University of Missouri, St. Louis

IRL @ UMSL

Dissertations   **UMSL Graduate Works**

8-3-2015

Korean Migrant Youth Identity Work in the Transnational Social Field: A Link between Identity, Transnationalism, and New Media Literacy

Sujin Kim
University of Missouri-St. Louis

Follow this and additional works at: https://irl.umsl.edu/dissertation

Part of the Education Commons

Korean Migrant Youth Identity Work in the Transnational Social Field:
A Link between Identity, Transnationalism, and New Media Literacy

Sujin Kim
M.A., English Language and Literature, Seoul National University, 2002
B.A., English Language and Literature, Seoul National University, 1996

A Dissertation Submitted to The Graduate School at the University of Missouri-St. Louis
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy in Education

August 2014

Advisory Committee
E. Wendy Saul, Ph. D.
Chairperson
Lisa M. Dorner, Ph.D.
Co-Chair
Alina Slapac, Ed. D.
Joseph L. Polman, Ph. D.

Abstract

Informed by the new understandings of space, culture, and identity in the fast-changing world where communication technology connects and compresses multiple spaces, this qualitative study examines how Korean migrant youth understand, negotiate, and articulate their complex identities across and beyond various borders. The research questions were: (1) What are the contexts in which migrant youth negotiate their identities? (2) How do youth understand and negotiate their sense of belonging? (3) How do youth's cultural and literacy practices, particularly in new media, inform and shape their identities? Using an ethnographic case study design, I collected data from 32 survey participants and four core participants. Data included 32 surveys, 32 identity maps, 25 interview transcripts, 200 pages of field notes from observations, and 91 literacy documents across online and offline. A grounded theory approach and concepts of *design* and *curatorship* were used to analyze the data.

Analysis demonstrated the intersections of conflict and flexibility, resistance and resilience, and vulnerability and agency in youths' identity work. When youths' identity was confined by the border-oriented discourses such as citizenship, race, and ethnicity, they expressed a sense of dissonance and felt that they were identified by *who they are not*. However, when they were able to cross national, linguistic, and cultural borders, they flexibly code-mixed and switched between languages, affiliated with audiences of diverse backgrounds, and positioned themselves resiliently. In this trans-bordering identity construction, new media played a crucial role by creating *third spaces* where youth could draw on their daily cultural practices, hybridizing diverse identity resources across contexts and audiences. New media served as a dialogic space for identity co-construction between youths and their audiences, an interactive learning platform, and a communicative medium for transnational relationships. Despite their

relatively unsettled lives, the young migrants in this study behaved as agentive authors and designers of their identities with and in new media. Educational implications include the need to broaden the concept of literacy, to make connections between students' lives and school curriculum, and to incorporate students' voices in developing new pedagogy.

Dedication

To my dear daughters, Chenny and Juju for your love and support

Acknowledgements

The most precious legacy that my six-year journey in the doctoral program has left me is *people*. During this journey, I met many wonderful people, received a great deal of love and support, and built friendships that will last for life. At this special moment where one journey ends and another starts, I would like to express my deepest appreciation to all of them who walked with me along the way offering their lead as well as warm words and actions of encouragement.

First of all, I would like to thank my committee professors for their unwavering support and guidance. My advisor, Dr. Lisa Dorner, has been the best advisor I could have ever asked for, having nurtured my academic identity with her expertise and experiences, helped me resiliently navigate numerous challenges, and offered the most genuine care and empathy throughout my academic pursuits. The committee chair, Dr. Wendy Saul, has also given me the greatest support with the opportunity to work under her supervision as an outreach coordinator of the multicultural Resource Library as well as her advisee. Without her generous advocacy and timely opportunities she made possible for me in each step, I could not experience this fulfilling moment. I thank Dr. Alina Slapac for modeling as a passionate scholar and leader, helping me become one myself. Her insightful reflection on our shared experience as international scholars has helped me better understand my strengths and areas for improvement. I also very much appreciate Dr. Joseph Polman and his insightful feedback for my project even from distance in Colorado. I believe that I am one of the luckiest doctoral students blessed with a committee of expertise, mentorship, and genuine support.

Also I would like to give my special thanks to my friends at UMSL. My fellow doctoral students and colleagues, Angela Layton, Emily Hager, Jeffrey Pauls, and Sarah Coppersmith,

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

I. Entering the Study

This dissertation study started with my growing interest in better understanding the unique characteristics of contemporary migrants' lives. I have been especially interested in how the increasing connectivity between home and host country through new media technology has affected migrant youths' identity work, both as a researcher and parent of two migrant children. In this dissertation, I document how this question evolved into a research project. I start by *looking back* at how the study started and where it is situated through an overview and review of existing studies, and with an exploration of my own identity as a researcher and migrant (chapter 1, 2, 3). Then, I *look* closely *into* my young participants' experiences and perspectives to understand how migrant youths navigate their complex identities (chapter 4, 5, 6). Finally, I close with a *looking-forward* perspective on how the findings can be incorporated in new understandings of migrant youths' identity work and into practices of education (chapter 7, 8).

To begin, I open this chapter with a brief introduction of the study context, and what has been missing in previous studies, and how my life story is embedded within this research. I first illustrate the general background in which the contemporary migration and identity work are situated: how is contemporary migration distinct from previous generations? What are the missing pieces in the research of youth identity development? Finally, before moving to my story, I will clarify key terms that I use in this study: migrant youth, identity work, and new media.

Framing the Study

Contemporary Migration and Youth

In her book, *Borderlands: La Frontera*, Anzaldua (1999) dealt with the challenge of moving across borders and living on new soil. She described life in the borderland of different cultures, languages, and nations as merging two different worlds and forming a "third country"

of new consciousness (p. 25). As a dividing line between safe and unsafe, between *us* and *them*, borders are defined and enforced by people living outside the strip of the borderland. However, for people living within the borderland (both metaphorically and physically), life is in an incessant state of transition with ambivalence and unrest. It entails inevitable processes of navigating and dealing with disparities, searching for new identities, and coming to terms with living and speaking from an in-between space (Hall, 1995).

There has never been a time that this challenge of living in the borderland was experienced by a greater number of people than in the contemporary world; since the 1980s, people have been moving across national borders on a massive scale for various reasons such as work, settlement, education, political freedom, or simply travel (Porte, Guarinizo, & Landolt, 1999; Porte & Rumbaut, 2006). In addition to the extensive scale of mobility, the contemporary migrancy has another unique aspect: there is intensive connectivity on a daily basis between home and host country through information and communication technology. Unlike past immigrants whose physical relocation was associated with the sudden or gradual disjunction of previous relationships and identities, today's migrants do not have to entirely sever established ties with their country of origin. The "simultaneity" (Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004) of transnational connections across national borders is increasingly mediated by multiple kinds of new communication media. Now it has been incorporated into migrant people's daily routines and relationships both in one's home and destination country (Lam, 2009).

As a consequence of extensive transnational mobility and intensive connectivity across borders, the contemporary time has generated new, yet unexamined characteristics and challenges of identity work for those who cross borders. Little is known about how this unparalleled transnationalism has affected people's experiences, particularly its impacts on the

identity work of young migrants (Lam, 2009). We know from previous studies: (1) these new challenges of identity work can be greater among migrant youths than their parents (Portes & Zhou, 2005; Suárez-Orozco, 2004), and (2) children are not just passive in major family decisions but may play a central role in migration and transnational relationships (Orellana, Thorne, Chee, & Lam, 2001). For some families, the reason for migration is the possibility of a better education for their children (Dorner, 2010). Even families who have come for other reasons may still face a moment where a hard decision has to be made whether to stay or to move back, and the children may be an important factor in that decision. It is also important to note that children, even those who never return to their parents' home country, grow up in a household surrounded by ideas, relationships, value systems, and cultural objects from their country of origin. For these children, relationships with other significant figures are not territorially confined, but are extended to include both places where they or their parents were born and now live (Levitt & Glick-Shiller, 2004). Given these important roles that children play in migration, migration studies need to address, rather than obscure how children actively shape ways in which families move through spaces, and experience the broader transnational context (Ensor & Gozdziak, 2010; Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004). Such studies might move us beyond the double stigmatization "child migrants" endure, both as a *child* and as a *migrant* (de Block & Buckingham, 2007).

Gaps in the Research of Youth

Previous research on youth identity development has several gaps in understanding migrant youth identity work. Mainly, studies have not appropriately addressed specific experiences of migrant youth: (1) general youth development theories have predominantly focused on universality rather than context-specific development, (2) migration-specific studies

of youth have highlighted deficits over assets, thus drawing only half of the story, and finally (3) although a small number of studies have illuminated youth literacy as an active tool of agency, still little is known about how new media literacy practices mediate youth's identity work.

From universal to specific. Existing studies on youth identity development were mostly framed by the theory of lock-step, linear developmental stages, seeking universal characteristics across time and space (Cosaro, 2005; Deutsch, 2008). Adolescence has been viewed as a preparatory period through which an immature child is socialized and matured into a socially competent adult (Erikson, 1959). Due to its unilateral view on adolescence as a "becoming" stage full of problematic aspects, the linear perspective on youth development has received much critique from sociocultural theorists for its lack of context-specific considerations (Cosaro, 2005; Rogoff, 2003).

The sociocultural perspective has two distinctive implications for youth identity work: 1) acknowledgement of children's active role in development, and 2) consideration of intersectionality of multi-leveled contexts of an individual. First, by closely examining the interplay between the individual and the surrounding environment during one's development, the sociocultural view highlights how children actively shape their own development rather than being passive objects of socialization into the adult world (Cosaro, 2005; Rogoff, 2003). It views socialization not merely as a process of internalizing social values and culture, but as an active process in which children participate and contribute to the production and transformation of existing culture (Rogoff, 2003). Second, the sociocultural perspective stresses the importance of considering intersectionality between diverse contexts. Some argue that how categories intersect, such as gender, race and class, is crucial to youth identity formation (Cooper, García Coll, Thorne, & Orellana, 2005; Deutsch, 2008; Ngo, 2010). Others consider intersectionality of

contexts at diverse levels (e.g., local, national, global) to better understand the complexity of youth experiences and identity search (Arnett, 2002; Suárez -Orozco, 2004).

From deficits to assets. The sociocultural focus on specific contexts has led a number of studies to examine and address the social, historical, and cultural contexts that are specific to the migration and adaptation process. However, many explorations of migrant youth have emphasized deficits over strengths and resources in the experience of migration (Ensor & Gozdziak, 2010; Epstein, 2009; García Coll & Magnuson, 2005; Moje, 2002 ; Ngo, 2010). It has been typical among migration scholarship to depict migration primarily as a deteriorating experience and developmentally-damaging process (García Coll & Magnuson, 2005). Although it is important to unravel the deficits in the environment for those in minority groups (e.g., having fewer educational resources than mainstream peers) for remediation (Polman & Miller, 2010), an exclusive focus on what they lack and/or their "disabilities" may lead to more harm than good; in short, the focus leads to underestimating and under-utilizing strengths and skills that youth develop through migration experiences.

In an effort to challenge this deficit perspective on migrant youth, a small body of research has examined how the transnational experiences of migration has affected youth identity work, specifically highlighting their literacy practices as an active tool to make meaning and exercise agency (Gee, 2010; Lam, 2009; McCarthey & Moje, 2002; Moje, 2002). Contrary to the traditional notion of literacy as simply being a mental, cognitive process of an individual, recent conceptualizations take this idea further to define it as a sociocultural achievement through participating in cultural and social practices of a group (Gee, 2010). Literacy does not merely refer to the written skills of language, but is a central part of social discourse practices in which a person enacts, negotiates, and represents one's identity (Gee, 1990; McCarthey & Moje, 2002;

Moje, Ciechanoski, Ellis, Carrillo, & Collazo, 2004; Yi, 2009). As the essential link between the examination of transnational experiences and the study of identity work, looking at youth's literacy practices will showcase their agency in navigating and understanding complex social contexts and identities.

Towards a new understanding of new media literacy. However, as most studies of literacy either focus on early childhood or adulthood, current literacy research has not adequately attended to the literacy development of adolescents in general (Moje, 2002), and especially those of migrant youth. Since literacy educators and scholars have defined and controlled learning tracks based on the narrow definition of literacy as the written skills of reading and writing, they have favored canonical print texts over other forms (Baynham, 2004; King & O'Brien, 2002). In turn, this has widened the gap between inside-of-school and outside-of-school literacies, and prevented teachers from recognizing diverse ways of learning among their students. Especially, youth's engagement with new media has been rarely examined as a valid school literacy practice among scholars (Lam, 2009). Although digital media for youth have become "the taken-for-granted social and cultural fabric of learning, play and social communication" (Ito et al., 2010, p. xi), new media has been the least understood space among researchers and educators (Woo, 2004). Given that new media space is a powerful catalyst for transnational interaction across national borders in our time (de Block & Buckingham, 2010), there is s strong need for researchers to better understand the "interconnected nature of online literacy, identity, and transnationalism" (Yi, 2009, p. 123).

The Study

In this dissertation, I address the knowledge gap on the relationship between the increasing transnational experiences via new media and migrant youth identity construction.

Drawing from the aforementioned sociocultural view of identity and literacy, I examine how migrant youth understand and articulate their identities by looking at how they perceive and manage "borders" such as national/legal and racial/ethnic borders, and how they draw on diverse linguistic and cultural resources to negotiate and present their social identities within and across multiple communities in the transnational social field.

More specifically, I explore the following questions: 1) what are the contexts in which migrant youth negotiate their identities? 2) how do youth understand and negotiate their sense of belonging? 3) how do youth's cultural and literacy practices inform and shape their identities? 3i) how do youth make use of transnational new media for their identity work? 3ii) how do literacy practices potentially shape their identities?

Clarifying Terms: "Migrant Youth" "Identity Work" in "New Media" Space

Researchers and educators have referred to the youth population of migrant background in a variety of ways for different purposes. Terms frequently found include: immigrant youth, English Language Learner (ELL), and migrant youth. Only very recently, some scholars added the term, transnational youth, to adequately refer to the newly emerging population whose settlement characteristics are somewhat different from those of previous, typical immigration; transnational youth have more intense two-way interaction between home and host countries (e.g. Lam, 2009; Yi, 2009). However, there can be no simple categorization for youth whose motivation and patterns of settlement vary greatly. Therefore, to include a broader range of youth that share more commonalities than differences, I will use the term *migrant youth* to refer to those youth whose interactional pattern demonstrates an intense bidirectional movement across national borders. I chose this term to make sure youth are not necessarily limited to a permanent and unidirectional movement from home to host country as connoted in *immigrant youth*, or

confined only to the context of language learning as in *English Language Learner*. When I use the term *immigrant*, I am particularly stressing the unidirectional movement implied in the term. However, note that at times, the term *immigrant* is maintained to follow the original terminology that was used in the studies I cite.

The term *youth* will be interchangeably used with various age-related terms including children, kids, young people, adolescents and teens. Although there are certain distinctions among these terms whether based on age, degree of agency, or biological orientation (Ito et al., 2010), I recognize that different categories are shaped by cultural and historical contexts and always subject to negotiation and change. *Youth* in this study is used as an overarching category particularly to refer to the "general cultural category of youth" (Ito et al., 2010, p. 8) mainly because I aim to capture the cultural snapshot of youth engagement in new media.

I will also use the term, *identity work* more emphatically than and often interchangeably with *identity development* or *identity construction.* In their study of people's complex identity work in organizations, Sveningsson and Alvesson (2003) define *identity work* as a set of performance-based processes in which people form, reinforce or revise constructs of their sense of identity. The focal point in using *work,* therefore, is that it stresses agency in constructing and negotiating multiple identities. I draw on the sociocultural perspective of identity formation, especially paying attention to how youth design and perform their own identities through active participation in the cultural processes. Thus, the term *identity work* fits better the concept of youth as active agents in their social worlds than *identity development* as found in studies of developmental psychology that are associated with the passive, stage-wise linear perspective.

Finally, the term, *new media,* in this study draws its definition from Ito et al.'s research of youth media practices (2010), as "a media ecology where more traditional media such as books,

television, and radio are intersecting with digital media, specifically interactive media and media for social communication" (p. 10). Although it is often used interchangeably with 'digital, online, networked, virtual' media, the term, *new media,* places its specific focus on its newness and uniqueness that stems from the fact that it is "a constellation of media changes, in a move toward more digital, networked, and interactive forms, which together define the horizon of the new" (p. 10) at this particular historical time.

Linking My Story to the Research

My research interest in migrant youth identity work started from my own transnational experience and identity crisis. Ten years ago, I made a grand move from my home country, South Korea, to the United States for my husband's study. With our two little daughters, we started a new chapter of our life as a transnational migrant family. At the time of our initial settlement in St. Louis, I believed that I had a firm, established identity as a woman, mother, wife, and potentially future student. It was not until later that my ethnic and racial identity started to surface and to take a greater part of who I am. Just like a person "raised in Beijing and immigrating as an adult may discover that he is Asian for the first time at age thirty" (Suárez-Orozco, 2004, p. 177), it was only after I came to the United Stated and people started to classify me as Asian or Chinese or Vietnamese that my Korean ethnicity began to play a major role in my own identity. For the first time, I noticed that in this society, the racial distinction plays a central role in categorizing people. Initially, I did not mind being identified as Asian, foreigner, or would-be returnee to Korea. However, as time went by and our stay was prolonged, my comfort in those labels decreased. The markers became hazy, especially as I witnessed my two children growing up with different cultural and ethnic identities. As a result, we and they started to develop different senses of belonging.

In short, life became very uncertain. The ambiguity increased as my identity became blurred. Gradually, I started to feel discomfort in many labels as confining and misrepresenting who I really was/am or at least my perception of myself. Am I just Korean even though I do not feel as comfortable any more with my own ethnic people, and sometimes feel like a stranger to the same traditional, cultural ceremonies with which I grew up? Am I an American then who grew a new cultural skin although this new outfit perplexes me so often? But, how can I be just a foreigner after living in St. Louis for ten years and feeling at home and relieved whenever I see the big Arch from the highway on my way back from a distant trip? Am I an immigrant, although I am still classified as non-resident alien with non-immigrant visa? Then, am I a global citizen who is just drifting across national borders without having a firm place to go back and claim as my own land?

Who am I? To this question, I could define myself only in terms of *who I was not*: I was not the same Korean as I used to be, I was not American or immigrant in its cultural and legal sense. I was not just a foreigner or global citizen either. All the names started to feel uncomfortable, imprisoning me in a place where I did not belong. It was an existential crisis. It became more agonizing, since I had two young children – who I had to guide as an important figure, who Bowlby (1988) would call a "secure base" – when I desperately needed such a figure for my own self.

I started meditating not to be lost in this new identity crisis in my mid 30s and to give myself some peace of mind. Meditation was mainly about stepping aside from who I believed I was, watching myself from a distance, and realizing how the diverse contexts have shaped the patterns of my life, thought, and feelings. The *distance* between me as an actor in life and myself as an observer was essential to make sense of who I was and how my life has unfolded. The

distance helped me to better understand my past and present in their fuller picture. It also provided me with diverse angles to interpret my life and the world around. At times, it was amazing to find how many different interpretations there could be for the same incident. Identity may have become hazier with diverse meanings, but at the same time, it was a liberating realization that identity is relational and flexible across contexts.

Ironically, my life as a transnational migrant away from the familiar cultural, social norms and practices also helped me achieve a similar distancing effect. Living abroad, I went through a difficult but rewarding process of comparing and contrasting differences across where I had lived and where I currently live. I also had to develop a language to translate such differences. My previous cultural map did not work properly in the new place. My new cultural map was not accurate yet. However, I gradually became more literate in the new cultural script, which however did not mean that I was fully integrated in the new place. I could not acquire the language of new culture deep inside of me. I still dreamt in my own language and relied on my previous cultural scripts for many final conclusions and meaning-making.

I felt distant from both places. Adapting to the life in-between, however, I slowly developed a new mode of living in the borderland. I selectively chose different things from 'here' and 'there' to make sense of my life here and now. Many identity labels started to play out flexibly at different moments. I better thrived with a relational viewpoint which acknowledges diverse reference points. Practically, I began to view my experiences of different nations, languages, cultures, and identities as resources. Transnational life had its good parts. The rapid development of transnational new media technology particularly helped me turn to the positive direction. More privileged than our precedents, current migrants can keep an ongoing network of transnational relationships via communication technology. We do not just lose ties and resources

from our culture of origin the moment we move across the Ocean. In my own room, I daily connect to the people and events of Korea. *Twitter* was a communicative space for my political voice in the 2012 elections in Korea. *Facebook* has been a main social space for me to connect to my friends in Korea and in other states of America (both Koreans and non-Koreans). I chat with my family in Korea through Skype video call for special occasions, e.g., Korean New Year's Day and Thanksgiving Day. The two largest Korean online communities I log onto every day provide helpful information on living in the U.S. as well as opportunities to discuss various topics including racism, politics both in Korea and America, cheap bargains of the season, parenting, educational resources, and daily gossips. I teach my children Korean language and culture through Korean TV shows and educational programs in the Internet. This transnational relationship and education is still important for my two children's upbringing although they have spent more years in the U. S. and English is a more comfortable language for them.

Many of these new forms of interaction across spaces were not imaginable even a decade ago, and have dramatically changed our perception of spaces, relationships, and identities. Relocated from but reconnected to the familiar home, we migrants may develop a unique way of being and belonging that are different from those of the previous generation. With this new status of mind, I developed a research question of how contemporary transnational migrants make sense of and forge new identities in this transcultural and transnational landscape. Particularly, I explored youths' identity work as a parent of two children who have grown up with these transnational resources and relationships from early childhood. Now entering the study, I realize that this project has been not only a researcher's documentation of the study process and findings, but also a personal journey to better understand challenges and strengths of migrants and their children.

II. Review of Literature and Relevant Theories

In order to situate this study within the specific context of transnational migration, I will introduce in this chapter a small but growing body of studies that have highlighted the shifting notions of space, culture, and identity. I will then link these emergent notions to migrant youth identity work by drawing on the sociocultural perspective on identity, learning, and literacy. First, I will start with the context of research on Korean migrant youth through a brief review of the very small literature on these issues to identify the gaps in the literature around identity construction in a transnational context.

Korean Migrant Youth in the Literature

Although for non-Koreans, the South-North division is important to address and there certainly exist many distinctions between North and South Korea (e.g. political system, economic status, and digital media use among people), I use "Korean" in this dissertation to refer to South Korean identity. Even in terms of Korean immigration history in the U.S., it started before the official North-South division in 1953. I note that North and South references are mostly for the political division, artificially drawn only for 60 years out of more than 5,000 years of Korean history shared between the two nation-states. Therefore, for ethnic identity, many South Koreans are likely to be more resonant with the reference "Korean" than "South Korean."

Partly because Korean immigration history in the U.S. is only three generations old, research on this group is very limited (Gwak, 2008). Even less research has been done on its youth population, especially regarding how youth engage in literacy development (Joo, 2009) or new media. So far, research has centered mostly on cultural experiences, more specifically, assimilation and acculturation processes.

Existing studies generally fall under Asian American research as a part of the pan-ethnic Asian American population (Gwak, 2008). As many early studies on immigration did, most of these studies have revolved around challenges of assimilation and their impact on identity formation, largely in terms of psychological well-being (e.g., Lee, 2005). Strong ethnic identity was identified as a protecting factor that alleviates the effects of discrimination on the psychological health and self-esteem (Lee, 2005). Some have addressed the negotiation process of Korean immigrant youth between different cultural value systems and languages, often from a binary paradigm of Korean vs. American culture (Yeh et al., 2005).

Some researchers have also started to look at challenges of identity construction among relatively new youth population, the so-called "parachute kids." The term *parachute kids* has traditionally referred to a group of foreign-born Asian students "who parachuted alone to the United States" unaccompanied by their parents mainly for educational purposes (Lee, 2006, p.26). As an emergent group of students since 1990s, parachute kids in general have been rarely studied, and therefore remain scarcely understood (Lee, 2006). Thus, studies about parachute kids have contributed to efforts to broaden the research scope to include such emerging but underrepresented groups (Lee, 2006).

Several recent studies have explored how maintaining cultural and linguistic heritage affects one's identity formation (e.g., Choi, 2009; Joo, 2009). For example, as the second language acquisition field has increasingly acknowledged the link between language learning and identity development, the topic of identity has been lately moved out of the periphery status to the center in second language research (Choi, 2009). The growing emphasis on literacy practices as an integral part of identity work, English language learners' in and out of school literacy practices have drawn much interest from scholars. In their studies, it is recognized that

creating spaces is important where youth can negotiate their identities by affiliating to their cultural and linguistic communities of practice (e.g., Choi, 2009).

However, there is scarce research on the implications of changing notions of space, culture and identity in the transnational context for the Korean youth population. Much less is known about how new media are mediating youth identity work. As danah boyd (2008) notes, the rapid adoption of social media, not just within the U.S. but around the world, has invoked many unanswered questions among researchers, including: what are the implications of these new ways of social relationships for youth identities? Korea is one of the frontier countries that launched the nation-wide social network sites such as *Cyworld* (boyd, 2008) and it has one of the fastest and widest growing online communities in the world (Lee, 2006). Over 63% of the whole population, and 95% of people between the age of 6 and 29 use Internet on a daily basis in Korea (Lee, 2006). Given that many Korean migrant youths in the U.S. are coming from this context where daily activities in online communities are commonplace, the study of these youths' identity work will add greatly to the body of knowledge on transnational identity construction.

Reconfiguring Space

A very salient change in contemporary experiences is the way people relate and connect to different spaces. Globalization, structured by increasing levels of international trade of goods and services, has expedited worldwide transformations in all economic, social, and cultural sectors (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Suárez-Orozco, 2005). Although transnational migration is nothing new to human history, the contemporary transnationalism may well be labeled as unique at this particular historical moment because of its intense connectivity between spaces (Portes, Guarinizo, & Landolt, 1999). New modes of communication through digital media have enabled

people to conceive and perform once unimaginable transaction on a daily basis beyond national borders.

Connectivity

In the past, immigrants' movement was mostly unilateral from the sending to the receiving country, and its main purpose was for permanent settlement through assimilating to the host society (or at least, that is the story most people currently tell). People were assumed to achieve assimilation by shedding previous cultural and linguistic features and growing new ones. Thus, physical relocation was in most cases associated with disjunction of previous relationships and identities which generally took place over two or three generations. On the other hand, when migrant people move across national borders to work or settle today, they need not entirely sever former ties established in their country of origin to adapt to their new country. They don't have to freeze previous relationships at the time of departure, but they are able to retain and develop those relationships through technology, if not through physical visits.

Some people even feel that they live in multiple spaces at the same time (Lam, 2007; Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004). Levitt and Glick-Schiller (2004) conceptualized this new way of living as *simultaneity*, meaning "living lives that incorporate daily activities, routines, and institutions located both in a destination country and transnationally" (p. 1003). When migrants "settle" in a new country, they still maintain transnational connections to their home country or to the diasporan networks of family, friends, compatriots, or people who share certain identities (e.g., ethnicity, religion). As Staeheli and Nagel (2006) argue, many migrants do not perceive home as a discrete, singular place, but understand as connected between *here* and *there*. For them, home denotes more than a physical location. It is a multifaceted space that represents their attachment to and relationship with multiple places beyond national and cultural borders. While

traversing across these borders, people constantly negotiate their roles and identities by responding to the shifting contexts (Lam, 2004 a; New London Group, 1996).

Then, how have these new experiences of border-crossing changed the notion of space, culture, and identity? In many different disciplinary fields, representations of social space have been remarkably characterized by images of rupture and disjunction (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992), as if the premises of discontinuity between spaces were the actual reality of discrete borderlines. However, the complexity of migrant people's experiences has undermined the assumption of explicit borders such as personal (insider vs. outsider), national as well as cultural (El-Haj, 2009).

By envisioning spaces as connected and overlapped rather than separate, transnational people conceptualize society not as a bounded space bordered by tangible lines, but as a social field that is "a set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are exchanged, organized, and transformed" (Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004, p. 1009). The way people "link homes and commitments in two places" indicates that belonging to multiple spaces is not mutually exclusive, but that their sense of home and community is "embedded in places at nested scales" (Staeheli & Nagel, 2006, p. 1609). Through this shift in spatial understanding from absolute to relational (Amin, 2004), from disjunction to connectivity, the transnational social field includes rather than excludes or divides social spaces (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). Likewise, regular experiences of crossing borders – physically and virtually – have allowed people to create new forms of solidarity and identity that do not rely on spatial appropriation, physical contiguity and face-to-face relationships (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). From this relational perspective, it has become possible for people to invoke, produce and

coordinate "multiple space-times" and "multiple spatio-temporal achievements" (Leander & McKim, 2003, p.224).

Re-conceptualizing Culture

Despite the new experience of space and border among people, acknowledgement of the change is much behind at the societal level. It is well exemplified in the way society conceives and treats 'culture(s)' as distinctively separate from one another. In particular, this translates as the disparity between its ideal and practices in multicultural education. Although multicultural education has explicitly tried to recognize diversity within the nation, it has received much criticism because of the misaligned assumption of culture and practices. Hoffman (1996) pointed out that multicultural education has been contradicting its own essential theme of openness and flexibility by normatizing cultural differences. As seen in the "hallway-multiculturalism" and well-packaged lessons about cultural differences, diversity of students is often understood and displayed as collages of differences according to the compartmentalized themes such as ethnic food, clothing, and holidays. Diversity has been viewed and represented as categorized and commodified differences (Hoffman, 1996).

