practices were also connected to his personal and social activities and interests.

DJ's most common use of the Internet was to engage in conversations with others around the world. At times DJ engaged in these conversations through chat rooms, and at other times, these conversations were carried out via email. The common thread to DJ's interactions through the Internet is that that they were associated with family members.

Like I go on line all the time, into the chat rooms. Normally my cousin gets home, and when he gets home he'll be on it… well I have two of them. One lives here in Florida. He's thirteen. And then I have a cousin in Ohio. She is thirteen, and she goes on it [chat rooms]. Then I have another cousin in Ohio. He's sixteen… We go to the same chat rooms. Like on the AOL you have the AOL Chat box, and it's like where you can chat with somebody, or you can email people… Like I talk to my cousin's friends. I send them email. I can't chat with them because they're not on AOL. You have to be on AOL to go to chat rooms. Or you have to be on Yahoo or one of the other ones. So I email them like if you email them it'll go to anything [address]. So I email my friend, my cousin, well my cousin's friend in Germany. [JD040505.si]

As DJ noted, these forms of communication enabled him to keep in touch with family members that lived in different areas of the country. During these conversations, DJ could touch base with the various events going on in his family members' lives, like his cousins getting their driving licenses or moving on to high school.

These Internet conversations also provided DJ a space to discuss topics of personal interest. DJ described one of the chats he had with his cousin's friend from Germany.

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He went on the autobahn. You can go as fast as you can. He said that if you're on

a motorcycle you have to learn how to jump it without letting go because if a car

crashes you have to jump over it. Like if you're going a hundred or something,

you gotta jump it. You can't hit the brakes cuz you'll never slow down.

[JD040505.si]

As noted in DJ's anecdote, his passion for racing motorcycles served as the content for

these messages. As with his telling of his personal outdoor adventures, DJ was similarly

animated while relaying this conversation he had on the Internet.

DJ's affinity for the Internet was linked to the connection he had with his family.

Both DJ's mother and father heavily influenced his Internet literate practices. DJ's

mother noted during an interview, "Well, that's another thing he's been doing since he

could sit up straight. I was an IT [Information Technology] person, so basically from the

time he was born he was sitting on my lap pushing the keyboard" [JD060806.fi]. With his

father, DJ surfed the Internet looking for items to used during their various outdoor

activities. An example of this father-son interaction occurred after DJ broke his

kneeboard.

Yeah, and the strap was all messed up. It was a plastic board, but now I got this

fiberglass board, and that's the best. He [Dad] ordered the 2004 and we got the

2005. Which is fine, because he was going to order that one anyway, but it was

like 50 dollars more because it's a new design. But now we got the other one

because he did like a preorder thing. He only ordered one of them, but they

emailed him saying that the new one was coming. It's like 350 dollars for a

kneeboard. Plus I had to get the package, because it comes with the boots, which

are like 150 dollars, but they're top of the line. [JD051705.si]

This example illustrates that DJ navigated the Internet with his father in a collaborative

manner that was focused on their shared personal interest for knee boarding. DJ's mother

also noted this father-son interaction and how it related to their personal interests. "Oh

my god, him and my husband get on line, and they'll spend hours together on line looking

at cars and boats, wakeboards, and knee boards, you name it. Oh yeah, they go on the

Internet a lot" [JD060805.fi].

DJ's personal interests also drove his use of other textual resources besides the

Internet. DJ's mother reported that although he disliked books, DJ was an avid reader of

magazines that related to his personal interests.

He does read a lot of magazines. He'll read magazines about boating and fishing.

He'll read magazines about cars and all that stuff. Every time we go to the store

it's, "Mom, can I buy a magazine? Can I buy a magazine?" He loves to read

magazines, because it's not a book. What he doesn't realize is, it's still reading!

[JD060805.fi]

Although DJ's mother believed that he didn't realize that magazines still counted as a

form of reading, DJ readily admitted to his love for this form of text. As compared with

his lack of interest in books and reading material associated with school, DJ eagerly read

magazines because he was able to select the content to read and the content provided him

valuable information regarding his personal interests.

In addition, unlike the literacy practices involving books that DJ associated with school, the literate practice of reading magazines served a socially relevant purpose in his personal and social worlds. DJ reported how his close group of friends all read magazines as a way to inform each other about their interests. DJ explained how the literate practice of reading magazines functioned within his group of friends.

Well, Sean reads motorcycle things. Gabe reads motorcycle things, too. Samuel reads wakeboarding stuff. Robert reads wakeboarding and baseball. Travis reads baseball and sometimes wakeboarding. This other kid, Josh, he reads like car magazines. It's like a mixture. It has cars, motorcycles, boats, and trucks. He also reads sports magazines… I read all of those magazines. I read the wakeboarding, the cars, the baseball. Sometimes Samuel and I tell each other the tricks we are learning to do. He's much better on the wakeboard, and I'm better on the kneeboard. So we teach other tricks about those different things this way we can both get better at both of those… it's fun to find out about those things.

[JD051705.si]

For DJ, reading magazines served as a way to connect with his friends. The topics that they read about in the magazines were all shared interests of the group. This literate practice also served as a way for DJ to demonstrate to his friends the knowledge he gained from reading various magazines. This knowledge was gained specifically for the purposes of sharing with friends.

DJ's literate practice of reading magazines was also another way to bond with his mother and father and keep connected with his extended family as well. As with his

friends, DJ used the knowledge gained from his magazines to teach his father tricks. DJ explained how he used magazines in this manner.

> Yeah, they [magazines] kind of help you on the timing and how to position the board. Then I want to try and do a flip on the kneeboard. I did it last year, but it was not that good. I didn't get that high out of the water. I showed my dad, and he tried it once because he can get really high out of the water. He can jump clear over the wake. He can jump from one side of the wake to the other. He tried it and he went too fast and he flipped over. Like he had already done the flip, and then he flipped upside down and he fell [using hands to gesture the flipping motion].
> [JD051705.si]

Compared to this sharing of knowledge gained from magazines, DJ also shared the articles he read with his parents. DJ's mother reported that DJ loved sharing the content of the magazines with them as a way to keep them informed of what he's reading. "He saves them, and he reads them again and again. You know, 'Here, look at this mom. Read this.' He shows his dad. He wants us to know what he's reading, too, when it comes to that stuff" [JD060805.fi]. DJ's mother's example illustrates how DJ is eager to read content that is of personal interest. In addition, this example demonstrates how DJ enjoys reading content that has social value in his multiple circles outside of school.

DJ's personal/social literate practices represented his value for social interaction. Like most of DJ's active hobbies, his personal literate practices were usually enacted in communication with others. For DJ, the purpose of his literate practices outside of school focused on this communication with others. Very few of his literate practices were

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conducted for personal knowledge alone; this personal knowledge was gained in order to be shared with others.

Although DJ used the Internet as a primary resource, magazines also served as a key textual resource in his worlds outside of school. Both of these resources served as tools to accumulate knowledge. DJ selected these resources because the content embedded within them held personal relevance. The social groups to which they were connected also influenced DJ's selection of textual resources.

Academic/School Literacy Practices

Both DJ's Language Arts and science teachers described him as a disengaged student. They both reported that his work was often incomplete and that he did not pay attention in class. DJ's science teacher commented,

> He's quiet, so you don't notice if he's not paying attention. So, now I have him over by me, and I'll have to tap him [taps desk], "Come on. Come on," to get him back. He just stares off; he's very spacey that way. [COSC051005.ti]

DJ's Language Arts teacher echoed these thoughts from her observations of him in class as well. "He's one of the ones that will act like he has no idea what is going on, not paying attention… He's not very focused" [AKLA051805.ti]

DJ's mother also noted his lack of enthusiasm for school literate events. "He dreads it [reading for school]! He doesn't want to do it! He doesn't like to do it. He dreads it" [JD060805.FI]. DJ did not hide his aversion to school literate practices, as he often disengaged from these events in his classes. As I observed DJ in his various classes, he participated at varying degrees in the literacy practices constructed in the classroom

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setting. My observations matched DJ's teachers' perspectives. DJ's attention to literate practices in his classrooms faded in and out over the course of individual lessons. He usually engaged in the classroom activities initially, but he often quickly disengaged, playing with change in his pockets, staring blankly into space, resting his head on his desk, or leaving the room to go to the bathroom.

The following field notes illustrate how DJ's engagement with the literacy practices of his science class faded over the course of the lesson.

The teacher hands out a Time for Kids magazine. The first article is about children and sports injuries… As a student finishes reading a section of the text, the teacher brings in her experiences as a track coach dealing with injuries. She relates the stories of her time as an athlete dealing with injuries. DJ is very attentive while the teacher is relaying her stories. While students read aloud other sections of the article, DJ follows along with his finger in the text. At the conclusion of the article, the teacher probes the students for sports that they play. DJ names football… The teacher guides the conversation to discuss ways that students can avoid injuries while playing the sports that they mentioned. DJ immediately raises his hand to offer the suggestion of stretching before the activity. He uses examples of when he plays football. Other students add their personal experiences and the teacher adds her ideas at the end. During this time of sharing, DJ was very attentive to the discussion, even turning around to look at the person talking. The teacher leads the class into the same process of reading

aloud and discussing the remaining articles. From the sports discussion on, DJ has

had his head on the desk and eyes closed. [CO4SC033005.FN]

Initially DJ is engaged in the activity. He follows along as classmates read aloud,

engages in volunteering contributions to the conversation, and is attentive as his

classmates discuss their personal experiences. In this scenario, DJ is engaged with both a

textual form, a magazine, and a topic, sports, which are central parts of his life outside of

school. As the conversation moves away from the topic of sports, DJ fades from the

lesson. Even though magazines and dialogue served as textual tools in his personal world,

the topic is not relevant to DJ's personal interests, and he disengages from the lesson.

DJ's pattern of fading engagement was also observed in his Language Arts

classroom. The following field notes illustrate this process of disengagement.

Students are assigned to finish questions from previous chapters of Maniac Magee

and to then begin reading the next three chapters. DJ does not finish the assigned

questions, and instead begins reading. After about five minutes, DJ has finished

reading chapter 19 and gets up and goes to the bathroom. DJ returns and pages

through the book to see how far he has to read. He puts his head down. After a

few seconds, he picks up the book and starts counting pages. After he counts the

pages he turns and gestures to his neighbor and they both sit and giggle for a few

minutes. [AKLA040405.FN]

Later, during this class period, the teacher distributed a vocabulary worksheet for the

students to complete when they were finished reading the assigned chapters. The

following field notes demonstrate how DJ became more distant from the activity.

As the worksheet was passed out, DJ scanned the sheet and then turned to chat with his neighbor. After a minute or two of chatting, DJ stared off into space for a few moments, put his head down on his desk, closed his book, and placed it at the edge of the desk. [AKLA040405.FN]

These examples demonstrate how little value DJ held for the literate practices of school. DJ's lack of value for school literate practices is evident in how he totally disregarded their existence. When discussing the ways he saw himself using literacy in school contexts, DJ initially only mentioned writing on tests, writing essays, and writing book reports [JDLR033005.si]. In a later interview, as I probed him about his Language Arts class, DJ added, "We don't really do a lot of reading in school. Like we don't read a lot in our Language Arts class. She [teacher] gives us a lot of spelling words that we have to write" [JD051705.si]. I shared with DJ my observations of him reading in his Language Arts class, and he explained his enactment of this literate practice as follows.

Yeah, but that was because it was for a book report. We had to read that story [Maniac Magee] and then write a book report about it. I mostly read it at home, so I could get it done. In school we didn't do all that much reading of it. Well, she gave us a lot of time, but I didn't read it. I just mostly pretended to read it. I just read the parts that I liked. Then I just slept. [JD051705.si]

DJ's words illustrate how his lack of value for the literate practices of his Language Arts classroom caused him to disengage from these events. He participated at a level that allowed him to accomplish the task and be done with it. DJ also enacted this form of passive resistance in his science classroom. DJ's science teacher noted, "DJ is

very lazy. Very lazy. Like he'll do whatever it takes to get by... He just wants to get it [class assignment] done, as quick as possible. Get it in and get it done" [COSC051005.ti].

As his science teacher's comments demonstrate, DJ's lack of enthusiasm for the literate events of his classrooms caused his teachers to view him as lazy and unfocused. DJ's teachers viewed his personal characteristics as the reason for his low performance in class. In contrast, DJ viewed the literate practices as the reason why he did not participate. DJ believed that if the literate practices were different he would engage more often. He offered the following suggestions for ways teachers could make the literate events in school more engaging for students like himself.

Read about sports stuff. Like sports books. Let them read sports books in the classroom. Give them a book or magazines and stuff about sports, and then give them some questions to answer about those books. The students could choose the sports books they wanted. Anything that they wanted to read. [JD051705.si]

DJ's suggestions to improve school literate practices match some of the characteristics of his personal literate practices. First, in contrast to the disengaging literate events he encountered in school, DJ suggests that these events could be more engaging by allowing students to select the material that they'd like to read. As in his personal spheres, DJ values literacy practices that build from personal choice. Second, DJ also suggests that school literate practices should cover topics that are relevant to students' personal lives and interests. DJ's personal worlds are dominated by sports activities. Therefore, for him, reading about sports would be more interesting and lead to him participating at higher levels. Lastly, DJ suggests that the textual sources in schools

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should resemble those used in students' personal spheres. Outside of school, DJ was an avid reader. However, his selection of texts mainly involved magazines. In school, DJ mainly encountered class textbooks, novels, and worksheets. All of these characteristics illustrate that DJ valued literacy practices that most closely resembled those he engaged with in his personal/social spheres outside of school.

Franklin- Technology Wizard

As I approached Franklin, a seventh grade European American boy, about joining the study as a co-researcher, he calmly smiled and agreed as he removed the camera from its box. As he pushed his glasses up on his nose and loaded the batteries into the camera, he clarified his role, "So, you want us to document about the various resources we use throughout our lives outside of school?" [Researcher's Journal, March 18]. In classic Franklin fashion, he demonstrated his unique use of vocabulary and language structure that distinguished him from the rest of his 7th grade classmates. Franklin was very involved in various activities and organizations in school, and this extensive involvement also set him apart from most of his 7th grade classmates. Franklin was a member of the Young Astronauts club, the National Junior Honor Society [NJHS], and a member of the band. Franklin's widespread involvement in these diverse activities made him well-known by the faculty at Frye, and because of the teachers' familiarity with his involvement, the supervising teachers invited Franklin to join the Environmental Explorers club. Franklin accepted the offer because he believed that this would be a way

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to help the environment and help others learn about the importance of protecting the environment. Helping others was a cornerstone to Franklin's personality.

Franklin correlated his intense level of involvement to the value his family placed on being engaged and successful in school. Franklin lived with his mother and step-father, and reported that they both held him to high standards. Although Franklin's biological father was in prison in Wisconsin, he still had a strong influence over Franklin's academic identity. On a weekly basis his father wrote him and called him from the correctional facility. During these correspondences, the focus was on Franklin's academics and school activities. Franklin described these expectations as follows:

> Yeah, well, he [biological father] used to get all straight A's and everything when he was in school…so he holds me to really high standards, so does my grandma, my mom's mom. Like everyone does, because they want me to be kinda like him. So that's kinda why I have to do as much as I can. [Student Interview, May 25]

Franklin's personal and social spheres were dominated by his involvement in these various extra-curricular clubs and activities. During my time at Frye, I could usually only catch glimpses of Franklin hurrying to navigate his way through the crowds of students. Shuffling through campus, Franklin was "constantly laden down with books under one arm, and the instrument in his other hand [was] usually swinging around his face as he pushe[d] up his glasses" [Field notes, March 18]. Every day after school, Franklin attended band practice. Where he was developing his skills with the clarinet, or fine-tuning his already proficient skills with the piano. Franklin worked as a tutor through the NJHS before and after school. Although he tutored in many subjects (language arts,

science, geography, and musical theory), Franklin often tutored students in math. "Since I'm in Algebra I Honors, I can tutor 8th graders, too" [Student interview, April 7].

Above all of Franklin's diverse interests and activities, he preferred anything to do with technology. At Frye, he participated as a member of the school's morning newscast. As a part of the production team, Franklin's primary responsibility was switcher. He described his job duties as follows.

I switch the different cameras during the show. I'm also responsible for the slides, so that it doesn't show their face while they're talking. It shows a picture of what they're talking about. Then I switch the cameras like from a wide shot to one person or to the other people on the show. [Student interview, April 7]

In addition to working on the morning news show, Franklin also helped as a student technology technician. He would attend to teacher's network connection issues, connect printers to computers, install software, and run system analyses to address computer troubles on computers in classrooms and the media center.

Franklin's love for technology also extended over into his home. During his free time he loved to play *The Sims: House Party*, a computer video game. He also worked on components for the morning news show at home.

Sometimes I check out a laptop from school and when I take it home I can work on it [video footage] there. It's iMovie. It's not as good as Final Cut Pro, but it's still good enough to get a general view of what you're going to do, what you're going to show. [Student Interview, April 7]

Franklin's extracurricular clubs and activities also served as his source for social interaction. When he wasn't involved in these activities and clubs, Franklin was often by himself. Because of his busy schedule, Franklin rarely had time to stop and socialize with other students in the hallways. Even in the mornings as he waited outside his homeroom, when he didn't have tutoring or the morning news show, he was usually isolated at the end of the line, leaning on the wall reading a book, while the rest of his classmates were busily fluttering around talking. The students Franklin shared membership with in the various clubs formed his circles of friends. Franklin described his relations with friends at school as follows.

> I just kinda hang out with everyone. I'm like an in-between person. I tend to float in between groups of people, which sometimes kinda makes the other groups mad, but they're not really a friend if they only base being your friend on your other friends or only being their friend. That was kinda confusing [laughs].
> [Student Interview, May 25]

Franklin held a high value for getting good grades and doing well in school; however, he explained that this value was not held by all of his various circles of friends.

> Okay, I like have the really smart group of friends, and they really care a lot about their quizzes. They pull their hair out before every quiz, and they've been studying the whole school year even before they knew what the test was on. Then I have the people that are really laid back and don't really care. Then I have the people that are in between. They don't really stress out about a quiz, which is a good thing, and they'll do well on it, even though they weren't stressed about it, which

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might be why. Then I have the people that think they're really smart, but they're really not that smart. They'll try and make themselves seem smart so that they fit in with the other smart groups. Then there are the people that are really smart but don't want to seem really smart. That's like my biggest group. Like, Gilbert, is really smart, but like he doesn't want people to know he's really smart or he'll lose his reputation of not being smart. Some people that you hang out with don't like hanging out with people that are really smart, so if you're too smart for the group, then they might not accept you or something. I think that everyone in the group that don't really like that smart of people are all really smart, and they pretend that they're not smart so that they'll fit in with their group. When really all that they're doing is that they're in a group where they're pretending to be something they're really not. It's pretty funny. [Student Interview, May 25]

When I probed Franklin about his role in this act to identify himself as less intelligent, he replied, "Yeah I do that, like during lunch a lot… Nobody really wants to be smart at lunch because that's like your break from all the smartness" [Student Interview, May 25]. This fluctuation between desire to succeed in school and downplaying academic knowledge demonstrates Franklin's enactment of a variety of identities as he navigated the various spheres of his life.

Personal/Social Literacy Practices

Franklin used a variety of textual tools and engaged in a variety of literacy practices in his personal and social worlds outside of school. Franklin used different print

based text sources, such as magazines, newspapers, and books. Franklin's preferred and most commonly used tools were his computer and the Internet.

Franklin's literacy practices outside of school were dominated by the use of his computer. Franklin reported that he used his computer on a daily basis to play *The Sims: House Party* video game. *The Sims* is a computer simulated community, where the users get to construct the citizens of the community, design the residential, commercial, and recreational structures of the community, and then put all of these factors into action. For Franklin, this video game provided a source of entertainment. "I think mostly it's the interaction with the people on the computer…It's fun making them interact with each other, and I like making big houses" [Student interview, April 7]. In addition to entertainment value, Franklin also discussed the connection *The Sims* held for him in relation to school. "I like designing the houses on Sims and stuff, so it's kinda like my drafting class… It teaches you about economics and kinda about living in real life. Cuz you really have to earn your money" [Student Interview, May 25]. Franklin also recognized how the literacy practices associated with The Sims were different from those he associated with school contexts.

> Well, not really opposing to it, just different from it, like Language Arts in school,
> you have to use good grammar all the time, but I use bad grammar when I'm like
> in The Sims because you want to type fast. You use all shortened phrases and
> words. [Student interview, May 25]

Franklin was also used his computer to design web pages for the Internet. Initially, Franklin began this practice under the guidance of his grandfather, who works

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as a technician at a large distribution center. Franklin's grandfather taught him the basics

of the web page design coding language, Hyper Text Markup Language [HTML].

Franklin used HTML to design web pages that contained images or linked to other pages.

> I have like three of them. One of them is for my aunt's insurance company.
> Another one is for my mom's pictures. One of them is a fan site that I made for
> one of my friends as a joke…I've only gotten into the text part so far, like making
> things bold and italic. I do know how to make things go across the screen, so
> that's kinda cool. [Student Interview, April 7]

As he was learning about HTML, Franklin also began his study of image editing, a

practice he planned to pursue deeper. For Franklin, this practice worked to connect him

with his family as well as his friends. It tied in his fascination for technology with his

development of social relationships.

> I'm actually doing picture editing, which I'm really starting to get into a lot. I did
> that a lot for my fan site for my friend Renee. I animated it so that Britney Spears
> is in a picture and she keeps on hitting herself…Well, I found this really cheap
> software, and you select different points on the picture. It's really a transition
> more than a movie. So you pick the point on the picture and then you pick the
> point where you want it to move to, and then you just make a whole bunch of dots
> so it moves correctly. It took me like an hour to make her hand move like that far
> [motions with hand about 2 cm]. [Student Interview, May 25]

> Although Franklin primarily talked about his literacy practices revolving around

technology, he did discuss his literate practices using various print resources. Frye

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received daily delivery from the two major newspaper outlets in the region, and Franklin browsed by the front page stories on a daily basis after school in the media center. He reported that he didn't read it daily but would read through it at least on a weekly basis. His practice for reading the newspaper varied according to his purpose. "Sometimes the front page catches my eye, and then I read that. Then sometimes I go into the classifieds and stuff, because we were looking for houses to buy, and now we finally found one. We're moving in July" [Student interview, April 7].

Franklin also read a number of different magazines that he had ordered over the Internet. The magazines Franklin chose to read were adult oriented: Time, Newsweek, Budget Living, Forbes, and Money. When prompted to explain why he had photographed magazines as part of his literacy practices, he explained, "Well, it's like anything that I read, or like where I get information" [Student Interview, April 7]. Franklin's practice of reading magazines allowed him to gain information for number of different purposes. At times he read Time and Newsweek to keep pace with current events. Although his school had a subscription to Time For Kids, Franklin explained his indifference to reading that edition. "Those ones [Time for Kids] don't really have as much information. They kinda candy-coat some things for kids. That's why I like the adult one" [Student Interview, May 25]. Franklin's practice of reading magazines also provided him some knowledge about issues that affected his family's financial situation. Franklin explained his reason for reading Forbes and Money.

> I like finding out about all of the different tax deductions you can get, like how if
> on your way to work, if you want your gas to be tax deductible, you can schedule

a breakfast beforehand, and that's consider business. So, you can count that as a

tax deduction and things like that…I help my mom out with that. And, if you're

searching for a job that's in the same field you were in before, the last one, all of

the ink and everything is tax deductible for the resumes and all that. [Student

interview, May 25]

Franklin also read through financial magazines as a way to prepare himself for his future.

In preparation for his life as an adult, Franklin wanted to be financially secure, so he

looked to Forbes and Money as resources about stocks and investment issues. From

reading these magazines, Franklin had developed a plan for his career as an adult.

I'm thinking either lawyer or real estate, or kinda like being a lawyer and making

money off of that then buying land with the money I make, and then I could sell

the land for more. [Student Interview, April 7]

Franklin's biological father also served as a motivating force for Franklin's

construction of various literacy practices. Letter writing and discussions of books were

common literate events between Franklin and his father.

He [biological father] sends me one letter every week...He writes me like books.

Every week, his letters are like three pages, almost every week, even if it's not an

exciting week. He still finds a lot to write. He likes to read, so he sends me books

that he's read in there [prison]." [Student Interview, May 25].

For Franklin, reading books was a shared activity between he and his father; each would

recommend books and send books to the other. The literate act of reading books was

purposefully constructed between the two of them as a social event. Through their weekly

phone calls and letters they provided each other feedback on various recommendations.

> Yeah, he likes to talk about books a lot, so we usually do that on the phone when
>
> he calls. The letters are more for events that are going on, and the phone calls are
>
> more like book talks. [Chuckles] So, that's why I have to read a different book
>
> every week to try and keep up with him, because he's got lots of spare time
>
> [laughs]. [Student interview, May 25]

Letter writing and reading books were literate practices that Franklin usually

discussed in connection with his father in prison. However, his father's situation also

prompted Franklin to engage in reading law textbooks in an effort to try and seek a way

to shorten his father's jail sentence. He even read through the manuscripts from his

father's trials.

> That's why I've been reading law books, too. That's kinda a new interest of mine. I
>
> found the manuscript on his old trials, everyone of them. It's like 900 pages. I read
>
> it three times…it's kinda like a book, a really big book. I read that three times
>
> because I'm trying to find something in the law, like a loophole or something
>
> [laughs]. Lots of people have been looking into it. I don't know, there's like
>
> lawyers with all of this education and all that, so I doubt that I'll find anything, but
>
> I still try. [Student interview, May 25]

Personally relevant issues of interest guided most of Franklin's personal/social

literate practices. Franklin's literate practices involved a multitude of textual tools to

obtain information for various purposes. At times Franklin's literacy practices were

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individual constructions for personal matters, such as designing a community on The Sims or reading through magazines about current events. At other times, similar individual constructions of literate practices worked to serve a social purpose, like designing web pages or reading magazines to inform his mother of tax breaks. Franklin also engaged in literacy practices that were collaboratively constructed within a community, like his letter writing and book reading connected with his biological father. Franklin constructed different literate practices for different purposes and audiences, and he did so with full consciousness of the design of the specific practices.

Academic/School Literacy Practices

Franklin's teachers viewed him as a very involved and helpful student who always completed his work and participated in lessons. Franklin's teachers found him to possess extremely strong literacy skills. In describing his reading, his teachers viewed Franklin as an avid reader who read all of his class assignments. His science teacher added, "He does read a lot to find out answers to questions, especially if it's something he doesn't know and he wants to find out" [RD3SC052005.ti]. Franklin's teachers also viewed Franklin as an excellent writer who had a very clear way of expressing himself. Franklin's teachers discussed his essay writing on tests, and noted that his "sophisticated vocabulary" set him apart from his other seventh grade classmates.

In line with Franklin's strong value for academic success, he was constantly engaged in the various classes in which I observed him. He always participated and completed the tasks asked of him. Most of Franklin's classroom assignments involved reading silently and answering the questions at the end of the section of text. In his

language arts classroom, this task consisted of reading chapters of novels or short stories. Occasionally the language arts teacher would conduct the class through read aloud. She would select individual students to take turns reading aloud while the rest of the class listened and followed along. Franklin's science lessons always began with bell work. These tasks usually consisted of a worksheet with an expository passage of text on one side and multiple-choice questions on the other. Students read through the passage silently and then answered the questions independently. After bell work, a typical science lesson often consisted of the students silently reading sections from their textbooks, taking notes on the section being read, and answering the questions at the end of the section of text. Occasionally Franklin's science teacher allowed the students to collaborate on this process. Regardless of the textual source or the activity structure, Franklin was always fully engaged.

Franklin rarely discussed the literacy practices he engaged in during his classroom lessons. When prompted to talk about ways that he used literacy in school, Franklin would list practices that occurred outside of his classrooms. Franklin primarily talked about the textual resources found in the media center; he emphasized the books, newspapers, and various magazines that were located in the media center. When probed about specific classroom connections, Franklin only noted the use of the Internet to do research. However, Franklin did not use these tools as part of literate practices within his school time; he primarily engaged in these activities on his own time after school, while waiting for his mom to come to take him home. Franklin added that he didn't use the Internet much at school because some of the search engines were blocked to prevent adult

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material from being accessed. Franklin viewed this negatively because, "We can't get pictures for projects and stuff" [Student interview, April 7], and so it was more productive for him to conduct his research at home.

Although most of my observations in Franklin's classrooms were accounts of silent reading, there were a few occasions when his classes were more actively engaged. As I observed Franklin preparing and performing a play in his language arts classroom, several distinct literate practices emerged. Franklin and his group began preparations for their play by individually writing down their ideas for a skit. When the teacher approached to question their lack of discussion and collaboration, Franklin explained, "We're going to privately brainstorm, and then we will get together to share our ideas" [NATLA050505.fn]. During the next class session in which the students worked on their skits Franklin and his group began discussing their various ideas for themes for the skit. One student in Franklin's group had constructed a twenty page script based on a video game. The following field notes detail how Franklin navigated this literate event.

> Franklin suggests that since the one boy wrote so much about Halo 2 that they
> might want to look at that first. He reads the boy's text. Franklin is still reading
> the Halo 2 script when the teacher approaches. She recognizes that the group is
> not making any progress. Franklin and another boy in the group are having
> difficulty going along with the Halo 2 idea. The teacher looks to the Halo 2
> author, "You need to share. You can't just write it all by yourself." She reviews
> the rules sheet with the group that is in their folder. "See, it says that everyone
> must contribute to writing the play." Franklin responds, "Well, he did a lot of

work on this, so maybe we can work together to change it a little bit." The teacher

leaves. Franklin turns to the Halo 2 author, "Is the audience going to have enough

information for background knowledge to understand this? I'm lost right now. I

don't know anything about this Halo game, so I don't know who the characters are

or who's the good guys." He flips through the pages, "Plus, this is too long. We

only have ten minutes, and it took me that long just to read the first few pages.

We need to shorten this." [NAT1LA050905.fn]

The author of the Halo 2 script from Franklin's group decided he didn't want to

perform in front of the class, so Franklin and the rest of his group joined with a different

group. I observed Franklin and his new group perform their play in front of the class. It

was more like a readers' theater, since the students were allowed to have their scripts with

them on stage. The students read the play from a typed script. Each student had

highlighted his individual parts. They're play was modeled after a popular yet

controversial cartoon, *South Park*. Although *South Park* is designed for adults, it has a

popular following among youth. The title of their play was "We Need a Play." Franklin

was the teacher, and he got very into role with inflection and emotion. He followed some

of the idiosyncrasies of the character from the TV show, such as his movements and

pauses in speech patterns. The play was about the *South Park* kids in their classroom

having to come up with a play. However, none of the characters can agree on the type or

the theme, so they decide to create a play about writing a play. The play concluded, with

the teacher (Franklin) offering the students extra credit if they go back and rewrite the

play to make it better.

After this performance the teacher led a discussion and critique of the skit. During this discussion, Franklin explained how the idea came about. "Well, we were having all of this trouble with coming up with a play, and Eddie wanted to do a play about *South Park*, so we though it would be kind of funny to do one with those characters and making fun of our situation" [NAT1LA051605.fn]. After the oral discussion, the teacher prompts the class to write an individual critique of the performance. Franklin and his group huddled back at their desks to complete the assignment. While Franklin and his group wrote their critiques of their play, they discussed their ideas with the group. They held a conversation about their ideas, shared out with the group, and added to each other's comments. As the group discussed their thoughts, Franklin wrote the ideas in a bulleted list: Be sure to not look at your papers, look at the audience, read slowly and clearly, and don't be nervous. As the class wrote their own individual ideas on the paper, Franklin used his bulleted list as a guide and elaborated on each item in his critique.

Franklin's science teacher provided the students with an opportunity to design a lesson to teach to the class. While working on this project with his group, Franklin demonstrated his use of various literacy practices. In preparation for this lesson, the teacher reviewed the rubric that would be used to evaluate their lesson design and implementation. The teacher distributed packets to groups of students. As Franklin's group rummaged through their packet, Franklin copied the components from the rubric onto notebook paper to create an organizer for planning the lesson. As Franklin finished constructing the organizer, he gathers the attention of his group members searching through their packet of resources. The following field notes describe this process.

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Franklin leads the discussion, "Before we go looking at all of the items, we need to think about how we want to structure the lesson. We have to divide the time up. We can start with bell work. We need to have it on the table right when they walk in, kinda like she does it. We have to set time limits according to this paper. How many questions and how much reading should we give them?" The group negotiates through this process to determine the type and amount of bell work to give. They consider how much time it will take the students to read a page of text and answer five questions. They relate it to how long it takes them to usually do their bell work. Franklin continues, "Okay, now that we know what we're looking to have for bell work we can go and find something that meets that."

[RD3SC050605FN]

Rarely did Franklin have control over the activity structure, textual form, or the purpose for the social practices found in his classrooms. Franklin continued to engage in and complete the products connected with each literate event according to the expectations and guidelines set by the teacher. Franklin demonstrated that he worked with individual literate practices and collaborative literate practices. Although Franklin discussed various textual tools in the school, textbooks and worksheets served as the primary texts in his classroom settings. Franklin's school literacy practices were dominated by individual constructions designed for the sole purpose of producing teacher authorized texts to be evaluated by the teacher.

Franklin's academic/school literate practices differed from his personal/social literate practices in a number of ways. Franklin's personal/social literate practices

incorporated diverse textual forms and tools; Franklin didn't solely use books and worksheets. In addition, Franklin's school literacy was dominated by one purpose that was externally determined, whereas his personal literacy was driven by various self-initiated purposes. Lastly, Franklin's school literacy practices focused on individual construction as compared to the use of a variety of ways he worked to construct literacy practices personally and socially.

Javier – Scholar Athlete

"This person represents the true spirit of Frye, academically and athletically, the pride of the hallways, the classrooms, and field. This person represents the outstanding qualities of character, leadership and academic ability." So went the words of Principal Bryson's speech as he announced Javier as the recipient of the annual Principal Award [May 10 FN]. The words of Principal Bryson provide an accurate portrayal of Javier. Javier was an 8th grade Latino boy who was one of the most popular students in the school. Sporting the beginnings of a goatee and wearing his dark hair slicked back, as was the popular style of many Latino students, Javier could often be found joking with friends around his locker. He was well-liked and respected by peers and teachers alike.

Although he excelled academically in the classroom, he was most proud of his athletic accomplishments on the field, and every Friday, Spirit Day, Javier was sure to wear one of his Frye athletic T-shirts. Javier was a member of every school sports team except for basketball. He was the captain of the boys' soccer team, the boys' volleyball team, and the boys' flag football team. He would have been made captain of the track

team, but his soccer schedule overlapped at times, so he was unable to make all of the track meets. As an athlete, Javier excelled on the field, and led the flag football team to the Southeast District Championship.

Javier lived with his mother and father who were very supportive of his extracurricular interests. They were always willing to make arrangements and alter their schedules to be able to pick him up late from school after practice or a game. Although his extensive involvement with sports took up a lot of his time, he was still able to balance getting his work done. Javier described his busy schedule, "Well, practice is over at like 4:30. I get home around 5:00 and then I do my homework. On days when we have games, they don't start until 5:30, so I just stick around here [school] and do my homework then" [Student Interview, May 25].

Because of his popularity, Javier had many circles of friends in school. Because he was involved in sports throughout the year, most of his friends were also members of the different sports teams. Javier was also friends with several members of the Environmental Explorers club, especially Joaninha, the president of the Environmental Explorers club. They had been in the same classes throughout most of middle school and had developed a strong friendship over the years. This friendship prompted him to join the environment club. He explained his decision. "Well, I really wanted to be a part of this club, Joaninha and a bunch of my friends are in here, and I want to hang out with them sometimes. It's like you get something back, too. You know, you're helping the environment" [Student interview, May 25].

The club served as a way to get to hang out with some of his friends from school. Because of his busy schedule, it was difficult for Javier to find time to hang out with his friends. Many of his friends did not live near him, so finding time to hang out with them was extremely difficult outside of school. Javier spent a lot of time talking to friends on his cell phone, during the week because sports and school took up most of his time. However, on the weekends they got together to "hang out at the mall or go to watch a movie" [Student Interview, May 25].

Personal/Social Literacy Practices

As Javier described his personal/social literacy practices he said, "Well, I use it [literacy] every day just to talk with your friends. You know, at home I use it everywhere…for everything. You got to write and you got to read" [Student interview, May 25]. As I probed about his example of talking with his friends he responded, "Well, it's mostly on the phone because none of them live around me. But talking face-to-face, that's a literacy, too" [Student Interview, May 25]. Javier's literate practices of communicating with friends were not limited to oral conversation. During many of the trips with the Environmental Explorers club he would share pictures he had saved on his cell phone with his friends in the club. Javier also took pictures of his friends while waiting to board the bus on these trips out into the community or while waiting around to board the bus home. These pictures became a source of entertainment. Javier would snap candid shots with his cell phone and then share them with those he had photographed, and the entire group would erupt in laughter. Javier's words and actions illustrate his

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broad view of literacy as any form of communication that involves written, spoken, or visual symbols.

Javier also described a variety of his personal/social literacy practices that involved printed texts. Like his affinity for actively participating in sports, Javier also enjoyed reading about sports. He had a subscription to his favorite weekly magazine, Sports Illustrated. Javier reported that he also read the sports section of the newspaper to keep up with local pro and high school sports. In addition to his sports interests, Javier also read and collected comic books, although his interest had waned over the years. "I used to read comic books and stuff, like Spider-Man, when I was a little kid…I still look through them every once in a while. I'm still into them but not as much as before" [Student Interview, May 25].

Beyond personal interests, Javier discussed his literate practices at home as they related to school. As part of Frye's Home Reading program, students were required to read 100 minutes of week outside of school. Javier reported that his language arts teacher was "especially into that" and that it was a big part of his grade in that class. Javier explained that this program allowed you the choice of what to read, but "not like a newspaper or nothing, as long as it's a book" [Student interview, May 25]. As I probed about whether his Sports Illustrated magazine was acceptable he replied, "Well, I don't know, maybe. I never put it down though. I didn't want to take a chance" [Student interview, May 25]. To fulfill the requirement and not get points deducted from his grade, Javier didn't include his magazine reading as part of his reading log for school, but

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instead, he read a thick adult fiction novel, Marine Force One. He reported that it filled half of his reading log throughout the course of the year.

Javier's personal/social literacy practices represent his broad view of literacy as the process of communicating. Javier considered his oral conversations with friends via telephone and in person as one form of literacy. Javier also used his cell phone as a tool to document events and share visually through digital photographs. These literate practices demonstrate the social nature of Javier's literate behaviors. Both of these forms of literacy are constructed in collaboration with others. The participants constructed the content, activity structure, and textual form based on personal relevance and interests, and with an intended audience under consideration.

Javier also constructed personal or individual literacy practices, which involved reading printed texts, such as magazines and newspapers. Personal relevance and interests also drove these literate events. Javier's extreme love for sports provided the motivation for him to engage in these practices. These practices were not constructed for an external audience, other than himself. Javier also determined the content, textual form, and activity structure for these practices.

Likewise, Javier also constructed another form of individual literacy practices involving printed texts, i.e., his reading log practices. Although Javier had some control over the content and activity structure, these practices were guided by the standards and expectations set by his teacher. The choice of subject matter and the manner in which the reading was undertaken were permitted, but only within certain externally established parameters. Textual form was a non-negotiable matter; the texts had to be books. For

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Javier, this was a mandated practice, which he needed to construct with an external

audience, his teacher, in mind.

Academic/School Literacy Practices

Javier received an almost perfect score on his state writing exam, and as

illustrated by his receiving the Principal Award, Javier was very successful in all of his

classes. His teachers reported that Javier has a strong work ethic, he participates a lot in

class, and he is very involved in the discussions and conversations that take place in the

classroom. His science teacher reported that Javier "is a very conscientious student who

cares a lot about his grades and doing the work for class" [NWSC051805.ti].

Javier echoed this desire for getting good grades. However, even with his strong

value for succeeding academically, he was not always engaged in the classroom

practices. His science teacher noted Javier tends to mentally drift off. She believed he

needed to focus to become a better student.

During my observations of Javier in his classes I noticed that he was usually

engaged and participated in the class. This was particularly true of his science class.

Whether it was reviewing answers to a test, completing answers on a worksheet, or

silently reading from the textbook, Javier always followed along and participated. Javier

was extremely engaged in conducting lab experiments, and spent a great deal of time

writing up the lab reports. Javier's science teacher acknowledged the effort he put into his

lab reports.

> Javier does an exceedingly excellent job in writing up his labs. In the honors
>
> class, the students have to write all of the components for the lab: procedures,

hypothesis, and purpose for the experiment. The honors students have to totally

construct the write-up of the lab. However in regular science classes, the format

of the lab is already given to them. The questions at the end of the lab are

formulated, but in the honors class, they are expected to write their own questions

or more of a narrative describing their intentions, what the results were, and

potential reasons for the results. It's more intensive and a higher level than the

regular science classes' labs. Javier has continued to use the honors format, even

though it is not expected of him. The regular format is given to him, but he writes

the labs up totally on his own. [NWSC051805.ti]

A typical science lesson in Javier's class involved the students entering the room and

working silently and independently on the bell work. The bell work usually consisted of

some type of worksheet with an expository reading passage and multiple choice questions

about the passage. At times the bell work focused on vocabulary, where the students had

to match the word to the definition. After the bell work was finished, the teacher usually

provided an overview of the content the students would be reading for that day. The

students then read and took notes on the assigned section of the textbook. The teacher

required students to use a two-column format for taking notes from the text. One column

was for the main idea of a section or paragraph, and the other column was for details

about that main concept.