More important, the "all-are-special theme" has rather complacently resolved group differences (Hoffman, 1996, p. 554). Implicitly, it has disregarded the existing power relations and reinforced the current hegemony of established power groups. Even in educational research that promotes the difference model over the deficit paradigm, culture is yet conceptualized as a "distinct, holistic, and autonomous set of dispositions" shared by a particular group of people (Lam, 2006, p.216). This notion of culture as a mix of discrete traits assumes that an individual's cultural style is constant regardless of specific contexts (Gutierrez & Rogoff, 2003). Ironically, culture in this conception is more susceptible to the unequal power structure of binary majority-

minority opposition, since it perpetuates the stereotyped image of minority groups and promotes

cultural differences as fixed commodities (Asher, 2008; de Block & Buckingham, 2007;

Giardina, 2008; Hoffman, 1996; Lam, 2004 a; Lam, 2006). Through a "glib and tokenistic"

understanding of cultural differences, multiculturalism has reified differences as "immutable and

fragmentary" rather than viewing them as contextualized, challengeable, and therefore

changeable (New London Group, 1996, p. 72).

Multicultural to Intercultural

Mantovani (2012) distinguishes two divergent approaches to culture relating to people's

border crossing experiences: culture as reified in the multicultural approach versus as narrative in

the intercultural approach. In the multicultural view, cultures are reified as if they were anchored

on the socially prescribed identity of different groups. As the group's distinctive property and

identity marker, culture is most characterized by metaphors of heritage, roots, and borders

between groups. On the other hand, the intercultural approach understands culture as narratives,

thus viewing people as active and creative in cultural telling rather than treating them as cultural

clones. Culture as a social construction is "a set of resources for action, as a narration shared,

contested, and negotiated" (p. 22). According to Mantovani, how culture is conceptualized is

essential to the understanding of migration process as well:

> The intercultural approach, on the contrary, embodies a narrative, pluralist, open concept
>
> of culture: borders of every kind are continuously crossed by people with different
>
> backgrounds in interchanges that mix commodities as well as experiences, ideas and
>
> imaginations. (p. 21)

Whereas the cross-cultural approach quantifies cultural differences or the multicultural approach

assumes disparate borders between cultural groups, the intercultural approach helps us better

understand experiences of people who transnationally cross borders. It also helps understand why in the borderland, there always occur innovative interchanges and hybridization of diverse experiences into many unique stories/narratives.

Hybridity in Third Space

Reframing space and culture has destabilized the notion of distinct borders. More people are now experiencing borders as fluid and complex. Hall's quote (1995) succinctly captures this complexity:

> There are people who belong to more than one world, speak more than one language (literally and metaphorically), inhabit more than one identity, have more than one home; who have learned to negotiate and translate between cultures, and who, because they are irrevocably the product of several interlocking histories and cultures, have learned to live with, and indeed to speak from, difference. They speak from 'in-between' of different cultures, always unsettling the assumptions of one culture from the perspective of another, and thus finding ways of being both the same as and at the same time different from the others amongst whom they live. (p.206)

Informed by people's experiences in the borderland, researchers have theorized the concept of *hybridity* in *third space*. Bhabha (1994), one of the first theorists who founded the notion of *hybridity*, used this term to refer to practices in the border space where people resist and redefine colonial contact and clash. This space is called *third space* in which people experiment and perform cultural practices that interweave and cut across social boundaries (Dallaire, 2006; Dunlop, 1999; Gutierrez, Baquedano-Lopez, & Tejeda, 1999; Lam, 2006; Nilan & Feixa, 2006). With this idea of third space, Lavie and Swedenburg (1996) challenged the notion of culture as autonomous and bounded, emphasizing how minority people refused the binarism between

majority and minority, and resisted the subordination. This new space is against easy simplification of culture, anchored in the dichotomous division of self and other, center and periphery, and the dominant and dominated. Thus, the metaphorical term *third space* basically denotes a new frame of reference to represent occurrences in the borderland where differences contact and clash each other, are often merged, created anew, and interpreted in a new light (Bhabha, 1994).

In the third space, people: exercise their creativity by hybridizing existing materials to make something new (Nilan & Feixa, 2006), negotiate and articulate social differences especially from the minority perspective (Bhabah, 1994), form multiple linguistic and cultural identities by mobilizing complex sources of identifications, and hence, create new subject positions (Lam, 2004 a). In sum, this space is where "the notion of hybridity can thus apply to the integration of competing knowledges and Discourses; to the texts one reads and writes; to the spaces, contexts, and relations one encounters; and even to a person's identity enactments and sense of self" (Moje et al., 2004, p. 42).

Shifting Focus in Identity Development

New conceptions of space, culture, and identity have also affected new approaches in the research on human development; traditionally, developmental psychologists sought out universal principles, but now many who study development are examining context-specific dynamics. Previously, studies on youth identity, in particular, were mainly framed by the theory of lock-step, linear developmental stages: a person develops from an immature child to a socially competent adult through a preparatory period of adolescence in between. Erikson (1959) argued that humans develop according to predetermined steps, and that the adolescence is a stage in which sense of ego identity emerges by matching one's sense of self with others' view of it. The

fit of identifications made by the self and by others is the central feature of successful identity work in adolescence. Most characteristic of this perspective is its emphasis on the end product of development from immaturity to competency, a stable identity as a healthy endpoint of adolescence (Cosaro, 2005; Deutsch, 2008).

Reframing Childhood

Drawing on Vygotsky's conceptualization of development (1978), the sociocultural theory critiqued this linear perspective as sociologists and psychologists started to consider childhood as socially and historically constructed, and intersecting with other categories such as social class, age groups, and gender (e.g., Cosaro, 2005). Viewed as a social product, childhood is not seen in a "forward-looking way in terms of what they will become" (Cosaro, 2005, p. 7; Rogoff, 2003). Rather, by attending to the complexity in which the interplay between the child and the environment shapes the child's developmental pathway, the sociocultural perspective acknowledges children's agency of social actions. It recognizes that children live their lives as complete beings while producing their own culture as well as participating in the adult society (Cosaro, 2005). Therefore, socialization, as the participatory appropriation of society and culture, is a process in which children play a critical role in their own development.

Ecological Development of Identity across Multiple Contexts

In thinking of development in context, researchers have investigated how diverse contexts intersect for one's development. As Deutsch (2008) notes, development takes place in a complex way; the individual's multiple contexts such as gender, race, and class are intertwined with each other as they act upon the individual. Bronfenbrenner (2005) theorized the reciprocal impact between the individual and his/her multi-leveled environment as the *ecological model* of human development. Opposing the idea that development is solely an individual's task or that

the environment determines the person's behavioral orientation, the ecological model stresses mutual interaction between the changing organism and the changing environment. Developmental task and process take place at multiple levels, composed of one's immediate as well as the social and cultural settings of different scales.

Bronfenbrenner (2005) conceptualized these multi-leveled environmental settings as concentric circles in which smaller circles are embedded inside of the larger circles outside. The smallest circle inside comprises of the person's immediate experiences as his/her closest context. The outer the circle is, the less direct impact the system has on the individual. According to Bronfenbrenner, one's concentric circles of systems are divided into four levels of the bio-ecological system: microsystems, mesosystems, exosystems, and macrosystems. Microsystems, as the immediate environment, include the person and others such as home, school and neighborhood. Mesosystems refer to the relations among microsystems, for instance, the conflicting values and practices of home and school. Attending to one's mesosystems is to examine the relations between and among microsystems, and how the individual deals with those relations as well as is affected by their changing dynamics. Exosystems are settings which the individual does not directly participate in, but which indirectly influence the developmental process. For instance, changing work conditions in parents' work place, such as increased work hours or reduced salary, can potentially influence how the parent arranges childcare or buys educational resources. Macrosystems refer to the founding systems of cultural blueprint such as social organization and value systems. Changes in macrosystems can result in the corresponding changes in behaviors and developmental pattern at the individual level.

Through this concentric model, one can examine how a person's nested environments interact with the individual as well as with one another. Instead of seeking a universal principle,

the ecological model views development as embedded in and shaped by the historical and cultural conditions in which the person lives. More important, this frame can include the transnational social field as another important context of migrants' life. Unlike other systems of development, however, the transnational social field functions at all levels, because the simultaneous accessibility to the distant world makes the larger transnational context immediately available to the context of here and now. For instance, thoughts and feelings of a migrant student can be directly affected by the digital hanging-out with friends in his home country through emailing, blogging, or social networking in Internet-mediated space at the micro level. This translocal impact of social relationships on one's immediate context is well captured in Levitt and Glick-Schiller's statement that "in one sense, all are local in that near and distant connections penetrate the daily lives of individuals lived within a locale" (p. 1010). At the macro level, the dynamics in which transnational relationships are facilitated or disrupted become a larger developmental environment. Therefore, as a frame to examine how youth develop in the intertwined circles of multiple life environments-- home, school, community, nation, and transnational social field-- the ecological frame effectively highlights the importance of "linked lives" within and across spaces (Bronfenbrenner, 1995, p. 623).

Identity Construction as Sociocultural-Historical Process

Despite its comprehensive consideration of multi-leveled developmental contexts, the ecological model is not without criticism. Rogoff (2003) critiques the implicit assumption of the model that treats individual and environment as separate entities. She argues that emphasis on the separate, nested systems may constrain the central notion of "the relations between the individual and cultural processes" (p. 48). For this reason, she proposes the sociocultural-historical approach to stress individual development as taking place in and inseparable from its

sociocultural and historical context. This approach emphasizes that people and culture co-create each other through cultural processes that people participate in, create, and transform (Orellana, 2007; Rogoff, 2003). In other words, human development is a *process* of "people's changing participation in sociocultural activities of their communities" and "people contribute to the processes involved in sociocultural activities at the same time that they inherit practices invented by others" (Rogoff, 2003, p. 52).

Cultural processes are not necessarily aligned with membership in national or ethnic groups (Gutierrez & Rogoff, 2003; Rogoff, 2003). Therefore, the approach to development as cultural processes allows us to examine the porous identity work of youth in which diverse practices of multiple communities intermingle with and transform each other. This will also lead us to better understand the complexity, flexibility, and hybridity of youth's identity that may not necessarily be tied to the traditional ideology of membership and loyalty. From this viewpoint, identity development is better understood as an active work of negotiating and designing selves across boundaries.

To summarize, cultural practices are a crucial indicator of identity work. Therefore, although I examine the dynamic interaction among youth's multiple contexts from Bronfenbrenner's ecological point of view, I will mainly examine cultural processes such as youths' participation and activities in diverse communities, particularly their literacy practices, as my focal point of analysis to look at their identity work.

Identity Work in Transnational Social Field

When viewed as a social consequence of interaction, practices, and institutions, identity is fundamentally relational. That is, people understand and enact their identity through alignment with or contrast against others (Gee, 2001; McCarthey & Moje, 2002). Gee (2001) notes that

identity is not just imposed by nature or institutions, but constructed and created through discursive processes in which individuals are engaged. As an active process of accepting, contesting, and negotiating multiple positions, identity work is a critical act of enacting one's position in relation to others. In an increasingly diverse society, therefore, people's identity work becomes even more complicated as it demands that they be flexible and responsive to the contingency of shifting contexts. Especially, in modern society, the porous boundaries between nation-states have weakened the traditional dominance of the nation-state in prescribing its members' national and social identities (Holston & Apparudai, 1996; Soysal, 1994).

Ways of belonging versus ways of being. Identity claims in this time have become a highly contested field in terms of social belonging. They do not always occur in a neat identification with certain membership; people's social relations and practices may not necessarily identify with the identities associated with those relations and practices (in terms of categories and labels of identity). For this reason, Levitt and Glick-Schiller (2004) differentiate *ways of being* from *ways of belonging*. Since people are embedded in complex relationships that often transcend the boundaries of nation-states, they are affected by multiple sets of social institutions, organizations, and policies. Although many social practices and institutions engender corresponding identity politics with certain identity labels, individuals in complex social relationships may or may not choose to identify with those categories. In other words, ways of being which refer to the "actual social relations and practices that individuals engage in" (p. 1010) may not correspond to ways of belonging that is "practices that signal or enact an identity which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group" (p. 1010). A person who has extensive social relations with people and culture in his home country may not perceive himself as belonging to that homeland. In other words, he is involved in "transnational ways of

being but not belonging" (p. 1011). In an opposite way, a person who doesn't have much relationship with people in her country of origin may still represent herself in a strong ethnic term, thus showing a transnational way of belonging although without substantial practices of transnational being.

However, in reality, people integrate and combine ways of being and ways of belonging rather than demonstrating a clear-cut orientation between them. As a result, the conscious expression of identifications (e.g., one's claim of citizenship in a country) may not capture the entire picture of one's identity. In the same way, actual practices alone may not correspond to one's conscious identifications, either. Especially, when a person is aware of the socially dominant identity politics in which he feels pressured to declare an explicit sense of belonging and allegiance (e.g., in the United States after 9/11), the gap between one's ways of being and belonging may increase. Given this complex dynamics of identity work, we should delve into its construct from multiple angles, not just from the explicit membership, but more importantly from the way people actually practice their identities in various contexts. This is why my study attends to migrant youth's complex layers of identities both from their conscious identifications of belonging, and from their cultural practices of being; this approach allows an examination of the complexity in which ways of belonging and being are at times connected, overlapped, or conflicted with each other.

Challenges and options in identity work. Diversity and mobility afford people both the increased options and challenges in their identity work. First, migration experience may further complicate youth identity work. In her study of youth identity construction in the globalizing world, Suárez -Orozco (2004) stated that establishing a sense of identity is one greatest challenge for second generation immigrant youth. She pointed out that immigrant youth "immigrate not

just to new homes but also to new family structures" without "their sustaining social relationships as well as the social roles that provide them with culturally scripted notions of how they fit into the world" (p. 175). Severed from native cultural scripts, she argued, immigrant youth are not provided with ongoing resources from their parents' culture(s), and therefore, have fewer identity choices. For a long time, (im)migrants have received the social message that in order to succeed, they need to assimilate to the cultural norms of the host society. Thus, successful molting of cultural skins has signaled successful mainstreaming, although it has often left an inner conflict of ethnic abhorrence and self-negation (De Vos, 2006). Conversely, rejection of the suggested pathway of assimilation, whether it leads youth to a strong ethnic identification or identity confusion for a longer period (Arnett, 2002), has often brought about failure in their successful socialization.

While recognizing these abiding challenges, studies have also indicated that migrant youth today have increased options and resources (Hornberger, 2007; McGinnes, Goodstein-Stolzenberg, & Saliani, 2007). The phenomenal development of communication technology is at the center of the new social landscape. Capable of holding ongoing ties to more than one country, youth living in the transnational world may maintain and participate in diverse social relationships in their home country as well as host society. It is argued that having a much greater range of resources, contemporary youth become better able to access, juggle between, and combine elements of different cultures and languages of their choosing, and form transcultural/ transnational identities (McGinnes et al., 2007).

Transnational media thickening ethnic boundary. New media has contributed to this replenishment of ethnicity in the U.S., which is now occurring in another way than Jiménez (2010) argued for the Mexican ethnic society in the U.S. He viewed that Mexican immigration

and Asian immigration have different patterns; whereas Mexican American society has continuously provided its group with ethnic raw materials (cultural and linguistic) through the physical influx of Mexican immigrants via the Mexican-U.S. border, Asian immigration does not have such ongoing influx. He contended that this constant physical addition of Mexican immigrants to U.S. society has distinctively different pattern and impact from those of Asian origin. According to his observation, Asian immigration has hardened the boundaries of "co-racials" who share a common racial identity rather than "co-ethnics" (p. 269). This claim makes sense especially from the perspective of the U.S. public which tends to lump diverse ethnic groups from Asia into one category of 'Asian.' However, from the perspective of Asian ethnics, it may be a different story. Transnational new media development in the last decade has created new pathways to make ethnic materials accessible to many ethnic Asians. Even in their local cities where traditionally people did not have rich ethnic resources, people can enjoy the influx of ethnic culture through media technology on a daily basis. The transnational media has reshaped the intra-group boundary among Asian ethnics.

Given the emerging dynamics, it is difficult to determine which weighs more between added challenges and new resources for youth identity work. However, it seems evident that the new spatio-temporal configuration through media technology is generating different pathways for migrant youth to deal with their challenges and options.

New Literacy Practices – Youth as Designers of Self

This section draws the main link between aforementioned transnational migration, youth identity work, cultural practices, and new media technology by placing *literacy* at the center of the interdisciplinary conversation. First, it reviews a broader definition of literacy as a way to enact identity in social interactions. It leads, then, to the conceptualization of literacy practices as

including multiple forms and tools. Specifically, it highlights how technology serves as a literacy tool by drawing on theories of *multiliteracy* and *new media literacy* to examine ways new media facilitate diverse literacy practices across transnational spaces thereby mediating new ways of migrant youth's identity work.

Multiliteracy Practices

As introduced earlier, the sociocutural view indicates youths' literacy practices are an index of their identity work. Studies define that literacy is not just written skills of language, but is a central part of social discourse through which an individual within the group enacts his/her identity (Gee, 1990; McCarthey & Moje, 2002; Moje, Ciechanoski, Ellis, Carrillo, & Collazo, 2004; Yi, 2009). It is a sociocultural achievement through participating in practices of a group rather than just a cognitive achievement of an individual (Gee, 2010).

As a social, discursive practice, literacy is not just an event that takes place on print, but occurs in its utmost range of contexts; it is "integrated with different ways of using oral language; different ways of acting and interacting; different ways of knowing, valuing, and believing, and too, often different ways of using various sorts of tools and technologies" (Gee, 2010, p. 18). The diversity of literacy forms is more salient among migrant youth, as they traverse plural worlds with a variety of media technologies. Affiliated with multiple communities and afforded more technology tools to write in new ways, they combine and hybridize resources available to them to fit the purpose of the given situation (Lam, 2009; McGinnes et al., 2007). Especially, in the context of contradicting discourses (e.g., cultural values), identity construction is mediated by the "selective appropriation of literacy resources" (Lam, 2008, p. 459). Although social identity construction is affected to a great extent by dominant practices, youth are still capable of

resisting the dominance and creating alternative practices in the contradictory moments of competing practices (Lam, 2008).

Young people demonstrate this capability by selective coordination of diverse modes, for example, creolized lexical terms of different languages, and images combined with words (Luke, 2003). The concept of *multiliteracies* refers to these literate abilities to negotiate diverse text forms and discursive practices (Lam, 2009; New London Group, 1996). Here, differences become essential ingredients for designing meanings so as to reach a wider audience. In this regard, literacy practices of transnational migrant youth index their abilities to navigate and negotiate different and often contradicting social and cultural meanings, roles, practices and text forms; at the same time, these practices denote their abilities to meta-cognitively think and meta-linguistically express what they experience and observe in different systems (New London Group, 1996).

While youth are developing new skills in response to the changing social relationship, literacy instruction in classroom spaces is dominantly based on print-literacy. The critique of Luke (2003) a decade ago is still true in many classrooms that favor partitioned space and time and discourage "children from blending, mixing, and matching knowledge drawn from diverse textual sources and communications media" (p. 398). Furthermore, educational systems tend to define literacy practices of minority groups as defective against the standardized norms of English language, and reinforce the national ideology that incoming immigrants and children should abandon their home language to foster a new allegiance to the country (Pavlenko, 2006). Overall, multiliteracy practices of minority students have been devalued and pushed to the margin of their lives (Lam, 2004 b). Schools, as a result, do not draw on these students' socialization contexts. An affluent world of resources within students has been closed to society;

the intellectualism in these bi/multilingual skills are unidentified and wasted as well (Binaco, 2000).

New Media Literacy Practices

Multimodal literacy practices take place from early childhood as children's everyday social practices (Luke, 2003). Proliferating channels and media in the current world provide a myriad of ways to juxtapose different styles, languages, and discourses. Among many, the new communicative media technologies have increasingly mediated these negotiations (McGinnes et al., 2007; Lam, 2009; Yi, 2009). Specifically, digital media offer a broad range of resources and knowledge bases to which one can instantly access; thus, it enables people to develop a wider social network (Gee, 2004). Many youth use the digital network to socialize and learn (Lam, 2009).

Scholars of new media literacy have particularly stressed people's agentic use of media. Gee (2010) comments:

Today it is not just media professional and corporations that can produce and manipulate people with media. Everyday people --former consumers -- now can produce their own media and compete with professionals and corporations. Thus, the NMLS(new media literacy studies) stresses the ways in which digital tools and the media built from them are transforming society and, in particular, popular culture. (p. 34)

Accordingly, research of new media has shifted the focus from the examination of "psychological modes of literacy to a fuller engagement" (Luke, 2003, p. 401), and highlighted how people "produce their own music, news, games, and films" which were "once reserved for professional or elite musicians, filmmakers, game designers, and journalists" (Gee, 2010, p. 35). In other words, by looking at new media literacy practices, we can examine how people have

actively changed the nature of communicational pathways, power relationships, and social formations. Above all, new media has now become a space where young people are experts, sometimes better than adults, in creating and designing meanings.

Designing and curating identities. With the concept of *design*, defined as a complex process of creating the best representation by "deploying available resources in a complex ensemble," Kress (2000, p.158) demonstrates how young people remake and transform various representational resources by using multimodal texts in digital space. He argues that youth are not just consumers of existing literacy modes, but are designers of meanings. Examples of designing hybridized literacy practices include hypertexts embedding text images in a web-like design of links (Luke, 2003), creative screen names mixing one's native language, English, number and image (Yi, 2009), code switching among mixed languages (e.g., vernacular English, standard English, African American English, Chinese and Chinese dialect) in Instant Messaging (Lam, 2004 b), and texts integrated with words, sound, photos, streamed video, and paralinguistic symbols (McGinnes et al., 2007). These practices reflect the meta-linguistic abilities of youth to purposefully blend multiple voices and codes. As Pavlenko (2006) points out, these students do not have an acute sense of linguistic and cultural boundaries because they live in bi-/multi-lingual contexts, and practice code-switching and code-mixing on a regular basis. Through these practices, youth communicate with a multitude of audiences whose languages and cultural orientations are different and may be in conflict with each other. Situated in 'in-between' space, migrant youth craft new modes of expressing ideas, selves, and world views (Lam, 2009; McGinnes et al., 2007).

New media literacy practices have reshaped our understanding of meaning-making process, from linguistics to semiotics to account for multimodal representations of meaning

(Kress, 2003). Mode, "the name for a culturally and socially fashioned resource for representation and communication" has become a matter of choice in creating and delivering meanings (Kress, 2003, p. 45). This choice enables youths to represent the complexity of their experiences in a higher dimension than what language alone affords (Lemke, 2002). Potter (2012) named the coordination of modes "curatorship of the self" to denote the unique ways of reading and writing one's self in new media space. Rather than replacing older literacy practices and tools, curatorship indicates youths have found new ways of positioning through exhibitions in which they create, utilize, and (re)assemble diverse modes for different audiences.

III. Research Methods

In this chapter, I describe the methods employed for the study under five headings. In the first section, I review the general research design of the study including details of participants, contexts, and sampling criteria. In the second section, I explain the data collection process with a detailed report of different data sources, data collection, and challenges in the process. Then, in the third section, I describe the approach to analyzing data in terms of the match between the chosen data and the research question that the analysis tries to answer. In the fourth section, I reflect on the trustworthiness and limitations of the study as guiding thoughts for the future research. Lastly, the final section closes the chapter with the introduction of my four core participants.

Research Design

A qualitative approach aims to investigate "how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences" (Merriam, 2009, p. 23). Using a qualitative approach, this study explores how transnational migrant youth interpret their experiences as migrants to construct and negotiate their identities across varying contexts. I chose the qualitative design mainly because of its constructivist understanding of social reality: "meaning is not discovered, but constructed," and "individuals construct reality in interaction with their social worlds" (Merriam, 2009, p. 22). Building on this constructive notion, this study examines migrant youth's sense-making process as embedded in and shaped by their interaction with multiple contexts and positions. Throughout the process, the study highlights the link between youth's meaning making process and their agency in constructing their social/cultural reality and identity(ies).

Ethnographic Case Study of Transnational Adolescence

For a close investigation of cultural practices among youth, this study adopts an ethnographic approach. The traditional ethnography used to be conceived as a geographic project that involved staying in a physical location for a substantial period of time to engage in and understand the culture under study (Leaner & McKim, 2003). However, given the shifting notion that culture is a process rather than a bounded structure in a physical location (Cazden, 2000), an ethnography of culture need not to be confined to a singular location. Rather, ethnography can be expanded to the investigation of cultural practices across multiple spaces. Informed by this new conceptualization, I adopt the ethnographic approach of Leander and McKim (2003) to look at cultural practices of migrant youth in various spaces. Leander and McKim proposed to rework the traditional concept of ethnography into *connective ethnography*, in which researchers move with youth when youth create and traverse across online and offline spaces. It is a new way of conceiving space-time not as a static background of human activity, but as a dynamic process of incessant production of cultural practices. Rather than focusing on the bounded physicality of a place and culture as in the traditional ethnography (Spradley, 1980), space is now perceived as a field of relationships; space becomes a product of "social, cultural, political, and economic relations" (Leander & McKim, 2003, p. 218). Multiple spaces are simultaneously woven into youth's daily life experiences, not necessarily separate from physical, social spaces.

I also followed the ethnographic method used in the study of Orellana, Reyolds, Dorner, and Meza (2003). In this study of translating ("para-phrasing") among children of immigrants, ethnographic data came from extensive sources including field notes from participant observation, transcripts of interviews, informal conversations, daily life literacy practices, journal entries, and school data. Out of their initial participants, they identified several youths to closely

follow as they negotiated family relations and cultural identities in and around translating. These in-depth case studies allowed researchers to engage in extended relationships with the focal families, to access such situations, and to ask children to record their translating situations. Following the ethnographic case study model used in this study, I developed four cases in which I observed and hung out with four core participants to look closely into their literacy practices and identity work. These case studies examine how the focal youths identifed themselves in relation to multiple communities, as well as how they coordinated diverse social relationships by engaging in new media literacy practices.

Context and Participants

This section explains why I chose Korean migrant youth in St. Louis area: first, describing the demographic change in Korean immigration in the United States and its implication, then, explaining who my participants are, and how I recruited them.

Why Korean migrant youth? Each year, immigrants in the United States are composed of new arrivals as legal immigrants and status adjusters who originally entered the country on non-immigrant visas, but changed their status to permanent residents (Min, 2011). Min (2011) reports that in the 21st century, the proportion of Korean immigrants skyrocketed mainly because of status change among many Korean international students and professional immigrants after completion of their degree or initial years of work. Propelled by the global trend of exchanging labors and intellects, status adjusters now comprise almost 80% of Korean immigrants, which is much higher than the proportion of other major immigrant groups, which averaged 55% in 2011 (Min, 2011). As a result, Korean immigrant society in the United States is highly represented by many short- and long-term visitors who might potentially change their status to permanent residents in the future (Min, 2011). To interpret the higher proportion of status adjusters from a

different angle, Korean migrant society is characterized by a much greater level of mobility than any other immigrant groups in the United States. It denotes that these status adjusters have a greater chance of mobility between home and host countries depending on the settlement condition. Due to this uncertainly and increasing mobility, they are in need of regular update on the situations in both the host and home country in terms of job availability, socio-political atmosphere, and educational opportunities for their children. This in turn is a major reason for the growing use of information and communication technology among the population, and one important reason that I focused this study on Korean youth in particular.

Another important pattern in recent Korean immigration in the United States is that the one million Korean-born immigrants are now settling not only in traditional gateways, but also in other states like Georgia and Washington (Terrazas, 2009). Although still heavily concentrated in California and New York, Korean immigrants have now spread beyond metropolitan areas and into interior states including Missouri. The 2010 Census Bureau reported that around 10,000 Korean immigrants reside in Missouri. Although St. Louis is not an emerging gateway for immigration in this new century, it is estimated that St. Louis has the largest portion of Korean immigrants in Missouri.

St. Louis has not been a typical destination city for Korean immigrants and has only a small number of Korean communities compared to those traditional gateway cities (e.g., Los Angeles Korean Town). For that reason, Korean immigrants and their children in St. Louis have had relatively limited cultural resources from home country. Serving a contrast from the typical metropolitan cities that host major immigrant populations, studies of a Midwestern city like St. Louis could provide a picture in which immigrants did not have ongoing influx of native cultural resources, thus limited opportunities for youth to learn about and identify with their

cultural/national heritage. However, with the rapid development of new media technology, the *location* of living may no longer confine them. New media technology may enable many individuals (who have the means and know-how) to enjoy much greater degree of cultural fluency and transnational connectivity, transcending the physical and financial barriers of communication. In this sense, examining identity work of Korean migrant youth in a small Midwestern city has implications to better understand how the shifting dynamics between spaces shape the nature of youth identity work.