Javier discussed his views of the various literate events from his science

classroom, and he explained his lack of engagement. As I questioned Javier about the

practice of two-column note taking he replied, "It sucks. You have to look at a chapter

and then, like put like the title of the chapter and then put what you're learning and why.

It sucks" [Student interview, May 25]. For Javier, the literate practices of his science

classroom weren't enjoyable or engaging, but he was motivated by the accountability to

complete the work for his grades. Javier emphasizes this point in discussing the literate

practice of "foldables" used in his science classroom. Foldables served a creative way to

present students with information, where students folded construction paper in various

ways to create books, layered books, cubes, and other shapes. "I don't know why we do

those things [laughing]. I don't take the time to look at the foldable. I just study the whole

thing. I still do it and get a good grade, but it's stupid" [student interview, May 25].

Although Javier didn't enjoy many of the literate practices constructed in his

science classroom. There were some practices that he did engage in without complaint.

As part of a unit on HIV, the teacher used a lesson called Risky Business. Groups of

students were to sort cards with scenarios into piles based on the level of risk associated

with the behaviors described on the cards. The following field notes illustrate how

Javier's group constructed this activity.

> Javier's group divided up the cards among members of the group. Students took
>
> turns reading a card aloud to the group. Then the whole group engaged in
>
> discussion about which level of risk the scenario describes. During this process
>
> the group is engaged in respectful dialogue and negotiation. All opinions are
>
> heard, and then must be supported or they are altered. During this activity, the
>
> different scenarios on the cards lead students to engage in discussion of personal
>
> experiences and events from their home lives. For example, a scenario involving a

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pierced navel leads a student to discuss how her sister and her friend pierced each

other's navels. She described their reactions to the pain and how stupid they were

to do such a thing. Another example involved a tattoo. One student responded,

"I'm going to get one when I get older." The conversation then branches into how

cool tattoos look and talking about examples on musicians and athletes.

[NWSC051605Fn]

During this literate event the content and textual form are determined by the teacher, yet

the activity structure allows for collaboration. In turn, this collaboration allows the

students to change the activity structure to facilitate discussion and debate as well as

share their personal experiences.

Javier's Language Arts class was in constant fluctuation throughout the school

year. Javier had multiple substitute teachers over the course of the second semester. His

original regular teacher had taken pregnancy leave following the Christmas break. Once a

new long-term substitute was hired in March, she lasted until Spring Break and then took

a different full-time job in private industry. As Javier described his views about the

literate practices of his Language Arts classroom, he emphasizes that each teacher

brought different practices to the classroom. In turn, Javier held a different view for these

different teachers.

Silent reading was a common practice across all of the teacher's Javier had. Yet

with each teacher this particular practice differed in unique ways, which prompted Javier

to engage or resist the activity. Javier described a moment of disengagement with one of

the substitute teachers.

We were supposed to be reading, and nobody was reading. Ms. C [Original

teacher] would do that [assign silent reading], but she would then give us some

work about it. Like she'd give us a worksheet about what we just read. We would

read a story, like every two chapters, and then we'd take a test on those two

chapters. She knew what she was doing. I at least read the book then…Ms. X

[substitute teacher] had this little thing, like you read for the first three minutes of

class…we didn't have any work, and people started getting bored and stuff. We

wouldn't do anything for thirty minutes of class, well, like forty-five minutes

[periods are only 45 minutes long]. [Student interview, May 25]

As Javier explained, he viewed the practice of silent reading as connected to some form

of accountability. The lack of a worksheet or accountability measure did not increase

Javier's engagement with reading. It actually increased his resistance. Javier viewed

reading a teacher selected text as meaningless unless it was connected to some teacher

selected purpose. As I probed his view of the worksheets used by his original teacher,

Javier replied, "Nobody was really into it. Nobody really wanted to do it, but you know,

at least we had work." So, although it was not an enjoyable task, the worksheet gave

significance to an otherwise insignificant task.

Javier's accounts of his literate events at school further illustrate his desire to

succeed academically. Although not enjoyable literacy practices, Javier completed the

tasks in order to maintain his academic success. The accountability for grades served as

the primary motivator to complete these tasks and generally represented his purpose for

working through the literate events.

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Javier described the various practices he associated with school and discussed his different levels of engagement with these practices. Even when Javier enjoyed the subject matter of a practice, lack of control over the activity structure caused him to resist the practice. Javier reported that he liked science, yet the structure through which information was communicated, foldables and two-column notes, created dissonance. When science information was communicated in a social structure, where personal experiences and opinions were valued, Javier was very engaged.

Purpose also played a role in Javier's engagement with the literacy practices of school. When the subject matter was not linked to Javier's personal interests, he viewed the purpose to be academic success. As with his Language Arts class, when there was no measure of success presented, there was no purpose to engage in the practice.

Javon- "He's always in trouble."

Javon was one of three African American students in the Environmental Explorers club. His cornrow-braided hair was easy to spot in the hallway as his tall lanky frame towered over the other 6th grade students as they shuffled between classes. Javon lived with his mom and older brother in a low-income housing neighborhood just north of Frye Middle School. He was part of a group of students who had been re-assigned to Frye in an effort to ease the overcrowding in their neighborhood middle school. However, changing schools was not new to Javon; he had moved each year for the last two years, and during the second semester of the school year he was in the process of preparing to

move again in the upcoming summer. During his family's preparations for this move, Javon often stayed with his aunt on the other side of the city.

Javon was considered a troubled student in school by many of the sixth grade teachers. Over the course of the school year, Javon was often absent from his classroom. Because of his move to his aunt's, he was unable to make it to school many days. In addition to his absences, Javon spent many days in ISS [In-School Suspension] for various infractions against school policy. Javon took real pride in his friendships, and often defended his friends in physical altercations. A keystone to Javon's identity was "not being scared." This identity characteristic often landed Javon in trouble in school.

> This place got some bullies. There's this bully in our class. He don't bully me around. The first time I came to class, toward the second semester is when he started that stuff. I don't even start fights with him. I be like, just takin' up for other people cuz he be, he be makin' 'em do stuff. He be telling them all kinds of stuff. He'll like want to slap box someone, and I'll be like, "Slap box me!" I hate when they don't even try and defend themselves, it's like they're his slaves or something. [Student interview, May 25]

Javon attributed his circumstances to the attitudes of the teachers. "It's like some teachers try and get me in trouble. Like if something happens with another kid, they only listen to their story. Like when they ask what happened, it's like they don't even listen to what I have to say" [Student interview, April 13].

During my initial interactions with Javon, solely in the Environmental Explorers club, he acted reserved, quiet, and he kept to himself [10/28 FN; 2/25 FN]. However,

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during my first attempt to observe him outside of the service-learning club context, I saw a different identity emerge, as detailed by the following field notes on the day of a field trip.

> I planned to travel with Ms. Davis, another sixth grade Language Arts, teacher, because I wanted to observe Javon in this setting. I wanted to see how he interacted with his classroom peers and see how he used literacy practices in this non-school context. But, he called one of the teachers a "fat bitch" out the bus window and was removed from the field trip. [March 16, FN]

The first time that I approached him about being a case study co-researcher, he wasn't sure who I was and immediately assumed I was there to escort him to ISS. The following field notes demonstrate how accustomed Javon was to being in trouble in school.

> When I approached him, he just stared at me and wasn't sure what to make of the situation. When I asked the substitute if I could chat with Javon in the hallway, he asked, "Why you wanna talk to me?" I knelt down in front of his desk and reminded him that I was working with the s-l club and assured him that he wasn't in any trouble. This sparked his memory, and slowly we went into the hall to chat. At first, he just faced the wall across the hall and wouldn't look at me. I asked him why he thought he was in trouble, and he mumbled, "I don't know. Usually when I get called out in the hallway I get a blue paper and I got to go down to the office." [Researcher's Journal March 17]

Javon had an affinity for being active outside, and this prompted him to join the Environmental Explorers Club. Javon initially selected to join several different sports clubs. However, the clubs he had selected were full, so he chose to join the environment club because he could still be outside and active by the river where he could get "wet and dirty" [field notes, Oct 25]. Javon represented this love for sports and outside activity through the pictures he took of his friends playing various sports and his motorbike. However, Javon's move to his aunt's house caused him to miss many of his favorite activities from his old neighborhood. "I been used to go to the YMCA when I lived out at my other house. I used to play basketball there. But I don't go no more." [Student interview April 13]. Even with his transition to moving to his aunt's house, he was able to continue to play basketball, baseball, and football with his cousin and his cousin's friends. However, the activity Javon missed most was riding his motorcycle. Since receiving the small 50cc motorcycle as a gift at Christmas, riding the motorbike was and everyday activity for Javon. On a daily basis he would take young neighborhood kids for rides and let the older ones drive themselves. However, in early spring the motorcycle broke, and since his move he was unable to have the motorcycle in order to fix it. "Yeah. I used to ride my motorbike, but the gas line popped and I haven't gotten it fixed yet, so I can't ride that no more right now" [Student interview April 13].

Personal/Social Literacy Practices

Unlike his everyday interactions with peers during sports or outside activities, Javon's literacy practices outside of school tended to be in isolation. Javon mostly talked about his out of school literacy practices in connection with visits to the public library.

With the move to his aunt's house, Javon visited the public library almost on a daily basis since it was so close. Although he reported that friends from school sometimes joined him, his descriptive accounts of his visits to the library are told as individual endeavors.

Interviewer: So, do you and your cousin go to the library?

Javon: No, no. I don't go with him. Like when I get out of school, I take my stuff there [aunt's house] and then go straight to the library.

Interviewer: Oh, do you go by yourself?

Javon: Well, sometimes friends that come home with me. They catch the bus with me. [May 25, student interview]

I took a picture of like when I went to the library and when I checked out some books. [April 13, student interview]

In addition to checking out books to bring home, Javon described a number of different literacy practices he engaged in at the library. These practices involved the use of different texts for a variety of purposes. When questioned about his activities at the library, Javon responded, "I sometimes read, like books about motorcycles and stuff like that, like dirt bikes, because I like them. I read on that. I be reading books about animals and that stuff, and I be goin' on the Internet to look for stuff about animals" [April 13, Student interview]. This trip involved Javon using books as well as the Internet to access information of personal interest. On a separate occasion Javon also described his use of these multiple texts at the library. "I didn't have my card with me, so I just got on the computer. Then I read another book…about in the old days, back when cars and stuff

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were just made" [student interview, May 25]. When probed about his computer use this trip, he responded, "I was just playin' some games."

Javon showed a fascination for the Internet, both as a source of fun and a resource for information. Lacking access to a computer or the Internet at home, Javon reported, "That's why I go to the library, to use their computers" [student interview May 25]. Javon used the Internet to locate information about particular subjects of interest, and he also used the Internet as a tool to solve real personal issues. His personal passion for riding motorcycles drove him to create a plan to not only fix his old one, but to also buy a new one. Using the Internet, Javon located dealerships in the city and analyzed the costs of various new bikes. From this information he devised a plan.

> I got this one friend, me and him fixin' to get some lawnmowers and work over the summer and stuff. I want to do that and I want to save some money so I can get my own dirt bike. I'm goin' to try to get that old one fixed over the summer and give that one to my brother and get my own. It might take me a while for me to get my dirt bike, but I'm gonna have it. I'll have to save up my money from working, so I'm gonna get it…I searched the Internet, and there's this place called Cycle Madness over on Nebraska. There's that place. There's another place on Dale Mabry by the Bucs stadium. That's the place I'm gonna go to because I want to get me a brand new one. I'm tired of having to fix them…It's a DR3110. It's a 111cc. Then after I get that one, work some more and I'm gonna get me a helmet. I'm gonna get me all the gear, my boots, the outfit, all the pads, helmet, cargo, all that. [Student interview, May 25]

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The library served as Javon's primary space for literacy use outside of the school context. However, he also talked about some of the ways he used literacy inside his home. Again, Javon described these practices as individual acts. Additionally, all of the events that Javon described in the home setting were connected to school assignments. The books Javon reported reading at home were to complete the Home Reading program, where students were required to read 100 minutes at home. For this assignment, Javon reported that he mostly read motorcycle books that he had checked out from the public library. As part of another class assignment, students were to select one of their books from their Home Reading program and do a book report in various creative ways.

> The last one that we did it was a diorama. You had to read the book. We had to write a little something. Then in a shoebox we had to do like a scene in the book. I did, it was a book about motorcycles. I had the audience in the back, and I had the little humps, like motocross. [Student interview, May 25]

Javon engages in various forms of literate activities in his social spheres. Books and the Internet are Javon's primary textual tools used to construct these literate activities in his social spheres. Across these spheres, Javon engages in personal or individual construction of literacy. Whether he is reading books at home or reading content from the Internet at the library, Javon conducts these activities in isolation. This isolated performance is the common thread across Javon's social literate practices.

It also appears that these multiple social spheres represent different purposes for literacy. For Javon, literacy is a tool that serves many purposes, and it is his purpose that guides the selection of the practice. At the library Javon demonstrates total control and

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ownership over his literate activities, searching for motorcycles on the Internet or reading about personal hobbies and interests. During these times, Javon's literacy practices are guided by personal relevance. In contrast, at home Javon's literate practices are guided by school influences. A teacher designated the textual form and activity structure (read a book, make a diorama). However, the content of the literate event is still in Javon's control. Javon's consistent description of literacy events from the library and brief mentioning of literacy events in the home demonstrates his inclination to identify literate practices in his social spheres as those in which he has total control and are guided by personal relevance.

Academic/School Literacy Practices

In general, Javon expressed a liking for being in school. He enjoyed his science, business, and physical education classes. This enjoyment can be traced back to his fascination with computers, his personal interest in animals, and his affinity for active involvement. However, in class Javon fluctuated between extreme engagement and total indifference. His teachers view him as a "good kid who just needs some extra help" [DELA051805ti.txt]. Javon's teachers consistently talked about his desire to achieve academic success. However, his teachers also reported that this desire was hindered due to Javon's personality traits. Javon's differing levels of engagement led his teachers to view him as a struggling student.

> Javon is difficult because, Javon does want to get good grades, and he gets upset if he doesn't, but he's very lazy… If anything puts a kink in his chain, he gets frustrated and just shuts down. Javon will give you a lot of attitude and it's

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weird…He's different because he doesn't want to get bad grades, but he's also

lazy. [COsc051005ti.txt]

He likes to get good grades, and he wants to get good grades…Javon participates.

He is very bright, and he's usually one of the ones that answers questions, raises

his hand, and is involved. He gets angry easily or frustrated and he just wants to

give up. So, he can be tricky sometimes…He goes in and out of those moods.

Some days he's great, on top of things. Other days he's just, "I don't want to be

here," and just waiting for the bell to ring. He's got that attitude.

[DELA051805ti.txt]

As Javon's teachers pointed out, his levels of engagement with literacy practices

in school fluctuated across contexts, subject areas, and activity structures. Javon enjoyed

reading poetry. "I like the way that they rhyme. The rhyming is cool" [student interview,

April 13]. Javon also enjoyed the different activities his reading teacher used to practice

their vocabulary words. During his reading class, the teacher used a lot of games and

active involvement to broaden students' vocabulary. Javon was extremely excited about

these games and was thoroughly prepared to participate in the games. When prompted for

examples of his vocabulary words, he quickly rattled off, "Embark, to start a journey or a

trip. Sleuth is a detective" [Student interview, May 25]. The use of computers also

presented an activity structure that interested Javon. In his science class, Javon was very

engaged in a computer role-play program, where he was a doctor tending to patients.

During this activity, Javon attentively listened to the teacher's directions, thoroughly read

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through the worksheets that accompanied the activity, and meticulously wrote notes on his worksheets.

Both Javon's science and language arts teacher described him as a "loner" who "just stays in his own little element" [COsc051005ti.txt] and "keeps to himself" [DELA051805ti.txt]. Javon's Language Arts teacher believed he preferred to work individually during literacy events.

> The thing about the literature circles is that they each have their own part. So they each do their own part by themselves, and that's helpful in a sense because, well yes they're reading the same book and part of the book together, but when it comes to their activities, they're doing it on their own. They don't have to collaborate on that. I think that that is the part that he enjoys most about the literature circles. [DELA051805ti.txt]

In contrast, Javon appeared to be very engaged when he was able to collaborate during various literacy events. During the doctor role-playing computer program, Javon actively offered assistance to and requested assistance from his classmates.

> Javon offers help to his neighbor who keeps looking at Javon's screen to see how to get to the next screen. Javon uses his computer to demonstrate how to navigate to the next screen. The student doesn't understand, so Javon points to the neighbor's screen to show him where to click. [CO3sc042005fn.txt]
>
> Javon looks to neighbor, "How you take the blood pressure?" Neighbor shows Javon where to click and tells him, "You have to ask him questions first." Javon follows the directions and returns to the questioning screen. [CO3sc042005fn.txt]

Additionally, Javon shared his DEAR (Drop Everything And Read) reading books with classmates.

> Javon is sharing a huge encyclopedia of animals type book with his neighbor. He flips through the book looking at pictures. As he finds a picture that interests him, he stops and reads the caption or the section of text on the same page as the picture. Occasionally he turns to his neighbor, points at the picture of interest and then runs his finger along the text as he reads aloud to the neighbor. Then they discuss the information provided about the animal pictured. [DE1LA042105fn]

However, collaboration was not always a teacher-sanctioned part of particular activity structures, and often ended with Javon getting reprimanded.

> Javon shows a girl from the neighboring group a picture of a snake eating another animal. The teacher turns and says, "Your names are written down for demerits." Immediately Javon is upset, "Tsk. But. I was... We... Oh man!"
>
> [DE1LA050305fn.txt]

Javon demonstrated his desire to achieve success with literacy in various settings and with various textual practices. While completing worksheets in science class [CO3sc040605fn], navigating complex vocabulary on a computer program [CO3sc042005fn], or completing grammar exercises from a textbook [DE1LA050305fn], Javon found these tasks difficult, but he continued to engage with the tasks. Reaching the point where he could not complete the tasks on his own, Javon sought teacher assistance. Completion of these tasks was followed by broad smiles on Javon's face, whispering cheers, and physical celebration.

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At other times, Javon was totally disengaged from the literacy practices in school. This usually occurred in his Language Arts classroom. During his Language Arts class, the teacher played the cassette that accompanied the novel the students were reading. Periodically, the teacher would stop the tape to discuss the events of the story. The following field notes detail Javon's passive resistance to the activity.

After 12 minutes of listening, T stops tape and asks questions. "Why is it important for him to have the hatchet?" First student responds with, "He used it to do lots of stuff." The teacher probes, "Like what, be specific." She calls on students who are raising their hands. Students offer multiple responses about the various activities he used the hatchet for throughout the story. Javon yawns during this activity. The book is closed on his desk. His head is on top of the book. As the teacher begins the tape again, he slides the book from under his head and opens to the page where the narrator is. He doesn't move his body at all, his head is still lying on ones side of the desk as he looks at the book. Javon has his eyes closed as the narrator continues. There is an echo of pages turning, and he opens his eyes, flips the page, and then returns to closed position.

[DE1LA042105fn]

Javon also demonstrated his lack of engagement with the literacy practices of his Language Arts classroom through active resistance. At times Javon did not follow along with the lesson and chose to read personal books.

A student goes around and hands out the Hatchet novel that the class is reading. Teacher addresses class, "We need to finish the book today, so we'll read the rest

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of it and then we'll do a cause and effect activity." Javon is one of a handful of students not getting ready to read the book. Most students are paging through the text to locate the place to start reading. Javon's book is still unopened on his desk. He is continuing to page through the animal book from DEAR time. [DE1LA042105fn]

As the teacher is writing the first sentence on the board, she diagrams the sentence by pointing out the simple subject and then the complete subject, emphasizing that the complete subject is all related to the simple subject of the sentence. She calls on Javon to add a predicate to her sentence on the board. Since he was not paying attention to her work and doing the work in the book, he just stares at the board. The teacher prompts, "What about how, when, where?" He continues to stare at the board. Teacher guides more, "Well, what about where?" Javon replies, "To the park." Javon has taken the science book back out from DEAR time and is paging through that. The teacher continues with the explanation and he stops to look up at her. As soon as she turns back around, he goes back to the science book. [DE1LA050305fn]

Javon's active resistance to the literacy practices in his Language Arts class was not always done quietly. During one observation, Javon actively caused commotion in the classroom several times.