Sampling. I followed a purposeful sampling criteria, which is to select participants who are identified to have a wide range of general knowledge of the topic or/and have experienced in the field related to the topic, and therefore, who can answer the research questions with the most productive outcomes (Coyne, 1997; Marshall, 1996). Specifically, I chose to study Korean migrant youth in St. Louis due to the above factors and their relevant experience of transnational relationships. With this population, I could also draw on my own bilingual proficiencies in Korean and English to closely examine youths' practices both verbal and written. Although my stance as a bilingual researcher posed at times challenges such as projecting my own experiences and interpretation, it also gave me a vantage point to better investigate and understand how youth struggled between different languages or actively drew on their bilingual capacities.

Participants for this study included 1.5 generation immigrants, second generation immigrants, children of status adjusters, and children of temporary visitors. Although a growing interest in "parachute kids" exists among researchers (e.g., Lee, 2006), they were excluded from this study primarily because they rarely exist in Missouri. St. Louis has not been a typical destination city for many parents of Korean parachute kids due to the difficulties of finding qualified educational institutions and guardian households to take care of their children.

Parachute kids were also not chosen because of the difficulty of communicating with parents and obtaining parents' consent for their child's participation in the study.

Thirty-two participants were recruited through community networks, primarily local Korean churches and neighborhood relationships that I have established. Twenty-five youths participated in the initial survey in two local Korean churches, and seven youths through my own community network. Based on the information from this screening survey, four core participants were selected following the criteria: 1) Korean ethnicity (born to one or both Korean-born parents), 2) biliterate in English and Korean (be able to speak, read and write in Korean), 3) between the ages of 11 to19, 4) currently reside in the U.S., 5) been in the U.S. at least 2 years, and 6) use technologies to communicate (e.g., instant messaging, Skype, email, Internet blogs, etc). All four core participants and their parents were informed of the purpose of the study, potential risks (such as time management issue and discomfort with the researcher's presence for observation), and their rights of confidentiality, choice of interview location, and freedom to withdraw from the study at any time if they wish. They agreed to sign the consent form (parents) and assent form (students), per IRB procedures. In the last section of this chapter, I will introduce my four core participants in detail before moving to the chapters for main findings.

Data Collection

Over one year and a half period from September 2012 to December 2013, I collected data from five different sources (see Table 3.1 for summary of data collection): 1) screening survey, 2) identity map, 3) semi-structured interviews and informal conversations, 4) literacy documents both online and offline, and 5) field notes and personal reflections for observation (e.g., home, church, web blogs). The first data set includes screening surveys and identity maps with 32 participants, mainly designed to identify potential core participants. Thirty-two participants filled

out the written survey and identity map in either local Korean churches, or in their chosen place.

The second data set is comprised of interview transcripts, field notes, and literacy documents

collected from four core participants over one year. The following describes the purpose and

process of each data collection.

Table 3- 1: Summary of Data Collection – Core Participants

		Jenna	Yuri	Janice	Minkyung
Survey		Y	Y	Y	Y
Identity Map		Y	Y (just words)	Y	Y
Interview (recorded)/ language of interview		3 times/ English, Korean	2 times/ English	3 times/ English, Korean	2 times/ Korean
Informal Conversations (recorded)		11 times	1 time	3 times	
Literacy Checklist		Y	Y	Y	Y
Field Notes	**Physical Hangout**	Live together	2 home visits Library	5 home visits/ Community center, library	2 church visits
	Digital Hangout	Google-plus, Email	Facebook, Shelfari, Tumblr, Email	Email	Facebook, Email
Literacy Document	**School/home literacy documents**	10 documents	2 documents	3 documents	N
	Email	3 emails	10 emails	3 emails	5 emails
	Digital Literacy	17 captured texts/images, 16 videos, 1 Power point	4 captured texts/images, 1 prezi	1 prezi	15 captured texts/images

Screening Survey

As the first data, I designed a screening survey in order to identify core participants and to draft the overall contexts of youths by asking about: their migration background, length of residence in the U.S., language use, outside-of-school activities, and computer use (see Appendix I. Survey questions are adapted from studies of language brokering; see Dorner, Orellana, & Li-Grining, 2007; Orellana, 2009). I conducted the screening survey with 32 students aged 12 to 17 either at each participant's choice of location or as a group activity at their local church. At one Korean church, I had a chance to attend their youth group meeting called "Ignite" where youths shared their daily challenges and successes under the guidance of youth group leaders. With the help of the leading preacher, I collected 16 completed surveys from this youth group. At the other church, I obtained nine completed surveys through a volunteering parent. I also collected seven surveys through my own neighborhood network. Although the screening survey was primarily to identify core participants fitting the research criteria, it also served as the background data which informed the overall historical sketch of the participants' life contexts.

Identity Map

Survey participants were asked to fill out an identity map at the end of the screening survey with the guiding direction: "Please represent who you are in whichever way you like. You are free to use drawing, colors, symbols, and/or words" and "Express where you feel the most comfortable and what you are doing in that place." Sirin, Katsiaficas and Volpe (2010) suggest that identity mapping is a particularly useful method to examine identity work of adolescents "who live in intricate and often contested political, geographical, and national spaces. (The) use of a 'self' mapping technique is an explicit attempt at spatializing identity(ies) and a creative

way of asking participants to visualize their myriad facets of self" (p. 57-8). Given that identity

discourses are still largely characterized by distinct borders, for example, the territory-based

membership, verbalizing identity may confine one's expression of complex identities.

Spatializing identities may better represent the complexity of identity constructs or at least

complement the verbal identifications. Thus, as a multimodal representation of identity, spatial

mapping gives participants a chance to design and express themselves without the confinement

of language. In total, I collected 32 identity maps among which some are mainly composed of

drawing, others of words, and the rest as the combination of both (see Figure 3-1 for example

identity maps).

Figure 3- 1: Example Identity Maps
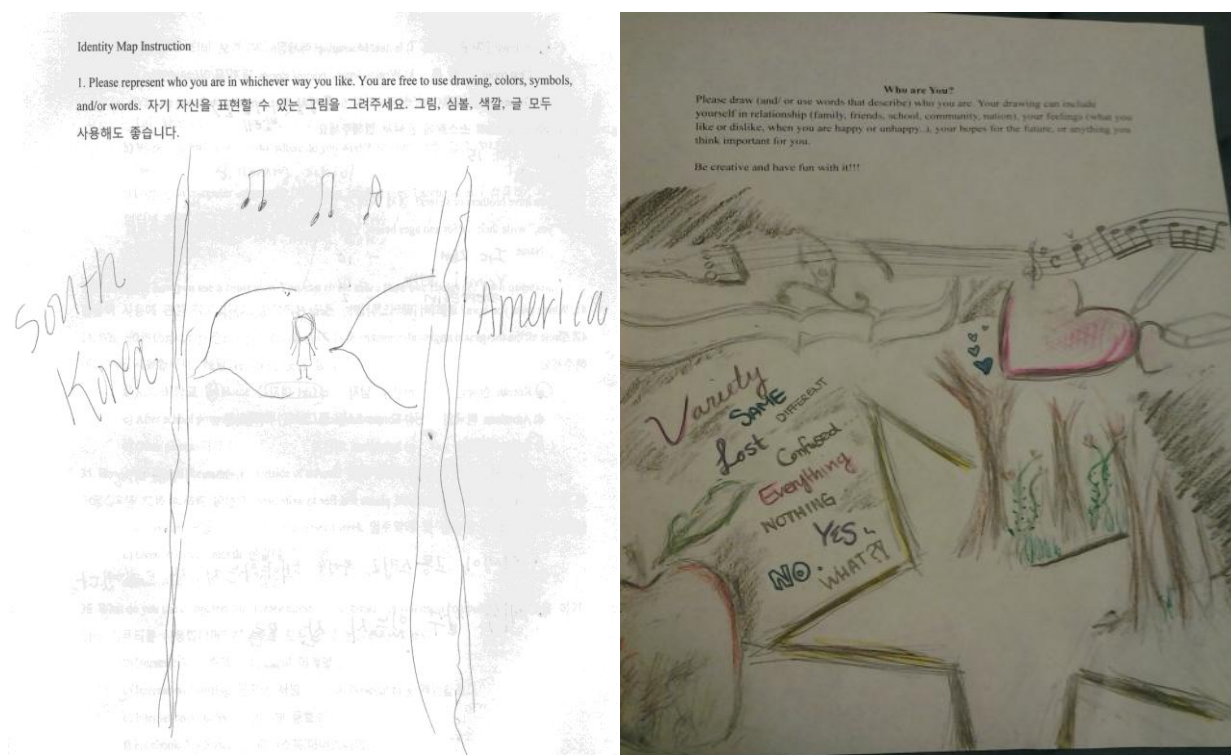
Semi-structured Interviews/Conversations

I had at least two or more interviews/informal conversations with each core participant.

The times and locations for these interviews were arranged either through their parents or

directly with the youth over email. Interviews followed a semi-structured interview protocol in which an interview guide was prepared but questions were tailored to the conversational context and youths' choice of topic (Appendices II and III). Each interview lasted about 30 to 60 minutes at the location of participants' choice such as their home, library, or cafe. Participants were free to choose between Korean and English for the interview (Minkyung - Korean/ Yuri - English). Some students code switched between the two languages (Jenna and Janice). All interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed for analysis. Quotes from interviews in this dissertation are original words from youths whether they are in English or in Korean; only when the interview was conducted in Korean, both the English translation and the original Korean are presented together in the text.

Initial interview: probing youth's sense of belonging. The first interview mainly probed youths' migration history and their sense of belonging (Appendix II). To address the research question "what are the contexts in which Korean migrant youth negotiate their identities?" this initial interview investigated youths' knowledge of family migration history, their experiences in the United States (challenges and benefits), and their perception of language use. Most important, the questions of citizenship had participants verbally identify their sense of membership/identity, which was later compared and contrasted with their multi-dimensional expression of identities through literacy practices.

Follow-up interview(s): probing youth's engagement with new media. Follow-up interview(s) and informal conversations delved into participants' cultural and linguistic practices that occur in and outside of school settings (including personal blogs, social network services, web-based online communities and other technology mediating communications). Questions were mainly about where they do literacy practices, how often, on what topics, in what languages,

and with whom to communicate. Generally, I probed how these cultural/literacy activities

affected their sense of identity/ies (Appendix III). Although I could not have informal

conversations with all the participants (e.g., Minkyung could not afford more than two interviews

due to her tight school and extracurricular schedule), such informal conversations provided

details about youths' perceptions of citizenship/membership, transnational relationship, media

engagement, and their learning experiences both in and out of school, and on and offline space.

Literacy Documents

As the main data set for examining youths' literacy practices, I collected various literacy

artifacts from the participants. Per my request, four core participants filled out a literacy check

list in which they recorded and checked what kinds of literacy activities they were usually

engaged (see Appendix V for Literacy Checklist and an example from one student). The

checklist provided information about the topic, context, language, and medium (online or print)

of their daily literacy practices. They also shared with me some of their school literacy

documents and personal writings (e.g., letters, cards).

Besides these print-literacy documents, I also recorded email texts that I have exchanged

with participants, and captured digital texts in web-blogs and online communities using screen

capture programs (e.g, *Google Screen Capture*, lap-top built-in screen capture). I followed

youths in their *Facebook* (Yuri and Minkyung) and *Google Plus* (Jenna) with their agreement.

Captured texts in these websites were saved and analyzed for examining youths' identity work

with all the personal information (photos, names) deleted. Literacy activities in digital space

have a particular implication for the study in terms of how spaces and contexts intersect and

affect youths' engagement with diverse topics, audiences, and forms of expression. Examining

literacy practices is also an important way to validate the lived experiences of young people in the digital space.

Field Notes and Personal Reflections

During the course of data collection, I wrote field notes and reflective memos to capture aspects that were not verbalized in the interviews and documents. I observed and interacted with participants in their home, school, and community settings such as church and public library. Field notes, often developed from jottings and voice recordings (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995), were later combined with my analytical reflections as the initial data analysis. This journaling process provided me not only with the details and analytical insights, but also with opportunities to debunk my own assumptions and biases. It also helped me address methodological challenges of studying youths.

Afterthoughts on Data Collection

In this section, I describe what kinds of challenges I encountered in the data collection process, and how I managed them to fit the purpose of the research. Among several challenges, the first one was uneven amounts of data across four core participants due to each student's personal situation (see Table 3.1 for types and amount of data collected from each core participant). Compared to Jenna and Yuri with whom I had more opportunities to communicate, Minkyung and Janice were not available for such opportunities for different reasons. Minkyung's status as a recent arrival and high school student limited her time and willingness to participate in more than two interviews, personal hangouts and email exchanges. As she had language and cultural barriers, her mother said, she needed extra time to complete her weekly homework and extracurricular activities. Thus, her mother allowed only the minimum level of contact with me, two interviews and several email exchanges. Despite less data from interviews and observation

with Minkyung, however, I was allowed to "befriend" her and follow her activities in *Facebook*. Digital texts captured from *Facebook* then enriched Minkyung's context. Janice was a different case. I had many opportunities to meet and have conversations with her in person, but not in digital space since she was not as engaged in new media as other participants. For this reason, I had sufficient interview data but not much digital data with her. However, her data served as an important case that demonstrated a good example of offline hybridity (e.g., language mixing practice), showing that youths' transnational identity work was occurring across online and offline spaces.

Second, I identify the different status of Jenna from others. Because of the parent-daughter relationship between me and Jenna, I could not help collecting much larger data from Jenna than others. Data collected include interviews, informal conversations, literacy documents from school and home, digital documents from the social media and emails, and video products. The richness of Jenna's data contributed to the research in several ways. Above all, Jenna's data helped me better coordinate the data collection process with other participants. For instance, I could revise the interview questions for the better after an initial interview with Jenna in terms of language and topic to make questions better communicated. Questions she did not clearly understand were readjusted for other participants with easier and concrete language and examples. Jenna's video data provided a valuable opportunity to examine the multimodal representation of identity, which other participants did not create or share with me. Thus, Jenna's case not only served as a pilot study to guide the data collection process, but also enriched the entire data set. However, I was also aware of some potential issues about Jenna's data, such as too close relationship to objectively observe her and projection of my perspective as her parent in interpretations. I will describe these issues in more detail in the limitation section.

Some other challenges of data collection include the initial difficulty to communicate with the Korean church personnel and my concerns about youths' feeling being monitored in the social media. My position as a researcher combined with my non-Christian status created some concerns about entering the church site. There was some level of wariness and reluctance towards my research on the part of the church preachers. However, after my research purpose was well communicated to the preachers, youths and their parents in personal meetings, a group meeting and over emails, they willingly allowed the opportunity to meet with youths.

Another challenge came from the nature of online ethnography. There were two major issues. Because of the format of online communities like *Facebook*, *Shelfari*, and *Google Plus*, one can only observe and follow what one's "friends" post or choose to share. Thus, the user's view in each site is different from one another. Since I could not have the full access to youths' activities in those online communities, I tried to complement the missing piece with follow-up conversations with youths to probe what they do and how they view their online activities. One additional concern was the impression that I might give the youths that I was intruding their personal space for the purpose of research. Thus, I communicated with them in advance, asked for permission to follow them, but tried to be just an observer instead of a participant in their space. In order to build a trusting relationship rather than just a researcher –participant relationship, I also tried to communicate with them through emails offering my help and feedback about their challenges while at the same time trying not to manipulate or change their current perspectives.

The final limitation I encountered was the less variation of contexts than I planned particularly in terms of school context. Despite my expectation to include participants from different school districts to consider varying contexts of schools and neighborhoods, among

survey participants, those who agreed to be part of the subsequent research turned out to be from a same school district located in an affluent neighborhood. Thus, I note that the core participants of this study were situated in a specific context where their schools provided students with much greater access to diverse educational resources than many underserved districts. As I will describe in more details in chapter 7 through an illustration of a district forum on the issue of teaching writing with technology, students in this school district were afforded resources and opportunities that other schools may not provide for their students. However, I also unravel the challenges that even the resourceful schools face in bridging students' experiences and educational practices, particularly in terms of incorporating media technology into new pedagogy.

Although these challenges were limitations for the current study, they also facilitated a better understanding of the process and difficulties of doing an ethnography of youths. Eventually, they will guide me to improve the designing of future studies to consider varying contexts.

Data Analysis

In order to answer my three research questions, I developed three corresponding analysis foci to guide my data analysis process, which are (1) multiplicity of life contexts; (2) sense of belonging; (3) designing of self. For *multiplicity of life contexts*, I mostly drew on the survey results and interviews to examine why the participant's family moved to the U.S.; with whom the participants are hanging out; to whom they are communicating in and out of school, as well as on- and off-line; and what kinds of activities they do, and with whom . This focus helped me describe how youths' multiple life spaces – global and local, national and transnational, and physical and virtual – intersected, or how youths negotiated their identities across contexts. Particularly, I noted how the transnational context was incorporated into participants' daily

routines of relationships and activities. Thus, the analysis guided me to answer the first research question: what are the contexts in which migrant youth negotiate their identities?

For *sense of belonging*, I attended to youths' perception of membership at diverse levels through the analysis of core participants' interviews, informal conversations, and literacy documents to answer the second research question, "how do youth understand and negotiate their sense of belonging?" First, I probed how youths defined and perceived the idea of citizenship to examine how the national and legal membership affected their sense of belonging. Citizenship in the global world is not merely a status granted by the state, but is a malleable frame of identity claims that is constantly shaped and challenged by people (Sassen, 2003). Thus, I expected that examination of how youths make sense of this contested concept – citizenship – would inform us how they manage the national and legal boundary in their identity work. Second, I also attended to another marked identity, racial and ethnic membership. Especially focusing on how the meaning of "being Korean" changed across different contexts, I traced the diverse layers of its meaning," for example, Korean as opposed to American citizen, or as an antidote for the racialized identity as Asian. The change of meanings youths attached to "Korean" was related to the complexity and flexibility in which youths dealt with marked identities.

For *designing of self* to examine the third research question, "how do youths' cultural/literacy practices – especially in new media – inform and shape their identities?" I analyzed interview data and digital literacy texts, drawing on the concept of *design* (Kress, 2000; New London Group, 1996), that is, meaning is created through every layer and mode of textual designs such as word, font, music, discourse, and image. In this notion of design, it is emphasized that meaning-making is a dynamic process of creating meaning with available resources. The three elements of this active process are *Available Designs*, *Designing*, and

Redesigned (New London Group, 1996). By using the already existing semiotic systems including film, photography, words, and discourses (Available Designs), the designer of meaning shapes emerging meaning (Designing) which is not a repetition of pre-existing resources, but a new configuration of them (Redesigned). Based on this notion of design, I looked at youths' choice and coordination of existing modalities to make unique multimodal texts for the given context. Specifically, I examined how they utilized multiple modalities, such as words integrated with symbols, sounds, pictures, streaming images, in terms of what, how, and to whom participants communicated. Analysis of the digital data and identity maps was complemented by the interview data which was about the choices and contexts of digital literacy practices for the participants.

For the analysis of videos that one focal youth created, I came up with several analytical areas. In order to examine how the multimodal video creation reflected her identity work, I constructed an analysis table in which I annotated details of four major foci from each video: *agency*, *relationship*, *modality*, and *identity.* In the *agency* section, I attended to youth's roles in the video creation process including writer (of the script), director (of the organization of the video before and during the process), actor (in each scene), narrator, and editor. The agency of youth in performing these roles then was closely connected to and activated by the *relationship* with the target audience of the video, as the target audience affected the purpose, topic, and tools. Thus, I also looked at the diverse ways in which many *modalities* were orchestrated for different audiences. I drew on the work of both Kress (2000) and Potter (2012) each of who highlighted the process of multimodal meaning making as *design* mainly for the general multimodal literacy practice and *curatorship* especially for the multimodality of video literacy. I also drew on Lemke's idea of different dimensions of representational tools. According to Lemke (2002),

"language affords a low-dimensional representation of experience and the complexity of social-natural realities" (p. 322). He argues that multimodal representations allow "a much greater display of complexity and shades of grey" and thus enable people to engage in more critical analysis than the language might do alone (p. 322). As a more active exhibition tool than other low-dimensional literacy presentations, video creation required the youth in this study to use specific curator skills to effectively create, arrange and deliver meanings. So the choice of modes in each scene was adjusted by her curatorship in the editing process to reinforce the intended meaning. Finally, in the *identity* section, I captured what aspects of her identities were highlighted, presented, and shared with the audience.

For the interview data, I mainly used grounded theory as an analytical framework. Following the grounded theory principles (Corbin & Strauss, 1990), analysis began in the earliest point during the data collection process and continued throughout the research. Although the study didn't draw on every aspect of the grounded theory approach, it utilized many of its major elements, for example, framing data into concepts as the basic units of analysis and developing categories from concepts through open and axial coding. Open coding was conducted through line-by-line microanalysis, as exemplified in Strauss and Corbin's (1998) sample analysis with initial codes put on the margin of the transcript. This open coding involved "the analytic process through which concepts are identified and their properties and dimensions are discovered in data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 101). With this open coding, the first basis for discovering important concepts and patterns that were scattered in transcripts was established and later led to the reclassifications of concepts into categories. Then, using the coding chart created during the open coding process, axial coding was intensively conducted, which is "the process of relating categories to their subcategories" by linking them at the level of properties and dimensions

around the axis of a category (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 123). This step guided me to discern

what categories are more inclusive as higher-order categories and what can be placed as

subcategories under the overarching one, finally leading to the conceptual stratification of initial

concepts (see Appendix VI for an example coding table).

In my analysis, I placed a particular emphasis on the contrast and overlap between youths'

ways of belonging referring to "conscious connection to a particular group" (Levitt & Glick-

Schiller, 2004, p. 1010) and *ways of being* as the "actual social relations and practices that

individuals engage in" (p. 1010). Therefore, whereas the analysis of verbalized data (interviews,

verbally written texts such as emails) was more related to the aspect of youths' *ways of*

belonging in which youths showed how they negotiated marked identities, the analysis of

spatilized data such as digital videos, social media posts and identity map reflected youths' *ways*

of being in which diverse spaces and contexts intersect. As people in transnational social fields

"combine ways of being and ways of belonging differently in specific contexts," (Levitt &

Glick-Schiller, 2004, p. 1011), the analysis in the following chapters will highlight the

intersection of dissonance and resilience in youths' *ways of belonging* and *ways of being*.

Table 3- 2: Analysis Foci and Directing Questions

Analysis Focus (Research Question)	Data	Directing Questions
Multiplicity of life contexts What are the context in which Korean migrant youth construct their identities?	screening survey, identity map, initial interview	(1) why did the family move to the U.S.? (2) who are they hanging out/ communicating with in and out of school/ on/ offline spaces? (3) what kinds of activities do they do, and with whom?

Sense of Belonging How do youth understand and negotiate their sense of belonging?	identity map, initial interview, literacy documents	(1) how do youth define citizenship? where do youth think is her country of citizenship and why? (2) how do youth negotiate their ethnic and racial identity?
Designing of Self How do youth's cultural/literacy practices inform and shape their identities?	interviews, identity map, literacy checklist, literacy document	(1) what kinds of new media literacy practices do youth engage in? (2) how do youth coordinate multimodal tools for meaning making? (3) how do youth perceive and manage their relationship with the audience in writing through new media?

Trustworthiness and Limitations

For the consideration of the trustworthiness and limitations of the study, I referred to the standards suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994), and Merriam (2002; 2009): objectivity, reliability, internal validity, and external validity. These standards guided the research process, and provided critical points of view that I incorporated during the research and for the final evaluation of the findings.

Trustworthiness

First, objectivity standards ask (1) if the study properly describes the general methods and procedures, (2) if the conclusions are linked with the displayed data, (3) if the researcher has been self-reflective on the personal biases, and (4) if the study data are available for reanalysis for other researchers. Above all, my position as researcher is addressed with a special care throughout the study. I note the implications and potential challenges in my position as a transnational migrant and a parent of two transnational children (see for more details in the

following section, '**Complexities in my role as an ethnographer**'). Both as an insider and outsider of this research, I admit that my own experiences as a transnational migrant may have affected my interpretations of youths' experiences. My position as an adult researcher might also have created power dynamics between me and my young participants. In order to counteract these challenges, I tried to constantly reflect on my own positioning and possible biases. Instead of seeking an absolute objectivity, I embraced the "challenge of being in the middle" as Orellana (2007, p. 123) did in her work with youths; she integrated her own life experiences into the research so that those experiences could help her construct "new understandings for others" (Orellana, 2007, p. 123). In other words, the essential way to keep objectivity in this study was the continuous reflection on my complex position. Through locating myself and my life contexts visibly within the study, I tried to help the reader see a larger frame of picture that I describe, and therefore, keep their objective balance to interpret my findings.

Second, reliability and internal validity standards were concerned with several criteria. For the design reliability, I considered the consistency of the study process by checking whether the research questions are congruent with the features of the design, whether data were collected considering the full range of variations such as settings, times, and respondents. In the area of researcher reliability, I considered if my role and status as a researcher are explicitly described. For internal validity, I made sure descriptions are context-rich, findings are coherent and well linked to the categories, and most importantly, multiple triangulation methods are used. Due to the limitation as an individual dissertation project, the study could not adopt the best possible triangulation, but utilized several methods. They include 1) combining multiple data sources such as interview transcripts, observation field notes, printed documents and digital texts, and identity maps, 2) utilizing several guiding theoretical frames to help me design the research

process and analyze the data, 3) conducting member checks for maximum internal validity by asking for feedback on the findings from the participants, and 4) receiving feedback from a research team composed of other doctoral students and advising professors. This research team, Saint Louis Education Research Group (SLERG), was particularly helpful as we convened once or twice a month and shared concerns, findings, and ideas to improve the project under investigation.

Finally, external validity and generalizability standards were considered to reflect whether the findings of the study can be utilized and applied to other situations. Although I do not expect that findings of this study can be generalized to the larger population or directly utilized in other situations, I expect that readers can discover meaningful contexts from the study to better understand the often discounted abilities and misrepresented identities of transnational migrant youth. In terms of "reader or user generalizability" (Merriam, 2002, p.28), the thick description with rich contextual data will enable readers to "determine how closely their situations match, and thus whether findings can be transferred" to their contexts or not (Merriam, 2002, p. 29).

Complexities in My Role as an Ethnographer

Undoubtedly, my position as a researcher, adult, migrant, and parent was both a challenge and benefit to the ethnography of youths. In her study of translating childhood, Orellana (2009) considered two main challenges that I also addressed in my study: 1) how I, the researcher, will be perceived by my young participants and their families, and 2) how my own experiential background might affect my understandings and interpretations of my participants and their practice. These questions are closely related to my position both as the insider (as a transnational migrant) and outsider (as an adult researcher) each of which has its advantages and

potential issues. Insider perspective deepened my understanding of young participants' migration experiences. However, I recognize that my insider assumption might have prevented me from capturing aspects that an outsider researcher could have with their unfiltered perspectives. As a parent of two migrant children, I easily captured difficulties and strengths of the youths, as I have seen them in my own children. For the same reason, there could have been blind spots. I also acknowledge that despite my efforts to establish a trusting relationship, there might have existed discomfort on the part of my young participants coming from the power relationship between an adult researcher and a potentially sensitive adolescent.

In addition to recognizing these challenges from my multiple positions in the process of data collection and analysis, I also faced the challenge of how to best translate the experiences of youth to the readers. I agree with Orellana (2009) when she made an analogy between ethnography and translation:

> Ethnography really involves a process of translation… By writing with multiple audiences in mind, I face similar challenges to those that translators encounter. How do I explain one set of ideas to people with different sets of values and assumptions, people who operate with divergent points of reference and disciplinary orientations, and people who are likely to experience the words in different ways? (p. 6)

In order to fulfill the ethnographer's role as a good translator, I tried to draw from youths' own perspectives in the following chapters by delivering and sharing my young participants' stories in their fullest richness and depth as much as I could.

Now starting the ethnographic translation, I briefly overview the chapters that follow. Chapter 4 "Ways of Belonging at the Border" introduces the participating youths' intersecting life contexts to locate where and how youths are socializing and negotiating their identities.

Particularly in this chapter, I look at the conflicts of youths about marked identity categories: nationality, race, and ethnicity. Chapter 5 "Media and Identity" looks in detail at how new media mediate youths' identity formation and negotiation by examining their conceptualization of media in general and their actual literacy practices in new media space. Chapter 6 "Authoring, Performing, and Curating Self(ves)" presents a close-up examination of one focal youth's case in which I showcase how she co-constructed her identity with the audience, and maximized her agency of identity work through analyses of videos that she created.

Introducing Jenna, Janice, Yuri, and Minkyung

Before I move to chapter 4, I will give a brief introduction of my four core participants who allowed me to talk with them, follow them across offline and online, and be the audience and witness of their reflective stories and designing of identity(ies). Table 3-3 is a short description of who they are and how and what types of data I collected from each.

Table 3- 3: Four Core Participants (names are pseudonyms)

	Jenna	Yuri	Janice	Minkyung
Age/Grade (in 2013)	13 / 7th (middle)	15 / 9th (high)	13 / 7th (middle)	16 / 10th (high)
Gender	F	F	F	F
Years of Stay in the U.S.	8 yrs	10 yrs	4 yrs	2 yrs
Legal Status	International student family/ Potential status adjuster (Non-immigrant Visa)	Permanent Resident (Green card for one year)	U.S. citizen (born in the U.S., returned to Korea and came to the U.S. in 5th grade)	U.S. citizen (born in the U.S. - returned to Korean and came to the U.S. both in 2nd and in 9th grade)

Jenna is a thirteen-year-old middle school student and my own daughter. She was included in the research not only because she was the one who sparked my interest in migrant youth identity work, but also because I had several vantage points as a researcher and mother. I could closely observe and communicate with her over years. Many of the initial research questions came from my experiences of raising two migrant children who seemed to both struggle and benefit from being transnational migrants. With these vantage points, however, I have been also aware and made sure that I should keep the researcher's stance in collecting and analyzing data about her. Thus, in this dissertation, I describe Jenna as one of the core participants rather than as my daughter except for the sections about methodological concerns studying my own daughter.