After a few minutes of work, Javon calls out, "Ms. Davis, he's making noises." The teacher intervenes and mediates the situation. Even after that, Javon is still jawing with the boy next to him. As the teacher looks over, she sees Javon's

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actions, "Stop talking. Move your stuff to the desk back there." As Javon moves his books and things to the back desk, he puts his jacket on. As he takes his new seat, he purposely slides his book off the edge of his desk to make a loud booming echo. All of the students stop to observe the noise. He laughs and picks up his book. [DE1LA050305fn]

Javon is still on the second section. He stretches, cracks his knuckles, and turns and chats to the neighbors at the table next to him. He is obviously not engaged in his assignments. Every time someone walks by him to go do something, water fountain, trash, pencil sharpener, he makes comments to them. One boy gets up and goes to the bathroom for the third time. Each time he leaves, he beat boxes down the hallway. As he returns, he slams the door and slides in as his entrance into the classroom. As he returns this last time, Javon comments to him, "Man, we heard you all the way down the hall." [DE1LA050305fn]

When probed about his various levels of engagement with literacy practices in school, Javon attributed his level of engagement to the particular structures of the literacy practice. For Javon to be engaged in reading, he believed it needed to be enjoyable and relevant to his personal interests.

> Javon: It depends on what I'm reading. Like I don't like some book about, I don't know. It was like a long book, and it was kinda boring. Make it fun, like put it in games. Cuz then, for me, then I'd read more.
>
> Interviewer: You said you don't like the big long chapter books, but you read that big thick animal book.

Javon: Well, try and make me read books that I like. Cuz you don't do that I ain't goin' to be wantin' to read it, and I ain't never goin' to want to read. But if it's a book that I want, I'm goin' to read it. Like that book or books like it. [A052005si]

As with reading in school, Javon believed that writing also needed to be relevant to his experiences and interests.

When we have to, I know we had to do a writing or something, and there weren't really that much to write about. Like we had to read this, it was like this short story that we had to read. It was like this boy and his friend went camping, and they had went and laid down and rest. Then when they woke up it was dark, cuz like it be going to like rain, you know how the sky get dark, it was dark and there was lightning shootin' through. They had dropped a couple of their things. Their map and stuff had got wet. Then it was like, "What would you do?" I couldn't think of what to really do. [A052005si]

As with his personal/social literacy practices, Javon's engagement with school literacy practices is centered on books and computers. Additionally, like his personal/social literacy practices, Javon's school literacy practices are constructed purposefully. At times these practices are solely constructed for personally relevant purposes, in which Javon has total control over content, form and activity structure. However, most of the content, form, and activity structure of Javon's literacy practices in school are controlled by his teachers. Yet, despite this lack of power over these practices, Javon is guided by his value for academic success to engage in these literacy practices. When the purpose of the designated school literate event is personally meaningless,

Javon constructs literacy practices that subvert the authoritative practices. Unlike his personal/social literacy practices, Javon's school literacy practices include collaborative constructions of literate events. Javon's various levels of engagement with literacy practices in school provide a view of the multiple values he holds for different literate practices in different contexts.

Joaninha- A "Model" Leader

Environmental Explorers club president was one of many roles and identities Joaninha assumed throughout her various spheres of life. As president of the club, Joaninha coordinated and arranged for the various meetings and events, divided tasks among the individual members, and worked as the liaison between the club members and the supervising teachers. Joaninha had first joined the club the previous year. She had been invited to join by one of the supervising teachers, who was also her science teacher at the time. Filled with a passion to help the environment, Joaninha eagerly accepted the offer.

Joaninha was an 8th grade Latina female who prided herself on her academic accomplishments. She had a strong desire to achieve academic success and stressed out about her grades. As she pondered her upcoming year in high school, she discussed her concern for continuing this success. "I'm just so used to getting A's, that if I get a B I'm going to freak out. I'm scared that I might get a B or something next year, and that will drop my GPA" [Student Interview, May 24]. At Frye, Joaninha received many honors and awards for her academic achievement. She received an award for her perfect score on

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the state writing exam. She also received an Honor Roll award for maintaining straight A's for the entire school year. Since Joaninha maintained such outstanding grades and scored so well on standardized achievement exams during her years at Frye she also received the Presidential Academic Achievement award. Joaninha was involved in various other clubs and sports at Frye. She was captain of the girls' volleyball and girls' soccer teams, and she received several awards for her excellence as leader of these sports teams. In addition to athletics, Joaninha was also a member of the National Junior Honor Society [NJHS], and through this organization she tutored students at Frye.

Joaninha was originally born in Brazil, and had lived in the United States for about nine years. In her home, she spoke mostly Portuguese with her mother and father, but would switch between English and Portuguese with her older sister. For this study, Joaninha selected her pseudonym from a childhood nickname. Because of her long red hair and freckles, Joaninha's mother used to call her "little ladybug."

Joaninha's Brazilian identity was a major influence in her life outside of school. Joaninha's discussions about her activities outside of school revolved around events with friends from her Brazilian church that her father founded and headed. Joaninha shared many photographs of her interactions with the members who attended the church. She explained how these experiences influenced her identity.

Okay. So like in each group [at church] that I hang out with, I'm the youngest one. So it's like, 15 and up. Like here [Frye], it's kinda weird when I hang out with them because it's totally different. I have to act like, not somebody different, but I don't know, a little bit more immature, I guess. [Laughing] I don't know. They're

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just so different. Like they think of some of the stupidest stuff and I just think,

"Oh my god, how did you think of that?" [Student Interview, May 24]

Joaninha's Brazilian identity also influenced some of her other interests. Joaninha loved

listening to Latin style music. She also reported that she loved watching Brazilian soap

operas on the Brazilian channel that her family received through their satellite dish.

However, attending modeling school was Joaninha's most cherished activity to do

outside of school. Despite her intense schedule of classes, and hours of homework,

Joaninha managed to find time to attend Barbizon modeling school. During one of our

sessions she shared her portfolio with me. Each picture was accompanied by a detailed

story about the outfit, the setting, and the amount of pictures that were required to get the

"perfect" shot. Joaninha's excitement was very obvious as she talked about her modeling,

especially since she was getting ready to graduate. "I'm going to graduate in August.

Then on June 5th, I have this audition to go to the IMTA [International Modeling and

Talent Association] in Los Angeles. It's where a bunch of people were discovered, like

Ashton Kucher and a bunch of other famous stars got discovered there. If I make the cut,

I get to go to LA!" [Student Interview, May 24]. Although modeling was a dream future

for Joaninha, she also had other plans for her career path that allowed her to build off of

her academic achievements.

I like computers. I want to be a technologist or something. But now I'm doing

modeling. I always wanted to have my own computer company. I'm thinking what

I want to do is take the money I get from modeling and make my own computer

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company. Cuz like I'm not going to be a model the rest of my life [laughs]. I know that. [Student Interview, May 24]

Personal/Social Literacy Practices

When asked about her literacy practices outside of school, Joaninha commented, "Well, that's [reading and writing] like everywhere" [Student interview, May 24]. As I probed for specific examples, she immediately responded with, "My homework. Five hours of homework every day" [Student interview, May 24]. For Joaninha, her determination to succeed academically prompted her to use the literate tools and practices from her school life in her personal life at home. Further, Joaninha's strong work ethic forced her to focus on her homework, and thus this literate practice dominated her social sphere.

Because of her involvement in so many activities at school and with her father's church, Joaninha relied on writing as a literate practice that served to keep herself organized. Joaninha reported that she made lists of things she needed to remember, such as chores to be accomplished or items she needed to buy. Similar to Joaninha's practice of writing lists to keep organized, she also noted how she used a planner as an organizational tool.

> I'm really organized. Sometimes the things are kinda gay that I do, but I'll write what I have to do and check it off when I did it. If you look at my planner, it's all full. There's not one little box that's not all full. Everyone makes fun, but it's the only way that I can keep myself organized. They're all like, "Man, I don't even use that planner," you know joking me. Sometimes I'll make that list just to stare at it.

Sometimes I don't check it off, and sometimes I do. Then, like, if I keep looking

at I feel bad because it's something that I didn't do. Like, if it says, "Give Mitzi a

bath," and I didn't do it, I feel bad. So then I have to give her a bath, because I'll

keep thinking about it. That sucks sometimes. You have that pressure on you like

you didn't do something. [Student Interview, May 24]

Joaninha's comments illustrate how this practice of using a planner was not a common

literate event among her friends. Joaninha's use of this literate practice went against the

values and customary literate expectations of her friends. Despite the ridicule, Joaninha

continued to use the planner in this format.

As noted above, Joaninha's social sphere was dominated by homework. As with

other events in her social and personal life, Joaninha used the calendar to keep herself on

track with her homework.

Sometimes, I'll be like, so I don't spend too much time on homework, I'll be like,

"I'm going to do math homework for 45 minutes. If I'm not done, too bad because

I'm not going to waste my whole life on that." "Then science, 40 minutes," and I

keep going. It's like time management. Because there's a lot of homework, if

you're an honors student, and if you keep basing your whole life on it you're not

going to have a life. So, that's what I'm trying to do. [Student interview, May 24]

Joaninha's description of how she used her planner for organizing her homework

demonstrates how the literate act of using the planner served to control the construction

of other literate acts in her life at home. That is, the use of the planner constructed how

she completed how she completed homework.

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Joaninha's writing in the planner was not a socially accepted literate practice among her friends, yet her use of the planner was a dominant literate practice the crossed all spheres of her life. In this instance, Joaninha disregarded the literate conventions that were held by her social group of friends and allowed a practice that was typically associated with school to influence her literate events outside of school. In contrast, when Joaninha discussed letter writing she was clear about her different approaches to this practice in different contexts.

> Okay, like if you're writing a formal letter you got to use big vocabulary words and make it sound all fancy and nice and stuff. Like when you're talking with your friends or writing them a letter, it doesn't matter. Like you write "u" instead of "y-o-u". You just write the letter. For "your" you just write "u-r", the letters. It doesn't matter I guess, because they actually know who you are. Like if I write a fancy letter to my friends, they'll be like, "What the heck is she talking about," you know. Like they'd joke me about it like they joke me about my planner.
>
> [Student Interview, May 24]

Joaninha illustrates how her social sphere is accepting of only particular forms of letter writing. Joaninha holds the view that letter writing in her social group of friends must conform to particular conventions, or it will be ridiculed. In this instance, Joaninha keeps to the literate practice as it's constructed within this sphere, and she emphasizes the purpose is communicating with friends. Joaninha also emphasizes that the practices from other spheres are not accepted in her social group of friends, so she sees no use for them in this context.

Joaninha's perspectives illustrate how her literacy practices are constructed very purposefully. At times her practices are for personal purposes, such as her planner. At other times, she constructs literate practices for social purposes with a specific audience in mind, like her letter writing. Joaninha's views also demonstrate how purpose overrides site in the construction of her literate practices. Joaninha's purpose to achieve academic success overrides the lack of social acceptance of using a planner from school.

Academic/School Literacy Practices

With her strong desire to succeed academically, Joaninha was always engaged in her classes. Joaninha's teachers described her as a model student who is able to balance all of her various activities and still complete her assignments. Joaninha's teachers held her in high regard and viewed her as extremely intelligent and motivated. Joaninha's Language Arts teacher described her as "a precious sweetheart that's got brains and is going to go far and excel in anything she wishes to exceed at. I think she's just a well-rounded person" [TWLA050905.ti].

When discussing school literate practices, Joaninha offered this advice for students to follow if they wish to succeed academically.

Try to read more books. Get a book that you think is interesting and start reading it. Reading helps you out a lot. Some words that I never knew and I use on essays and stuff, I found out on books and posters and stuff like that. So everything you see, make sure you read it. Writing, practice. Like for your FCAT writing, if you don't practice, you're not going to get a 6.0. Practice and work hard, and don't give up. [Student interview, May 24]

Joaninha described a number of literate practices. She emphasized the use of books as textual tools. Particularly, Joaninha pointed to the purpose of reading books as a way to learn more words. This view of reading is one of and individual endeavor with an individual purpose. Additionally, Joaninha cited how these new words can be applied to school writing assignments. Transferring the new vocabulary to a written text moves the value for developing vocabulary from individual to a social purpose. Through her words, Joaninha described the literate act of reading as the use of books to learn vocabulary that can enhance school assigned writing.

In looking at Joaninha's portrayal of writing, she emphasized that writing is enhanced with elaborate vocabulary. Joaninha also mentioned writing as a textual practice in connection with the state writing test. Specifically, Joaninha emphasized that writing is a textual tool that is used as an evaluative measure. She further expanded that her goal for this form of writing is to achieve a perfect score.

Joaninha's values for literate events associated with school settings were enacted throughout her daily classroom procedures. My observations in the classrooms and conversations with teachers illustrate how these literate values were enacted in Joaninha's classroom settings.

Throughout Joaninha's classrooms, books were emphasized as the primary textual resource to be used. In her Language Arts class, the teacher used novels, such as *The Diary of Anne Frank* and *The Outsiders*, as reading materials. In Joaninha's science classroom, the textbook often served as the primary resource. Even when the students were conducting experiments the lab book took the place of the textbook.

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The use of books as a way to develop and enhance vocabulary was a common

theme expressed by both Joaninha's science and Language Arts teachers. In Joaninha's

Language Arts class, this connection between vocabulary and reading books was linked

to standardized tests.

> At the beginning of the year they used their spelling and vocabulary every week.
> They had to have a test on about 20 words. They had to know the spelling and
> they had to know the vocabulary. So, I had to explain to them why. They take this
> test, called STAR. It's a STAR reading test. It's a benchmark, a county
> benchmark… What I realized is that test is not just a reading test, but it's a
> vocabulary test. The higher your vocabulary is then they're saying that you are
> reading on this particular level. So, with that in mind you need to know what is
> the vocabulary that is needed to understand. You need to know that your
> vocabulary that you speak is a way to help you in your reading. [TWLA050905.ti]

In Joaninha's science classroom, the teachers also establish the purpose for the

development of vocabulary as the transfer over to written texts, specifically the

construction of lab reports.

> In the honors classes, I expect them to use reading and writing in more advanced
> ways than my regular students, because they have their lab write ups that they
> have to do. They need to be able to understand more technical words. They need
> to be able to read their book and write their lab report just from that…We started
> out, and they didn't know what they were doing, but as the semester and the year

went on, they would use vocabulary words from the other textbook and bring it into this one, lab write up, to support some of their information. [LESC.ti]

Joaninha viewed school literacy as the production of written texts that stemmed from reading. At times these literate products were answers to questions at the end of a textbook chapter, at the end of a lab report, or at the end of a story. Joaninha also held the belief that school based literate products were textual products constructed for an external audience, sometimes the teacher and sometimes a test evaluator. In holding to her value for academic success, Joaninha engaged in all of the textual practices she encountered in school, and in so doing, held to the features that were expected for literate products constructed within the school context.

Malibu- "It's for a grade."

Malibu was a 6th grade Vietnamese American girl and the only Asian American student in the Environmental Explorers club. The pseudonym Malibu came from her continual thinking about her family's approaching move to Malibu, California. She was excited and concerned about the move. She was eager to move to California to experience the Pacific Ocean and see her family that already lived there. Yet, at the same time, she was processing how she was going to deal with missing her friends. Her parents were planning on opening a Vietnamese restaurant in California. However, as the year progressed, the financial burden involved in such an endeavor made it seem less likely. Yet, Malibu continued to think about the potential move.

Malibu lived with her mother, father, younger sister, and older brother, who was an eighth grader at Frye. Malibu's parents only spoke Vietnamese in the home, so Malibu served as their translator for any correspondences between her teachers and her parents. In fact, for the family interview for this study, Malibu read the questions to her mother in Vietnamese and then wrote English translations of her mother's responses on the form. Malibu was one of a handful of Vietnamese students that attended Frye, and she was very shy about her cultural background. Whenever her brother would speak to her in Vietnamese at school, she would become embarrassed and tell him to speak in English. Even when Malibu brought a DVD of Vietnamese musicians and comedians to share with her geography class she was hesitant to publicly display her Vietnamese skills. As her classmates watched the DVD, several of them asked her to translate what was being said. Shyly, Malibu responded, "I only know a little bit" [CO4sc041305fn.txt]. In addition to bringing in the DVD, Malibu demonstrated pride in acknowledging her cultural background by providing many of the cultural artifacts (clothing, crafts, pictures) that were used as part of a display on Vietnam that her geography class constructed for the school cultural fair. During our interviews Malibu also spoke of her family back in Vietnam and the excitement she felt for their visits.

> My grandma and aunt are there [Vietnam]. They come every once in a while. I really like it because when they come we get to watch all of the old movies. It's great to hear all of their stories from when they were younger and also when my dad was younger. They told me that when my dad lived over there he was rich.

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They said my mom was poor, but them met and started liking each other, so they

got married. [Student interview, April 6]

Malibu spent a lot of time hanging around her house for both work and pleasure.

Malibu's chores included doing her laundry, and at times the whole family's laundry,

taking care of the family's pet dogs, and tending to her pet chickens. Malibu also spent

time at home relaxing. Her favorite spot in her house, and a common topic of discussion

during our conversations, was her bedroom. For Malibu, her bedroom was the hub of her

social existence. One of the first pieces of documentation Malibu collected to portray her

life beyond school was a video of her room. Malibu was quite proud of her display of

citizenship awards and ribbons from elementary school that hung on her walls. Malibu

also emphasized the fact that she had her own phone and her own computer in her room.

Malibu used her bedroom to relax, privately talk to friends on the phone, display her

favorite celebrities' pictures on the walls, and hang out with friends. During one visit,

Malibu and her friends splatter-painted her bedroom blue and pink. Her parents objected

and she painted it to white.

Most of Malibu's friends were former elementary classmates who lived in her

neighborhood. Malibu emphasized how this group of friends was very accepting.

Well, you just have to be yourself. You know, you don't have to act like all cool

and show off. Cuz like my friends, they're really cool and they don't really care

how you act, just as long as you get it under control and don't act all crazy.

[L051905si]

As a group, they would hang out at each other's house, or go to the mall to shop and hang out, or spend a lot of time chatting with each other over the phone. In addition to hanging out and socializing, Malibu enjoyed playing volleyball and basketball with her friends, and in seventh grade she was planning on joining every sport at Frye. In fact, Malibu only selected to join the service-learning club after her initial sports club was filled.

Personal/Social Literacy Practices

Being a central site in her social spheres outside of school, Malibu's bedroom also served as the site for most of her personal/social literacy practices. Most of Malibu's photos that she took documenting her personal/social literate events were taken in her bedroom. Malibu's personal/social literacies incorporated various textual tools, such as books, magazines, computers, cell phones, and the Internet. As noted above, Malibu used the telephone extensively to keep in touch and share social tidbits with her friends. In addition to using verbal communication over the phone, Malibu often used her cell phone's digital camera to document events that she could later share with her friends. Malibu explained how a picture she took of her cell demonstrated her literate practice.

> Look [starts flipping through pix on the phone of family members and friends].
> These are my cousins. [Flips through pix on phone] These are from Jamboree
> Day. [Flips through pix of friends at school carnival.] I usually have this with me,
> so I can take pictures of things. [Student Interview, May 19]

Malibu also used the Internet on her computer to communicate. In discussing her literate practices, Malibu mentioned typing on the Internet. When probed, she said, "Like typing to chat to people on line" [Student interview, March 30]. For Malibu, going on

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line to chat with people was an everyday ritual. Her mother also reported that Malibu "often goes to the chat line on the computer and reads her emails and writes back" [L051005fi.txt]. Malibu reported that out of all of her literacy practices at home, chatting on line was her favorite activity. When questioned about her value for chatting, Malibu responded, "Cuz you get to meet people and find out about people from all over the world. You get to talk with them and know more about them and get to have more friends" [Student interview, April 6]. Malibu mainly talked to new people from distant locations because very few of her friends had Internet access or were allowed to use the same chat rooms as Malibu. Malibu's description of her chatting practice demonstrates the similarities this social practice shares with the verbal communication Malibu maintained with her neighborhood friends via the telephone.

> Well, we just talk to each other about our lives and stuff, about the things we like to do. You find out about someone's age and where they live, ASL. That's Age, Sex, Location. You can talk to someone to get to know them better. They ask you your age, sex and location. Then they ask you for a private chat room…like you can go on these separate rooms with them without being in the whole group. They email and then you can email them back to get to know them. [L040605si]

The process resembles a typical personal encounter, where people meet, share interests, and continue to communicate over time to establish a relationship. In addition to building new friendships, the social practice of chatting allowed Malibu to construct various, fictitious identities in order to fit into a particular chat group. "Yeah. When I go in there, I'm only twelve, but I pretend like I'm eighteen or nineteen and stuff" [Student interview,

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April 6]. Unlike the value of "being yourself" held by her neighborhood friends, Malibu's

on line community of friends held different values.