Jenna has lived and been schooled mostly in the U.S. except for the first four years in and two visits to Korea. Jenna and her family have lived in the U.S. for almost a decade, but they are not U.S. citizens or permanent residents. Classified as non-immigrant aliens, Jenna and her family are technically foreigners to this country despite Jenna's self-identified strong attachment to the U.S. Jenna has had limited physical contact with families and culture in Korea. However, she enjoys Korean cultural contents in their most recent trend through transnational new media. She is also fluent in spoken Korean language, although not in written Korean. She has learned the Korean language from her parents, Korean language school, and through diverse cultural media (e.g., Korean TV shows, Youtube videos, movies and Korean pop music). The Korean language school she attended for two years (fourth and fifth grade years) was run by a Korean church where teachers taught basic language skills (reading and writing focused curriculum) and had students engage in various cultural activities (craft, Korean martial art, choir, etc.). Jenna said her learning experience in this Korean language school was not very helpful mainly because

the level of Korean language taught in the school targeted second-generation Korean immigrant children who do have only basic fluency in Korean. Although it might be helpful for those target population, it did not substantially help to keep up the grade-level literacy in Korean. Finally, Jenna has used emails, phone calls, Skype video chatting, and social network service sites to contact family and friends in Korea and U.S.

Thirteen-year-old Janice has a very different migrant background and citizenship status from Jenna. She was born in the U.S. while her father was in graduate school, and thus became a legal citizen both in Korea and U.S. However, her family went back to Korea when she was young and spent her childhood mostly in Korea until she returned to the U.S. at age eleven for her and her siblings' education. As the most balanced bilingual of the four participants – likely because of her schooling experiences in both countries – she easily code switches between Korean and English across situations. For example, she mostly converses in Korean with her mother and family in Korea while she is a fluent English speaker with her friends and teachers in school. She Skype chats or talks over the phone with her father in Korea who is planning to join the family later. Although for Janice, this transnational communication with her father and family in Korea is a daily routine, she does not engage with other media than Skype, email, and phone calls as much as other participants.

Yuri, the third participant, is a fifteen-year-old high school student and came to the U.S. at age four for her parents' education and job. Since then, she had never visited Korea until the summer, 2013, when she finally was physically reunited with her extended family for the first time. Yuri and her family recently earned "permanent residency" in the U.S., but not citizenship. Yuri has Korean language skills at the basic level to the extent that she can understand when her parents and extended family speak in Korean. However, English is her dominant language in

which I also conducted interviews and exchanged emails with her. Among the four focal youths,

Yuri is the most active in new media engagement. She has been participating in website

communities such as *Tumblr* (a social networking website where users create blogs and follow

other users' blogs with similar interests)*, Shelfari* (where users build and share virtual

bookshelves, and participate in book discussion groups), and *Facebook*. Viewing herself as an

introvert, Yuri told me, she found that participation in online communities is a very important

part of her social interaction as well as her identity work since she could overcome certain offline

barriers like racial stereotypes.

Minkyung is the eldest participant, a sixteen-year-old high school student who was born

in the U.S but went back and stayed in Korea for her father's job. Then, she came back to the

U.S. and stayed for one year each in her first grade and now in her tenth grade mainly for his

father's work as a visiting scholar. Since she had been in the U.S. in her first grade year and a

few other times, Minkyung told me that she feels accustomed to and comfortable in moving

between two countries. However, such moves were not without challenges. For example, she

said that her native-like English pronunciation from early childhood stay in the U.S. misled her

U.S. friends and teachers to believe that she has no trouble understanding English, which is not

the case at all. However, her experiences of moving back and forth between Korea and the U.S.

developed flexibility for her to adapt to challenges and unfamiliar situations. The most recent

arrival of all, Minkyung has been very active in connecting to friends and family in Korea

through *Facebook* and *Facetime* (Ipod/Ipad sponsored real-time communication tool). Locally,

she has been actively participating in church events where she found much support for her

adaptation in the U.S. Unsure about her future career choices, Minkyung was currently weighing

her options whether she would stay for college in the U.S. or go back to Korea to continue studying there.

Through conversations, hanging out, email exchanges, and befriending in online communities, I have followed these youths across online and offline. They allowed me to get to know who they are, what they want, where they struggle the most, and how they manage their challenges. Although these youths share Korean ethnic/national, Asian backgrounds and life in the U.S., each of them has unique life contexts distinct from one another in terms of different transnational experiences, family histories, linguistic and cultural practices, media engagement and personal aspirations for the future. In their *stories* whether verbal, written, or drawn, they identified themselves in multiple ways; sometimes, they drew on their citizenship status, other times, race/ethnicity, language fluency, and more often, lived experiences, to understand and express who they are. In the following chapters, I will describe their stories as a way to validate their perspectives, struggles, and resilience. Above all, I will highlight how they shared similar identity conflicts over such social labels as nationality, ethnicity and race; their *ways of belonging* expressed in their perceptions of citizenship and racial identity were charged with dissonance and challenges. However, I will also document how they navigated through bordered spaces, often divided by nation, race, and culture, with flexibility or new *ways of being* especially in and through new media which helped them transcend and create new routes to experience and articulate life at the border(s).

IV. Ways of Belonging at the Border: Conflicts over Categories

In order to answer the first research question, "What are the contexts in which Korean migrant youth construct their identities?" I start this chapter with a brief overview of the survey results with 32 participants as a general sketch of the contexts drawn from participating Korean migrant youths: family migration background, language use, media use, and personal identifications. As noted in the methods chapter, this screening survey was conducted in two local Korean churches or the location of each participating youth's choice. With the help of church youth group leaders and parent volunteers, and through my own community network, I collected 32 completed surveys from youths aged 12 to 17 most of whom were attending either middle or high school at the time of the study.

After the survey analysis report, I examine the second research question, "How do youth understand and negotiate their sense of belonging?" by looking at how they perceive their national, ethnic, and racial identity through four core participants' interviews, informal conversations, and literacy documents . I then contrast the analysis of youths' *ways of belonging* in this chapter with their *ways of being* in the next two chapters, wherein I examine the third research question, "How do youths' cultural and literacy practices inform and shape their identities?" to understand ways youths conceptualize and utilize new media to negotiate and articulate their complex identities.

Intersection of Spaces and Contexts

In this first section, the survey analysis provides the background context of participating youths' socialization spaces through physical interactions and transnational relationships through digital media. More specifically, the overview (1) describes the life contexts of Korean migrant

students in which they engage in daily social relationships, enact their cultural/language practices, and relate to multiple identifications; (2) illustrates youths' (and their families') migration backgrounds including ethnic origin, years of stay in the U.S., places of social interaction, bilingual practices, media engagement (types of media, frequency and purpose of media use), and their multiple identifications; and finally (3) makes the thematic connection between the survey results and the spatial intersections of youths' life contexts to situate this study in an emerging conversation about youth identity work at the transnational crossroad.

Migration Background

Twenty-three youths were born in the U.S. to two Korean-born parents (n=21) or one Korean-born parent and one U.S.-born parent (n=2). Eight students were Korean-born and one student was born in a different country than either the U.S. or Korea (see Figure 4-1). Eighteen out of 32 students have lived in the U.S. for six to 15 years, five students have lived under five years, and eight students over 16 years. Nationality-wise, this technically means that 23 youths hold dual citizenship of both the U.S. and Korea (until they become 18 years old and must choose which nationality to assume), and 27 youths have lived in the U.S. more than five years (see Figure 4-2).

Many of the respondents did not specify why their family moved to the U.S. For those who did, reasons for families' migration concern job opportunities for one or both parents and educational opportunities for parents and/or children. Although most participants had extended families, relatives, and friends in Korea, regular visits to Korea were not a common experience among them. Only six students marked that they had visited Korea more than five times and 10 students reported that they had never visited Korea since the time of their birth in the U.S. or their move to the U.S. This is an important context for thinking about how this limited physical

contact with their or their parents' homeland would affect participants' sense of belonging. Twelve students had a schooling experience in Korea from one month to more than six years of duration, and the rest of the students did not have any schooling outside the U.S. except for one youth who attended school in China for a short period.

Figure 4- 1: Participants' Place of Birth (n=32)

Place of Birth
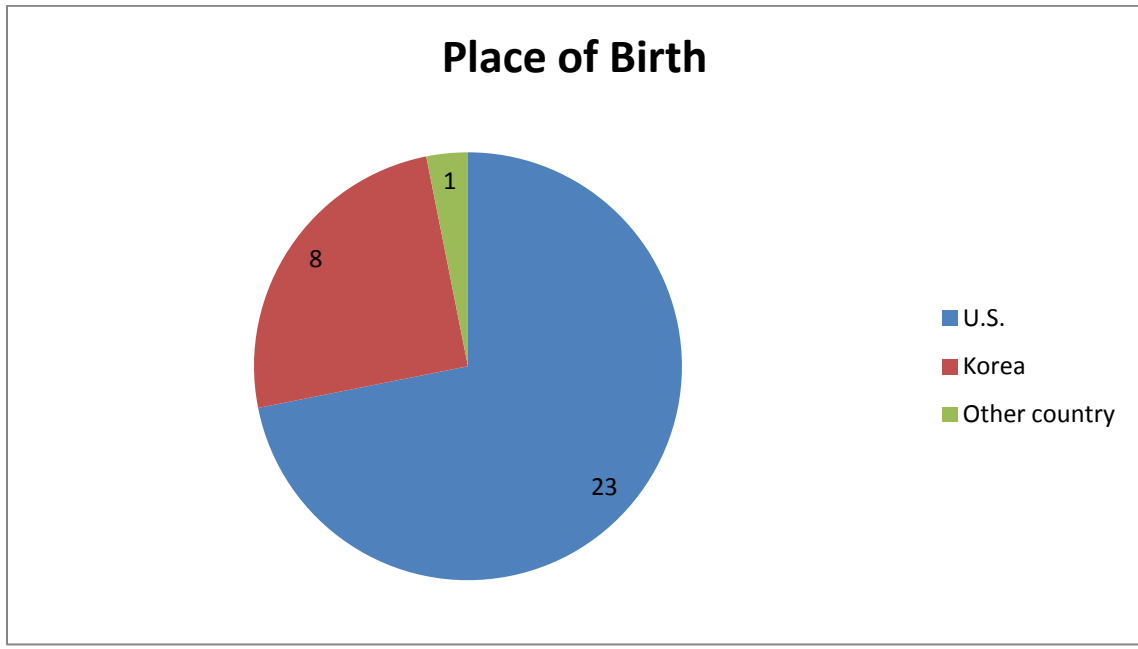
Figure 4- 2: Years of Residence in the U.S. (n=32)
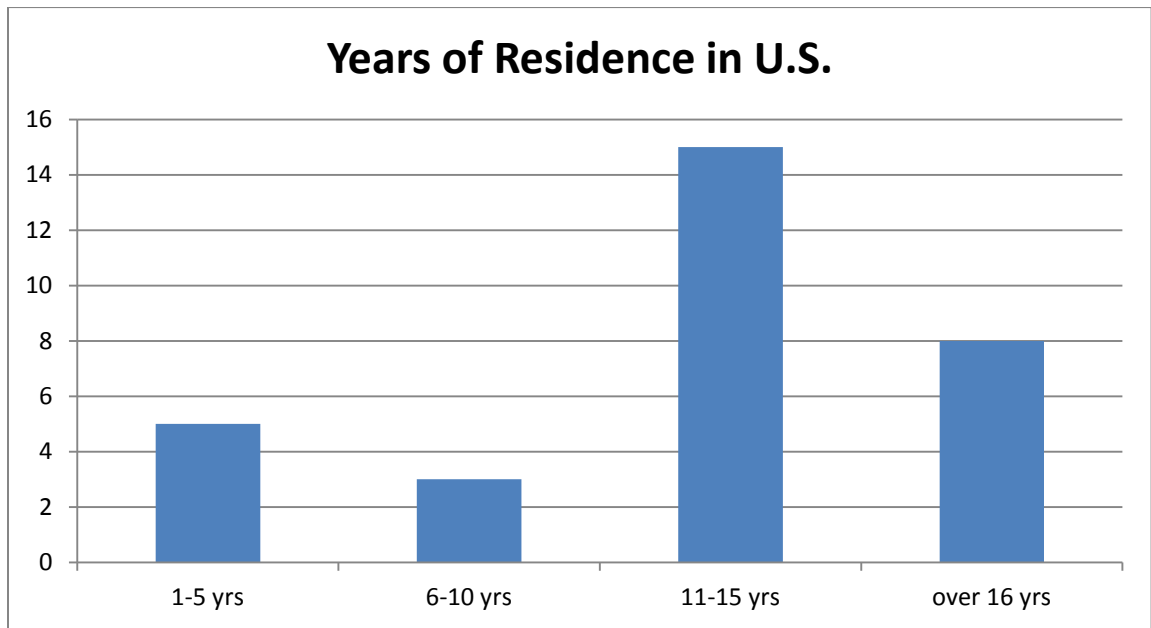
Places for Social Interaction

Youths interacted socially both offline and online on a daily basis. School, church, and social media were the three main places for social interaction for most participants. As a place where youths spent most of the time in their daily lives, school was the paramount place for participants' social relationships. Students who completed their survey in two Korean churches indicated that church was the place where they felt the most comfortable relating to and sharing experiences with other Koreans. The "Ignite" program in one church, for example, was a weekly youth program guided by several preachers and college student mentors. In this three-hour long program on Friday nights, youth sang gospel songs, listened to sermons, and shared their experiences from their daily or spiritual lives. More than 40 students in the "Ignite" program shared a common identity as Korean Christians and adolescents going through similar or different spiritual, academic and social challenges. Outside of their local community, participants also maintained long-distance relationships with friends and family in other states and in Korea through communication media. Participation in Internet communities was another important way to associate with people with similar interests.

Bilingual/Biliteracy Practices

Survey results indicate that all the participants were engaged in Korean and English bilingual practices in some way or another. Students used Korean, whether limited or fluent to communicate with family members at home: parents, grandparents, siblings and other relatives. Korean churches were another main place where Korean language was frequently used. In schools, three students indicated they had opportunities to communicate in Korean, mostly when helping recent arrivals from Korea. Places where students used English included home, school, church, and most other places they went. With the exception of students who came to the U.S.

within the last five years, for most participants English was either "really easy" or "easy" for all

competencies: speaking, reading, and writing. Their level of comfort with Korean literacy

practices (reading, writing and speaking), however, varied among students from "really easy" to

"really hard." It seems the longer they have stayed in the U.S., the more difficult Korean literacy

practices were for youth. They chose which language to use when writing according to the

context and audience for homework, email, text messaging, personal blogs, poem/fiction writing,

diaries, and Korean language school homework. Most of the U.S.-born students predominantly

used English for their writing except for Korean language school work. On the other hand,

students who migrated relatively recently and who had maintained Korean language fluency

preferred Korean over English for personal writing practices such as text messaging with friends

in Korea. However, these students used both languages, choosing which language to employ

depending on the context, for many other literacy tasks including school work, letter writing, or

writing in a diary, or personal blog.

Media Engagement

All 32 participants reported that they use media technology on a daily basis for various

purposes: communication (mostly with friends and family), school work, social activities, and

entertainment (see Figure 4-3 for various purposes of computer use). Students checked off a

variety of media, including email, text messaging, Skype phone calls, personal blog(s), Internet

community(ies), Social Network Service sites (e.g., Facebook, MySpace, and Twitter), etc.

Youths were using not only different hardware equipment such as computers, Ipods/Ipads,

Nintendos, and mobile phones, but also diverse software programs to engage in a variety of

activities. As illustrated in Figure 4-3, media technology was part of youths' daily lives: for

school work, they collected information and data from Internet websites, often using school-

designated program like *Schoology*. Students used *Google Drive* for saving and sharing school literacy projects with the designated people or publics.

For communication and socialization, many of them used email, social media, Instant Messaging (IM), chat rooms, and mobile text messaging (e.g., Kakao Talk). In their free time, many youths enjoyed watching American as well as Korean TV shows and dramas (K-drama) on TV and online. They also enjoyed listening to music, especially Korean pop (K-pop) which was easily accessed through streaming services, TV stations' replay services, and Youtube. These media enabled them to enjoy a wide range of cultural content from both the U.S. and their home country.

Figure 4- 3: Purposes of Computer Use (n=32)
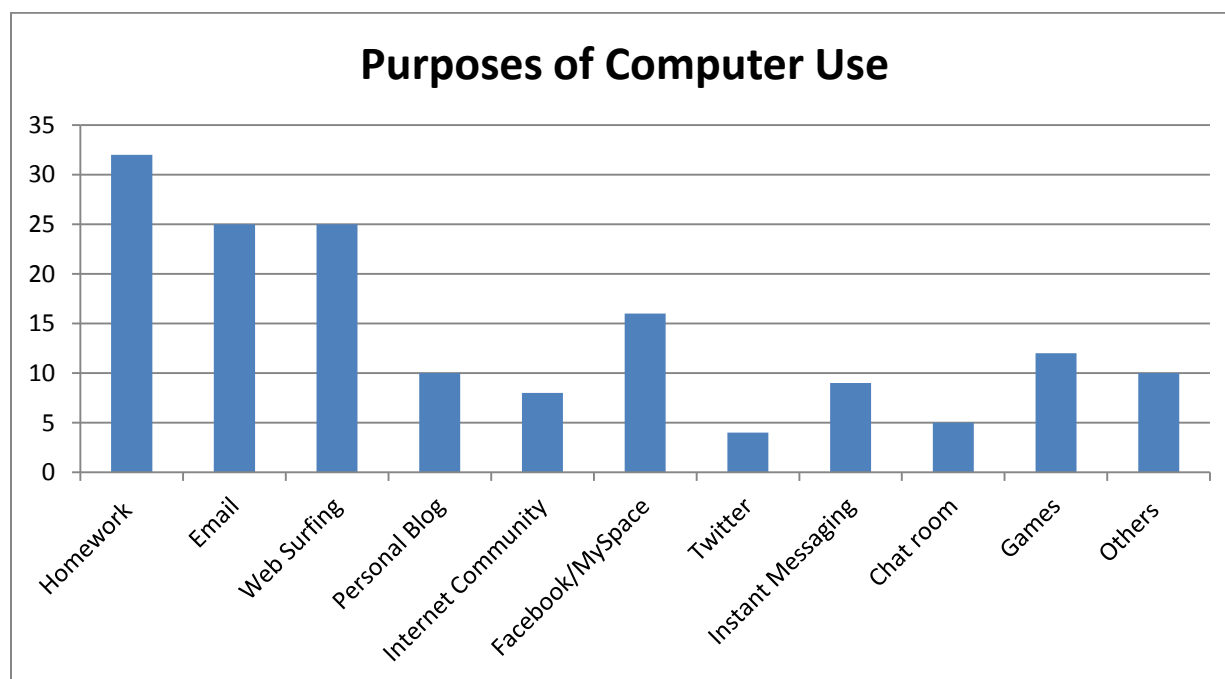
Identification

Finally, students were asked to mark all the categories with which they identified. They were allowed to mark more than one category, including nationality, gender, race, and others (see Figure 4-4).The categories with which students most commonly identified were gender,

ethnicity/nationality, and race: Boy/Girl (32), Korean (30), and Asian (30). Twenty-two students marked "Korean-American," but two among those 22 specifically wrote "Korean-American-*ish*" to indicate they did not fully perceive themselves as Korean-American. Eleven students marked "American" and seven "immigrant." Given that the 23 U.S.-born students are American citizens, it is notable that only 11 marked the category "American," while most of them (22 out of 23) did mark "Korean-American" and/or "Korean." Both the "Korean" and "Asian" categories received the same second highest count of 30. Thus, the hyphenated American identity and ethnic/racial identity appears to resonate more with these youths than the general American identity, which is an interesting point to be examined later in this chapter. For the open-ended question "when do you feel yourself as Korean more than anything and why?" many church-going students answered that they felt most Korean in Korean church surrounded by Korean people, or when they were engaged in activities related to Korean culture like watching K-drama. One student, on the other hand, pointed out that he felt more Korean when he was with his American friends of non-Korean ethnicity since it made his ethnic/cultural identity stood out as unique and different from his friends' identities. Either way, many students experienced moments when they felt their ethnicity was an important part of who they were in their relationship with people.

Figure 4- 4: Youths' Identification (n=32)

Identity Description

Chart showing counts by identity category:
- Korean: 30
- Korean-American: 22
- American: 11
- Asian: 30
- Immigrant: 7
- Girl/ Boy: 32
- Kid: 11
- Others: 5
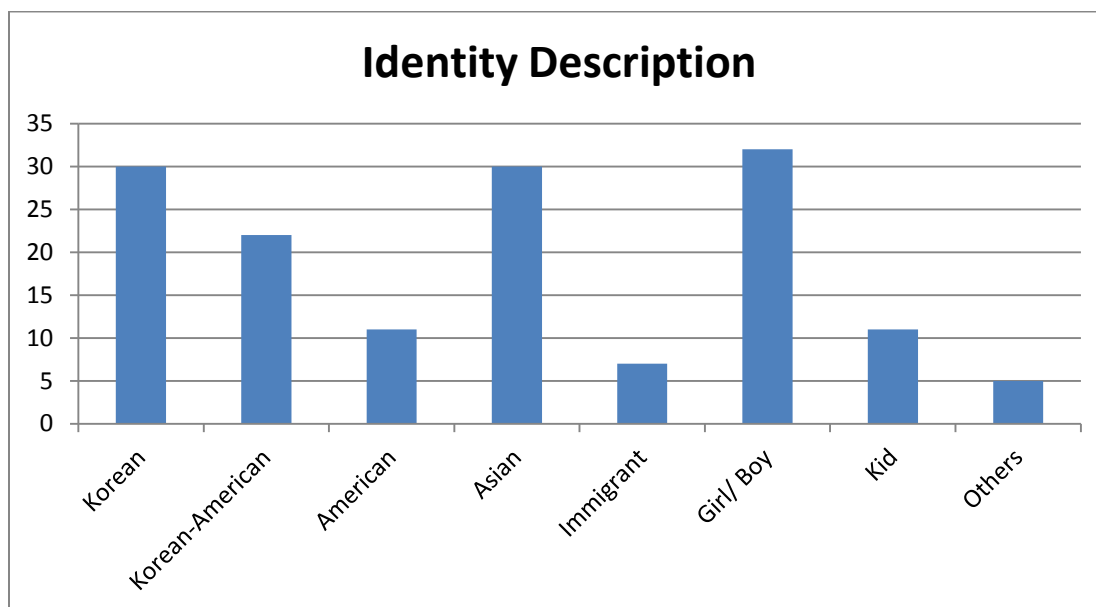
Identity, Space and Media

In summary, survey responses allowed me to paint a picture of the life contexts that were important for the youths' socialization and identity work. Places they live, work, and socialize were not limited only to the physical spaces such as home, school, and local communities (e.g., Korean church), but extended to include digital, often transnational, spaces of Internet communities, personal blogs, and mobile device-mediated spaces (e.g., social media). The intersection of these local, global, and transnational spaces in youths' daily lives has created a unique social landscape for their identity construction.

From this sketch, we see a growing need to examine diverse contexts to understand the full complexity of youths' identity work instead of just analyzing youths' local and physical context where they are most visibly active. Since events and people in distant places are easily intertwined with their local lives through transnational digital media, we need to untangle different and less visible layers of contexts that intersect with the local space. Given the complexity of factors including places of residence, media tools, transnational relationships, and

legal status (nationality), ethnicity and race, I now turn to the examination of how these factors

shape youths' identity work. In the rest of this chapter, I will first address how youths perceive

and manage borders[1] in their identity work mainly in terms of nationality, ethnicity, and race as

they demarcate youths' legal, cultural, and physical identities regardless of their choice or

preference.

       With growing consciousness about how others view them, the youths' identity conflicts

mainly manifested in relation to those surrounding them, especially when others asked them to

define themselves through the language of legal/national or ethnic/racial categories. In other

words, conflicts were not so notable in youths' daily lives, but became prominent when they

were asked to express their sense of belonging and choose one category over another. At these

points, youths explicitly demonstrated feelings of discomfort and uncertainty. While youths were

generally resilient moving across categories, they also criticized and resisted them. Above all,

those borderlines of belonging have disrupted their childhood sense of who they were, and

(re)shaped the ways they understand their social status, identities, relationships with diverse

communities, and choices that they will make in the future.

Identity at Legal/National Border

       In this section, drawing on the four core participants' own words in the interviews and

writings I will first highlight youths' identity work around the national/legal border of citizenship,

as it was an unexpected and/or unpleasant moment for them to discover their citizenship status in

their current place of living. Encounters with the definition and practice of citizenship were

important events for youths through which they realized the existence of an invisible border

between them and others based on the citizenship status – Korean or American. Here I use the

---

[1] By border(s) I mean not only the physical border(s) between places, but also psychological and social border(s) that human society tends to draw between different ethnic cultures, languages, and races among many.

terms *Korean* and *American* to refer to the person's nationality for the purpose of legal status. This legal membership then becomes the criterion with which a nation includes certain group of people but excludes others. As we will see in youths' conceptualization of citizenships, migrants' coming-of-age stories involve complex meanings, shapes, and twists.

Citizenship in Youths' Conceptualization

In their interviews and personal writings, youths described that they felt torn when asked to claim the country of their official citizenship as an "either-or" choice between Korea and the United States; they all preferred the idea of dual citizenship instead. Although the four youths had different legal statuses in the U.S. (Jenna – long time non-immigrant/foreigner, Yuri – recent permanent resident, Janice – citizen by birth, Minkyung – citizen by birth), they all shared the same preference for flexible or dual citizenship.

Jenna and Yuri have spent most of their childhood in the U.S. since age four, and their attachment to the U.S. was stronger than to Korea, the country of their legal citizenship. However, they were aware that they are not legally U.S. citizens despite their life-long stay in the U.S. On the other hand, Janice and Minkyung are U.S. citizens by birth, but spent most of their childhood in Korea. They felt they are not exactly American citizens despite their legal U.S. citizenship. For these four youths, citizenship was not simply a matter of where one was born or who their parents are or how the nation-state defines them.

Faced with this complexity, Jenna proposed that citizenship should have two different meanings: legal status and "living status." As a living status, a citizen is "a person living and depending on the country," according to Jenna. She included herself in this category as an American citizen, whereas she did not in its second meaning as a legal status. Jenna applied the same criterion to her Korean citizenship according to which she was legally a Korean citizen but

not as a citizen in terms of living status. For Yuri also, one's physical presence in a country was important to define one's citizenship status:

> I'm actually a Korean citizen, and I was born in Korea, and I lived in Korea for a while, and my parents are both Korean. And I should probably feel like a Korean person living in America, but I feel like a Korean-American, I feel like I was born here, I was raised here, so that's a little weird, because I want to say I'm Korean American, but technically I'm not. Legally I'm not Korean American. Like I'd want to be. (Yuri, Interview)

For Yuri and Jenna, it was difficult to accept their non- citizen status given the fact that they have lived and been schooled mostly in the U.S., feeling that their whole life in the U.S. was irrelevant when it came to citizenship. Citizenship, they thought, should be a broader idea rather than a delimiting legal concept, and should be granted for those who have lived in the place and fulfilled their duties as any normal citizen does. However, while they wanted to belong to both countries, they recognized that they could not. Yuri talked about her resulting feeling of unsettled identity in this way: "I don't really know who I am myself, and that's a little bit scary."