Malibu used the Internet in a number of ways beyond chatting on line and email

communication. Malibu also used the Internet as a tool to locate information. "If I want

to learn about something, I'll search for it on the Internet" [Student interview, May 19].

Malibu provided an example of how she navigated the Internet to locate information for a

school book report.

> You do like an Internet search or something. I forget which one I did. It was either
>
> Google or Ask Jeeves. I don't remember. Then you go on J Lo. They have this
>
> biography section, and you just have to type in her name. It'll give you her
>
> information. [Student interview, May 19]

Other times Malibu used the Internet as a source of entertainment. She visited adult-

oriented web sites like Funnyjunk.com, which is filled with pictures, videos, and other

textual materials depicting various humorous events and sights from people's daily lives.

Malibu also visited teen-oriented sites like DisneyChannel.com. Malibu described the

various activities that she could do on this site.

> Like I went to Disney Channel and they have games you can play and quizzes you
>
> can take…there's like, um, some TV shows and stuff. There's this one about your
>
> room being all cool and clean and stuff. They give you a test to see if your room
>
> is like, you know, like clean and cool and stuff, things like that…They had
>
> multiple choice. One was mirrors, one was phone, and one was computer. Then
>
> you had to pick out which ones you had… They don't give you a score. They just

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give you a little paragraph that tells you how cool your room is that you have to read. And it tells you whose room on the TV show that yours is like, if it's neat, clean, cool, and stuff like that. It tells you how many people, like the percent of people that got the same kind of room as you from the test. [Student interview, April 6]

Again, Malibu's words emphasize the role her room plays in her life. Besides working as a physical site to construct and use literacy practices, Malibu's bedroom actually becomes a component and source of purpose embedded within this particular use of the Internet.

Malibu also engaged in the use of printed materials as part of her personal/social literacy practices. She took a picture of her sister reading a book to demonstrate how she sometimes helps her younger sister read. The majority of Malibu's use of printed texts involved magazines. She had a weekly subscription to Teen People, and she was very absorbed with the magazine. Every week when the magazine came, Malibu would get comfortable on her bed or lie on her bedroom floor as she read the new issue. She reported that the magazine was enjoyable for her because she liked reading about celebrities. She also reported that reading Teen People was different than other types of reading that she disliked. "Like [Teen] People magazine they just have stuff that's easier to know, because it already says it on the page, like the topic. It has the topic on the page and then like a story about that topic and then the pictures go with that topic" [Student Interview, April 6]. Malibu's collecting of the issues and the use of the pictures to decorate her bedroom further illustrate her affinity for the magazine.

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During our conversations about her views of her literate practices Malibu consistently reported that she hated reading. In every interview she emphasized her repulsion for reading. Throughout the course of the study, Malibu consistently associated the term "reading" with books and practices that took place at school. However, Malibu also consistently brought in new photos documenting the literate practices she used outside of school, which demonstrated the various ways she did engage with literacy in her personal and social spheres, many of which involved what others might not consider "reading."

Malibu's personal/social literate practices are bound together by the social nature of their construction. Malibu used the Internet and email as written forms of communication to connect with other people. Malibu used the phone as a tool to connect with others visually, through digital photography, as well as verbally. Malibu used the print resource of Teen People as a way to communicate with others. The contents of the magazines, both articles and pictures, provided tools to communicate with her friends and family. Malibu's engagement with literacy practices in her social and personal spheres is driven by her purpose of communicating with others about personally relevant issues and interests, most of which occurs in her bedroom.

Academic/School Literacy Practices

Both Malibu's Language Arts and science teachers describe her as a model student. They reported that her work is excellent and always complete, and she is very courteous and respectful. In describing Malibu's engagement with literacy practices at school, her Language Arts teacher reported, "Malibu is not a good tester. She does all her

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work and tries really hard in the classroom exercises and stuff, but she's not a good tester" [AKLA051805.ti]. Malibu's science teacher described her as a "good reader" who "doesn't necessarily like it when I call on her to read, but she does it" [COSC051005.ti].

As I observed Malibu in her various classes, she participated at varying degrees in the literacy practices constructed in the classroom setting. In Malibu's science classroom, the teacher often called on students to read aloud from the textbook. Malibu consistently followed along in the text as she listened to the other students read. My observations match her science teacher's perspective; Malibu never volunteered to read aloud [COSCFN: 033005, 040605, 041305, 050405]. This pattern also followed in her Language Arts class; as students were called on to read aloud from the story, she followed along, but never volunteered [AKLAFN: 040405, 041105]. Malibu rarely volunteered to provide answers in either of the classrooms in which I observed her. However, she was very much a part of conversations that involved sharing personal opinions and experiences.

Most of the literate practices Malibu encountered in the school setting were designed to be independent events. Students were expected to follow along as their classmates read aloud, complete worksheets by themselves, and read silently from their textbooks. Malibu usually followed the expectations for these literacy practices. However, at times Malibu disengaged from these independent practices, reading notes from friends, writing personal letters, or just staring blankly into space. Sometimes she physically left the room to go to the media center or the bathroom. Other times Malibu faked engagement. During an interview session, I apologized for taking Malibu away

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from her DEAR reading time. She had appeared very interested in the book she was reading. However, Malibu responded, "Well, I really wasn't reading it. I just look at the pictures or just stare at the page if there's no pictures. I just flip the pages and pretend like I'm reading it" [Student interview, May 19].

Although Malibu appeared engaged with the literate activities in her classrooms, Malibu consistently reported an extreme dislike for reading, especially in school. This was not a value she had developed in middle school. Malibu's mother reported that she recognized this dislike of reading when Malibu was in elementary school. "Reading was really hard for her because she disliked it" [L051005.fi]. Malibu attributed this aversion to reading in school to several factors. Malibu didn't like reading long amounts of text, like chapter books.

> I don't really like reading…cuz like when we read all of it and then you really try,
> you know, to know what they're saying, and then your mind goes blank when
> you're done reading the whole story. So then you have to read it all again, slowly,
> so you can like understand what they're saying. [Student interview, April 6].

For Malibu, lack of engagement with the texts in school contributed to her mind wandering as she went through the motions of "reading" the book. This lack of attention impacted her comprehension and forced her to reread in order to understand the text. This time-consuming process was not favorable to Malibu. She attributed this lack of attention while reading to the topics and content covered in class. "Cuz it's kinda boring. You know you have to read and answer questions at the end, and the topics are kind of boring" [Student interview, April 6]. The activity structure seemed to pose another obstacle for

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Malibu to enjoy the literacy practices in her classes. As she reported, the idea of answering questions at the end of each story read was not an enjoyable activity.

Despite Malibu's unfavorable opinion of the literacy practices in school, she still worked to complete the activities. She explained that her motivation to complete the literacy activities in school centered on her desire to get good grades in school. "Usually, in my regular classes, they make you read it [assignments], answer some questions, and then turn it in for a grade" [Student interview, May 19]. As I probed for an understanding of how she approached the different literacy practices in school, I compared her "faked" engagement with reading literature to her "active" engagement with reading her science textbook. Malibu explained her different views of the two practices.

> Well, it's like you're supposed to do it, and it's for a grade. So, it's just like, "Read it and get it over with." So, it's like they're putting the pressure on you. Well, not really putting the pressure on you because you're supposed to do it, but like I just try and read it and understand it and then answer the questions, you know…first I read it. Then I look at the questions, like when I'm done reading it. You're supposed to answer the questions, and if you don't know any of them, you just look back. . Like sometimes, if you don't have enough time or you have too many questions, I like look at the questions first, and then I go find the answers.
>
> [Student interview, May 19]

From her explanation, it can be seen that Malibu approached reading in school as a task that was completed when a product was produced to hand in for evaluative purposes. Her

engagement with the literacy practices was strictly motivated by the value she held for being academically successful.

Malibu's suggestions for how school literacy practices could be improved match the ways that she uses literacy in her personal and social spheres.

> They could like either make the reading easier and let you like do whatever you want to be comfortable to read the book. Me, I like reading at home on my bed because it's all comfortable. You just got to lay down and read until you fall asleep, and at school you have to sit in these hard chairs and you have to be quiet, look at the book and read it. It's not really fun. I like reading together, too. We get it done real quick. Some people, like, I'm not trying to say that they read really slow, but they just don't understand it that well. If they have somebody reading it to them, maybe they can understand it better…like, if you're going to change the reading, don't get a book that's really, really long, like Harry Potter with no pictures or anything. Like have some books with some pictures. Plus, like read a book that we like. [Student interview, May 19]

Malibu's words demonstrate the characteristics she associates with literate practices that she finds engaging. These characteristics address the activity structure, the textual forms, the textual content and the underlying purpose. As with her personal/social literacy practices, Malibu sees reading as an engaging activity when it is structured around personally relevant topics and takes place in a comfortable site. In addition, like the magazines she reads at home, Malibu believes the texts should not be long stories and should be accompanied by pictures. She views literacy practices as engaging when they

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are grounded in social purpose, i.e. reading together. Although Malibu performs the literacy practices associated with school, she does not find them engaging. Malibu suggests that incorporating the features of her personal/social literacy practices as part of the academic/school literate events would create more engaging literacy practices.

Nikiha- "They call me WEIRD."

Although not the official leader of the environment club, Nikiha, an eighth grade European-American female, served as one of the key, core members collaborating on the design and implementation of the service-learning experiences. As a self-described "social outcast" of her own choosing [SL042705FG], Nikiha could often been seen strolling down the hall solo as her sandy-brown hair, usually pulled back and held together by a single black hair band, bounced with her cadence. Although Frye Middle School required a uniform consisting of polo shirts with the school emblem and slacks or skirts, Nikiha dressed to maintain her distance from those she referred to as the so-called popular crowd. As par for the rest of her attire, Nikiha was usually wearing a black school polo, black pants, and black sneakers. Her outer appearance of black was usually finished off with black nail polish.

Nikiha joined the Environmental Explorers club because she is "way into nature" [SL042005FG]. Both she and her father talked about her daily visits to the large wooded area behind their home, where she should would gather herbs, observe animals, climb trees, and take in the sights during the evening sunset. Nikiha represented her world outside of school through many photographs involving scenes from this wooded area, depicting the dark silhouettes of trees foregrounding the amber and indigo hues of sunset

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[MO8052305SI]. Nikiha's regard and love for nature was also evident in her stories and photos of drum circles and environmentalist protests at the beach [MO8052305SI]. In fact, during one of our interviews, Nikiha described and event which caused her to cease her association with one of her neighborhood friends.

> I used to friends with TJ. I used to think he was pretty cool. Now he's a monster. That's for me, personally, the worst thing that I can call someone is a monster. Like he does things, sick, twisted, wrong things. Like, he, there was this one that I will never forget. He, there was this nest, and it was low in the tree. There was like these little baby birds, and they were naked, well, like kinda naked because they didn't have all of their feathers yet. So, he took one out of the nest, and he was sitting there playing with it, like snapping its neck back and stuff. I was like, "What the hell are you doing?" I almost slugged him right there. [MO8.052305SI]

Nikiha often connected this love for nature and the environment with her faith and religious beliefs as a Wicca. Nikiha explained that Wiccans are deeply concerned about the environment, respect and care for the earth, and feel that humans should live in cooperation with other species and with the universe. Beyond deepening her sense of unity with the environment, Wicca provided Nikiha with a system of values that promoted self-reflection and self-awareness. Through this process of self-discovery, Nikiha was able to work through a tumultuous period in her life, which involved several family crises and being placed on medication for bipolar disorder.

> Nikiha: Oh man, seventh grade was a really volatile time. I acted really bad. It was bad. I was in the crisis center. Yeah, it wasn't happy. I have mild bipolar

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disorder…I used to have to take these pills, right, and they screwed with me so

bad. So I was just like argh [clenches fists]. I was still pity mongering then. I was

still like, "Feel bad for me [weepy voice]." So I stopped taking them and I got

really bad for a while. Then I realized, "Wait. This is stupid, what am I doing? I

am wasting my life." So I had a totally 180 degree turn around.

Interviewer: That's awesome that you are able to reflect on that.

Nikiha: I examine myself, because I really do take my faith seriously. So when it

says, "Know yourself," I look at every part of me that makes me feel bad or in

danger or irritates other people, and I'll try to change it. I know that I have a short

temper. I know that I used to hit people a lot. I was really violent. I was really

violent. I was bad. I was really violent, so I took a vow of pacifism. Because if

you follow no other rule in Wicca it is: If thou harm none, do as thou will. That

means, do whatever you want as long as you're not hurting anyone, including

yourself. [MO8052305SI]

Personal/Social Literacies

At home, Nikiha engaged in a variety of literacy practices. She often talked about

her love for GAIA Online, a forum community on the Internet [041705FN;

SL042005FG; MO8052305SI]. As an everyday ritual, as soon as she came home from

school she logged onto the site to check for friends who might also be logged on

[MO8052305SI]. On GAIA, each user can create their own virtual character and

customize it through clothing and accessories. This character was often a topic of

conversation among her friends at school. They often debated the "coolness'' of their

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characters' updated accessories or new look [LESC042605FN]. Beyond the virtual role-playing through her character, Nikiha enjoyed the diversity of users and their opinions and views of the world. For Nikiha, this online community served as a forum for constant and varied conversation. Through the instant messaging protocol and the chat rooms, she carried on multiple conversations about multiple topics with people from all over the world [MO8052305SI]. In addition, many of her friends from school also participated on GAIA, and thus this site offered her a way to communicate with them about local social events and the daily happenings she might have missed at school. Besides engaging in chats through GAIA, Nikiha used the Internet to conduct research, check the daily news, and as her father put it, "do the typical teen surfing stuff" [MO8060605FI].

In addition to using the computer as a tool to navigate the web, Nikiha constantly had stories in progress saved on the desktop of her computer. For Nikiha, writing was a way to use literacy in a leisurely and personal way. Many of her stories and poems were not shared with others. However, she did have three poems published through an Internet poetry contest [MO8060605FI]. For Nikiha, writing was a self-selected activity, in which she enjoyed taking her experiences in the world and spinning them with her own creativity.

> Nikiha: I do poetry, short stories, long stories. Right now I'm writing one about this dude. I was thinking about John Franks. He got caught making bombs. He had a whole list of people he was going to kill. He went to this school. He was going to kill the teachers and students. Well, I'm not going to say I knew him, but I knew a lot of his friends, who say that he was really cool. So I was like, okay, so

I modeled the character after him. I'm not going to use his name. What it's going

to be is that he's going to have the same plan that John had, but what it's going to

be, because I like writing psychological stuff, like people going through these

huge transformations with their psyches and stuff. Usually, there's someone

who's influenced them to change. He's going to really have problems in his life,

the character, like his dad beat him and stuff like that. I write about stuff like that

a lot. One of the people that he isn't going to kill is going to be this girl that no

one really notices. She'll ask him why he's doing it and all that, and he'll get

distracted and no one will get killed, because I'm a pacifist, and even characters

that I don't even care about if they die, I feel bad. Then he's going to get put in

Juvie [Juvenile detention center] and she'll go visit him and stuff like that. So, it's

going to be a psychological thing.

Interviewer: It seems like you have the concept for your story pretty mapped out.

How much of the text have you written?

Nikiha: Not a whole lot, but it's going to be a pretty long one. Usually when I

write stuff like that, it's pretty long. It's not like I have the whole plot. It's like I

just get a basic idea, and then I catch little snatches of conversations or spur of the

moment ideas. [MO8052305SI]

As with her love for using the computer to gain information through chatting or

researching, Nikiha shared the same love for learning through books. Her interest in

nature and her Wicca religion served as topics of the books she read. She made weekly

visits to the local library to check out books, and her parents were constantly supplying

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her with books about nature. Her inquisitive desire to know and understand the world she was experiencing motivated her to read. As she discovered new vegetation in the woods behind her house, she would locate books from the library to determine if it what an herb of some sort and of what good it may be [MO8052305SI]. As part of her cycle for sharing knowledge, she would quiz her parents about animals and trees they saw along family drives in the car [MO8060605FI].

As Nikiha's father described her voracious reading habits, her creative mind for writing, and her prolific skills as a writer, I responded, "That's amazing!" In turn, he simply replied, "Nope, that's just Nikiha" [MO8060605FI]. It can be seen that Nikiha is an adolescent who is very engaged in the literacy practices she uses as part of her social and cultural spheres of life. She uses a vast amount of tools (computers, books, internet) to construct literacy practices in these spheres. The literacy practices she uses are constructed out of choice. For Nikiha, literacy in these contexts provides a sense of ownership and control. She decides on the activity structure. She decides on the content. She decides on the form the text will take.

In addition, for Nikiha, literacy is a tool that serves many purposes, and these purposes guide the selection of the practice. In these social and cultural spheres, Nikiha's purpose sets the agenda. This agenda may be personal, like a desire to appease her personal curiosity of a newly discovered plant or to learn more about the history of her religion. This agenda may also be social, as she constructs meaning and understanding with a shared community on the Internet or she publishes a poem on line for future audiences to share her thoughts and construct their own emotions and feelings.

School/Academic Literacies

Although Nikiha possessed a strong desire to engage in literacy practices within her home context, she held very little value for the literacy practices associated with school. The dominant image that resonates from the pages of my field notes is one of Nikiha hunched over her desk reading an Anime or Manga book as the rest of the class was going over an assignment [LESC042505FN; LESC042605FN; TWLA050505FN). In just about every observation of Nikiha in classroom contexts I witnessed her reading her own personal books, or writing personal stories. Very rarely was she ever engaged in the activities going on in class, except when she was conducting experiments in science class. Even then, Nikiha was not completing the lab sheets or documenting her observations of the experiment. As I shared this theme about her lack of engagement with reading and writing in school, she replied, "Well, the reading and writing in school is pointless. I mean I understand most of the material. It's like busy work for me, so I don't do it until I absolutely have to" [MO8052305SI]. These words sum up Nikiha's engagement with school literacy practices and were repeated in variations on several occasions.

Nikiha's Language Arts teacher, Ms. Townsend, described her as unique and different. As with my observations, the teacher noted, "She reads [personal books] persistently. I have to tell her in the middle of class to put the book down and listen to the lesson" [TWLA050905TI]. The teacher added that Nikiha's lack of attention and inability to focus in class led her to misjudge Nikiha's academic abilities. The teacher noted that it was through discussion and conversation that she came to realize Nikiha's strong desire

to better herself and increase her understanding and knowledge of the world, "When you hear her talk and your bring her out into her own element. She's very interested and gives her input, but I didn't see any of that until the very end" [TWLA050905TI].

Ms. Townsend was a veteran teacher with over 23 years of experience, and emphasized that her instruction was geared to correlate to the students' lives. As a way to motivate students to engage with her class, she incorporated drama and performance activities. She also worked hard to locate movies that could connect to literature the students were reading in the classroom as a way to meet the diverse interests of her students [TWLA050905TI].

Much of the Language Arts curriculum was geared to prepare the students to do well on the various standardized achievement tests given by the district. The class period started off with bell work, which resembled the types of comprehension subtests found on standardized tests. As Ms. Townsend describes,

> The bell work comes from the appetizers. The appetizers in this book [Language Arts textbook] are designed to meet the needs of the state literacy test. So you have the reading passages that the kids have to read, so they're learning to read, they're learning main idea; they're learning inferences, and everything that's dealing with reading. [TWLA050905TI]

Bell work was usually followed by worksheets that focused on grammar skills, usage skills, or completing vocabulary definitions. Again, Ms. Townsend explained that this work prepared the students for the district benchmark reading test and the state writing proficiency test.

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Ms. Townsend was very proud of her students' performance on the state writing proficiency test. She reported that she was concerned throughout the year about her students' writing skills. She said that after-school seminars on writing strategies helped the students to improve their writing skills. As with her surprise at Nikiha's skill through conversation, again, Ms. Townsend expressed how she saw Nikiha's academic abilities shine through writing.

> I did not wake up to see that she was in her own element when she had a chance
> to write. That's when I really began to look at her differently… However, when
> she began to write, I saw that was her element. I saw something totally different.
> When she did her first writing piece for me, that's when I realized "You're in
> your element now, and now I can see this is something you like. This is
> something you're embracing." [TWLA050905TI]

> Compared to Nikiha's extensive use and enjoyment of writing in her home

context, her perspective on writing in school, and especially in her Language Arts class, does not match.

> Nikiha: Yeah, Ms. Townsend had this huge thing on [the state writing test]. You
> had to write in this certain format, and I hated it because it was so repetitive, and
> boring, and stupid. It's like you're writing a handbook, but you're supposed to
> make it [dramatic pause, whispery, flowery voice] interesting.
> Interviewer: Now wait; didn't you get a perfect score, a 6.0?
> Nikiha: Yes I did. Just because I did well doesn't mean I had to like it. [Giggles]

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Interviewer: Fair enough, but without liking it, to what do you attribute your success?