In contrast to Yuri and Jenna, Janice and Minkyung were less resistant to the current citizenship policy. They were born in the U.S. and are citizens of both the U.S. and Korea until age 18 when they must decide their country of citizenship. Thus, their emphasis was less on the conflicting status which Jenna and Yuri concentrated on, but more on the in-between identity status between two nations and cultures. They used the terms *Korean* and *American* to refer to each country's cultural uniqueness, as opposed to the way Jenna and Yuri instantly associated the terms with nationality and citizenship. Minkyung, for example, spoke about her initial expectations about life in the U.S. when she returned from living in Korea last year:

> 솔직히 말해서 미국에 올 때 좀 신났었어요. 왜냐면 어렸을 때 기억이 있으니까,

왜냐면 그때는 친구들도 많았고, 막 엄청, 애들이 활발하고 적극적이고, 그리고 제가 어렸을 때 축구도 했었거든요, 2학년때, 미국왔었을 때, 근데 한국가서 그런 게, 여자애들 축구, 막 이런 게 없으니까, 여기 와서 들떠가지고 축구도 시작하고 막 공부도 막 하고, 막 열심히 하고 친구도 만들고 그래야지 이러면서 왔어요. 근데 여기와서도 조금 힘들었고, 처음에는 되게 좀 많이 힘들었어요. 왜냐면 되게 재밌을 줄 알았는데.. (Minkyung, Interview, Original Korean transcript)

Frankly speaking, when we decided to come here, I was very excited, because of my childhood memory. Back then, I had lots of friends, they were very active. And I did soccer when I was in second grade. But when I went back to Korea, there was not girls' soccer league, so thinking that I can do soccer again, study hard, make a lot of friends, I was very excited. But, when I came, it was hard, a lot hard. I expected to be just fun, but …[it wasn't.] (Minkyung, Interview, English translation)

Then, she made a lengthy comparison between Korea and America about school culture, friendship style, teacher assistance, standards of beauty and "cool-ness" among adolescents, etc. Saying that she felt accustomed to moving across two places, Minkyung frequently activated her cross-cultural lens to evaluate diverse cultural aspects of two countries. At the end of this cultural comparison, she added that she recently experienced a perspective change regarding the issue of nationality: "at first, I thought of myself just as Korean, or just as American, then, Korean-American. But these days, it doesn't matter for me. I don't care much about nationality." As citizenship was already a given status, it seemed that the choice now was about where Minkyung would settle down for her future life. Whereas Minkyung's family would want her to settle in Korea as a Korean citizen, Minkyung wanted to stay open to various possibilities. During this third stay in the U.S. (Minkyung was born in the U.S. but went back to Korea soon, and returned

to the U.S. in her first grade year for her father's job and again in her 10th grade in 2013), she wanted to weigh if she would like to go to a U.S. college or go back and attend a college in Korea. At the time of this study, she had not decided, but the negotiation was not so much with anxiety and concern as with hopeful expectation for the future.

Likewise, Janice, born in the U.S., expressed her sense of being in-between. Legally belonging to both countries, she was aware that she was culturally and ethnically Korean, but becoming very much Americanized as well, not just status-wise, but also culturally. She found home here in St. Louis as well as in Korea:

> If somebody asks me where I come from, I naturally say from Korea, but then I automatically also add I was born in the United States. I mostly lived in Korea, so I grew up there, and I have most memories there, but still St. Louis feels like home. And then, Korea, all my, not my immediate, immediate family but all the relatives and everything, I feel that is home too, but **it's like I have two different homes**. (Janice, Interview, author emphasis)

Because of this flexible view of home and attachment, she said that she did not like when adults asked her about her nationality, claiming "I feel like an ocean in between. And it's because I was born in America and now I am in America but I remember mostly being in Korea, so I'm part of both. When people would say 'stick to one,' and I'm like, well I stick to in-between." Unlike most citizens in any country who were granted citizenship at birth, Janice with two citizenship countries described that citizenship may not be just given but should be earned for some people. Mainly because of her parents' non-citizen status in the U.S., she was aware that citizenship for some might be a status that should be rigorously evaluated and given by external society.

Although in varying degrees, for these four participants, growing up as migrant youths implied that they had to go through a process in which their sense of identity was compounded by their legal status within the society. Despite their wish to hold dual citizenship, they are likely to face the realization that they cannot belong to both countries, at least legally. Even for Janice and Minkyung with dual citizenship for now, citizenship still remained an 'either-or' choice in their near future. In this strife to understand the discourse and practices of citizenship, youths were tied to the externally given status and identity. Then their identity struggles were often exacerbated by citizenship education in school despite the schools' good intention of raising responsible members of society.

Citizenship Education

Citizenship education in school may give youth conflicting messages about citizenship, as dominant frameworks either oversimplify the concept of citizenship – defining the concept at an interpersonal level with discussions about being a good person – or focus on the national level by highlighting ideas like patriotism (Mitchell & Parker, 2008). Sometimes, teachers take the concept to the global level and explore cosmopolitan or global citizenship (e.g., Nussbaum, 2002). Many U.S. government or social studies classes focus mainly on the democratic process as applied to decision-making and voting (Meyers & Zaman, 2009). None of these concepts alone or combined adequately acknowledges youths' complex, shifting, and nuanced identities as citizens who live at the borders. The following story of Jenna in her social studies classroom captures such conflicting moments in which she felt misunderstood and mistreated.

Jenna: "It's kind of shocking, it's like, I don't belong here?" One of the first obstacles that Jenna encountered in understanding the complexity of her migrant identity occurred in her fifth grade citizenship unit in social studies. Until then, she did not know that her

family members including herself were not U.S. citizens. The legal category of citizenship was not meaningful for Jenna until her teacher assumed that everyone in class was a legal U.S. citizen and taught that each should fulfill the responsibilities of a good citizen by participating in local and national elections, and by helping other citizens. When Jenna got home, she asked her parents if they could vote in elections. She was shocked to find out that they had never been able to vote in the U.S.

Another day, Jenna's class went through a citizenship training that prompted conversations about the rights and responsibilities of citizens. The students engaged in a role play activity in which each student acted like a member of the society, for example, as a clerk or an accountant or a mayor. Jenna remained critical and resistant to all the activities, although she could not clearly express how she felt at the moment:

> So it's really weird, 'cause they're talking about all citizenship stuff and like, okay so like they are asking me questions, 'what do you need to be a good citizen and stuff' And I am like [inside], 'I don't know because I'm not a citizen. What do you expect me to know, my mom isn't a citizen, how am I supposed to know?' Truthfully, I was just being stubborn and sarcastic and mocking it… You know you feel kind of like, this is stupid, doesn't even apply to me, why do I belong? So I don't even belong, so why am I here?
>
> (Jenna, Interview)

Ironically, Jenna's non-citizen status was reinforced through the citizenship class activity. Her first time engaging with this realization, she was filled with resistance: resistance to her status, people's assumptions, notions of citizenship, and citizenship education. She described her teachers as "insensitive" to the experiences of some children who were not citizens of the U.S., although she understood that their intentions were not to hurt their non-citizen students.

Upon receiving what felt like irrelevant citizenship lessons that did not account for all students' life contexts, Jenna developed a critique about the prevalent concept and practices of citizenship. During the interview, she recalled her mixed feelings during the simulation activity about being a good citizen:

> I felt like when we did those activities in school, I didn't feel uncomfortable really. I felt like I was mocking it or like, sarcastic inside, 'oh, you are finally accepting me now, I'm finally a citizen?' And I was mocking it, because I was never a citizen… So, if you are a little kid and you didn't know you aren't a citizen, and then the teacher read that book [about citizenship by helping others] to you, and you're like, 'oh I should be a good citizen from now on' and then they grow up, and they find out that they were never a citizen, then like, **that's kind of tragic. It's kind of shocking, it's like, 'I don't belong here?** I don't belong with my friends, I don't go along with any of these people!' (Jenna, Interview, author emphasis)

Her use of the words *tragic* and *shocking* indicates her disappointment and frustration upon considering the implications of her non-citizen status. These feelings became more intense because of her strong attachment to the United States as the place where she spent her formative childhood years. Her disrupted sense of belonging increased acutely when people – especially classroom teachers, casually assumed that she was a citizen. When notions of citizenship did not represent but instead collided with youths' actual legal status, citizenship became a salient border that divided non-citizen youths from others with its legal and national implications.

Identity at Ethnic/Racial Borders

I now turn from the legal/national border to that of ethnicity and race to understand youths' challenges in dealing with society's assumption/stereotypes about one's ethnicity and

race. In thinking about national, ethnic and racial identity, however, it should be noted that race, ethnicity, and nation are not fixed categories with clear boundaries, but rather socially constructed discourses (Fenton & May, 2002). Furthermore, when they are intertwined as part of youths' identity, one cannot examine each dimension as distinctly different and separate from the other. We must tease out several layers, therefore, to delve into these tangled categories in youths' identity work. The category *Korean* in particular contains many complex layers as its varying meanings complicate youths' perception of their identities across contexts: *Korean* as opposed to *U.S.* citizenship highlights the legal dimension of *Korean* as one's official nationality. *Korean* is also an ethnic reference which involves an awareness of shared ancestry and culture. Youths referred to this ethnic, cultural dimension when indicating the feeling that they are not sufficiently Korean. In this context, *Korean* ethnicity was an ethnic bind. However, *Korean* ethnicity is a contrastive reference against the racial category *Asian*. In order to resist their racialized identity as *Asian*, youths highlighted their ethnic identity as *Korean* to counteract the overshadowing effect of racial labeling as is common in the U.S. and to replace it with ethnic uniqueness. This was the case where ethnicity functioned as an ethnic option. Youths moved across these different layers of meaning, choosing to put on or take off such labels contextually. Attending to these various meanings of *Korean*, I will look at commonalities and variations in how Yuri, Jenna, and Janice[2] perceived and negotiated their ethnic and racial identities in regards to their outlook and strategies of dealing with ethnic and racial identity borders.

'Korean' as Ethno-Cultural Identity

Youths' realizion of their non-citizen status in the U.S. accompanied the reaffirmation of their Korean nationality. In the process, they came to understand that one is granted citizenship,

---

[2] Due to Minkyung's personal challenge as a recent arrival without much time to spend as a participant in this research, I could collect only a minimum level of data from her interviews and literacy document. Thus her case was not included in this section which is mainly about youths' perception of their ethnic and racial identity.

mostly either by birth in the country of citizenship (territory principle), or by birth to parents who are citizens of the country (personal/blood principle) (Faist, 2000). Whereas people who have been citizens of a country in which they currently live do not have to consider the deeper implications of citizenship, migrant youths are likely to recognize and experience the legal impact of citizenship.

However, youths' disrupted sense of belonging was not resolved with the knowledge that they are legal Korean citizens; in being a Korean national, they also found something lacking: the fluency in the language and culture of Korea. Since the national identity did not necessarily equate with their ethnic/cultural identity, they felt they could not claim their Korean-ness in its full sense. Thus, being legally Korean did not make up for their unsettling sense of belonging but oftentimes made youths feel pressured to meet people's expectations for ethnic authenticity. As a result, being Korean ironically increased their feeling of not being Korean enough.

Korean as ethnic bind: "I just don't feel Korean enough." When youths perceived that they were not fully capable of ethnic language and culture, they felt they were not "authentically" Korean. To belong, Yuri needed more than the legal status. She said:

> You can't really say that I am Korean either. Like that is my home life. But I have not been to Korea for a while, I don't remember it very much. So I don't really know what I am. It's not that I don't feel Korean, **I just don't feel Korean enough**. I feel like I'm Korean, but I am also American. But I can't say that I am definitely American, or I'm definitely Korean. (Yuri, Interview, author emphasis)

Whereas Yuri felt that she needed American citizenship to really belong in the U.S. in its true sense, she also felt that Korean citizenship was not enough to truly belong in Korea. As an ethno-national identity, being Korean or American meant for her that one is not only the citizen of the

country, but should also be fluent in the language and culture of the country. In one way or another, she did not feel that she is a full member of either country.

Thus, Korean nationality was not sufficient for Yuri's complete sense of belonging. Moreover, ethnic authenticity was oftentimes a source of parent-child conflict in Yuri's family. As in many popular stories of tension between first and second generation immigrants, the intergenerational relations in migrant families are characterized by cultural conflicts (Kibria, 2002). The homeland-bound parents emphasize the importance of maintaining the language and culture of the home country and the Americanized child resists such imposition as irrelevant in their current world. This theme of intergenerational clash oftentimes exacerbates youths' feeling of 'not ethnic enough.' This was the case with Yuri. Yuri's father was very concerned that his children were "getting out of touch with Korean heritage," and becoming "just American." However, Yuri pointed out that the messages she has received from her parents did not encourage her desire to learn more about Korea, but rather discouraged her from making such efforts:

> Unfortunately for me, their way of trying to make me feel better seems limited to talking about how hard they had to work in Korea and how hard everyone in Korea works, and how much more difficult and intense things are over there and how I should feel lucky and blessed in comparison. But that only makes me feel guilty, like I'm not Korean enough or tough enough to make it through, because it seems like the message is that if I'm having trouble in an American setting, I definitely wouldn't be able to survive, let alone be successful, in a Korean setting. So all this comparison with Korean schools makes me feel like I have to work harder, in order to be Korean and in order to not be a disappointment and also in order to be able to "compete" globally. (Yuri, Email)

The way Yuri's parents delivered ethnic context clearly affected how Yuri understood the meaning of being Korean: working hard and enduring hardship. Instead of ethnic pride, she felt pressured to reinforce the Korean work ethic which was depicted negatively.

Yuri's language identity was another factor in her ethnic identification. She said that around age six, she started losing Korean vocabulary. Attending Saturday Korean language school did not help her substantially to maintain and learn the language. She began speaking to her parents in English and they spoke to her in Korean – a pattern that continued until it became a fixed way of communication in her family. She spoke of how language was related to feeling less Korean:

> I can understand it [Korean] better than I can speak it. And that's another way that I feel less Korean, because as a Korean born person, my first language is Korean, I should know how to speak it, but I'm forgetting my first language. (Yuri, Interview)

Given that language is not just a tool for communication but is an essential medium of transmitting the culture and history of a group, it seems natural that Yuri felt less Korean when she felt she was not fluent in the language. Interestingly however, many non-Asians share the same assumption about Asians, that to be authentically ethnic, one should be fluent in the ethnic language and culture. This assumption about ethnic authenticity turns one's ethnicity into a bind (Kibria, 2002). Many people of Asian heritage feel that they need to satisfy such expectations and that if not, they are not sufficiently authentic in their ethnicity. This public assumption played a role in Yuri's identity work; when she could not meet this expectation, her ethnicity worked as an ethnic bind. She defied her parents' expectations of being Korean, came to dislike the Korean educational system through listening to her parents' narratives, and did not even want to associate with Korean friends for some time. In this way, authentic ethnicity becomes another

norm imposed by the parents, ethnic community, and the outer society which expects minority groups – Asian in this context – to be assimilated to the U.S., but at the same time to be authentically ethnic.

Racial Bind: When Identity is Racialized

Besides the ethnic bind, youths also experienced a racial bind. In the survey, most youths (30 out of 32) marked that they are "Asian" and "Korean." Except for the gender category (32 marked whether they were boy/girl), these two categories received the highest count, indicating that both the ethnic and racial identity were highly relevant components in Korean migrant youths' identity. Given the prominence of ethnicity and race in youths' perceptions of self, I now look at how these categories intersect. Specifically, given that race eclipses other parts of people's identities in the U.S., I highlight the conflicted feelings of youths when racial labeling consistently overshadows other identity aspects (e.g., ethnic identity), and how they resist such racial identifications, particularly stereotypes.

It is widely acknowledged that 'race' is a scientific falsity but is still a persistent discourse and identity category, especially in U.S. society due to its salient history of the white and black relationship (Fenton & May, 2002). For this reason, *Asian American* has become the predominant identity label for people of Asian origin regardless of intra-group variation. Their ethnicity is easily racialized rather than acknowledged as a unique culture and history involving "perceived common ancestry, the perception of a shared history of some sort, and shared symbols of peoplehood" (Cornell & Hartmann, 1988, p. 32); people from different Asian countries are lumped into one category, *Asian.* In general, racialized Asian identity is more salient in public discourse than ethnicity-specific Asian identities (Kibria, 2002).

As racial identity is easily ascribed by others on the basis of physical appearance, it functions as the initial identity marker in any social encounter just as Yuri mentioned, *"I'm Asian, that's the first thing you tell someone, because they look at your face, and they're like, oh, you Asian."* Race is a fundamental identity scheme in U.S. society that operates with certain taken-for-granted assumptions about personality, behavioral patterns, and cultural habits (Kibria, 2002). Race, a rigid frame of identity reference, is not voluntarily chosen, but ascribed by a racialized society, and as such individuals should work through its acceptance or resistance. The everyday consequences of this negotiation comprised a significant part of youths' identity work as the following stories of youths – Jenna, Janice, and Yuri – exemplify: youths resisted racialized identity by consciously highlighting their ethnicity, or by conceptualizing American identity as an alternative identity frame.

Resisting racialized ethnicity: "Korean" as ethnic option. The Pan-Asian ethnicity became problematic when it erased their uniqueness. Although their reactions varied from minor complaints to abhorrence of Asian stereotypes, youths responded similarly in that they would rather be referred to as Korean than Asian. For example, Janice noted that she would not be offended if people call her Asian, but recognized that it is a "vague term":

> I would prefer being called Korean. I think being Korean is more relevant because Korea is a specific country and place where I was raised, and my parents' birth land. "Asian" is a more general term. It can fit many people under that category. (Janice, Interview)

Likewise, Jenna mentioned that the public tendency to minimize differences between ethnicities, for example, among Chinese, Japanese and Korean, is "degrading" since it does not acknowledge one's unique personhood. She said, "just being Asian doesn't really give you your personality."

When the Pan-Asian ethnicity overly racialized their identity, youths tried to counteract the label's impact by highlighting their Korean ethnicity. As a national identity, being Korean did not significantly contribute to their sense of belonging mainly due to their strong attachment to the U.S. However, when their identity was generalized as "Asian," they highlighted their ethnic origin as a source of uniqueness. For instance, Jenna noted, "being Korean has given me a kind of pride instead of just being Asian which has so many stereotypes." When Korean ethnicity became a choice rather than an imposition, youths were more likely to explore their ethnic identity as the label prevented them from fading into the 'sameness' of being 'just' Asian. This aspect of Korean ethnicity as a chosen identity will be examined in more details in Chapter 5 in which I will describe how youths unfolded a rich repertoire of cultural practices when their ethnic identity was voluntarily sought for and shared with others through new media literacy practices.

Defying stereotypes: "I am not being Asian, I'm being myself." Among the four youths, Yuri expressed the strongest defiance to being identified as Asian. Unlike Janice and Jenna who experienced racial stereotyping in a mild way as depriving them of some of their uniqueness, Yuri's experience was very troublesome for her sense of self. In her case, re-orienting her identity towards being an ethnic Korean did not resolve her conflict. Yuri was aware that being Korean was equivalent with being Asian for many non-Asian people around her. Several times when Yuri talked about her Korean identity, she seemed to use the two identities interchangeably:

I still have a lot of Asian friends, a lot of Korean friends in seventh grade. I think I've limited myself to that group. And doing that **people only have thought of me as that**

Asian girl who hangs out with other Asian girls, so she is Asian, she's only Asian.

(Yuri, Interview, author emphasis)

Looking closely, however, it was notable that Yuri equated her Korean identity with being Asian mostly when her identity work involved others' view of her, as highlighted in the quote above. Consciously or unconsciously, Yuri was adopting the racializing stance of the general public to refer to her Korean identity when she spoke of her socialization with Korean friends: when she was maintaining a close friendship with Korean and several other Asian friends, she felt that she was only seen as Asian. Many times during interviews and in emails, Yuri brought up her distress over being identified as Asian. Mentioning her love of reading, which – according to her – was also conceived of as a typical Asian characteristic by others, she said that ironically, she came to love reading because she could pretend to be someone else and "wasn't Asian for a little bit" while reading.

In critiquing stereotypes, Yuri did not simply blame society or other people. She also reflected on her own obsession to escape the stereotypical judgments that confronted her at every moment. Paradoxically, this indicates how much she was affected by and somewhat internalized the stereotypes within herself:

When things are complicated, I think people want to simplify it. When they simplify, you get stereotypes. You're like, that person is the loud and annoying one, that person is the quiet one who needs to speak up. That one is the Asian one. And I was like 'wait a second, how can Asian-ness be like a personality type?' That doesn't make sense! Those people who thought that being Asian was all I was, like I'm a stereotypically Asian person and that's all I was like a pretty big nerd in general. Like there's the stereotype that Asians are nerds, they are like academically oriented. They work really hard, they are

> quiet, they're shy. So I hated that these people were thinking that, that was who I am
>
> because I was Asian, and not because I was who I actually was… And that always really
>
> bothered me and I'm like, '**I'm not being Asian, I'm being myself.'** (Yuri, Interview,
>
> author emphasis)

As shown in the quote, Yuri criticized stereotypes at different levels. At a societal level, she

critiqued the way racial discourses are created and enforced, often in a way that disturbs people's

understanding of who they are. At an interpersonal level, she noted that her personality was

sometimes reduced to Asian stereotypes by others, although she admitted that some part of her

personality actually coincided with the stereotypical images, like a "nerd" who loves reading.

She said that joining the cross-country track team was one effort to offset the image of a passive

Asian girl that had been applied to her. However, she also spoke of moments in which she

appropriated the 'shy Asian girl' stereotype to soften teachers' expectations for her to speak up

in class; it was a strategy to cope with her "unforgiving" Spanish teacher:

> In Spanish, I was so scared, I became like that quiet Asian girl, the perfectionistic, quiet
>
> Asian girl who is so shy and insecure that the teachers don't want to be mean to her,
>
> because then she'll probably burst out crying or something. So I did that; it worked out
>
> okay. She likes me because she thinks I care very much about her class, because I care so
>
> much about academics and she needs to gently help me blossom into a person, and I feel
>
> bad for manipulating her like that, but then at the same time, I would not be able to deal
>
> with anything else. (Yuri, Interview)

Yuri's guilt came from the fact that she herself was perpetuating the Asian stereotype, which she

hated, by acting like the stereotype prescribed. However, considering that she was naturally

"introverted" and "quiet" in her own words, this self-criticism seems rather harsh. It was obvious

though that Yuri was highly conscious of Asian stereotypes and was monitoring how they impacted her daily interpersonal relationships. Finally, at an intrapersonal level, Yuri tried to build her own personhood instead of accepting others' views of her, although such efforts were not without tension and distressing self-censorship: "I'm going to be brave, I'm just going to be me, I'm not necessarily going to be Asian, if I act Asian, it's because I'm me, not because I'm Asian." As easily imagined, Yuri's censorship of her personality and behavior was an ongoing battle between her unwanted internationalization of stereotypes and efforts to expel the power of the label.

"American" identity as alternative frame. While Jenna and Janice spotlighted Korean identity as an indicator of their uniqueness as well as an antidote for their overly racialized identity, Yuri turned to the *American* identity as an alternative to acknowledge her multifaceted identities. Instead of its narrow denotation of nationality, Yuri conceptualized *American* identity as "fluid enough that [she] could be just another diverse American." It was based on her vision of an ideal America that is a country of immigrants who are "free and equal" regardless of their ethnicity and race. As a malleable frame that is inclusive of different people as well as an individual's diverse identities, she described American identity as the following:

> The idea of the American identity has always felt fluid to me. America is supposedly a melting pot of different cultures, so there SHOULD be more potential variance. When I'm feeling bitter I decide that America is really just another closed-off land with closed-off people with closed minds who will never let me in, and this feels true for a lot of the time, but individually speaking, people aren't so closed-off. Most of the individual people I know want America to be the ideal America that I envision – diverse and accepting and

truly free – and having that in common makes me feel like I could be American. (Yuri,

Email, Yuri's emphasis)

For Yuri, American identity was a flexible reference within which she could comfortably

represent diverse aspects of herself. In this context, the label *American* was an identity reference

whose meaning was individually chosen and defined by each person. However, Yuri was aware

that "American" identity is still an ideal vision as her own disappointment and disillusionment in

her daily life evinced. As demonstrated, Yuri's identity work was a series of ongoing struggles in

which she battled against external biases/stereotypes, and internal conflict between "group

identity and personal identity" (Yuri, interview).

Ways of Belonging to Ways of Being

In this chapter, I have mainly focused on how youths managed various borders in their

identity work: nationality, ethnicity, and race. Their marked identities were most characterized

by conflicts within themselves and with others' view of them. In the next chapter, I will explore

how youths negotiated and managed such conflicts especially when the marked-ness was

inevitable and more prominent through the ongoing influx of one's ethnic raw materials via

transnational new media. In this chapter I drew on youths' verbal expressions of identity to

examine how they perceived the social discourses of identity labels. In the next chapters, I will

look at youths' daily literacy activities in the broader sense of literacy, wherein literacy

constitutes identity work by documenting their *ways of being* in which they were observed to cut

across, merge, and negotiate diverse spaces, relationships, and identities.

V. Media and Identity: Transpatial Intersection in New Media

The previous chapter showed youths' sense of dissonance in their understanding of national, ethnic, and racial identity. The key aspects of such identity were youths' awareness of the divisive boundary and its involuntary imposition. Youths' *ways of belonging* were nuanced by their conflicting moments of dealing with unwanted labels. In this chapter and the next, I turn to the examination of youths' identity work by attending to their *ways of being* in their daily practices. Specifically, I look at how new media spaced shapes youths' identity formation and presentation. First, employing the notion that "space" is more than physical location, I examine the spatial intersection of youths' life fields across contexts: local and global, national and transnational, physical and virtual. The way in which these spaces intersect, overlap, and extend to different time-space zones affects how youths cross various borders, undermining the traditional concepts of border, space, culture and identity. Then, I describe how the youths in this study conceived and evaluated (new) media, which is followed by the last section that focuses on participants' engagement with new media in terms of three emergent themes: relevance of new media use, resistance to the categorized identities, and representation of new identity claims.

Glocal, Transnational, Physico-Virtual Intersection

From an ecological model of development (Bronfenbrenner, 1995, 2005), contexts of identity development are not separate from each other, but create complex concentric circles in which contexts are embedded at different levels. The addition of new media has further complicated the ecological model by blurring, penetrating, and reassigning the traditional borders between spaces. New media itself is a new socio-cultural environment that mediates peoples' daily experiences globally and locally (Montovani, 2012). As the line between spaces

becomes less defined, a description of spatial configuration that considers the complexity of youth identity work is required (see Figure 5-1).

Figure 5- 1: Ecological Model in Transnational Era
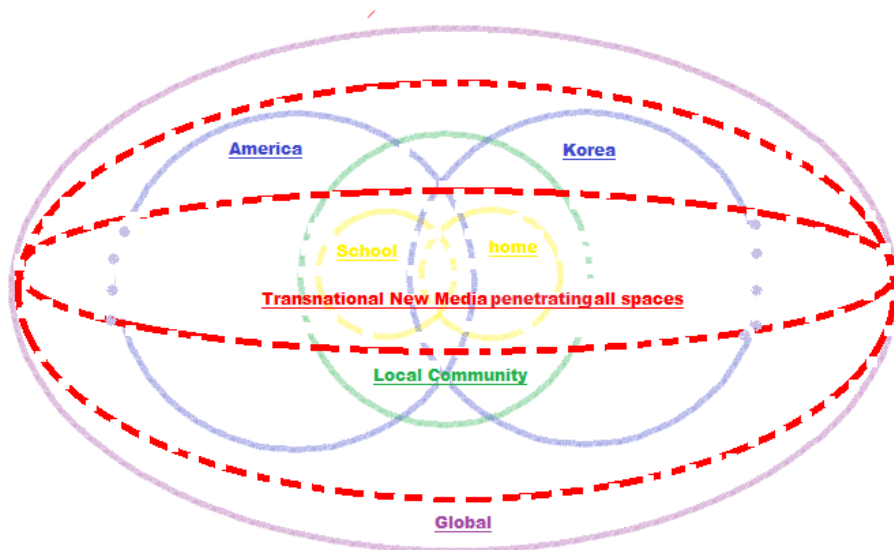
Although the primary physical places of youths' socialization are the local contexts of home, school and community, these are not the only influential spaces. In addition, these places extend beyond the physical and local. While youths in my study spent most of their days in one of these places (e.g., home, school, community center, library or local church), their activities in those spaces were not limited to the local context. The school, for example, was a *glocalized* center for learning through connecting to global topics. Allowed to log into the World Wide Web, students conducted research on global issues for assignments, connected to global resources, and shared ideas with both their local and global audiences. The direct penetration of the global into the local is often called *glocalization*, a term rooted in Japanese business to describe how a global business became successful by reproducing the goods to fit the local tastes (de Block & Buckingham, 2007). In essence, the glocalization involves the hybridizing process of global and local products, issues, topics, and tastes, for example, the tailoring of globally transmitted youth

culture to fit the local context. Glocalized hybridization is what enriches the local context and replaces the global standardization of culture (de Block & Buckingham, 2007).

Along with glocalization, transnational relationships also permeate the local space. At home, youths in my study watched Korean TV shows, listened to Korean pop (K-pop), and conversed about Korean culture, history and language with parents. They also regularly connected with families and friends in Korea over the international phone calls, Skype chatting, email, social network services, or text messaging. Their home was not merely the locale of immediate family relationships but it was also a locus of diverse transnational relationships; the smallest unit in one's life is virtually extended to the largest circle of global and transnational layers. Whereas many identity discourses center around disjunction at the borders (e.g., nationality, ethnicity, and race), people's lived experiences of interweaving and converging different spaces compel us to reframe such border discourses.

In these glocalized, transnational networks, *individuals* who use new media, rather than the *physical location*, become the center of connectivity (Merchant, 2006). The physical spaces are virtually condensed, enabling people to socialize across diverse time-space zones. Personal blogs are a good example of a virtual community comprised of geographically distant and local people who blog with each other. The physical distance is counteracted by the virtual proximity. In this new media space, migrants may not acutely feel their migrant-status because statuses of both natives and migrants are somewhat equalized in a virtual space, as Fortunati, Pertierra, and Vincent (2012) stated, "all are migrants in the virtual space" through virtual transportation and displacement (p.9). Building on this new spatial configuration, I will examine in this chapter how youths conceptualize and engage with media in general as well as new media in particular.