Nikiha: Ms. Townsend, because she drilled it. Drilled it, drilled it, drilled it! Plus then I had to go to the after-school stuff because I just couldn't get it. Well, it wasn't that I couldn't get it; it was that I didn't want to. Because the way I write, I'm an avid writer. I love to write. I love writing, and I can't stand doing it in this boring, repetitive, god, blah way!

Interviewer: So you didn't really have an interest in that class?

Nikiha: No, I loved the class. I just hated trying to write in that format. It sucked. [MO8052305SI]

A self-proclaimed lover of writing, Nikiha's description of her writing experiences in her Language Arts class, the class that is designed to foster students' writing, does not match the "embracing" image held by the teacher. Nikiha expresses an extreme aversion to the structured format of the writing practices in her school experiences. Thus, because of the perceived "boring" and "repetitive" nature of the practice, Nikiha disengages from the act by not following the format. As with many students who disengage from the literacy practices of school, Nikiha was viewed as lacking ability. Yet, despite this distain, Nikiha is able to complete a perfect paper for statewide assessment purposes. Even with her success, Nikiha does not celebrate; rather, she continues to profess her dislike for the format.

As with the literacy practice of writing, Nikiha does not see much relevance to the rest of the literacy practices that are promoted in her school experiences. Despite her love

of learning, school appears to provide little spark to her curiosity. Nikiha engages with literacy as a tool for communicating with others through dialogue and conversation. Rather than joining into the classroom discourse of reviewing answers to a completed assignment or checking the answers on a worksheet, dialogue is engaged when it serves a purpose of gaining a deeper understanding of an issue of personal relevance or knowledge is constructed together. The engagement Nikiha held for literacy practices in constructing meaning to share with others is not the same in the school context. Here the construction of texts is geared mostly to an unknown audience. The purpose for sharing texts with the audience is reserved for evaluative measures rather than dialogic.

Samuel- "He's like a genius"

Samuel was an 8th grade European American boy who was revered by classmates, and teachers alike, as a very talented and intelligent student. Samuel strived to achieve academic success in school, and his teachers noted his efforts and abilities. Samuel's science teacher reported he was "by far one of the brightest students I've ever had" [LESC052605.ti]. His peers also admired Samuel's intelligence. Franklin considered Samuel a "genius… with brains that are like computer chips" [NA052505.si]. Samuel's science teacher reported that classmates often sought him out during labs and other classroom assignments, "Somebody has a question and they'll go ask another group for the answer. Most often they'll head to a group where Samuel is sitting" [LESC052605.ti]. Samuel's school friends also sought his knowledgeable assistance outside of class. After a science experiment that Nikiha didn't understand, she commented to her lab partner, "I'll just call Mr. Studious, Samuel. He knows everything" [LESC042605FN].

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Samuel's academic success was also publicly recognized. At Frye, Samuel received many honors and awards for his academic achievement. He received an award for his nearly perfect score on the state writing exam. He also received an Honor Roll award for maintaining straight A's for the entire school year. Since Samuel maintained such outstanding grades and scored so well on standardized achievement exams during his years at Frye he also received the Presidential Academic Achievement award. In addition, Samuel received an award for his advancement to the finals of the state science fair. Samuel's project for the science fair competition explored the quality of various water sources. This science fair project served as Samuel's entrance into the Environmental Explorers club. A service-learning teacher, who invited him to join the club, recognized the expertise Samuel gained through this project. Samuel explained his view of this invitation.

> Well with our science fair project, I learned a lot about different water testing procedures. This year's project was an extension of last year's. Well I had to do a lot of research on the different kinds of tests on tap water and bottle water. So I kinda know a lot about that, so that's probably why I was chosen… after I won the science fair, Mr. Vernon asked me if I wanted to join, so I just said, "Yeah," and I was in. [SL042005FG]

In addition to being a member of the Explorers club, Samuel was involved in various other clubs at Frye. These academic clubs also served as social networks for Samuel's friendships. As he explained, "The group that I hang out with is the smart kids. Like they're in World of Wisdom and Math Counts" [E052605.si]. These two clubs were

teams of honors students who competed against other schools in academic contests. Samuel explained that "World of Wisdom is like a geography tournament and Math Counts is the same thing for math" [E052605.si]. Like Samuel, many of the students involved in these two clubs were also members of the National Junior Honor Society [NJHS]. This shared involvement across multiple clubs allowed these students to develop close friendships. Outside of the spaces of these academic clubs, Samuel would often hang out with these friends in the hallway discussing video games and television shows.

Samuel's group of friends was small and selective, and he believed that more popular students at Frye shunned him and his friends. During a focus group, Samuel commented about this seclusion by the other groups of students at Frye. "You kind of get made into a social outcast. Although, I guess we did that on our own free will… We're just not the popular people" [SL042705FG]. Samuel often remained quiet around peers who were not linked with his close friendships. Samuel's quiet demeanor often led others to perceive him as closed and reclusive. Samuel's language arts teacher commented,

> Samuel is different. Samuel is a very well rounded person, but I think his personality needs to be worked on. I think his people skills are not there… If he were just a little more open and embrace people more, I think he'd be different. [TWLA050905.ti]

Samuel's social interactions were primarily conducted within the relationships he had in school. Samuel's father and mother were both semi-retired corporate consultants, who spent a lot of time traveling. Samuel's older sister was away at college most of the year, and his older brother was a high school senior who worked part-time after school.

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Because of his family's busy schedule, Samuel conducted many of his activities outside of school as solo events. However, Samuel's mother was very supportive of his extracurricular interests and hobbies, and she always adjusted her schedule to provide Samuel transportation to different events and club meetings.

In Samuel's adolescent spheres beyond school, he had an eclectic selection of interests and hobbies. Samuel was passionate about exploring and understanding the natural world. Samuel photographed many of the landscapes that surrounded his house and shared his knowledge about these natural environments.

> This is the backyard again [pointing to picture]. The canal goes right along the back of this [pointing to top of photo]. You can see manatees every once in a while and some jellyfish… That [pointing to a new photo] is a vacant lot that gets swampy. There's all kinds of birds that go there. You can find a bunch of Rosetta spoonbills there… One time I was back in this area at the end of our road, and there was a diamond back rattlesnake. I just froze. I couldn't even move. That's [pointing to next pictures] some pictures of Australian pine and Brazilian pepper. I learned about the Brazilian pepper because there's a lot of them on our street. I learned about the Australian pine from my brother. [E052605.si]

In addition to exploring the natural environment around his home, Samuel held a deep curiosity for understanding the properties of various crystals and minerals. Samuel's initial comment about his hobbies was, "I like researching minerals and the metaphysical stuff" [E033205]. This area dominated the conversation during subsequent interviews. As Samuel displayed the various photos of his rocks and crystals, he shared the intriguing

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stories behind their addition to his collection and what he had discovered about the various minerals.

Well, some of them [crystals] are gifts. These others are from a place I go called Crystal Connection. I go to Wally's World of Natural Wonders, and some of them are from Arizona. Some of them, one of them is from Zaire. Well, the malachite is. You usually get the kind of malachite that I have from Zaire. I also go to the flea market. In this little jar right here [pointing to picture] there's four opals. Two of them are Mexican and one of them is Andalusia Black, which is just another kind of porous opal. [They're in a jar] because they'll dry out. If I ever feel like cutting them they'll shatter. Then that's rose quartz. [Pointing to picture]. Those other two right there [pointing to picture] are Native American pottery. My cousins and aunt own land out in Arizona and they go, they have a 20-acre lot. They just go across it and try to find stuff. [E052605.si]

Samuel was also very involved in various performance and visual arts. Samuel stated that he "preferred performance arts" [E033105.si], and he was very proud to play violin as a member of the junior philharmonic orchestra at the city's performing arts center. "We meet every Monday and we've been practicing for a Pops Concert. Like, we're going to be playing movie scores" [033105.si]. As an accomplished junior member he was asked to audition for the senior orchestra, however he did not make the cuts. Samuel treasured his new violin, and he became quite animated and witty whenever he discussed his beloved instrument.

Samuel: Yeah, that's my violin [pointing to picture]. It's called an old German violin. That's an antique. That's my baby.

Interviewer: That's beautiful. It's really shiny. Do you polish it?

Samuel: I don't like to polish it because the polish smells real bad. You have to keep the rosin off of it or else it will grow a mustache. It'll ruin the varnish. You see right between the two F-holes [starts laughing]. Yes, those two holes are called F-holes. Right between those two is a thing called the fingerboard, and that thing there is called the bridge [pointing to picture]. Right between the bridge and the fingerboard it will get a mustache. It'll ruin the varnish right there.

[E052605.si]

Samuel's talent and passion for playing the violin prompted him to audition for a local high school's performing arts program. However, he didn't do well during the audition and was not accepted into the school.

Samuel also had a love for visual arts. He described how his violin served as inspiration to combine these two interests.

I'm not very fond of painting. I like pastels and drawing. Right now, I'm trying to work on pretty much like impressionistic. It's got cubism in it. It's also got realism, of the violin. I haven't done a violin yet, so I figured I'd do one.

[E033105]

Samuel's love for visual art also led him to apply to a local high school's visual arts program. During an interview, Samuel shared his interest for visual arts and described the various pieces he compiled for his application portfolio.

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Those are pictures for my portfolio to Blye [local high school]. You had to take a portfolio of ten pieces from this past semester. Some of the things are missing because I didn't take pictures of them… That's [pointing to picture] completely pastels on canvas board… it's about from your computer to about here [stretches arm to end of table] and then from here to here [uses hands on table to show width total is about 4X4 feet.] It took about a day or two… That lady [picture on camera] and the humming bird, I did the night before it [portfolio] was due. [E052605.si]

Personal/Social Literacy Practices

Samuel initially described literacy as activities that involved "reading and writing" [E033105.si]. As such, he described various activities that he did at home that were based on reading and writing texts. Like most of his other activities outside of school, Samuel's literacy practices were usually conducted on his own.

Samuel described a number of different practices that incorporated different textual forms. However, the Internet served as the primary text for many of Samuel's literate practices in his personal/social spheres. Samuel's favorite literate practice involved chatting with other members through an on-line forum, GAIA.com. GAIA consisted of a number of different sections, and each section was constructed differently to allow for different activities. On GAIA, each user can create their own virtual character and customize it through clothing and accessories. Samuel described how this process worked in one particular section of GAIA.

There's this other one called "chatterbox" that is pretty much just a bunch of

random stuff. You can do bumping. Because you get gold for each post that you

do, and you can buy things with that. And there's little characters and you can

dress them and stuff. [033105.si]

Within the "chatterbox" section of GAIA, communication was viewed as a way to earn

status points. If you were a frequent contributor, you were rewarded with points that

would allow you to customize your virtual character. The level of customized items on a

character equated to the status level of that member within the GAIA community.

Beyond the virtual role-playing through his character, Samuel enjoyed the

diversity of users and their opinions and views of the world. For Samuel, GAIA

represented a textual form that offered him a socially engaging way to discuss and share

ideas with people around the world. Samuel noted the following as he associated his

engagement with GAIA as a literate practice,

Well, there's GAIA, which is where you type. You're typing to pretty much a

bunch of other people, and you have to be able to get your point across, and they

have to do the same for you, which is one of the most literate things you could do.

[Laughing] [E033105.si]

Samuel enjoyed the format GAIA offered as a way to connect with other people around

the world in relation to issues that were particularly relevant to his interests. Samuel often

discussed his concern for the connection between political agendas and environmental

conditions, and reported how GAIA offered a forum to discuss these issues.

Well, I noticed on one of the Bush commercials the other day that they were saying that he's slacking on the environment. That's one reason I'm not really for the Republicans; they don't seem to really take care of the environment. Then again, I don't know if the Democrats do that much for it either. The Green Party I know does… On GAIA, in the extended discussion place, there's also kind of, there's a big thing on politics. [E052605.si]

Since GAIA was a socially constructed setting, the members of this context constructed the literate practices together. Samuel described how these practices were marked by particular expectations of form and structure. In this scenario below, Samuel noted how his lack of knowledge of these particular practices caused other members to marginalize him from the group.

You have to be able to type and stuff, but you don't exactly have to have perfect grammar. Pretty much it's a chat forum web site. Well, it's called a forum and there are threads, which are pretty much places where you post things, and people usually reply. There are certain sections that you go into. One is called "extended discussions." It's where people, usually older kids and adults go. It's where they pretty much discuss issues in the world. One time I posted on it and everybody jumped on me because I spammed, which is pretty much saying something completely unrelated to the issue. Then everyone else was giving me a hard time because I spammed. So now I don't go in there anymore. [E033105.si]

Although Samuel continued to engage in the GAIA community through other sections of the web site, he steered clear of the "extended discussions" forum. As Samuel noted, this

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community was designed for the sharing of ideas and communicating clearly with each other. Samuel felt that he did not meet these expectations of the community, "I guess I wasn't clear in making my point, and I screwed up" [E052605.si]. Samuel believed that he was not able to communicate through the appropriate practices and decided not to participate in this particular community anymore.

Samuel spent most of his time on the Internet within the GAIA community. Like his motivation for this community, Samuel also used the Internet as a textual tool to conduct research that related to his various hobbies and interests outside of school. "I kind of research closer to the science like the elements and stuff. There's this one web site that gives information about the elements. It's called Web Elements.com" [033105.si]. Rocks, minerals, and crystals fascinated Samuel, and his hobby of collecting these items was guided by his research from the Internet. As Samuel learned about different types of crystals or unique forms of minerals through his research, he set out on missions to add these items to his collection. The following excerpt from an interview demonstrates how Samuel used the Internet as a resource to increase his knowledge about his collection.

> Samuel: I do know one, that's Cinnabar. It's deadly. It's mercury sulphate. It's a mercury compound. Mercury by itself is harmful, but it's even more dangerous as a compound. I looked into that [laughing].
>
> Interviewer: So is it dangerous to the touch or do you have to ingest it?
>
> Samuel: Well, it can go into your skin. I was reading through the symptoms list and it's like uncontrolled salivating, nervous twitches, diarrhea, constipation, and

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it goes on. I learned that the phrase "mad as a hatter" came from that they used mercury to pick up lint on the hats. Since it evaporates so fast, because it's constantly evaporating, it would evaporate and get to them. They'd go crazy because it affects your neurological system. I used to have some mercury in my collection. But after I learned that I got rid of it [laughing]. That scared me. It wasn't in a sealed container. It was just corked. [E052605.si]

In addition to using the Internet, Samuel read books as other literate texts at home. When Samuel spoke of reading books at home, he usually connected this practice to the school context. Samuel was not very engaged in reading books connected to his school experiences.

Last year there were a lot of books that we had to read, and I'm not complaining about reading books. I'm complaining about what books we had to read… It was just boring. I didn't like it. It's like the books I like to read are too controversial [makes quotes with fingers] for public schools. I keep on trying to start the DaVinci Codes, but I have to go for shorter books every now and then because I have to read two books per quarter and it's hard to get them done. Right now I'm reading Lord of the Flies, which is really weird. I don't like that book. Well, I just started it. Maybe as I get further into it, but I have to read it… everybody got their reading list, and Lord of the Flies is required. [E033105.si]

Samuel raised two issues that created a lack of engagement with reading books as a leisure activity. First, Samuel noted how the texts that were required by the school were boring and didn't match his particular interests. Second, he noted how his school's

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assigned reading kept him from reading self-selected material of interest. In order to meet the assignments for his classes, Samuel selected shorter books that were geared for adolescent readers and excluded books of interests that were aimed at adult audiences. Samuel attributed his lack of enjoyment from the school texts as connected with the structure of the adolescent literature.

> Well, I never really like reading stories. They kinda always lost my interest, because unless it has multiple plots, which they usually don't, or multiple plots so you can't separate them because they're so intertwined… Simple plots get annoying, or if they aren't written well they get annoying. Lord of the Flies, you can tell that they're trying to put a couple more thoughts in there, but it's not working out that well. It's not really a story. It's more of a timeline. It's like, the Cay was okay. I mean you saw the relationship between the two main characters. One was an Indian and one was, I forget. They're both in the desert. The boy was in the Apache tribe. You're supposed to pick out the similarities and differences, because they're both about the same age. Except halfway through the book one gets killed. It just got really screwy. The climax took a while to get to. You know, you have those books that have the climax in the beginning and have the resolve; they're called mysteries [rolls eyes]. [E052605.si]

In our final interview, Samuel reported that his reading of books as a literate practice at home had significantly declined. As I probed, he responded, "I haven't read in so long. I've just been so busy, and reading is not my priority. I'm not like Nikiha. I don't take every chance I can to get to read. I take every chance I get to watch TV; that's my

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way to relax" [052605.si]. Samuel reported that TV was a literate practice that he enacted at home. He said that he enjoyed the simple plot lines of the shows he watched, and he was personally interested in the content.

> I watch the Simpsons. I watch a lot of cartoons. I watch a few of the makeover shows, like plastic surgery. That's cool. Not Nip Tuck [TV drama], but the real thing. I like to watch that stuff because I think it would be cool to become a plastic surgeon. [052605.si]

Although Samuel reported that his use of novels as textual resources at home had decreased, he reported that he was still engaged with some other types of literacy practices. Like Samuel's enjoyment of complex story structures, he also enjoyed interacting with complex language structures. He made a very unique connection between his role as a member of the orchestra and the construction of language.

> Reading music and reading words I guess is kinda similar because when you group different notes together and different rhythms it creates different feelings and sounds. And when you group different words together you get different sounds and feelings because of the connotation of the word or anything like that. How different words go together would be a phrase, like in music. [E052605.si]

Samuel further elaborated on this connection as he cited a specific example from a recent book he had read. "There's this one book that I read I think it was called Lost in Translation, and in there it had an example like 'Please take advantage of our chamber maids' [Smiles]" [E052605.si]. Samuel's enjoyment of complex language structures is evident in his witty sense of humor in playing with words.

Samuel's personal/social literate practices outside of school are characterized by their connections to his personal interests. Every literate practice Samuel engaged in outside of school held personal relevance. Samuel's literate practices were dominated by the use of the Internet as a textual resource. The Internet primarily served as a textual tool that mediated Samuel's communication with a global audience. This forum for communication allowed Samuel to discuss personally relevant issues, specifically related to the environment and politics. The Internet also served as a tool for Samuel to conduct research related to his personal interest in rocks and crystals.

Samuel disengaged from enacting literate practices at home that lacked personal relevance or did not match his literate knowledge. Reading novels that were about topics Samuel was not interested in were disregarded as valued literate practices. In addition, Samuel shied away from novels and communication forums on the Internet that did not match his personal view of language structure within these different practices.

Like many of Samuel's hobbies, many of his literate practices were conducted in isolation. Samuel engaged with others during his engagement with GAIA, which dominated his personal/social literate practices. However, all of Samuel's other literate practices at home were constructed individually.

Academic/School Literacy Practices

Samuel held a high value for academic achievement. As such, he was always actively participating in his classes. Samuel was an active member in the classroom, participating in discussions and assisting classmates. Samuel's science teacher attributed his high level of participation to his desire to understand and increase his knowledge.

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He's always asking questions. He's not one of those students who is afraid. He

doesn't understand something, he's going to ask a question. He'll continue to ask

questions until he has a full understanding of what's going on. [LESC052605.ti]

When Samuel initially discussed his literate school practices, he listed activities

that were connected with his science class.

In science we read a lot. We also, at the beginning of the year, we were doing lab

write-ups where you have to read the section and then pull out all of the

information that you needed from it. [E033105.si]

In Samuel's science classroom, the textbook often served as the primary resource. As

Samuel emphasized, even when the students were conducting experiments the lab book

took the place of the textbook. The teacher established literacy practices in Samuel's

science class. The textual form and the ways these texts were used were part of the

practices designed by Samuel's teacher. The following field notes illustrate Samuel's

high level of participation with such teacher-structured literate practices.

Teacher hands out notes he typed about the earthquake information. He tells the

students to turn to the chapter about earthquakes. He reviews the content from the

previous day in a question and response format. He asks a question, waits for

student to raise their hands, and then calls on students to respond. Most students

raise their hands immediately. A few of the students search through the text for

the answer. A handful of the students do not participate at all. Samuel follows

along and raises his hand often during this review session. Teacher continues to

review the chapter by reading the questions listed at the end of the chapter in the

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text… Teacher assigns silent reading of the two units in the Rocks and Minerals chapter. Students are instructed to read the text and answer the questions at the end of the units. Students set to work. Samuel uses his pencil's eraser to track words as he is reading. Some students go and read the questions and then go back through the chapter and scan text for the answers. They stop, read through that page, flip back to the question, and then flip back to the page and write the answer from the text. Samuel is reading page by page. [LE1sc050405fn]

Throughout my interactions with Samuel, he often mentioned how some of his school literacy practices were not that engaging for him. As I probed about this view in comparison to his level of participation, Samuel responded,

Well, in science class, I do find some of the stuff interesting, but like I said, I think you sat in when we were doing the earth and space thing, which is the stuff that doesn't interest me. I'm more into the chemicals, but we didn't get into that too much. [E052605.si]

Samuel's desire for academic success prompted him to participate in all of his science literacy practices. However, like his personal/social literacy practices, Samuel was most engaged when the content was relevant to his personal interests.