"Media? Media is Everything"

In this first section, I draw from the survey data and interviews with the four core participants to provide their definition and critique of media. In the next section, I describe how youths translated their concept of media into practices based on interviews and literacy documents. These primary analyses provide the backdrop to the subsequent, major analysis of youths' engagement with media, and the relationship between various purposes of media use and youths' identity negotiations. I note that due to the limitation of the data collection process, which resulted in uneven amounts and sources of data across focal youths, the findings may not represent perspectives of all focal youths let alone the general Korean migrant youth population. I will indicate therefore whose data was central in each section that follows, and how they relate to the general implication either in the section or later in the discussion chapter. Among the four youths, I had in-depth conversations with Jenna and Janice about their understanding of media in general. Yuri wrote in her identity map and other emails about her activities in online communities. Minkyung talked about how she used new media for different purposes. So in this section, I start from perspectives of Jenna, Janice, and partly Yuri for their perception of media, then move to the examination of four youths' actual media engagement under three sub-headings: relevance, resistance, and representation.

Media is Everything and Everywhere

Both the survey and core participants indicated that it was a taken-for-granted ability to use media. Several survey participants drew or wrote in their identity map that media use (e.g., computer, hand-held devices) was part of *who they are* (Figure 5-2 for identity map). They all indicated that they engaged with various media technologies for purposes including school work, social interaction and entertainment.

Figure 5- 2: Identity Map
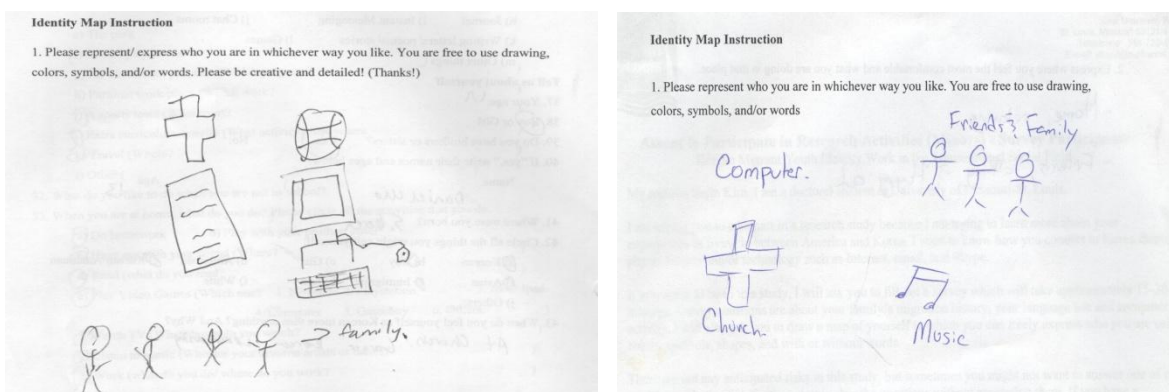
When asked about her concept of media, Jenna instantly associated it with technology: software programs, hardware equipment (e.g., computer, game station, Kindle), digital networks and resources. However, she added that media encompasses more than just technology:

> Media doesn't always include technology. It can be books, so you know education is books. When you think about education, learning, it's books and textbooks, and reading and writing. It's all forms of media. (Jenna, Interview)

Although her primary perception of media was related to technology use at home, school, and in the larger society, she extended the definition to include old media – printed media – as an important part of social interaction and learning. Jenna described that media is penetrating every aspect of society:

> Media is pretty much everything. Not that it means everything to me, I'm just saying pretty much everything is media now. School is all media, everything, so news, the books, the curriculum, and everything is spread from different places by media. We get it from media, we use media to spread it, we use media to learn. **Everything is mediated by media.** (Interview, author emphasis)

Jenna's accounts of media were not only about youths' media engagement but how the entire society is operated by various media as well. Her broader conceptualization included both old and new media, media as tools, content, distribution points and technology resources.

Both Positive and Negative

Similarly, Janice recognized that media technology enables many new things. However, she talked from a more critical stance. Mentioning that she liked the feeling of flipping book pages, Janice argued that old media is still important and that one type of media should not entirely replace the other:

> I think it is kind of bad because the world is slowly changing into a world that doesn't need books, the older things. But I think that is also necessary because you don't want to lose the ability to use those things. It's kind of loss. (Janice, Interview)

Janice also spoke of the negative impact of mass media, for example, media advertisements affect and manipulate people's unconscious choice and thought patterns. To avoid such effects, she said that she did not like to watch TV commercials and advertisements whether online or offline. Interestingly, Janice positioned herself in this context as a passive media consumer, framing media effects coming from a top-down distribution of information and resources from the media professionals to everyday laypersons. This passive positioning is contrasted with her later stance as an active user of media to build and maintain relationships as will be shown in the next sub-section.

Another critique from Janice was a shared concern with critics and people of older generations about media addiction among youths. She argued that media addiction not only impedes normal human relationships in offline spaces, but may also harm development of the brain and physical health:

It [technology] also interferes with the amount of interaction they [people] have. So if you are really addicted to technology, then you barely speak to other people and like, no matter what the Internet, technology gives you, you don't use it with them, because you are doing technology. (Janice, Interview)

Likewise, Jenna raised a popular concern about media use in terms of self representation, split between online and offline. She questioned if one's online self is more of a fabricated identity than a "true" self. As an example of the split, she spoke of a friend who moved to another state and sent emails in which she used different tones and diction than she would use offline:

I notice these things, first with myself, and then I noticed it in other people. And this is an example, Alice [pseudonym]. She is kind of a goody goody girl. She has usually proper talking and everything. She texts and everything, so she is into the [media] world I guess. But then I got this email, she moved to Florida this summer, and that's very sad because she won't be here next year. She sent us an email from Florida [Jenna starts giggling], and it just does not sound like her, she was saying like 'LOL.' [Sujin: What is LOL?] LOL means 'laugh out loud' and I personally think that LOL sounds really weird, so when we are texting or chatting or something, somebody or on Google Plus, they say LOL, and I'm like 'really? You are not. I bet you are not really laughing out loud.' And so usually if I wanna say LOL, I don't wanna say it LOL, but if it's that kind of situation, I say 'haha' and then it sounds weird and I don't like that but when you read it, it sounds correct, more correct. So she put so many abbreviations thingy, but that does not sound like her, so it just changed our perspective and how we viewed her. (Jenna, Interview)

Recognizing the difference between how she has perceived Alice and how Alice expressed herself in the email, she started to think about how self representation in the media can change the way one is viewed by others:

> So, I'm saying it's not causing problems inside of a person, but contradictions. You know, that people can view you differently after you know, seeing you in your life and in media forms and Internet. (Jenna, Interview)

This leaves us a controversial question: does this discrepancy reflect a psychic divide across online and offline selves and/or a tendency to embellish and fake online identity? Or could it be that through media one may design and express a new, "truer" identity aspect which was not comfortably expressed in offline? Although this is an important question to explore, I will temporarily set aside this issue for later examination in chapter 6 through an analysis of Jenna's video production and identity representation. At this point, it is important to note that youths were both favorable and critical towards media with their own experiential evaluating measurement.

Media and Balance: "Not Good if It's No Technology or All Technology"

Youths expressed a balanced perspective that media engagement can be both beneficial and hindering. Whereas they partially shared older generations' concerns about the growing media engagement/addiction, they also acknowledged the potential of media in providing new pathways to relationships which would not be possible otherwise. They contended that the absence of the physical in virtual relationships and resources (e.g., books in an electronic format) is complemented by their virtual accessibility and availability anytime from anywhere. On the other hand, they critically noted that today children are introduced to technology too early, potentially leading to some side-effects such as short attention spans and irresponsible use of

technology. Youths also critiqued the superficial nature of some online relationships as they only aimed for the shallow social recognition from others. At the same time, however, they argued that online media served as an easy access to social spaces wherein people could share information and interests. Yuri described her clashing feelings about being on *Facebook*:

> Once I'd quit [Facebook], I was pretty happy for a while, but when high school started and I joined extracurriculars, a lot of the groups kept in touch by using a Facebook group and I was out of the loop then. It was nice to not be constantly bombarded with pictures of social people I didn't know or want to care about, but I missed hearing from my friends. And the extracurriculars were actually starting to be affected by Facebook, in terms of times and places, and a lot of my other friends who hadn't had Facebook before started getting them, vowing not to get addicted and saying that they would just use it for the groups. That reasoning made sense to me, and not having a Facebook made me feel like a bit of a hermit. I guess it's also a networking thing, because it feels nice to know that you've made a connection with however many people and that they recognize your name to your face and all. I'm friends with a lot of the people I really looked up to in the Youth orchestra and I feel like, being capable of contacting them is a good thing. (Yuri, Email)

For Yuri, *Facebook* was a positive experience when it was an extension of important offline relationships, as well as an extra opportunity to get to know people better. However, it became negative when she was surrounded by images and posts of people who she knew only at the surface level. For Yuri, *Facebook* was meaningful when it bridged her online and offline relationships, complementing each other.

Janice had a similar stance, trying not to evaluate media from a one-sided perspective: good or bad. She said that media has good aspects despite its shortcomings. She claimed that the virtual and the physical are extended social worlds that might be different from each other but are complementary:

> I think that's a stereotype that those old people think that younger generations are now always glued to technology and stuff. I mean, like there are kids like that. But it's like there are other kids. But then, technology, I guess, gives people what to talk about, so like news, airplane crash, so it gives people what to interact with… Long distant people we haven't seen couple of years, or people we have never met at all, just met on the Internet, **that's a world too.** Because they tell, they share information with you, they interact with you except just not physically. Just in a different format. So you are like, creating bonds with them just in a different way. So for me, **it would be wrong to say that that's not a real world.** (Janice, Interview, author emphasis)

This view that social space and relationships extend beyond the physical scale and have both the positive and negative aspects, reflects Janice's positioning as a critical consumer of media and an active participant in the media content and relationships.

By perceiving the digital space as a valid social world in and of itself, youths supported the notion that virtual space and technology is part of the contemporary makeup of the world. The relation-centered conception of space acknowledges that space is rather about multiple social, cultural processes than any singular location. The way youths experienced the online as part of daily social interactions was reflected in their balanced view of media technology as Janice noted, "I think it's good to have a balance. I don't think it would be good to have no technology, or all technology" (Janice, Interview).

Youths' Media Engagement: Relevance, Resistance, Re-presentation

In this section, I investigate what youths do with media and how they negotiate and articulate their identities through new media practices. The three themes that emerged from the analysis include: (1) *Relevance to life contexts*. New media use was the most salient when the purpose resonated with their life contexts: relationship, learning, and sense of community. In these contexts, new media was the essential tool for youths to explore their interests, to learn new knowledge, to expand social relationships with family and friends beyond the spatio-temporal limitations, and to share their perspectives with both local and transnational audiences. (2) *Resistance to social categories*. Youths were highly aware of their marked identities, particularly as Asian, Korean, and non-citizen. However, youths developed ways to counteract unwanted identifications through new media literacy practices: they either chose to hide their visible identities by participating in online communities of shared interests, or positively advocated such marked identities by drawing on the culture, language, and history of their home country. (3) *Re-presentation of identities*. New media allowed youths a creative third space where they articulated rich, complex identities, which was reflected in the way they engaged with various cultural topics, language modes, and media tools, frequently in hybrid forms. The "curatorship" (Potter, 2012) of identities in these practices demarcates the resilient agency of migrant youths in managing the complexity of their transnational and glocalized identities. Above all, new media provided youths with opportunities to "author the self(ves)" (Merchant, 2006) across contexts. The authoring process was meaningfully facilitated through youths' awareness of and connection with the diverse audiences whether in person or through a multitude of media.

Relevance: Relationship, Learning, Belonging

Although there are public concerns that youths tend to recklessly engage with new media through addictive game playing, cyber chatting, endless Internet surfing, and obsessive social media networking (e.g., Kuss & Griffiths, 2011), this was not the case with my participants. Instead, they showed a pattern of consciously coordinated engagement that changed according to who and what they related to in their daily life. The purpose and frequency of new media engagement were correlated with how relevant the occasion was to their life contexts: through new media literacy practices, youths sought to establish and maintain meaningful relationships, enhanced their learning both in and outside of school, and engaged in groups to which they felt belonging.

Relationship. Most prominently, new media was a major socializing space where youths managed relationships near and far: to maintain, to reconnect, and to extend. New media has enabled once impossible long-distance relationship to continue on a regular basis. Minkyung, who came to the U.S. in 2012, noted that she had been using diverse media to communicate with family and friends in Korea. Internet phone calls were used to communicate with her extended family in Korea, *Facetime* (an *Apple* application of face-to-face videochat) with her father who went back to Korea before the family, and *Facebook* with her friends both in Korea and the U.S. She commented that the continued connection with her friends in Korea after she moved to the U.S. was unexpected:

제가 미국 올 때, 친구들이랑 헤어질 거 생각하고 마지막으로 한번 보고 놀고 이랬을 때, 되게 좀 슬펐거든요. 그런데 여기 와서 계속 채팅도 할 수 있고 연락도 할 수 있고, 서로 막 안부 알고 그러니까, 거리감도 많이 안 느끼고 그래요. 지금 친한 애들은 다 페이스북 하거든요. (Minkyung, Interview, Original Korean transcript)

When I came to the U.S., I was very sad that I would be parting away from my friends

when we met for the last time to see each other. Now I am here, but we still can chat,

communicate with each other, see how they are doing. So, I don't feel much distant now.

All of my close friends are on Facebook. (Minkyung, Interview, English translation)

Jenna also used emails, Internet phone calls, and social network services for relationships. Unlike

Minkyung whose arrival in the U.S. was recent, Jenna has spent most of her life in the U.S. since

age four. Thus communication technology was an essential component in her feeling of

connection with significant others in Korea. Jenna recently reconnected with her friends who

used to be her closest Korean classmates in St. Louis but now live in Korea, through *Google Plus*,

a social media website. Whereas Internet phone calls were used for intergenerational family

relationships as elderly family members preferred voice talks over text communications, they

were not most convenient for distant friendship. Instead, emails and text-messaging were

preferred for friendship since their textual communication excelled in its speed and variety of

content.

Social media (*Google Plus*, *Facebook*) also extended one's personal relationship into

group interactions by bringing people in different time-space zones into a mutual space where

so-called "friends" or "followers" can interact with one another. When Jenna reconnected with

Soo through Amy in *Google Plus*, the site became a space for reunion for these three girls each

of who now lives in a different place. Extension of relationships is not only from individual to

group interactions but also from immediate friends to initially unknown people, for example,

friends' friends. Jenna, for instance, added people in her friends' "circle," a term referring to

one's friendship network in *Google Plus*, through Amy's social network:

You can add people on Google Plus and they're called your 'circles.' Friend them or something, kind of Facebook. I had only like, 14 people in mine [circle], and she [Amy] had like 70 or 60 people so she had a lot of people she knew who are on Google Plus. Then, those people always commented on [her] post, and then… I got to know some of them a little bit, and then like, I don't feel like shy or anything. I just feel like, it's a person who knows Amy, and I'm just going to talk, because I want to talk with Amy and they're not bad people. (Jenna, Interview)

Connection through social media also involved cultural exchange between different sociocultural places (e.g., Korea, the U.S., other states in the U.S.). First-hand experiences of friends in the other country or states within the U.S. were useful sources of information through which youths learned about different places, and explored potential choices of future settlement and education. Particularly, they shared experiences in different educational systems, e.g., testing, peer relationships, and learning subjects in schools. Given the unsettled status of migrant families, it was valuable to have concrete information about the places to which they might move. In these cultural exchanges of information and experiences, they not only stayed in touch with each other's current life, but also reconnected to their shared past and envisioned their future choices. In short, new media connected physically distant places, and constructed a linked time frame of their past, present, and future. This spatial-temporal link in new media spaces enabled youths to see the *connected self* across their social, cultural, and historical continuum of life.

Learning. While youths (re)connected and extended their relationships, there also occurred a lot of learning in and with new media. Since new media has become an essential part of school curriculum, youths' skillful management of new media resources and tools emerged as an important theme in my study. Not only my four core participants, but most of the survey

respondents reported that they used computer/mobile devices and Internet resources for their

school work. Many schools incorporate media technologies in their lessons, such as *Youtube*,

Tedtalk, *Google Docs*, and online learning management programs (Bruce, 2002). For example,

several of Jenna's classes were managed by a program called *Schoology* through which students

checked class assignments, engaged in online discussions, and uploaded completed assignments.

Google Docs was another main tool with which youths drafted their writing assignments, then

shared with and received feedback from peers and/or teachers. As seen in Figure 5-3, Yuri's

writing in *Google Docs* was an example of how she and her social studies teacher co-constructed

learning through a conversational feedback for each other. The lines that were written in black

were original Yuri's essay about religion to which Yuri's teacher responded in red. Then they

continued feedback in different colored fonts, while deepening and extending perspectives of

each other.

Figure 5- 3: Co-writing in *Google Docs* (Yuri)

It might have to do with the fact that my beliefs aren't umbrella'd within one religion. There are parts from each that I can find myself believing, and some are bunched together under certain religions, but mostly it's a mix-and-match. And knowing that my beliefs aren't exactly normal and commonplace frightens me again, because in these dark times we call adolescence, it's a lot about conforming. However, I also see middle schoolers being more open to NOT conforming than adults can be. But I think it can also be a thing about really desperately wanting NOT to conform so that we unconsciously conform as being part of the counterculture. I think it might be "Oh hey, I'm an outcast" (because teenagers, I think, feel alone no matter what), "So I might as well be proud of it and really go against the grain!"... And thus conform in a roundabout way...So kids who wear the "right" clothes are conforming in one sense and kids who wear the "wrong" things are conforming with non-conformists? I think it's possible. It's not so much when you're different from *everyone,* but rather when you're different from most people in one area and quite similar in another group. Like... at school there might only be a few people who wear, say, pink ribbons in their hair. But you know that there's actually this entire underground movement or something and you're super excited because it's all over the world but ONLY THE CHOSEN FEW know about it. It's like being one step behind hipster culture...Sounds potentially dangerous. Being part of a religion makes you feel like you belong-- not only with God (if you believe in that; or whatever universal force you believe in, if you believe in that), but with the people who believe in the same things you do. I don't have that. So is it the religion that makes you feel like you "belong" or just the people you meet with on a regular basis and the traditions you share with them (music, food, holidays)? I think it's really the latter, but standardization and order and conformity and being part of an established Thing can also make you feel safer, I think.

Logging onto online learning program was an everyday practice for youths' learning. In this learning process youths had a wide range of choices for research topics and presentation tools. Janice spoke of how she chose a specific multimedia presentation tool for her assignment in seventh grade:

Well, usually assignments are like, a topic that you either or they give you, and you have to research it and then present the information you gathered to the class. Like for social studies, we did time period, like decades. And for one decade, we had to choose from a magazine, what topic we would want to research, and then, we research and put it into presentation, some form of presentation and present it. And I like to use Prezi, because Google Docs, Google presentation is a bit too stiff for me, I guess. Like the designs are not exactly my type, so I don't really like that one. And I don't have Word [program] in my presentation thing, but I do like that. And then, I don't have Keynote either, but I have, in Prezi, it seems more creative for us, because, it was all different frames and it moved around. (Janice, Interview)

The quote shows how knowledgeable Janice was about her choice of tools. In the *Prezi* presentation titled "Dances, Recreation, Cars, and Important Events" of the 1970s which Janice shared with me, she creatively arranged research information and photo images she found on the Internet. The multimodal presentation of the topic is an ordinary practice these days to learn and present among youths, at least those whose schools and who personally can afford to access these media tools.

Noticeable in the interviews was that youths' knowledge and skills in new media research process and tools came from both the student-oriented and teacher-guided learning. Jenna mentioned that in her school, teachers taught students not only about how to research a topic

with credible sources of information online, but also about how to effectively present with technology. Whichever tools they chose (e.g., Power Point, Prezi, Poster), teachers emphasized that the use of technology should be complementary to their learning process and presentation. Jenna summarized what her teachers taught:

> Something I noticed was a long time ago, they, the school teachers used to emphasize the use of presentation like Power Point presentation, and you make a very good interesting visual. That was in elementary school, so we just had to make it pretty. And then in middle school like sixth grade, they were saying, 'have fewer words, and still make it pretty, and make sure that you know your presentation by then.' You don't have to make it exactly pretty, you just have to have your point, and make sure it's clear and not messy, you don't have to make it fancy or anything. You have to know your whole presentation by yourself, the visual should help the audience understand you, but not help you. So it's more about you knowing about your own presentation, and that's not really supposed to help you present, it's supposed to help the audience know and get your presentation.
>
> (Jenna, Interview)

In a class called *exploratorium* where the teacher had each student choose their own research topic and tool, Jenna said that initially, she had much difficulty getting used to the media technology. At first, she complained that students had to choose their own topic rather than being given one by the teacher. Furthermore, she had to self-teach how to create a video presentation. The freedom of choice given to students was not necessarily welcomed by youths when it meant more self-directed learning. However, the assignment gradually became a more student-oriented project. Jenna, for example, chose "flexibility" and "cracking joints" for her first two assignments in which she introduced her daily activities of TaeKwondo and ballet as examples.

Her personal interest, daily activities, and research data about the topic were integrated into an innovative video presentation for the assignment.

Another interesting point was that although Jenna started research projects as assignments "boring and tiresome" as she described, she gradually turned into a voluntary media producer who enjoyed the process:

> [I]t's just an assignment but then when I was doing it, it was kind, takes too much time, I still think, but it kind of gets fun, you get preoccupied easily, like you get kind of 빨려들어 [hooked up (translated from Korean)], **you just like [it] while you are doing it**. And so you don't mind if that takes that much time. And then doing it is fun. Yet at first, I thought it was just an assignment and I didn't really wanna do it. (Jenna, Interview, author emphasis)

During my study, especially while following Jenna's media engagement, I repeatedly noticed the connection between learning and fun, in-school and out-of-school contexts, and across information and interaction. This connection was best facilitated when students were allowed to draw on their life for the project, and given the choice of tools for research and presentation. When the shift occurred from information-centered to interaction-oriented learning, the link across contexts took place; learning often turned into fun, creating a positive learning experience.

Belonging. Community building in new media space was another important theme not just in the learning community such as in *Google Docs* which showcased how learning was mediated by interactive feedback exchanges between the teacher and students through electronic writing practices. Community building also took place in other Internet communities, for example, in social media (e.g., *Google Plus*, *Facebook*, *Shelfari*, *Tumblr*). As an example, I

illustrate Yuri's case drawing from her reflection on her engagement in various Internet communities for socialization, and Jenna's *Google Plus* activity.

 Community building based on shared interest. Yuri's participation in Internet communities was a case that showed how the virtual space provided a better platform of mutuality than the physical space. Her view may sound counterintuitive to many people who consider face-to-face interactions in the physically grounded context to be the foundation of any truly meaningful relationship. The notion of identity from the "affinity perspective" (Gee, 2001) well explicates how people, dispersed across distance places, share and build a mutual identity through "allegiance to, access to, and participation in specific practices that provide each of the groups' members the requisite experiences" (p.105). Integral to the affinity identity is shared social practices that establish group affiliations rather than other sources of identity designation. For Yuri, the physical marker such as being Asian/Korean and an adolescent was a significant barrier to her social relationships. In her local community (e.g., school), she said that she did not find much commonality with other people. Especially with Korean friends or other Asian friends who she had maintained a close relationship for years, she was not able to develop the relationship beyond the shared race and ethnicity. She felt that the fragility of such relationship was mainly because it was based on the surface identity rather than any substantial mutuality at a deeper level:

> My friends that I made in seventh grade, we mostly made friends because we were Asian, and it turns out that I don't really have much in common beyond that Asian-ness, and our bond over Asian stereotypes, like, we're good at math. So we got to know each other, and we made fun of all the stereotypes together. (Yuri, Interview)

As a contrast, Yuri spoke of one online community, a book group in *Shelfari* (an online social community in which people establish a personalized digital book shelf and can establish a book group through which they share their preferences for certain books, characters and themes). She explained to me how she started feeling a sense of belonging in the group, while local community frequently interpreted her personality through the lens of Asian stereotypes, for instance, "nerdy and shy Asian student." Her love for *Harry Potter* in her middle school years was also thought of as a "nerdy thing" just because she was an Asian:

> I felt weird, because when I was younger, people would be like, oh I love *Harry Potter,* but they didn't love it as much as I did. And then in middle school, it became like a nerdy thing to like, so then when I went online and found other people who liked *Harry Potter* as much as I did, it was like, there are people like me, and they're not necessarily Asian, so then I'm like, there was another part of me. And *Shelfari*, is this book site. It was intended to just be like a place where you put, you make a list of books you've read, books you want to read and like, you post reviews. But somehow, it turned into a little bit of a social community thing, because you can make groups. I think it was supposed to be like for a book club, like a book group, and discuss it, but somehow, these things started happening. Someone created a Hogwarts group, and it was about Hogwarts, like you could pretend you were going to Hogwarts, and you would get sorted into a house, and you would talk to people. It's been a little over a year since I joined that group and I really, those people, they are my friends. And it's also weird because these aren't people that I know in real life and there is this idea that people in the Internet, they're all like pedophiles waiting to creep on you, and I don't think that's fair because, I have Internet friends and that sounds so weird and so nerdy to say that, but they're my friends. And

other people don't really get it. But those people, they, **because those are people you don't necessarily meet just because you have shared circumstances, you meet because you have things in common**. Like at school, I only know people from school because we happen to go to the same school, it doesn't mean we're going to be friends. (Yuri, Interview, author emphasis)

As shown in the previous chapter, Yuri strongly resisted being racially identified and expressed that she could not describe her identity(ies) with any single label. In online communities, however, she found it possible to comfortably share her many aspects without being assumed as a stereotypical person, "an Asian girl." She ascribed this to the nature of such online communities as built on shared interests rather than physical circumstances or socially marked identities. There, Yuri said, she felt a truer sense of community than in other physical communities like school:

Community-wise, I feel the most comfortable on the Internet. There's less face-to-face interaction, and you can really make friends from mutual interests. I know online friends have a sort of creepy factor, like people think it's pathetic or everyone is a pedophile, but I like the people. They're intelligent and funny and they care about things. Moreover, they try – like me – to not care so much about the larger part of society that doesn't care. We're all minorities – too nerdy, too smart, too socially awkward. And so it's a majority for minorities to come together and sort of say that we aren't alone and there are people who care. (Yuri, Identity map)

Mutual space for conversation. Whereas Yuri's case demonstrates how online communities can create a community of mutual identities other than the socially imposed characteristics, Jenna's experiences in *Google Plus*, an online social media, showcases another

type of community. In Jenna's case, participants of the community still shared socially-marked

identities mainly as Asian. The core component in participants' sense of belonging in this

community was the literacy act called "commenting" or "conversation," as this conversational

writing facilitated youths' sharing of personal identities.

Jenna joined *Google Plus* in 2012 and has slowly expanded her friendship circle mainly

through her friend Amy's network. Amy lived in Washington D.C., and had diverse Asian

groups of students in her school district many of whom were ethnic Chinese, Vietnamese or

other Asian ethnics. Jenna said that initially, she felt uncomfortable sharing her status with new

friends in *Google Plus* and stayed silent for some time without updating her status or

commenting on others' posts. Gradually, however, she noticed that Amy and her friends shared

similar interests and conflicts as hers including boredom of school work, interest in fashion

trends, bicultural/bilingual backgrounds, and distress about Asian stereotypes. Then, she

described how the "conversation" started to happen through "commenting":

> I just was bored and I commented once, and then I just wanted to comment more. Like **if
> you comment on them, it's like a conversation. It's kind of like chatting**. You
> comment, it's not really comment, you don't call them comments. Like a conversation,
> because she [Amy] posts, and one person, like, comments, and then from there, and it's
> just interesting. People keep commenting, but then in the end, it's like a conversation,
> because you should comment on what the person says for them. So it's a conversation,
> like a lot of people reply-ish to mine or something. When you do *Google Plus*, everybody
> can kind of join the conversation. (Jenna, Interview, author emphasis)

The feeling of excitement was observed while Jenna was explaining how the "conversation" in

Google Plus began through a series of commenting practices. She seemed even relieved to

discover that her *Google Plus* Asian friends had many other identities beyond the Asian stereotypes:

> Like here [in the physical context], Asians are [thought of as] really nerdy and everything, But there [in the virtual context], it seems like they're really loud and um, troublemakers because they're always getting in trouble. Like, people – they say that they got in trouble and got detention and everything, and all of them are really kind of misbehaving, but they're also really smart at the same time. **They're like nerds**, but they're like, outgoing and stuff. **They're not nerds** I guess. (Jenna, Interview, author emphasis)

This excerpt describes how Asian stereotypes were being counter-narrated by the very stereotypically "smart" but "misbehaving" Asian students who, according to Jenna, were like "nerds" but "not nerds." The recognition of this complexity enriched Jenna's sense of being an Asian student in U.S. society and may help her reconcile with her own Asian identity.

Overall, Jenna felt that she was able to express her identities in a more balanced way in *Google Plus* than either at home or in school:

> My real self. It is like outside of home, and in school, I'm quiet and serious, I'm occasionally funny, and I can be occasionally loud too. So I'm not totally an outcast and quiet. And then on my offline self, just at home and stuff, I'm kind of crazy, and mean. And then on the online, I'm kind of like, a mix of those because I can be sarcastic, and then I'm kind of timid because I don't know these people. So I don't exactly say everything, but I do say a lot of it; like at home, I just say whatever I want, and at school I don't say like anything. And then, um online, I say like kind of it, and then I kind of don't. So it's like half and half. (Jenna, Interview)

The networked space, free of the limitations and pressures of physical immediacy as in the offline social relationship, may help people who are not outgoing in public feel liberated to express more about themselves through the online medium.