In contrast to his high levels engagement with most of the literacy practices of his science classroom, Samuel held little value for the literacy practices of his language arts classroom. Like his other spheres, Samuel did not engage with literate texts that held little personal relevance. In addition, the ways the texts were used in his language arts

experiences did not match the ways he used such texts in his personal/social spheres of life.

> Our teacher dragged it [novel] on for so long. I think there was a question on our final about it… Like she had us write an essay on the exam and it was about how this one character in the book, what would the book have been like without it. It would have been an obvious answer, but you had to have seven sentences per paragraph and five paragraphs or something, and it had to be in a specific way.
> [E033105.si]

Samuel highlighted that even though the text wasn't an engaging topic for him, the way the text was used made the practice that much more unbearable. For Samuel, the practice of writing an essay to demonstrate his understanding was not a difficult task, but framing the essay along specific standards for what counted as a written text caused Samuel to lose interest.

This structure for constructing written texts was also prevalent in other writing activities connected with Samuel's language arts classroom. As with the example of the essay above, Samuel did not find any value in such practices. This lack of value increased his negative attitude toward these literate practices.

> Then with the creative writing she used to have us do free-write. She used to make it that we had to have certain things in our free-write. You know, free-writes are supposed to be about whatever you want. That's the whole purpose of it.
> [E033105.si]

Samuel's attitude toward this type of writing resembled his engagement with writing in his personal/social spheres. The structure of the text was controlled by an external force, which he had no control over. This caused a mismatch between the structures of his personal literate practices and the expectations held for the community in his language arts class. As with Samuel's personal/social literate worlds, such a mismatch led him to disregard the practice.

This disregard for the literate practices of his language arts class was also strongly connected to how the class served as preparation for the state writing exam. When Samuel was probed about other literate practices in this classroom, he replied they hadn't been doing much "now that the [state writing exam] was over" [E052605.si]. Samuel's language arts teacher had structured the literate practices of the classroom to align with the literate expectations of the state writing test. Again, Samuel's pattern of disengagement was caused by a mismatch between the literate practices he valued in his personal life and those valued by his school sphere. In the following interview excerpt, Samuel emphasized how he saw the practices from these two worlds differently.

> Oh, that was absolute torture. We had to go through, this was just in my class. The other class, they only did one essay and they were golden. For my teacher, we had to go through all these different styles, just to reach the one that we were supposed to get to. Then, now I forgot how to write an essay, a proper essay, you know, one that would actually be accepted as something that you'd write for a contest. This [state exam] style is so messed up. It's screwball. I don't think that's the right way that you should be writing. It's just, they make, it's, first off, it's

botched up with a bunch of rules. To me, it's, it's just, mainly it's just a bunch of guidelines that you have to follow. You shouldn't have to follow a bunch of guidelines in order to make a good essay. They shouldn't be making people think that they have to follow, [mechanical voice] "Oh you should give them two reasons to think about." They make it absolutely meaningless… Well, the ones [guidelines] that I remember were you had to, unless you were really good at it, you had to restate the prompt. Then you were supposed to give two reasons. Then, at the end, our teacher introduced a space-saving method, or really a space-gaining method, I guess, for some of us, that if your intro is nine lines long it's good enough; it's perfect. That's just for space saving. Then, the second paragraph that you wrote had to be the first reason that you gave. It had to be the first reason, or people would for some reason get confused. And, if somehow in your intro you accidentally mentioned another reason, you also elaborate on that. But, whichever one was addressed first, you had to address first. Then you had to give little stories about each way this was illustrated. The thing that got me was that you can't always use stories to illustrate something. You can't always use statistics. Those things don't apply to everything in the world. Then your third paragraph had to be another paragraph explaining just the second reason. You had to have stories that weren't repetitive of the first ones, but they also had to, had to tie everything together. Yeah, it made sense, but if you're talking about two different reasons, they could be as related as apples and oranges, but they could be growing off the same tree. I just made it up. Then your conclusion; we never did anything

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for that. It was just, "Repeat yourself." So now we're supposed to repeat ourselves. [Shakes head and laughs] [E052605.si]

Samuel's patterns of engagement were similar across his personal/social and his academic/school spheres. Samuel was very engaged with literate practices that contained content that was personally meaningful. Samuel was also very engaged with literate practices that matched the purposes he held for various literate texts. Samuel viewed literacy practices as guided by purposeful communication. Reading was a purposeful literate act he engaged in to gain information. Writing was a purposeful act he engaged in to share information. As such, Samuel viewed literate practices as socially constructed ways to communicate with others. However, Samuel viewed literate practices to be constructed in particular ways to facilitate this communication process. When the practices of a particular community did not match Samuel's personal structures, he disengaged.

This disengagement was enacted in different ways across Samuel's life spheres. In his personal/social world, if Samuel was disengaged from a literate practice he did not even participate in it. Samuel exercised his will to determine which practices and at what times he would participate. In contrast, Samuel always participated in school literate practices. Even if he was not interested in the practice, Samuel participated. This participation was driven by his desire to succeed academically.

Tammy-The "Good" Student

Tammy was a very friendly and helpful 7th grade European American girl who was described by her teachers as an intelligent and motivated student. These characteristics prompted Mr. Vernon, the Environmental Explorers club supervisor and Tammy's science teacher, to invite her to join the club. Tammy accepted the invitation and explained that her choice to join was "because my friends are in there, and I thought, 'Oh, ok, this would be cool,' you know with the water and stuff" [Student interview, May 25]. Tammy contributed as a member of the Environmental Explorers club by designing activities and engaging in projects, but she wasn't very involved in leading these activities. Tammy tended to hang on the edges of the group until other members assigned her activities to do, and then she engaged with intense focus [Researcher's Journal, April 23].

Tammy loved being at Frye. As her father reported, "She's definitely a good student as far as wanting to be at school, attends school, and doesn't want to miss a day, doesn't want to be taken out early" [SA053105.fi]. Tammy's enjoyed the responsibilities she was given beyond her academic work. During her elective period, Tammy worked in the guidance office and was charged with presenting students in their classes with passes to attend guidance sessions. Tammy's father reported that this was definitely her favorite activity. "She was all into that. She talked more about that than almost anything. She said that she liked it because she got to know who more of the students were and know more of the teachers" [SA053105.fi]. Tammy did get to know more students. However,

Tammy was usually with her friends from classes, joking and talking about TV shows, between classes and at lunch.

Tammy worked hard to excel in her academic courses as well. Tammy was one of the only seven 7th graders at Frye to receive a High Honor Roll Award. This award was to recognize those students that achieved nearly all A's in their courses throughout the entire year. Her family shared Tammy's value for academic success. Tammy's father explained how this value was emphasized on a daily basis.

> At the dinner table, she'll tell us about events that took place at school, how things are progressing, and what classes seem hard, which ones seem easy, and what she likes. We just encourage it to be a fun activity and not a chore. [SA053105.fi]

These dinner conversations were just one way that the family made sure to spend time with each other. Tammy's photographs of her life detailed the broad amounts of interaction she had with her family. Most of Tammy's pictures represented activities she did with her two younger brothers. As the oldest child in the house, Tammy was often charged with watching her younger brothers. During these times, Tammy and her brothers liked to watch TV, hang out in the yard and play on their swing, or play various board games.

Tammy's family was very involved in their church. Her parents were members of the church band, and Tammy was a member of the youth ministry. Music also played a major role in Tammy's life outside of church and was an interest shared by the entire family. Tammy's parents played in a Christian southern rock band; Tammy attended

weekly piano sessions; and the family would regularly jam together in a music room at their house. Tammy's father expressed his support for this family interest. "We encourage the kids to just go get on the stuff and bang on it. Just pick it up and play it" [SA053105.fi]. In addition to playing music with her parents, Tammy also enjoyed playing Dance Dance Revolution, a video game for Play Station, with her mother. This provided the two of them an opportunity to get in a workout while they spent quality time together.

Tammy also spent a lot of time with neighborhood friends from her years in elementary school. As an everyday event, Tammy and her friends would get together to play board games, cards, or just hang out and socialize about the events that took place at their different middle schools. Tammy's friendships were very special, as she explained, "I've known them since I was like a baby, so we're soul sisters" [SA.040105.si].

Personal/Social Literacy Practices

When Tammy initially described her thoughts about literacy, she said it brought to mind "learning vocabulary words… You know, like things that we read in school" [Student interview April 1]. When probed about how she saw herself using literacy at home, Tammy replied, "Most often, I, well, I'm not really into reading. I really don't like reading" [Student interview, April 1]. Tammy's view of reading focused only on the use of print-bound texts, specifically books. Tammy's father offered supporting comments to Tammy's position. "I wouldn't say she's always carrying a book around. She'll do it, but it's not her most desirable thing to do at times" [SA053105.fi].

Although Tammy reported that she didn't enjoy reading books, she did report a number of literacy practices that she used at home. As with many of her other social activities, many of her literate practices were constructed collaboratively with family members. Tammy and her brothers often went to a web site called Brainstorm.com. This web site consisted of narrative stories that contained logic puzzles. Tammy and her brothers would spend time reading the scenarios and compete to solve the puzzles.

Tammy's mother and father also played influential roles in the ways that she used literacy in her home. During family dinners, Tammy's parents would engage the children in conversation about books they were reading at school. These discussion focused on the thoughts and opinions the students had about their school reading material. At times, the parents encouraged the children to read excerpts from their books. This practice established the value that reading was a practice constructed for social engagement. What Tammy was reading became a topic of social discussion.

At times, Tammy's mother served as a primary influence in the construction of some of her literate practices. In the first example, Tammy's mother acts as a textual resource.

> I like to use literacy around the house to like communicate with my mom. I'm not really good with descriptions, so she'll ask me all of these questions until we get down to the point. So when we talk and things, she teaches me how to describe or to use vocabulary words the right way and stuff. I learned a lot from her.
> [SA040105SI]

This practice of discussing topics with her mother allowed Tammy to learn new oral vocabulary. This guidance by her mother also helped her to understand appropriate uses of these new words. In another example, Tammy's mother worked to guide her to other textual resources. "I might pick up an article in the newspaper. My mom might say, 'Oh look at this. Look at what happened to this person, in this place, and she's around your age.' Then I'll read it" [Student interview, April 1]. Tammy's practice of reading the newspaper was facilitated by her mother. Mom used Tammy's interests to link her to relevant topics and offered newspaper articles as an option to be read. Recognizing that her mother recommended reading material that would be of interest, Tammy engaged in reading the newspaper articles.

Tammy's father also played an influential role in her literate practices at home. On a weekly basis he would provide Tammy and her brothers various topics to write about. At the end of the week, the children would share their stories with their parents. As Tammy's mother worked to connect her to articles of interest, her father did the same with the writing prompts.

> We give them a topic, so to speak, based on something that we know that they'll like writing about…So, we let the topic be whatever they want it to be, but there's certain, whatever we start them off, they can either start it with, put it in the middle, or have it at the end. It's just something to kinda spark the imagination. [SA053105.fi]

In this practice, writing is portrayed as a literate act that stems from personal interest. Although Tammy did not select the topics, her father offered her choices based on his

knowledge of her interests. In addition, this literate event holds that writing is practice that works to construct a product for an audience. In this case, Tammy wrote on a topic with the eventual goal of presenting it to her parents.

Tammy also constructed literate practices on her own at home. In line with her view of literacy as vocabulary development and reading books, these were two areas of focus for Tammy's individual literate practices. Tammy used television and movies to develop her understanding of new vocabulary. Like the practice of conversing with her mother, Tammy focused on learning how to use vocabulary in context. "In movies and stuff, I can see, they use this word in this way, and then I think can it be used in another sentence and mean the same thing or is the meaning different" [Student interview, April 1]. In this practice, visual media serves as a model that demonstrates uses of vocabulary in context. Tammy viewed this modeling as a way to understand vocabulary in one context in order to be competent in transferring its application to another context.

As noted previously, reading books at home was not Tammy's primary personal literate event. However, reading books was an act she constructed individually in her home. She reported that, "Mostly when I read at home it's for the DEAR [Drop Everything And Read] thing, for the minutes…Yeah, we have to do this thing for my Language Arts teacher. It's like you have to read 100 minutes each week." [Student interview, April 1]. DEAR was a program at Frye that required the students to read out of regular class time. Each week the students were required to read 100 minutes. Most of this time was accumulated at home, and students were required to log their minutes over the course of the week. Tammy explained this DEAR program as follows: "You save

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them [reading logs] until Monday, next Monday. Then you have to have like 100 or more to get a good grade in that section, and then you have to do it again" [Student interview, April 1]. Despite her lack of enthusiasm for reading, Tammy completed the practice. Her textual resources for this event involved novels about natural disasters and adventure stories.

As Tammy's explanation demonstrates, this practice was directly linked to her grade in her Language Arts class. In accordance with her value to succeed academically, Tammy's engagement with this practice was motivated to get a good grade. However, she reported that the practice did hold a small amount of value for her as a personal literate practice.

It kinda brought me up into another segment of reading to where, like, I don't have to read it, but if it's a good book then I'll continue reading it. So reading really isn't my favorite subject, but I found another segment of it. Like, when I used to start off reading, I thought I was like in the 10% section… like at first I didn't like reading. I thought it was like bad at the beach and stuff. But now that I have to read these books and stuff, I feel like I'm at the 20-30% of liking it, out of 100%. [SA040105SI]

Tammy views her personal/social literate practices as primarily involving vocabulary development and books. Tammy tends to connect literacy practices in general to the way she sees these practices constructed in school contexts. In turn, Tammy engages in these practices for the potential they hold for success in school.

Tammy's personal/social literate practices are most often social constructions. In addition to the influence school has on the ways she uses literacy practices at home, Tammy's family also influences how she constructs literate practices at home. The social nature of Tammy's literate practices increased her engagement. At times this motivation is spurred by the members she works to construct the practices with, such as discussions with her mom to develop vocabulary. At times this engagement is stimulated by the members she works to construct the practices for, such as DEAR minutes for her teacher.

Academic/School Literacy Practices

Tammy's drive to achieve academic success played a significant role in her engagement with school literacy practices. Both Tammy's Language Arts teacher and science teacher reported that she was very engaged in class and focused on her academics. This general view of Tammy as a student was also presented as they spoke specifically about her use of literacy practices in the classroom. Her science teacher reported that, "Tammy can read at a high level and can think at a high level and writes very well" [SASC.052705.ti]. For her science teacher, Tammy's high level of achievement were correlated with her ability to understand information that she encountered in her science textbook and her ability to transfer that knowledge into a written product that demonstrated her understanding. Tammy's Language Arts teacher also used these same characteristics to describe her literacy practices.

She gets everything. Part of that, I think, is that she knows how to find out what she needs to know. She's top notch. I don't think her reading scores are all that high, but she does a really decent job with it…Tammy has the potential for a 6.0

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[a perfect score on the state writing test], not necessarily because she's so creative, but because she just gets it. She gets everything. So she can take just about anything I give them in class and translate that into an essay. She's able to structure it. Creativity might not be there, but she's able to make the structure of an essay almost perfect. [CXLA0517ti]

Tammy's Language Arts teacher correlates his view of her as a very competent reader with her ability to extract information from her various textual resources. He associates Tammy's ability to transfer class content into her written products with the characteristics of an excellent writer. In addition, Tammy's Language Arts teacher makes connections between being an excellent reader and writer and scoring well on standardized tests.

The features Tammy's teachers delineated as valuable literate practices permeated the literacy events that Tammy engaged in during class. Extracting information from textual resources and constructing a written product about that information were dominant literate events in these classrooms. In Tammy's science class, the textbook served as the primary information resource. Students were often expected to read certain sections of the text and then write answers to questions or complete worksheets about the content read. Tammy did not enjoy these tasks. She approached this type of task as a chore, and worked to get it done quickly. Tammy had mastered this type of literate practice, and she had devised a method to shorten the task. In her words, "All you have to do is look in the book and find the answers. I just look for the key words in the question. Plus the answers are usually in order" [SM7sc031105fn.txt]. Tammy also demonstrated this view of "getting it done" as she worked with a classmate. Tammy helped out another

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student by letting her copy the bell work from her journal. As I approached to inquire about the event, Tammy responded that she was letting the girl copy "so she could at least get it done" and then returned to guiding the girl to the pages for the journals that she had missed.

Tammy's Language Arts teacher was explicit about the literate value he held for the practice of extracting information from texts. After the class finished reading *The Time Machine,* Mr. Jeffers led a discussion about the events in the novel. As students respond to his questions incorrectly, he states, "You need to be able to interpret correctly. It is important for you to interpret the language in the book correctly so you know what's going on in the story" [CX042005.fn]. Later in the lesson, students shared their predictions of potential scenarios if the book had continued. As students presented their predictions, the teacher continually prompted the students to support their ideas. Mr. Jeffers lauded those students who supported their predictions through textual references. As he prepared to move to the next phase of the lesson, Mr. Jeffers pointed at several students and said, "All of your guesses were good because they are related to the book, not just out of thin air" [CX042005.fn].

Mr. Jeffers was also explicit about his value for the literate practice of transferring content knowledge to written text. Groups were assigned specific chapters from the text. Students read their assigned chapters silently, and then grouped together to write a paragraph about their chapter to share with the rest of the class. During this assignment, the teacher roamed the room monitoring and assisting students. Noticing common errors across groups, he addressed the class and said, "You are doing a character analysis.

Remember to include in this narrative analysis things the character does"

[CX2LA041305.fn].

Tammy worked on this activity collaboratively with her group. During this process, she demonstrated her ability to extract information from the text and transfer that information into a written product. The following field notes detail how Tammy negotiated this practice.

Tammy and partner negotiate the activity as follows: They are discussing the actions of one of the characters.

Tammy: Her actions describe her character. See. She does that because she is scared. So she's not very brave.

Partner: But that's not all of her actions. Look on this page [flips through the book to locate event in the text and reads aloud section to S].

Tammy: Yeah, well it's still fright. But I guess it's more examples of why we can say that she's not brave.

Partner: No, but it's more than just scared. She's scared, but she still goes ahead. That means she's also brave.

They negotiate perspectives and find support for opinions about whether the character is brave or not.

Tammy: Well, we can write that she is both and use both examples.

[CX2LA041305.fn]

During this process, Tammy negotiated with her partner about what to write from the information presented in the text. They shared their ideas and emphasized textual

evidence by searching through the text to provide support for their ideas. This process continued until they were both in agreement on the completed written response.

Tammy did not enjoy these types of tasks and worked to complete them as quickly as possible. As in her science class, Tammy constructed a method to hasten the process of completing these types of literate tasks. In the following example, the class was given a worksheet with questions about the novel they just finished reading. Before setting the students to work, the teacher leads a discussion about the book.

Teacher begins to lead the discussion about the final sections of *Time Machine*. "There's several things I want to mention about the last section of the book. First, there is a change in the writing. What's the shift in this particular chapter?" Tammy is copying notes about what the teacher is saying...She writes, "There is a shift in the writing." Teacher calls on a student with his hand raised. The student responds that the other character is talking in this chapter. The teacher emphasizes, "Well, it's not just another character, but it's actually the narrator. The narrator takes back control of the story. The Time Traveler is not the one talking now." Tammy writes this information down… As the teacher continues to talk about the book and highlight events that are important, Tammy takes notes on what he is saying…After the explanation is finished, the teacher tells the students to complete the questions that are listed on their notes page. As I glance at the questions, they are similar to the questions raised during the previous discussion of the text. Tammy apparently has caught on to this pattern, and has most of the

questions filled in. It was on this sheet that she had been taking notes during the

discussion. [CX2LA042005fn]

In recognizing and understanding the procedures and practices of her language Arts

teacher, Tammy was able to meet the literate expectations of this type of task by

extracting information from textual sources and completing a written product from that

information.

Tammy's Language Arts teacher was also explicit about the textual resources

students used for independent projects. Mr. Jeffers made clear what counts as acceptable

text for literate events associated with his classroom. An example of his view of texts

involved the students' book report projects. The following field notes provide evidence of

the value held for various textual resources.

A host of questions from the students follow in search of clarification of the

parameters for the reading material. Tammy asks, "How big does it have to be?

The teacher replies, "Not a Kindergarten book. A novel." Tammy inquires further,

"What about Chicken Soup Books?" The teacher responds, "No it has to be

fiction. A story. A novel." [CXLA2050905.fn]

The teacher's words illustrate his view of appropriate texts for the literate event of a book

report. Short books are not acceptable, and the book must be fictional, and novel length.

Within this sequence of conversation, Tammy's question about the length of the

book demonstrates her disinterest in reading. In line with her strategy to hasten the task,

she is seeking a way to negotiate the literate event quickly. Tammy discussed her

involvement with the task as follows, "In Language Arts we had to write a book report on

our book that we're reading… but I didn't finish it. I just did the thing" [Student Interview, May 25]. In this example, Tammy demonstrates that when she is unable to accommodate the task to be accomplished quickly she resists the act. In keeping with her pursuit for academic success, she completes the expected written product; however, she does not engage with the practice fully and defies the expectations for finishing the book.

Repeatedly, Tammy emphasized her lack of enjoyment in reading. However, Tammy was always involved in her classes. Regardless of the structure of the literate practice or form of the textual resources, Tammy was completed her classroom work. As I probed about this inconsistency, Tammy replied, "I want to still have good grades. Sometimes people depend on me to do some of the work. You know, I still have to do reading and stuff even if I don't like it cuz it's boring" [Student Interview, May 25].

Tammy's words sum up her engagement with the literacy practices associated with her school contexts. Although she didn't enjoy the literate events in her classrooms, she worked to complete them. Tammy valued the literate practices in her classrooms to the extent that they served to advance her levels of achievement. Tammy worked to meet her need to succeed and the literate expectations of her teachers by negotiating literate practices in her classrooms. In this negotiation process, Tammy developed specialized literate practices that operated below the surface of the expected classroom practices. These specialized practices served her purposes of completing the task and obtaining good grades, and exerting as little time and energy as possible.

Tammy's academic literacy practices were socially driven; the focus was on meeting the demands of the practices established by the teacher and constructing a

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product for the teacher. The construction of these literate events took social and individual forms. At times Tammy collaborated with classmates on literate activities. Tammy also worked independently to enact her school literacy practices. It was during these independent enactments when Tammy used her specialized practices to negotiate the literate events of the classroom.

Veronica- Anti-social Artist

Wearing her favorite black Tigger sweatshirt, Veronica could often be found weaving through the swarm of students making their ways through the hallways between classes. Because of her size, Veronica often disappeared into the sea of bodies, her long, dark ponytail serving as the bouncing marker denoting her location. Veronica was a quiet seventh grade Latina who was liked by all. Although liked by all, Veronica was usually walking through the halls by herself. Veronica maintained a small but close group of friends. Veronica attributed her small group of friends to her "anti-social behavior" in 6th grade. She valued these friendships and made efforts to communicate with her friends throughout the day at Frye. Occasionally she would swing by a friend's locker to chat about the social gossip from morning events or make a quick hand-off of a letter passing through the hallway.

Veronica liked being at Frye. However, Veronica didn't enjoy the academic side of school. Veronica's teachers described her as an average student who was often uninvolved in the classroom. Veronica's enjoyment for school came from the social interaction she had with classmates and friends. She enjoyed being involved in

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extracurricular activities. She was a member of the yearbook club and worked for the guidance office as a student assistant. Veronica came to be involved with the Environmental Explorers club as a sixth grader. Her older sister, an 8th grader at the time, was a member of the club, and Veronica helped the club during an annual river clean up. Veronica enjoyed this service to the community, "I like taking care of the Earth and the environment to make it clean and better" [Student Interview, May 24]. At the request of the club supervising teacher, and her present science teacher, Veronica continued to work as a member of the club during her 7th grade year.

Veronica's digital photographs demonstrated her love for social interaction. Most of her pictures from outside of school portrayed the times she spent with family members. Throughout her childhood, Veronica had moved often and went to five different elementary schools. During these times of transition, Veronica discussed how her family served as a stable and supportive factor in her life. Veronica reported that these moves and her parents' divorce brought the family together, "We're a very open family" [Student interview, 033005.si]. Veronica was the youngest member of her large working-class family. She had three brothers and one sister, all of who were in high school. Since her father, stepmother and brothers had to work, Veronica was charged with taking care of some of the chores around the house. She cleaned, took care of the family's four cats, and often cooked dinner for the family. However, Veronica didn't view cooking as a chore; cooking was one of her favorite hobbies, especially making an assortment of desserts.

Much of her interactions with her family involved hanging out and having fun together. Occasionally they watched MTV and movies on HBO together. Playing video games was a popular activity for Veronica's brothers, and the family had several different video game systems. Veronica photographed her engagement with her brothers as they played *Dance Dance Revolution*, and explained this event.

> We're both like, well me and my other brother and him are really good at it. He always tries to show off on it, so me and my other brother try and show him up on it. He's always like, "Oh you can't do it. You can't do it." We go on the dance pad and show him up. It's cool. [Student interview, May 24]

On another occasion, Veronica and her siblings were grounded from all TV and video games because they hadn't cleaned the house. They decided to use Veronica's digital camera and hold a fashion show. She and her siblings put on music, raided their closets for different combinations of clothes, and strutted and posed their way through the afternoon.

Veronica also spent quite a bit of time alone at home. She enjoyed a peaceful respite from the constant clamoring of all of her siblings and their friends. These moments alone allowed Veronica to engage in her true passion, drawing. Veronica described how she escaped from the hectic social sphere inside her home to construct a personal and quite place to work on her drawings. "What I do, what I like to do is go in this room, which is like the kitty room in our house, I like to sit on the desk, because the room is really messy now. I like to sit on the desk and just listen to music" [Student

Interview, 033005]. Veronica explained that listening to music helped her develop ideas for her drawings.

During an interview, Veronica brought in some of her sketches to share. She explained that drawing was a huge part of her life "because the artwork that I do is a big part of me, because I do art a lot. It's just a way of expressing myself" [Student Interview, 052405]. As Veronica discussed her various pieces of art she detailed how each piece expressed some facet of her life. The following photos (Figure 7, Figure 8, Figure 9) are examples of her artwork. Her comments about the pieces are included below the pictures [Student Interview, May 24].

"I'm a very independent person. I like doing things by myself, so I thought I'd just do it in a drawing. It's a book, kinda like my life. This is like about me and what I'm like."

Figure 7. Veronica's Drawing "About Me"

"I'm like the one in the house who gets spoiled with everything. My dad completely spoils me. If I ask for something, he'll, most of the time, give it to me. Like, he'll defend me in an argument, or whatever… like with my brothers and sisters and stuff. He sticks up for my side."

Figure 8. Veronica's Drawing "Spoiled Brat"

"This house is what I actually drew, but then I was sitting in the living room and I drew, that was our little entertainment center that was in the room, so I just drew it…because it's like you're the bird up in the sky looking down on top of this house. You know, just fly away, like a bird can fly in the sky."

Figure 9. Veronica's Drawing "Fly Away"

Although drawing was an individual practice, it was one that Veronica had developed through interaction with her family. Veronica learned to draw by watching her grandmother, who is a professional artist. Veronica also shared some of her artwork with her family at home. "I usually show my whole family. You know, they say, 'Oh that's cool.' You know, they say if they like it or if it's not that good. They're pretty honest"

[Student interview, 033005]. When probed for how her family's opinions influenced her drawing, Veronica replied, "I do my art for me" [Student Interview, 033005].

Personal/Social Literacy Practices

Veronica consistently reported that she hated reading. Veronica reported that she didn't read books as a child and continued to dislike reading. Veronica's stepmother also noted Veronica's extreme dislike for reading and attributed this view of reading to her early years. She wrote on the parent survey,

> Unfortunately Veronica had very little at home help during the first few years of her education. She actually started a year behind (Pre-K) the time she should have. Her mom kept her at home. She also had very little if any help at home, which is why (probably) she ended up in the SLD program. [EA051101.fi]

Veronica's first response about her personal and social literate practices was, "Well, I don't really use literacy at home. It's kind of more just little stuff that I read. You know, it's not like books and stuff" [Student interview, 033005]. As I probed to uncover what Veronica meant by "little stuff" she replied, "I go on computers, and I like looking at magazines" [Student interview, 033005]. Veronica reported that she liked reading IN Touch magazine because it provided her information and gossip about the world of celebrities. In addition to reading IN Touch, Veronica reported that she used her computer on a daily basis to chat with friends on line. She used an instant messaging program to talk with friends on her email buddy list. Veronica reported that she liked chatting on line because "you get to talk to other people, and you get to see what's going

on in their lives, and they tell you things that are going on at school" [Student interview, 033005].

Veronica's view of literacy was strongly connected to practices she associated with school contexts, and these practices focused on the use of books. This view of literacy permeated the way she perceived her literate practices at home. Veronica's stepmother also noted this connection as she wrote, "Veronica hates reading. The only reading she does is assigned to her from school" [EA051105.fi]. The practices Veronica noted as involving small bits of reading worked as ways to keep up on social issues. Some of these issues were directly connected to her daily life, such as school gossip. Other issues were indirectly related to her daily life, such as celebrity gossip, but it served as content for discussions within her social groups of friends. However, these practices did not resemble the ways Veronica used books in school, and in turn, Veronica did not view her home practices as valued literate events.

Some of Veronica's uses of textual tools were facilitated by her strong connection with her family. Although Veronica reported that "we're not a reading kind of family" [CX1LA042805.fn], she did mention that her home was filled with shelves of books that her stepmother read. Veronica's stepmother's voracious reading habits did assist Veronica in selecting books to read at home. However, the motivation for engaging in a book at home was to complete a book report for her Language Arts class.

Another example demonstrates how Veronica's family influenced her to engage with books that were not connected to school. Veronica's sister had brought home books about various forms of art, and Veronica had paged through them. Veronica used the

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pictures in the books to stimulate her ideas for drawing. Veronica explained the process as she discussed her drawing during an interview.

It's not a room. I was looking at a book, because my sister checked out books from her school. She checks out art books and lets me see them. These were the things that stuck in my mind, things that I liked. [EA052405SI]

This process illustrates how Veronica's love for art served as a motivating factor for her to engage in looking through books. This example also shows how the textual tools Veronica used were prompted by her interactions with her family.

Several inconsistencies existed between Veronica's dislike for reading and writing and her engagement with these practices at home. I probed Veronica about these discrepancies. The following interview transcription sheds light on Veronica's view and value of various literate practices.

Interviewer: So, these are the different types of art you saw inside the art book?

Veronica: Yeah.

Interviewer: I'm confused that you say you don't like reading, you don't like books, but you will look at art books.

Veronica: Well, I only like art books. And poem books.

Interviewer: Oh, so poem books it is, too? Doesn't poetry count as reading?

Veronica: Well, I guess it's the style of writing that it is.

Interviewer: And what do you mean by that? What makes that style of writing interesting to you?

Veronica: Well, it's because the writers write in a style of poetry that just flows and makes you keep reading, and regular chapter books and books like these [points around the library] are boring.

Interviewer: What about songs? You said you like to sing along to songs.

Veronica: Yeah, and sometimes I'll go on line and get the lyrics for a song [starts giggling]. Okay, I don't mind reading certain things. If you tell me read this book, I don't like reading it. It has to be interesting to me for me to read it.

Interviewer: So, the poems and art books are not reading?

Veronica: Well, that's not like work. It's like I want to read that stuff. Nobody's making me read it. And, it's not like a whole book; it's just short paragraphs and stuff. [Student Interview, May 24]

In this conversation, Veronica displayed some of her views for reading and how she uses various textual tools. The key for Veronica is interest; she needs to have direct personal relevance for her to engage in a literate act, specifically if it involves books. Despite her repeated hatred for reading, Veronica reported that she used a variety of textual resources (art books, poetry books, internet) to construct literate practices at home.

Despite the correlations between the textual forms, i.e., books, of Veronica's literate events at home and those she associates with school, Veronica holds less value for the literate acts she constructs at home. Veronica believes chapter books, written with a cohesive story line, are more valued than poetry books, which are disconnected poems joined in the physical space of a single book. Veronica believes that art books hold less value than chapter books because they contain pictures as opposed to solely words.

At home Veronica engaged in a number of different literate practices. At times these practices were constructed socially and motivated by school. At other times these practices were individual constructions and motivated by personal interests. However, Veronica's view of her literate practices discounts her personally motivated constructions and elevates her school motivated practices.

Academic/School Literacy Practices

Veronica's teachers described her as intelligent and capable of achieving academic success when she decided to put forth the effort. However, they felt she didn't always put forth the amount of effort required to succeed. Veronica's teachers described her literate competencies as lacking. Both her science and Language Arts teachers reported that Veronica struggled with comprehending written text. Her Language Arts teacher reported that, "She misses assignments every once in a while. Her assignments aren't the best. I wish it [work ethic] was stronger. She could be such a great student if she focused more in the classroom, on her work. It seems like she doesn't do that" [Teacher Interview, May 17]. Regarding her writing, Veronica's teachers reported that she could get her point across, but that she needed to work on the structure of her writing to make her point more clear.

When asked about her literate practices in school, Veronica listed Language Arts class, reading and doing worksheets. Veronica followed this list of practices with, "I don't really like them. I don't like anything to do with reading. I don't like reading, reading anything" [Student Interview, 033005]. Veronica's classroom literate practices did focus on reading from books and doing worksheets. Veronica engaged in these

various practices differently in various contexts. Veronica engaged in certain practices, resisted and refused to engage in the other practices, and negotiated her levels of engagement with some practices.

Veronica reported her favorite class was her technology class, and she worked hard to engage in all of the practices enacted in this context. Worksheets were a common literate tool in Veronica's technology class. These worksheets usually involved written directions that detailed the dimensions for various structures the students were to build using a Computer Assisted Design [CAD] program. Veronica engaged in this practice by reading the directions, creating component of the structure, and then rereading the directions to make sure she had followed the directions correctly. This type of literate practice was primarily conducted independently, but the students often turned to neighbors for clarifications about the direction or assistance with technical issues related to the software. After the students constructed the 3-D model on the computer, they took this design to the workshop and built the item. Veronica described this class as both fun and hard but something she enjoyed. Veronica liked working with the tools, but she reported that reading the schematic and transferring it over to a block of wood was difficult. When she had difficulty with this process, she usually turned to a peer nearby.

Although Veronica reported a strong dislike for reading, she was extremely engaged in her technology class. Even though worksheets served as a primary textual tool, both in the computer lab and in the workshop, Veronica still enjoyed the class. The motivation of building something provided the purpose for her to complete the necessary worksheets.

In contrast to this engagement, Veronica resisted the use of worksheets in her science class. Even during labs, where the students were active and collaborating, Veronica did not immediately get involved in this literate practice. During one lab that I observed, Veronica worked in several ways to resist this practice. Initially, as the teacher handed out the worksheet packets that accompanied the various lab centers, Veronica was reading a note from a friend and completely ignored the teacher. As Veronica's group began the experiment at one center, she took out a piece of paper and began writing a note in response to the letter she had finished reading. As the teacher approached, Veronica put away the letter and began working with the group. The following field notes illustrate how she worked with this practice.

> She [Veronica] grabs the card at that particular workstation where the group is seated. She reads the card to herself and then looks at the worksheet that the group has to complete. They're working on vertebrates and invertebrates. Veronica's group discusses answers to come to consensus. When I asked how they were accomplishing the task, Veronica replied, "Well, you just read the card, and then you read the bag with the fossil. You just have to match up with the picture on the card that had all of the information." [SM2.SC0406fn]

As soon as the teacher leaves her area, Veronica continues to write the letter to her friend. Although Veronica engages in this literate event by reading the directions and participating in collaborating on the answer, she is not interested in the correctness of the task as long as it is complete. For Veronica, knowing the fossil type is not important. She just wants to complete all of the blanks on the worksheet. In addition, her engagement is

prompted by the presence of the teacher, and after he leaves, Veronica disengages from the group. For Veronica, the practice of writing a friendly letter held higher purpose than completing the worksheet for the lab.

Veronica demonstrated how her dislike for reading prompted her to view her work as tasks that needed to be *complete* rather than *correct* when completing worksheets for her science lab. Veronica also demonstrated this form of resistance when she was completing assignments from her science textbook. On one occasion, as Mr. Vernon roamed the room checking homework, Veronica busily attempted to finish the assignment at her desk. Just as he approached, Veronica finished the last question. The teacher noticed that she had not answered one question and only put a question mark in the space. The following field notes show how this scenario unfolded.

> Veronica responds, "I didn't know how to do it." The teacher counters, "It's the easiest one." Veronica questions, "Well, what do I do?" Shaking his head and point to her text, "All you have to do is copy this. Look." He reads the question aloud and explains to her that all the simplicity in copying the diagram, "That's all you have to do." Veronica responds, "OH." The teacher eyes her, "I don't know why you always do that with the question marks." She shrugs her shoulders. [SM2SC050405.fn]

As I approached Veronica following this scenario, she explained her reasoning for approaching the task with this method.

> I never do these ones [pointing to webs and graphic organizers]. I always put question marks because he never reads it. This time he read it and now I got to do

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it. I just don't like these kinds...you have to read all of this first [pointing to the text around the blanks]. I didn't read these sections because…he never goes over it, so why read it? I'm leaving it and if he makes me, I'll do it again. [SM2SC050405.fn]

In this scenario, Veronica demonstrates how she views the practice of textbook assignments as something that just needs to be handed in to be counted. She recognizes the teacher's standard procedures, and negotiates the path of least resistance. That is, she completes almost all of the assignments, except for the question she deems too time-consuming because of the amount of text.

In her Language Arts class, Veronica resisted the classroom literate events through letter writing and drawing. Veronica attributed her displeasure with her Language Arts class to her dislike of reading, and particularly resisted the literate practice of silent independent reading of the class material. "Well, I don't like reading, and that's what me mostly do in here. We mostly read on our own," and as I probed about her writing, Veronica added, "In here it's all essays. I don't like writing, so I don't like that part either" [CX1LA044805.fn].

There were inconsistencies in the ways Veronica talked about her literate behaviors, specifically her lack of interest in writing. As I highlighted her engagement with writing emails at home and writing letters to friends, Veronica responded,

It's a different kind of writing. There's no format. Like with essays, you have a format, Mr. Jeffers' format. So I don't like that kind of writing. This [holds up

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letter] is a different kind of writing. It's not the same. You don't have to follow the format the same way" [CX1LA044805.fn].

Veronica went on to further explain the way she viewed the differences between the format for writing that was practiced in her classroom as compared to her writing of personal letters and emails,

Well, it's like your friends are going to read it and if you do something that's not right, they can still read the letter and know what you're talking about…like you write a different way. The spelling is supposed be different and like you can put different things in the letter. You can't do that with essays." [CX1LA044805.fn].

Veronica highlighted some of the characteristics that defined the practice of writing in school. The format and structure of the product constructed in this practice was expected to adhere to particular rules established by an external authority, the teacher. Veronica rejected this practice because of her lack of input into these rules. The correctness of the grammar and the spelling was of secondary importance to the message in her personal writing. However, this was not the case in her school writing. The grammar and the spelling were supposed to facilitate the meaning being constructed. Veronica resisted this practice because it denied her to focus on the product's content, which seemed deemed most significant. The content of the writing was also a point of resistance for Veronica. With personal writing, she was able to determine the content of the product as it met her personal and social purposes. With school writing, the content was determined by the teacher and was established to meet the teacher's purposes.

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Despite Veronica's continued mantra for hating reading and writing, she did attempt to complete the practices, although it was often done in a way that resisted the practice. She explained her motivation for engaging at all in the literate events of school.

> Well, that's because it's mandatory. We have to do it…it's our work and for our grade…and if you don't do it you'll get a bad grade…My mom gets upset when I get B's and C's, so I try not to do that. [Student Interview, May 24]

Veronica predominantly associated "literacy" with literate events connected to school literate practices. She holds little value for these practices other than to get good grades. Veronica's motivation for good grades stems from her strong connections to her family, and she seeks to make her family proud of her, especially her stepmother. Although Veronica sees the value in completing the literate practices of school as a way to increase her academic success, she attempts to resist and alter the structures established by such practices.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Steven Michael Hart earned his Bachelor's Degree in Elementary Education from Kutztown University of Pennsylvania and a Master's Degree in Literacy Development from The College of William & Mary. Prior to entering the Ph.D. program, Steven taught for nine years in urban elementary schools in Norfolk, Virginia and South San Francisco, California. As an exemplary classroom teacher, Steven was selected to serve on the board of directors for the National Education Association's Foundation for the Improvement of Education.

As a Graduate Assistant in the Childhood Education Department, Steven worked extensively to infuse service-learning pedagogy into the teacher education program. Through federally supported research grants, Steven designed service-learning courses that connected preservice teachers with community organizations to promote academic learning and provide a service to children, families, and the community. Steven has also published two articles in teacher education journals and made several paper presentations at national and international conferences.