As shown above, Yuri and Jenna experienced online community in a different way than they would in their offline space. Yuri felt a stronger sense of belonging in certain online communities when she recognized that participants bonded over shared interests rather than other involuntary identities. Jenna, while still hesitant to fully connect with others in her online community, found a new way of relating to others through "conversation," the mutual commenting practice. Although at school, she "feel[s] kind of uncomfortable, and like there's nobody to relate to" and often felt very different from when she was at home, she could express herself in *Google Plus* in a hybrid mode between self at home and in school. Whereas Yuri's online activities helped Yuri focus on other identities than Asian, Jenna's conversation in the online community helped her understand what it means to be Asian in a richer and resilient way.

Resistance: Negotiation of Marked Identity

The previous section highlighted that youths engaged with new media the most when it was relevant for learning and socialization. In this section, I examine how youths resist social identity markers with new media literacy practices through case studies of Yuri and Jenna. Sometimes, youth chose not to reveal her race and ethnicity in online communities to build relationships without the risk of projecting Asian stereotypes. At other times, however, youth actively embraced their race and ethnicity to advocate them by educating the local community about the "correct" context of such marked identities.

Making identity invisible. A person's identity is often assumed based on one's physical attributes. Examples of such "anchored" identity factors over which one has little control include

race, ethnicity, gender, and age (Merchant, 2006). These visible markers may at times

disadvantage youths in social situations, particularly if the social meaning of the marker is a

status of less power. Obviously, there were constraints and conflicts associated with these

identity markers – citizenship status, race, ethnicity – as seen in chapter 4.

However, youths managed ways to alleviate the impact of social labels. For example,

Yuri chose not to share her ethic/racial identities with other community members in *Tumblr* and

Shelfari, two online communities she actively participated in. Instead of her photo, she used a

generic image of nature as her profile picture. She liked the sites because people cared more

about their shared preference for reading a certain genre than other identities:

> I really like the Internet because, well, firstly there's a big thing for nerds there, like nerds
>
> who are awkward in real life situations, and then like you can bond over things that you
>
> can't do with people in real life. And secondly, **on the Internet, you can't, people can't**
>
> **see your face so, they don't necessarily judge you on being Asian**. Like, you don't
>
> have to say, 'oh, by the way, I'm Asian' because that's like what you're doing every time
>
> you meet someone. You're like [saying], 'I'm Asian. Hi, I'm Yuri, I'm Asian.' That's
>
> like the first thing you tell someone, because they look at your face, and they're like, oh,
>
> you Asian. **But on the Internet, you can just be yourself and not mention your Asian-**
>
> **ness until like later, when they actually know you instead of your stereotype**. (Yuri,
>
> Interview, author emphasis)

Yuri also spoke of the liberating aspect of identity work in online communities with regard to

age:

> On *Tumblr*, I made this one friend, her name is Julie [pseudonym], she's a junior. Oh,
>
> what I also like about the Internet is that age isn't necessarily as big of a factor because

um, in middle school and high school, it's like, 'oh, I'm a whole year older than you, oh my gosh, I'm a grade older than you, bow down!' But then on the Internet, you don't necessarily have to say your age. It's just, are you speaking like an adult, do you seem mature, is what you're saying intelligent. (Yuri, Interview)

By making her physical identity invisible, ironically Yuri felt that she was seen more as a whole person than when she was visible. The later discovery of one's age, race, and ethnicity did not compromise the quality of relationship and the level of community engagement already established. The affordance of choice of whether to share certain identities or not means that minority youth may not need to rigorously negotiate people's unfounded assumptions about them. Among many reasons that drew Yuri to Internet communities, she placed at the top of the list the greater agency in the space, free from previously-ascribed identity labels. She said, "it's more like people are judging you on what you actually are than what it seems like."

Embracing visible identity. Another way of negotiating marked identities was to actively advocate against their misrepresentation. Youths in this context directly dealt with their racial and ethnic identities to educate the local community; they corrected the misrepresented ethnic history or misguiding racial stereotypes. In their local, physical context, youths cannot hide their race and ethnicity as they could in online space. Moreover, the transnational context adds more prominence to youths' ethnicity because the media, such as Youtube videos and transnational TV, has made one's ethnic culture an essential part of daily life. For example, the sensational *Gangnam style* syndrome in 2012, a music video of a Korean singer *Psy*, swept the global village with its unique video footage, lyrics and dance moves. Many people in St. Louis made it a topic in conversations, more so if one was Korean. The new media has replenished Korean ethnicity in a small city in a dramatically different way from the traditional ethnic

replenishment described in the book *Replenished ethnicity* by Jiménez (2010). Although without much influx of physical immigrants as in the Mexican immigration, today's Korean ethnics are provided with ongoing ethnic materials through the transnational media. Children in Korean (im)migrant households are exposed to Korean culture and language more easily than in the past with the help of these media forms and content.

The influence of transnational media on youths' ethnic identity has been continuously observed during my entire study. Many of the previous chapters examined how transnational new media connected people, events, culture, and politics of home country over distances. Youths were informed of the current major events in Korea by watching transnational TV news, learned Korean history through historical documentaries and TV dramas. They enjoyed Korean cultural trend through diverse media. In order to learn K-pop, for example, Jenna searched and memorized lyrics of many songs by Korean artists. Yuri discussed with her parents and grandparents in Korea over the phone the 2013 presidential election in Korea. Minkyung posted many video clips in her *Facebook* about the most famous comedy shows and music videos of Korea. Watching *Running Man*, a Korean reality-variety show has become a Sunday routine for Janice's family. For these youths, the ethnic replenishment was through engagement with transnational new media rather than the actual contact with people from Korea. The resources available in new media, in turn, provided youths with opportunities to reposition themselves in their local community when they encountered misrepresented ethnicity, as the following stories of Yuri and Jenna exemplifies.

Correcting misrepresented ethnicity. Although Yuri usually distanced herself from her ethnic identity which she felt as an ethnic bind, Yuri consciously embraced her ethnicity at times.

She said whenever opportunities were available, she tried to correct the misrepresentation of

Korean history in her local context. She spoke of an episode in her high school history class:

> In history class, we were learning about the Far East, so it's like 'Far East that will
>
> include Korea, right?' But he [history teacher] was like, 'no we are not learning about
>
> Korea. Korea was just taken over by all those countries. And I was like, 'what?' And he's
>
> like, 'we're just learning about China and Japan, because Korea is like an extension of
>
> China." And I was 'what?' and I was like, 'no, you did not just say that, I know, there's a
>
> lot of ignorance, I think, about Korea.' So I think he could tell that I got really offended
>
> and he was like, 'here you could do an extra credit project on why Korean history should
>
> be taught.' So I made a really long *Prezi*. (Yuri, Interview)

Yuri felt very "bothered" because it was her "history" teacher who was leading the class with a

wrong, distorted historical commentary that Korea has been subordinate to China. Instantly,

Yuri's Korean identity came forward in response to such misconception. With the teacher's

suggestion, Yuri willingly created a Prezi to correct his conception. She continued her efforts,

mostly as a team with her other Korean friends:

> So every opportunity we got, we'd like present on Korean history and Korean culture,
>
> like, if we are learning about World War II, we were talking about Korea's role in World
>
> War II and when Japan occupied. And then I think our hope for that was to stop that
>
> ignorance that made people say these comments that really hurt. (Yuri, Interview)

Her strong advocacy against people's misconception about Korea led her to do extensive

research on Korean history and share different perspectives that were not available in her local

community. The multimedia *Prezi* presentation which Yuri shared with me (Figure 5-4) was

composed of historical facts, diverse perspectives, and her argument about why the history class

should include Korea in the Far East Asia unit. Using *Prezi*, the presentation moved back and forth on each click between typed texts and photo images, zooming to different frames depending on the focus of the presentation at the moment. Internet resources and the media presentation format helped her learn, form, and share new perspectives on Korean history with her local community. Most importantly, in this process of research and presentation Yuri purposefully identified and presented herself as Korean although other times, she intentionally distanced herself from her ethnicity.

Figure 5- 4: Yuri's *Prezi* "Korean history and its importance"

Although different in purpose, Jenna had a similar experience of sharing her ethnic identity with a specific audience. After watching a movie about Gwangju Massacre in 1980 by the military government to suppress people's demand for democracy in Korea, Jenna posted two

photo images and a short reflection in *Google Plus* (Figure 5-5). According to my observation as a researcher at her [our] home, the movie was the initial reason for her inquiry about this historical incident in Korea. Next, *Wikipedia* provided her with detailed historical facts and diverse perspectives about the massacre and democratization in Korea. Finally the conversation with her parents encouraged her to think more critically about Korean history as well as democracy itself. During this process, Jenna reworked the meaning of democracy as well as her ethnic identity, which she shared in her online community. Her updated ethnic awareness took place with media engagement, watching a Korean movie transnationally, and researching and sharing online. The transnational media played an essential role in learning about Korea and (re)shaping her ethnic identity.

Figure 5- 5: Jenna's *Google Plus* Post about Gwangju Massacre

The way both Yuri and Jenna reconstructed their Korean ethnicity informs that the process was not directed by their homeland or any local leaders of an official Korean community. Rather, it occurred in a decentralized way in which transnational digital media played a critical role, similar to the study of Panagakos (2003) which showcased how Greek migrants in Canada reasserted their ethnic identity by communicating through ethnic online communities (e.g., downloading Greek music). Youths in my study communicated the process of their identity work through individualized inquiry and access to the resources and perspectives in new media space.

Critiquing racial stereotypes. Youths also advocated against racial stereotypes. In her seventh grade social studies class, Jenna chose the topic of Asian stereotypes for her project. She said it was the first time in middle school that she became aware that there were stereotypes about Asians. When she started to look into what they were, she felt that a lot of them were not true, at least for her. After research on the Internet, she put together information and argument in a Power Point presentation (Figure 5-6). In an informal conversation, Jenna explained how she did present in the classroom on the topic. She started with how stereotypes misrepresent people. For her argument, she went over popular Asian stereotypes. Then, she argued how they – even seemingly positive stereotypes (e.g., model minority) – might be incorrect and detrimental. She concluded that instead of relying on stereotypes, people should treat each other as unique individuals. She expressed that the purpose of this presentation was to correct people's notion of Asian stereotypes and to educate them to be explicitly aware of the issue.

Figure 5- 6: Selected Slides from Jenna's "Stereotypes" Power Point
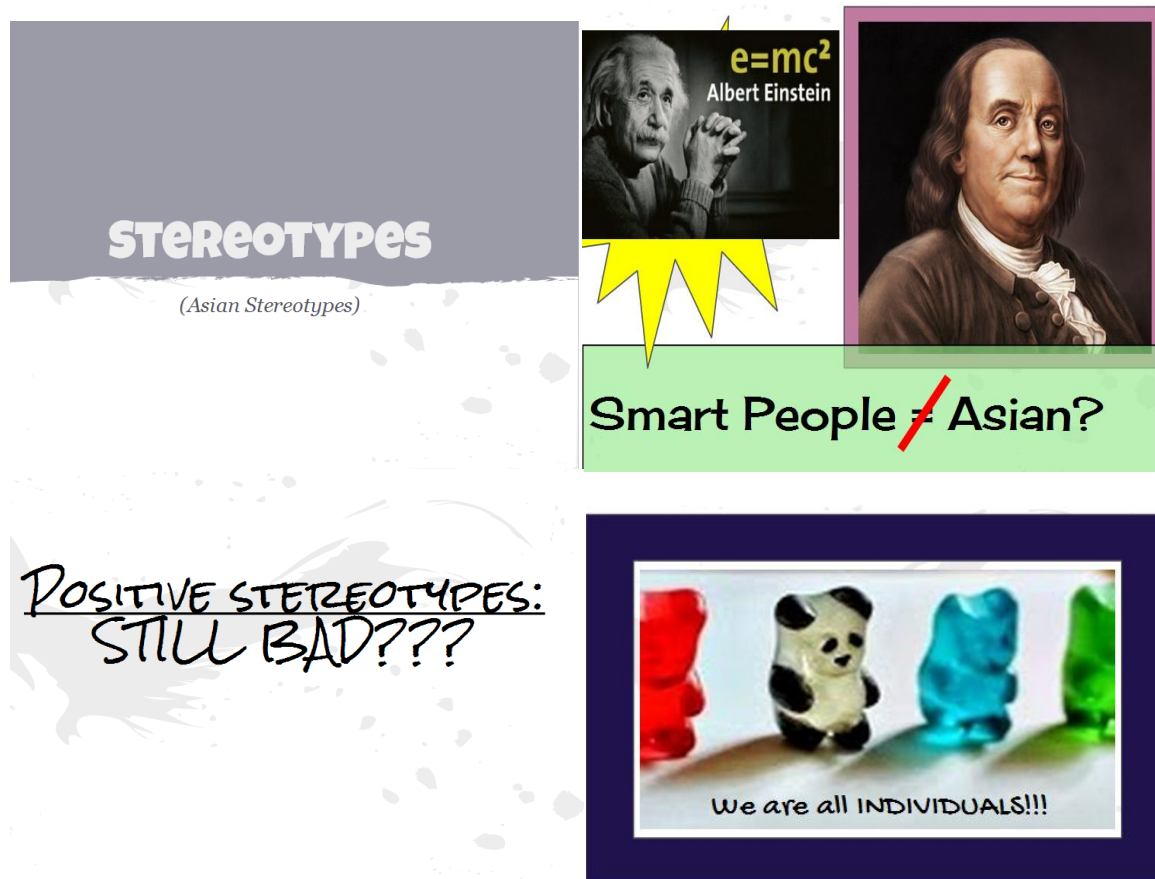
The final words in Jenna's last Power Point slide, "We are all individuals" echoed Yuri's argument that "there are no dividing lines among humans." In her favorite TV show called *Dr. Who*, she said that she also found the same message that she wanted to share. Pointing out the analogy between the human world and the universe of aliens in the show, she argued how arbitrary the racial division is:

Yuri: Some people are like, racist, because they're like, some races are better than others but if the aliens come, it's just humans are better than others. So then, I was thinking that *Dr. Who*, because there are aliens in it, it's not about this race is better than this race, it's that humans are amazing and other alien races are amazing [too]. And so that's sort of

drawing a parallel between aliens and people, and like races… There are just people.

That's what I want to believe, that's like my religion.

Sujin: but people like to make boundaries, distinctions between things as you said.

Yuri: But I don't think that is true. **It's just a spectrum, everything is a spectrum. Everything**. There is a spectrum of like, belief, and race, and where you are and I think you can be, like any on that plane. But, and I think *Dr. Who* is important because it shows all sorts of people and yet, they are all so very human – we have our flaws, we have our strengths, but we're all human. (Yuri, Interview, author emphasis)

In one episode of *Dr. Who*, which I started watching to better understand Yuri's perspective, I found the same line of message as Yuri's. She confirmed in the second interview that this quote from the show was the gist of the entire series of *Dr. Who*, the hope to treat each other as equal human beings without categorizing and dividing:

Doctor: I'm just Doctor.

Rose: Where are you from?

Doctor: Why does it matter?

Rose: Tell me who you are.

Doctor: This is who I am. Right here, now. All right, all that counts is here and now. And this is me. (Transcript from a *Dr. Who* episode)

Across and beyond borders. The poem by Parker (1990), "For the white person who wants to know how to be my friend, the first thing you do is to forget that I'm Black. Second, you must never forget that I'm Black" resonates with youths' perspective. My participants expressed the same need to be understood both in (correct) contexts – ethnic and racial – and beyond boundaries – just as humans. The spectrum of their identity work was wide and built on

their lived experiences. Managing marked identities was challenging especially because of the status implicated in them. However, they created and joined communities where they could socialize beyond the limiting impact of physically inscribed identities. At other times, they voluntarily educated the audience. In this negotiation process, youths were active researchers, opinion holders, and educators who utilized the resources and tools of new media to their benefit.

Representation of Identities

Drawing on literacy artifacts and personal reflection of the core participants, this section looks at youths' representation of identities in and through new media. Their literacy practice included not only written texts, but also a wide range of literacy modes such as images, links, symbols, sounds, and videos. The hybridization of tools and resources into a creative practice characterized youths' new media literacy. Given that literacy is a core identity work, it is a process of authoring selves in which they not only try to understand but also actively design and curate multiple aspects of who they are.

In the authoring process, *choice* was the key to unlock youths' agency in articulating their identity(ies). Co-presence of other modes than the written language enabled youths to become a *designer* of meaning to fit the context, such as who they were talking to (audience), what they were writing about (topic), and which medium they were using (tool/mode). Due to their transnational migrant status, youths had a wider range of choice. They communicated with diverse audiences over a variety of topics including their home country's popular culture as well as issues in their local community. The linguistic tool was not limited to English and their home language but included multiple forms. The following cases demonstrate how they coordinated those diverse choices in ways they thought relevant for the given context.

Diverse purposes for different audiences. Youths' choice of topics was mainly dependent on who the audience was. The relationship with the audience determined the purpose of media engagement. First, youths communicated transnationally with their close friends and family near and far to maintain otherwise lost and forgotten relationships. For instance, Jenna continued her friendship with Amy in Korea through *Google Plus.* In turn, Amy sustained her relationship with friends in the U.S. and had opportunities to share her 'American' identity and cultural orientations. Locally, youths presented various projects for teachers and classmates, and these local audience/readers were one of the main respondents for youths' literacy practices. Presentations by Yuri and Jenna about Korean history and racial stereotypes were a few among many examples. Youths also participated in online communities to share personal interests with diverse audiences. Yuri's activities in *Tumblr* and *Shefari*, Jenna's conversation in *Google Plus*, and Minkyung's posts in *Facebook* connected them to people of diverse backgrounds.

Creativity and fun were other motivations of youths' literacy practices. Jenna created videos for school assignments initially, but later it was mainly for fun to make videos. Occasionally, these personal videos developed into gifts for family and friends. Skills developed from school work were transferred in personal video creation. From updating status and commenting on postings to sharing school work and creating videos, youths engaged with various literacy forms for diverse audiences.

Diverse modes. Depending on the audience, time/space consideration, and purpose, youths used different linguistic modes for communication including emails, text messages (e.g., *Kakaotalk*, mobile phone texting), status update in Internet community, *Power Point*, *Prezi*, or video. Janice mainly used emails to communicate with her local friends, to ask questions about class assignments, to arrange meetings, or just to chat. Janice particularly enjoyed the chat-like

function of email. She spoke of an episode that she exchanged more than 100 emails within a

few hours with her school friend to discuss their assignment. Jenna also preferred email "chatting"

because emailing gave her time to think through and respond to the topic more thoughtfully than

in the real time conversation.

Posting on Internet blogs and communities was another important way for youth to share

their interests and opinions. Yuri actively participated in a book group in *Shelfari* called

Hogwarts School through discussions about the book *Harry Potter* and related topics. This

community was running a virtual *Hogwarts school* for members whose love for *Harry Potter*

story was the main affiliation point. The grouping within the "school," she said, followed a

similar sorting system in the book *Harry Porter* to put people together in groups with similar

personality traits. The only difference was that they used "the sorting hat house quiz" instead of

the actual sorting hat. She described how she felt connected to people in the group she was sorted

to:

> I got put in the "Ravenclaw" house, and I think of myself as a Ravenclaw because I love
>
> knowledge. I like, I love learning. I love all those things and I connect really well to
>
> people who are also interested in those things. Like I can talk about *Dr. Who* all day with
>
> those people. And so I feel like I belong in Ravenclaw. (Yuri, Interview)

Again for Yuri what was important in her sense of belonging was associating with people

pursuing similar interests rather than having the same race or ethnicity.

Minkyung found *Facebook* helpful to connect with people in Korea and new friends in

the U.S.by sharing her status as well as various links (see Figure 5-7). She shifted across a

multitude of topics and modes to display her interests of the moment. Notably, she engaged with

the indirect way of sharing her interests through linking to photo images, video clips and writings

of others, although at times she added her own short reflection. In these linked posts, Minkyung

expressed her various identities: linguistic identity through code-switching and mixing, and

ethnic, cultural identity by engaging in various Korean topics of current and traditional events.

Figure 5- 7: Minkyung's *Facebook* Status Examples
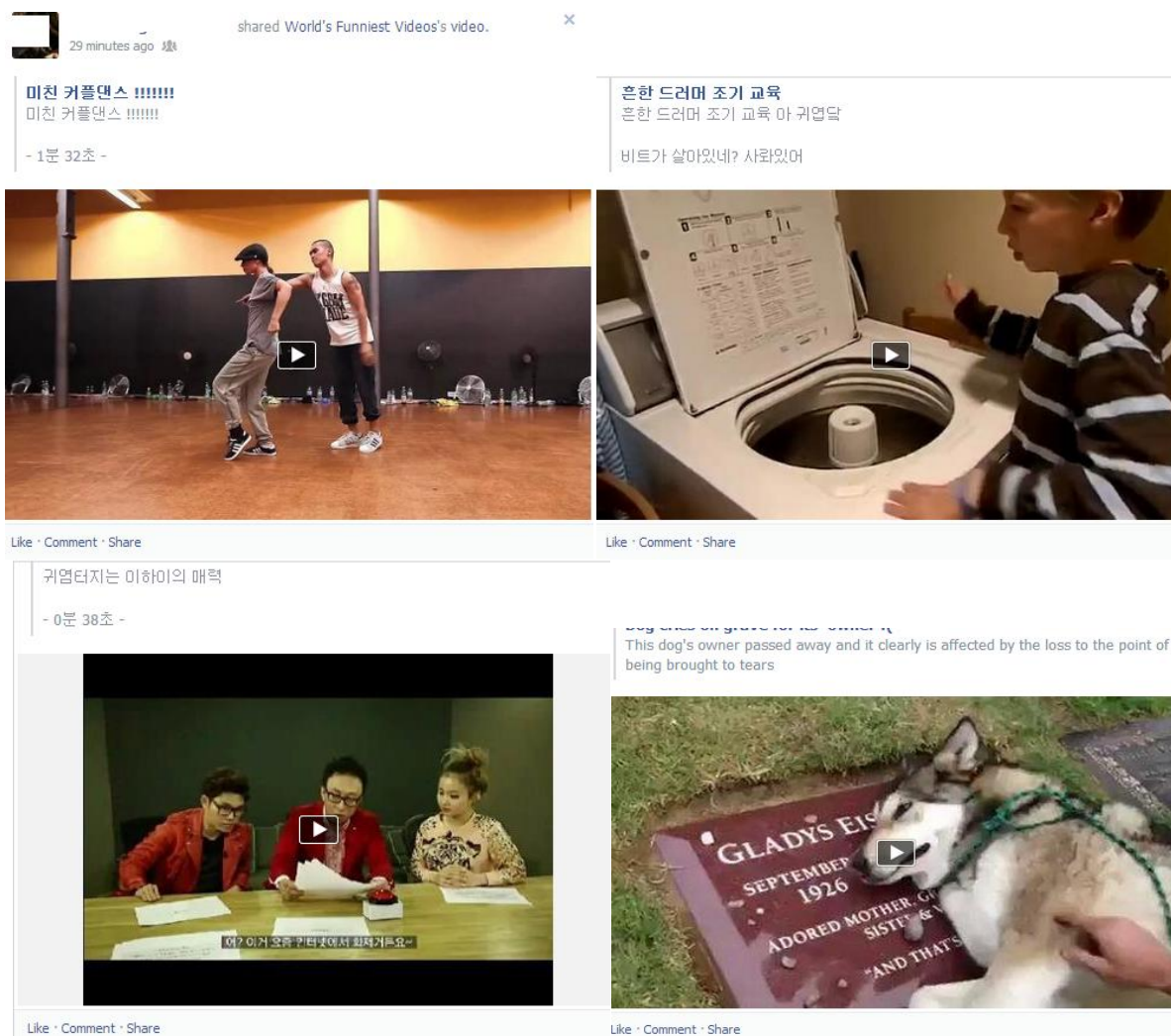
Minkyung frequently posted about Korean pop culture and history for which she used only

Korean language. In other posts, she used English for her English-using audiences, or used

Korean and English translation back-to-back for both language users. In one post, she shared a

captured movie scene with a wrong Korean subtitle which created a funny context (Figure 5-8).

Although the original meaning of the word "save" in the movie was to rescue someone from

danger, it was mistranslated into Korean as its other meaning "reserve/store" as in the phrase "save money." So the Korean subtitle, "아내를 저장하지 못했습니다" literally meant "I could not store my wife." However, the humor was only for those who could understand both languages (Korean and English) and the specific usage of the word, "save." She inserted emoticons above the shared photo, composed of Korean consonants (ㅋ) "ㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋ 앜ㅋㅋㅋㅋ" denoting 'big laughter.' Obviously with this post, Minkyung targeted Korean-English bilinguals like herself, demonstrating her affiliation with bilinguals rather than Korean or English monolinguals in the context of this post.

Figure 5- 8: Minkyung's Post for Korean-English Bilinguals

In another post (Figure 5-9) which targeted her Korean audience, she shared a historical issue between Korea and Japan. It was about Korean "comfort women" who were forcibly exploited in Japanese military as sex slaves in the World War II (Figure 5-9). She posted a short animation movie with the written narrative above the video. Both the video and narrative were in Korean without English translation/ subtitle. Although she did not add to this post any explicit

reflection of her own, she delivered the weightiness of this unresolved issue to her Korean friends through a powerful video and accompanying narrative.

Figure 5- 9: Minkyung's Post about "Comfort Women"

우리집은 몹시 가난했다. 12살,나 역시 돈을 벌어야 했다. 다행히 일본공장에 취직이 되어 예쁘게 단장하고 사진을 찍곤 했다. 그리고 우리를 기다리던 트럭에 탔다.

그 곳엔 공장대신 나무로 지은 집이 있었다.

그 곳의 이름은 위안소.

일본군인들은 길게 줄을 섰고, 나는 인간이 아니었다.
하루에 적게는 30명, 많게는 70명 밥도 제대로 못 먹고 쉬지도 못하고 생리중에도 그들을 받아야 했다.

요구를 거부하면 매질과 살해를 저질렀다.

처음엔 무서웠고, 조금 지나니 고통스러우며, 나중에는 살아 있다는것이 악몽이었다.

— 나는 인간이 아니었다.

숫자도 헤아릴 수 없고 토요일 일요일에는 말도 못해
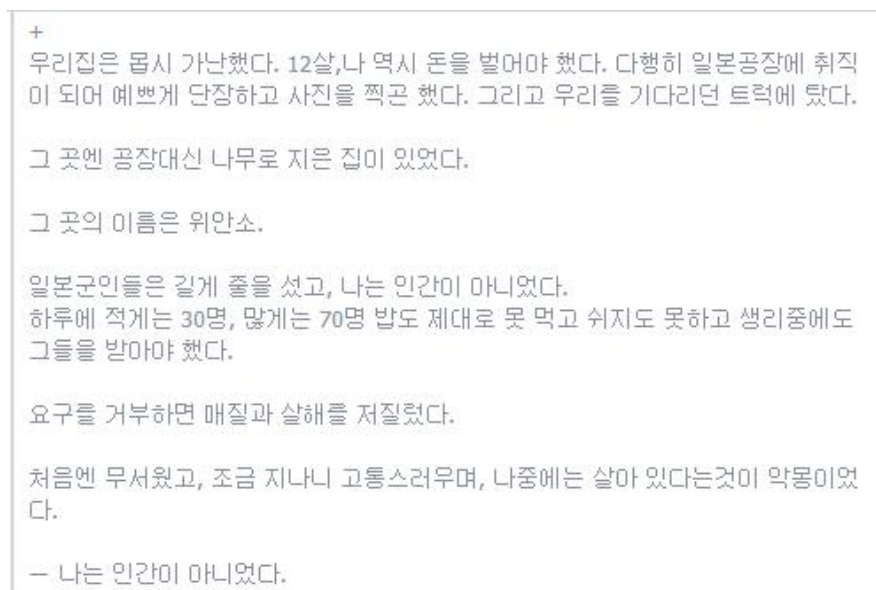
"My family was very poor. At age 12, I also had to earn money. Fortunately, I heard that Japanese factory was hiring people like me. So I made myself pretty and took pictures. Finally, the truck we were waiting for picked us up. The place, however, was not a factory, but a house built of wood. The name of the place was "comfort house." The Japanese military waited in a long line, and I was not human anymore. With 30 soldiers

at the minimum up to 70 every day, I had to do it, without eating properly, without rest,

and even in my period. If we refused the request, we were beaten or killed. At first, I was

scared, soon it was too painful. Later, life was just a nightmare. We were not human."

(Author translation of the narrative)

In *Facebook* posts, Minkyung did not share much of her own perspectives except for short

descriptions and reflections. However, she articulated herself by establishing an intertexual space

where meanings were mainly embedded in other-created texts, images, and gestures. Thus, in her

posts, the meaning was less finite but left room for diverse interpretations by readers/audience.

Her main role was to choose a topic of her interest, coordinate selected linguistic modes, and let

the audience participate in making their own meanings.

Youths' use of multimodality to craft meaning indicates that written language, a narrow

version of literacy, is not a complete bearer of meaning by itself (Kress, 2003). When other

modes are available, "choice" matters in literacy practices: which mode to use for whom, to what

end. The audience becomes important in this choice because meaning is not established only in

the writer's literacy act, but is co-created between the writer and the reader/audience through

"conversation" (e.g., commenting on *Google Plus, Facebook*). The availability of diverse modes

helped youths agentically select the initial format of writing from a toolbox composed of not

only the language in its traditional meaning, but also audiovisuals (speech, color, music, image,

gesture) and embedded links. The juxtaposition of different text forms then facilitated an

interactive space where meaning was made through the connection among the author, readers,

and networked texts. Specifically, embedded links enabled readers to jump beyond the current

text and instantly link to other text(s) if wished. Drawing on this new media hypertextuality and

multimodal intertextuality, youths in the new media third space creatively blended and

coordinated various modes to write and communicate their identities.

VI. Authoring, Performing, and Curating Self(ves)

As shown in the previous chapter, the availability of multimodal literacy tools increased youths' agency in meaning making across contexts. Especially noticeable was their flexible choice and combination of modes for different audiences. This chapter highlights such choice by youths, drawing on one core participant's literacy practices. The first section of this chapter describes an example of Jenna's engagement in *Google Plus*; here I want to showcase how the multimodal conversation between Jenna and her friends co-constructed Jenna's emergent identity as an artist. The second section focuses on Jenna's video production process to illustrate how she performed her identity(ies) through which she maximized her agency as a designer/curator of 'self' for the audience. Jenna's meaning-making process both in solo and joint will be examined in two examples as a way of authoring and performing identities through multimodal literacy practices.

Co-authoring Identities through Multimodal Mutual Literacy

Through the analysis of Jenna's *Google Plus* activity, I aim to demonstrate that her identity construction in an online community was a mutual work among the youth and her audience. Another key point is how they engaged in Jenna's identity work through multimodal writing. To briefly summarize the first point, Jenna's identity as a drawer/artist was initiated by her drawing of a turtle; this drawing was established as the first reference point in her friend circle and evolved into her other drawings over five months; a continued conversation/story occurred about Jenna's drawings; in this process, Jenna's identity was enacted as a talented drawer/artist, but the topic and story of her drawings were co-written by the audience who "read" Jenna's posts, "wrote" feedback, and "requested" Jenna to draw on a certain topic. In other words, the "conversation" – the commenting practice in *Google Plus* – and the multimodality

played a critical role in establishing Jenna's identity. Multimodality was not just the complementary medium for the traditional written text, but the main conveyer of meaning, which included Jenna's drawings, emoticons, abbreviations, and different languages (e.g., Korean, English, Chinese).

Beginning "Conversation" in *Google Plus*

According to Jenna, her initial activity in *Google Plus* was dormant because she felt unfamiliar with the space and people she met there. She joined *Google Plus* in May, 2012 and the number of posts in 2012 was only two which though increased to 38 in 2013. With little previous personal relationship, she did not feel comfortable sharing her status with new online friends. For a while, she said, she just observed what people posted and how they responded to each other. After realizing that communication in the space was benign to each other and interesting, she finally broke the silence and started joining the "conversation:"

> Then [initially], I really didn't feel like I belonged. But then sometimes they would **talk** to me a little bit, and I felt closer to these two people because they **talked** to me the most…So like now, I feel closer to them…. They're more actually humorous than me, so like, we just **say** a lot of jokes and random stuff. You're not actually sharing personal, exactly totally personal stuff, but like, I think that I can kind of share more of my real side, like my funny kind of cute side, and at school, I'm like, just kind of serious. (Jenna, Interview, author emphasis)

Interestingly, Jenna framed the writing activity in *Google Plus* as "conversation." She used the words, "talk" and "say" to describe the posting of her status and making comments to others' posts. Later in an interview about her activity in *Google plus*, Jenna referred to such writing practices as "conversation" instead of "commenting." The following example demonstrates how

Jenna *co-authored* her identity with her friends based on this mutual writing practice in social

media.

Co-authoring Jenna's Identity as "Drawer/Artist"

It all started with Jenna's drawing of a turtle in January, 2013 (Figure 6-1) about which

many of her friends commented. In a post titled "my ugly sketches of turtles," Jenna specifically

addressed one of her friends called B[3], "are you happy now B?" with an emoticon ":P" as a

teasing gesture (sticking the tongue out). None of Jenna's posts in *Google Plus* gave me a hint

about why she asked B this question. However, from the fact that B used a turtle drawing as his

profile image (see Figure 6-1), perhaps they had some conversation on the profile in B's wall

which I could not follow due to the audience restriction (e.g., I cannot see the posts of a person

who is not my "friend").

In the post and comments, several things drew my attention. First, both the post and

comments were written in a multimodal format which combined photos, emoticons, and texts

(abbreviated and full words). Second, the status was written as if it were a dialogue between

Jenna and B. However, other friends also commented on this post, which then developed into a

series of group conversations over several months. Finally, in this first post of a turtle drawing,

Jenna presented herself to the audience/reader in a "modest" tone as a drawer/artist by describing

her drawings as "ugly." This initial positioning as a modest artist, however, elicited responses

from her friends like how nice the drawing was (see Table 6-1).

---

[3] In this section, Jenna's *Google Plus* friends will be referred to as their initial.

Figure 6- 1: Jenna's Turtle Post 1 / B's Profile Image
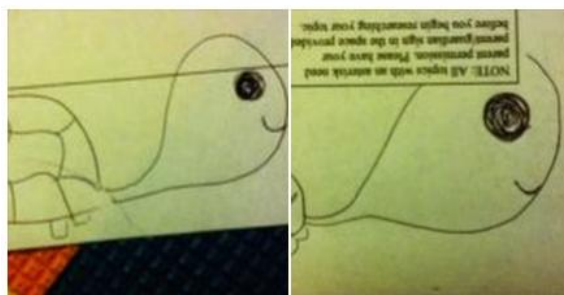
Table 6- 1 A Portion of Comments on Jenna's Turtle Post

Original Comments (conversation) for the Post	Annotated Version Black: comments transcribed Green: linguistic mode Red: speech/writing tone
R: Ohh lol. The first one's not that bad.	R: Ohh lol [laugh out loud] The first one is not that bad. *abbreviation*: amused
J(enna): well, I like the second one better, cos it has a bigger head~ ^^	J: well, I like the second one better, because it has a bigger head ~ ^^ [smile] *emoticon/ abbreviation*
B: the first one is pretty good :P	B: the first one is pretty good :P [tongue sticking out] *emoticon(special code with capital letter)*: complimenting, teasing
J: hmph.. I like the 2nd one still ~	J; hmmm.. I like the second one still~

B: It looks more 3D than the other one… which is cool ^‿^	B: It looks more three dimensional than the other one… which is cool ^‿^ [smiley face] *emoticon(special codes)*: acknowledging
J: I just like its head. Its BIIIG~ ^ㅈ^	J: I just like its head. It's very big~ ^ㅈ^ [smiley face with a Korean consonant ㅈ to describe a nose in the smiley face] *emoticon(special code with Korean letter/ capital letter)*: humorous, emphatic
B: :DDDDDDDDDDD Big head, Big (cute) eyes, Good proportion, curvy smile = ADORABLY AWKWARD TURTOE. Don't forget longish neck.	B: :DDDDDDDDDDDDD [a big and long span of laughter] Big head, Big (cute) eyes, Good proportion, curvy smile, meaning adorably awkward turtle. Don't forget long neck. *emoticon (special code with capital leter)/ abbreviation*: emphatic, acknowledging
J: hahaha!! Yes (:P)	J: hahaha!! Yes (:P) [smiley face] *emoticon*: amused
A: It's ADORBS	A: It's adorable *abbreviation*: acknowledging
J: thx~	J: thanks~ *abbreviation*: thankful

Instead of making a one-time individual comment and leaving the conversation, seven people continued the conversation comprised of 70 comments. Using many linguistic forms in this single post, participants compensated for the limitation of online communication, that is, the lack

of paralinguistic assistance available in the physical setting. Drawing on her bilingual ability, for example, Jenna frequently mixed Korean and English letters with symbols to create emoticons (e.g., ^ㅈ^ , :P). Partipants used emoticons (:DDDDDDDD), abbreviations (e.g., ADORBS, thx), and capital letters (e.g., BIIIG meaning 'really big') to denote the tonal change (e.g., amused, humorous, emphatic, thankful, acknowledging, teasing), simulating a physical conversation in a virtual space. The main focus of the conversation was how well Jenna drew the turtle, a starting moment in which the identity of Jenna as an artist was established by conversation participants. A few days later, Jenna again posted several photos of her drawing, one titled "turtle" and the other "more random drawings" (Figure 6-2).

Figure 6- 2: Jenna's Turtle Post 2
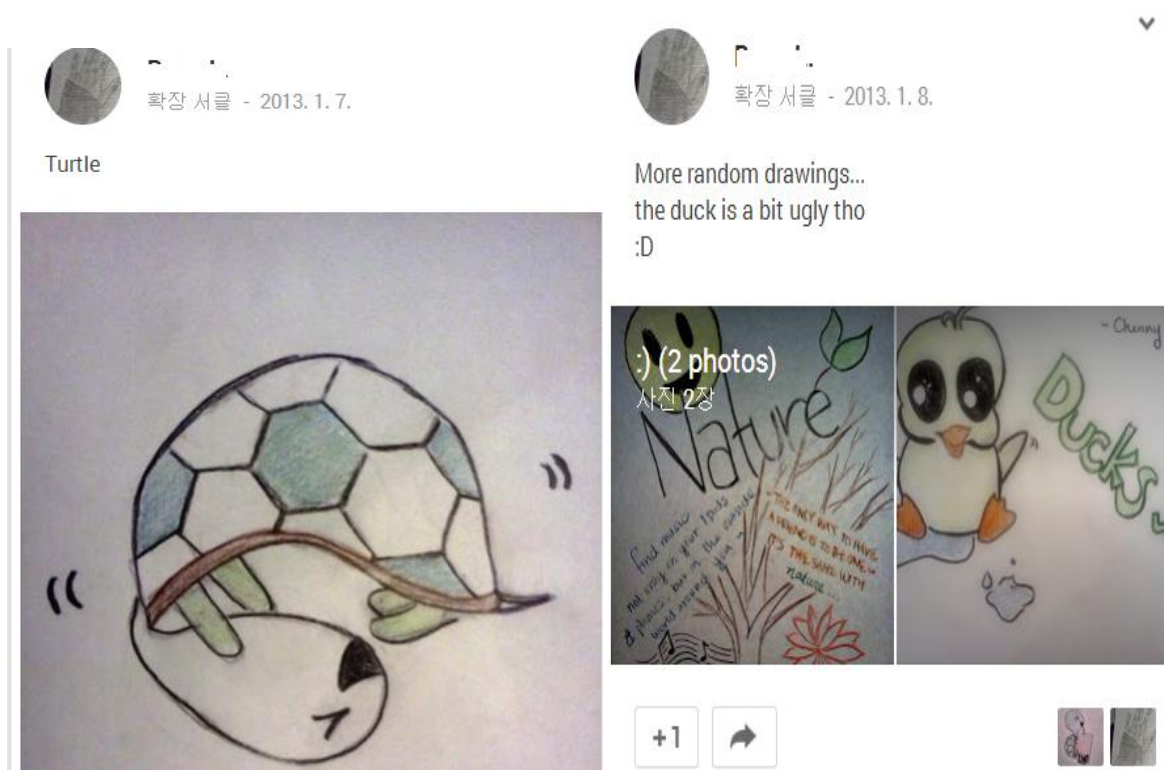
Thirty-eight comments were attached to the first post, starting with B's comment that "Lol Imma [laugh out loud, I'm going to] name it the soccer ball turtle :D." Jenna and B continued a playful conversation during which B praised her drawing skill and Jenna gladly accepted the compliment.

In the middle of this conversation, B asked Jenna if he could repost the drawing in his wall since his other friend O asked for it. Then, Jenna commented she already had included O in her friend circle as an acknowledgement of their extended friendship. A few more friends joined the conversation and gave Jenna compliments on her drawing. Amy and Soo, both of whom used to be Jenna's closest friends in elementary school and now live in Korea, reaffirmed how good Jenna has been in drawing (Table 6-2).

Table 6- 2: Turtle Post 2

Original Comments	Annotated Comments
A(my): AHHHHHH THE PENGUIN IS KILLING ME/ IT'S TOOO CUTE!!! :D Jenna, ur so good. I suck at drawing. My doodles r a fail :P Btw the turtle looks like its trying to take its head out BUT IT'S CUTE so whatever. :D J: The turtle is a soccer ball turtle. It's bracing itself for the impact or whatevs. Anyways thanks~ R: I like ur drawings. The Penguins cool	A(my): Ah! The penguin is killing me. It's too cute!!! :D *capital letter/ emoticon* Jenna, you are so good. I suck at drawing. My drawings are a fail :P *abbreviation/ emoticon* By the way the turtle looks like it's trying to take its head out but it's cute so whatever. :D *abbreviation/ emoticon* J: The turtle is a soccer ball turtle. It's bracing itself for the impact or whatever. Anyways thanks~ R: I like your drawings. The Penguin is cool *Abbreviation*

The establishment of Jenna's artist identity was mutual and subtle. Jenna's friends acknowledged her drawing skills through complimentary comments. In response to such recognition, Jenna increased her posts of drawing although there was not a visible change in her

tone, for instance, from a 'modest' to 'confident' artist. Her 'modest' tone remained from her first drawings described as "*ugly* sketches," to the following ones in which she used phrases like "my *weird* little drawings/ more random drawings, the duck is a bit *ugly*/ TURTLE, it's *not very cute* this time but it's okay." However, the frequency of posting reflected the acknowledgement of her artistic skills both from others and her own self. During her most active participation in *Google Plus* between January and June in 2013, she posted 34 posts one third of which were her drawings (12 posts). Besides, Jenna willingly accepted friends' compliments (see Figure 6-3).

Figure 6- 3: Compliments on Drawing
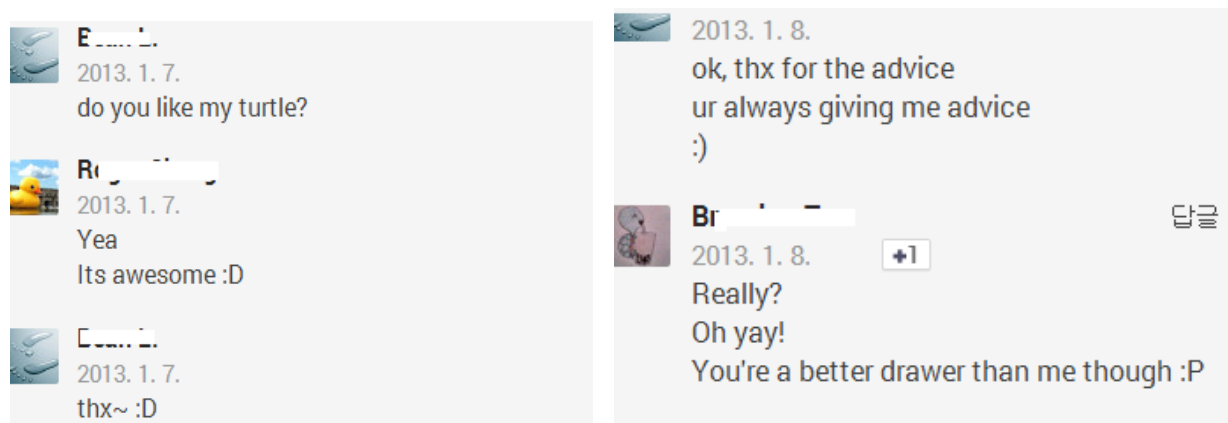
Her drawing, starting from a turtle, extended to illustrations of her daily experiences such as a funny episode during the class time (see Figure 6-4). Comments on this comic drawing of Jenna's embarrassing moment included not only compliments on the drawing, but also similar incidents experienced by other youths. For example, one friend shared a story in which he was so focusing on math homework that he later realized to his embarrassment that everyone was staring at him. Back to back in the comments, youths shared their personal stories of embarrassing moments, creating shared identities as adolescents in trouble. This way, Jenna's drawing created a space for youths to relate to each other's personal life and find similarities among them.

Figure 6- 4: Classroom Scene 1, 2, 3, 4

The construction of Jenna's artist identity took place over time through a story about "B turtle" (five months from January to June, 2013 according to my observation, see Table 6-3 for how the identity and the story of a "turtle" evolved). Jenna's subsequent posts of turtle drawings connected youths with her initial drawing (Figure 6-1) which was instantly associated with her friend B. Jenna's drawing of another turtle in May (Figure 6-5) caricaturing B's profile (a turtle happily drinking from bubble tea) was developed from a conversation in the previous post (Figure 6-2, "Turtle") for which B demanded that the turtle "should drink bubble tea" as in his profile picture.

Figure 6- 5: Jenna's Turtle Post 3

The story of a turtle evolved more; comments for this drawing led to another related post later

that day. In the comments, a friend K mentioned "AH! SO GOOD! but you forgot "the cute _O<

y"" , indicating they had a mutual reference point symbolized as _O< y. Jenna asked about what

"the cute _O< y"" meant and K reminded Jenna of her previous drawings which apparently

alluded to a girl that B liked. Then, later on the day, Jenna posted another drawing as a response

to K by tagging him and saying, "K, you mean this _O< y"" as in Figure 6-6. The drawer, Jenna,

responded to her audience's request to include a certain character in her drawing, just like many

of today's authors (books, TV shows) often incorporate the audience request into the revision of

the original story plot.

Then came the culminating moment of all these "turtle" conversations that had lasted for

five months when Jenna posted a final turtle one month later in June (Figure 6-7). In this drawing,

the turtle meets with a ducky handing a flower bouquet. While each of the turtle and ducky

appeared alone in two previous posts in May, now they were together in this final drawing to

which many teasing comments were attached. It was the ending scene of a "turtle" story initiated

by Jenna but co-written with her friends, validating a series of conversations with the turtle

reference among the participating friends.

Figure 6- 6: Jenna's Turtle Post 4

Figure 6- 7: Jenna's Turtle Post 5
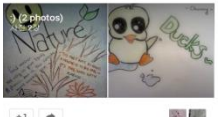
Jenna's choice of topics and format of writing in *Google Plus* was affected by the

conversation with her friends, which in turn established several mutual reference points in her

friends' circle. Then, the audience/readers/co-authors encouraged Jenna to specifically draw on

her artistic skills to refer to those topics, to which Jenna responded with one drawing after

another. At times, Jenna's drawing elicited personal stories from friends, by which they identified similarities and differences across their adolescent lives such as school work, study habits, hobbies, personal interests, social issues, educational systems in Korea and the U.S., and different languages (e.g., emoticon using Korean alphabet). Rather than written narratives, youths communicated through images of drawings and short comments. The stories implied in the drawings were shared, creating other stories. The multiple modes, especially emoticons composed of special codes, Korean and English letters (upper and lower cases), and symbols, served as the complementary paralinguistic language in the virtual space.

In this reciprocal process of authoring self(ves), they shared certain identities some of which included ones that were not outspokenly and comfortably shared in other places. The identity as the 'slacking Asian student' who fell asleep in math class was one example since it somehow went against the popular stereotype of Asian students. Jenna's identity was not written by one presiding author, but was created and enacted by the participating commentators who not only "read" the posting, but also "wrote" and "revised" the content/context, the format, and the tone of texts in this mutual conversational space.

Table 6- 3: Jenna's Drawer/Artist Identity Development through "A Turtle Story"

Date of Posting	Post/drawing	Title	Key Comments	Story (Jenna's Identity)
Jan.6, 2013		"My ugly sketches of turtles"	1. acknowledgement of Jenna's drawing 2. association with B and his profile of a turtle	Jenna's drawing sets up a beginning of a story of a turtle and B who is associated with this turtle by her friends

Jan. 7, 2013		"Turtle"	1. complement 2. youths ask each other how to make emoticons using unknown language (e.g., Korean) 3. B brings up the issue of "bubble tea" referring to his profile image	turtle image as associated with B is established
Jan. 7, 2013		"My weird little drawings"	1. more friends join and recognize Jenna's artistic talent (including Jenna's old friends, Amy and Soo)	(Jenna as a "good drawer" recognized among more friends)
Jan. 8, 2013		"More random drawing"	1. more recognition 2. B teases Jenna about bubble tea	B demands that the turtle should drink bubble tea
Jan. 11, 2013		"Tree I sketched in math"	1. math is boring 2. youths sharing things that happened in math class (e.g., "I fall asleep in math, or I flick eraser at people")	Jenna's tree drawing in math class to fight boredom leads to the personal episode in their math class
Jan. 1.21, 2013		"Turtle, it's not very cute this time"	1. association of white haired turtle with "old B-"	(Jenna the artist is being firmly constructed)

Jan. 23, 2013		"this happened to me today"	1. sharing of their experiences of embarrassed moments	Math as a boring class continued from Jan. 11 conversation
Feb. – Apr.	Posts of various topics – mostly photo images	(Diverse topics)		
May. 6, 2013		"B- :P :P :P :P"	1. addressing B as a response to his demand of bubble tea in posts in January 2. K comments Jenna forgot to pair the turtle with "ducky"	"Turtle should not drink bubble tea, instead drink water" to tease B who loves bubble tea. Jenna is reminded of the ducky (turtle's girl friend) by K
May. 6, 2013		"K- do you mean _O< y"	1. Jenna responds to K with a drawing of a ducky	The forgotten ducky comes in the drawing as a response to Jenna's audience K.
June. 5, 2013		[no title/text]	1. friends who know B and his girl friend E tease B in a friendly manner. 2. everyone recognizes Jenna fulfills her aim (to pair the turtle and ducky with the drawing)	A story of the turtle concludes with a happy ending. (the B turtle evolves from "ugly" turtle, "soccer ball" turtle, "old B" turtle, "bubble tea" turtle, to the turtle in relationship)

Performing Identities in Video Creation

Whereas Jenna's writing activity in a social media community demonstrated a highly

interactive aspect of her identity work, this section focuses on Jenna's agency in choosing and

arranging topics and modes for her video creation. In *Google Plus*, Jenna co-constructed her identity with the audience. In contrast, Jenna in her video creation designed and curated her identities rather in solo for an "assumed" future audience.

In this section, I present an in-depth analysis of one video that Jenna created during the year 2013 when she was 13 years old. Specifically, I attend to how Jenna's different identities were appropriated and presented for different audiences in each video. Prior to the analysis, I first note why I focus on this case study of one youth despite its limitations. Then, I describe briefly the overall context of Jenna's video creation which started as her school project but later extended to her daily activities for many different purposes, such as for relationship building and for personal enjoyment. Finally, I revisit the analytical frame introduced in chapter 3 for video analysis with a short example using the proposed frame before I move to the focal video analysis.

Due to the vantage point I had as her mother, I could observe and follow Jenna's activities both online and offline, collecting more literacy artifacts than from other youths. The major difficulty with other participants was the constraint of their schedule and space in accessing their new media literacy practices from a closer look. With Jenna, I also had the benefit of capturing the contextual link between the products and the entire process of such artifacts' creation. Despite the limitation of a case study of one youth, therefore, Jenna's case examination allowed me a greater scope and depth in understanding the relationship between identity work and new media literacy practices based on the daily follow-up without artificially intruding her space and time.

Context of Jenna's Video Creation

Jenna started her video creation as a school project. For a class called *exploratorium*, students created several video presentations on topics of their own choice and some assigned

topics, which they named *V-log*. According to the teacher in charge, the title of this instructional unit was *identity and design* to fit the developmental stage of middle school students. The teacher told me in an informal conversation that when students were allowed to choose a topic of their interest, they became actively engaged in thinking through what to share with the class and how to deliver it. Topics chosen included students' personal hobbies, study habits, science questions, and social relationships to name a few. For her first V-log project, Jenna chose a topic from her daily activities and created a video about "flexibility." In this video, she verbally explained how to get flexible with a few demonstrations of yoga and TaeKwondo (Korean martial arts) poses. In her next V-log titled "cracking joints," she reported on her research of whether her daily habit of cracking joints was good or bad for health. She combined many modes such as photo images, comic animation, self-shot videos, texts (for research findings), and music for this presentation. At a later point when the class began incorporating the goal of linking identity and design into the class project, Jenna created two V-logs in which she raised some important questions about how one's identity has evolved into the present one by engaging the audience in a question regarding whether media technology helps people fake or positively design one's identity.

Although the initial reason for Jenna's video creation was the school assignment, Jenna gradually utilized her skills for other purposes. For example, Jenna made a couple of "friendship videos" to reconnect with friends in Korea to whom she electronically sent the videos. She also created a comic video as a New Year's holiday present for her extended family in Korea using both written and spoken Korean language. For her local family and friends she made several entertaining videos about songs that she composed, family travels, and silly activities with her sister at home. One video was actually made for her *exploratorium* class teacher in which she

shared her plans for the summer. Overall, Jenna's video creation was a newly introduced way for her to learn, have fun, and build relationships.

Analytic Frame for Video Analysis

In order to examine how media literacy informs youth identity work, I focused on four areas in the video analysis: agency, relationship, modality, and identity. Through the *agency* lens, I mainly describe how Jenna assumed multiple roles including script writer, scene director, actor, narrator and editor. In this description, gazes of Jenna in each role are important since the gaze symbolizes the agentive relationship that Jenna has with each different role: for example, Jenna as the actor looks at the camera, that is, the future audience to perform and deliver the message of the video. The angle and view of the camera is the gaze of Jenna as the director who plans and coordinates the content of the video. Jenna as the editor overviews and reviews the entire scenes to create the best organization at the end. These gazes of Jenna both in front of and behind the camera reflected not only Jenna's shifting perspectives but also her relationships with the target audience, and most importantly, her coordination and understanding of such perspectives and relationships. With the *relationship* lens, I attended to Jenna's audience awareness since who she perceived to be her future audience affected the entire process of video creation including the purpose of the video, topic, and the modality of its delivery. The third lens, *modality* looked at Jenna's choice of modes, drawing on the Potter's idea of curatorship (2012). This notion highlights the youth's editing process as a deliberate arrangement of diverse modes to best present her intention and relevant identities. Through the final lens, *identity*, I summarize the effect of the total creation process and product particularly focusing on which aspects of her identity and how they were presented. Table 6-4 shows how each video was analyzed through these analytical lenses.

Table 6- 4: Video Analysis

Title of Video	Gaze/Role	Audience Interaction	Ways of Storying/ Curatorship	Identity Captured and Represented
	Agency	*Relationship*	*Multimodality*	*Identity*
1. New Year's Greeting 2. Happy birthday to grandfather *(gift video)*	standing camera located & manipulated at one place (camera gaze planned ahead)/ Jenna and her sister acting in front of the camera towards imagined audience *role*: **writer /director/actor/ editor**	transnational audience: extended family in Korea *purpose*: **retaining & refreshing otherwise neglected transnational relationship**	practiced Korean (spoken & written)/ singing (New Year & Birthday celebration) / gesture of politeness (New Year bowing) *mode:* **speech/sound (music)/ gesture**	**family** member (grandchild) caring for extended family/**Korean** who values tradition/ Flunet **bilingual** of Korean and English
3. New Year's resolution 4. Annoying little sister *(gift video)*	standing camera located & manipulated at one place (camera gaze planned ahead) / Jenna and her sister acting in front of the camera towards imagined audience *role*: **writer / director/actor/ editor**	transnational audience (extended family in Korea) *purpose:* **maintaining, caring and supporting transnational relationship**	practiced Korean (spoken & written)/ English with Korean translation as text on whiteboard / comic scenes played by Jenna and her sister / music/ dance (Gangnam Style horse dance) *mode:* **language (bilingual text and speech)/music/action**	**humorous, creative, youth** who are versed in and enjoy the popular culture of the time
5. Flexibility 6. Cracking	Ipod camera/laptop camera	local audience: classroom in local school	self-shot narration/English/phot o images with	**researcher/learner/ educator** who goes through stages of

Table (continued):

joints 7.Pop culture of 1980s *(school assignment)*	director and actor (Jenna takes both roles) gaze each other and imagined audience through the mobile laptop camera and screen/ coordinate the directing and acting at the same time **role: writer/director/ actor/narrator/ editor**	**purpose: presenting research result and perspective/ sharing one's own learning with and educating the local community**	caption/texts about research finding with audio narration/ music as background/drawings and drawing video with audio narration **mode: language (speech and text)/ photo image/music / drawing /video within video**	questioning, researching, reporting and educating.
8. Lee sisters 9. Christmas gift *(personal video)*	laptop camera director as actor sees the performance on the screen/ editor curates performed scenes later **role: writer/ editor/director/ actor/ narrator**	local audience: family at home for entertainment/ recollection of good, fun moments of the past snapshots through a series of photos and video clips **purpose: consolidating family relationship/ for fun**	self-shot narration/ English caption / edited video clips within the video / a series of photos of past moments/ music **mode: language (speech & text) /music/ video within video /image (photos)**	**family member (sister and daughter)** who cares about family
10. 11. 12. Friend videos *(gift video)*	laptop camera/Ipod camera	transnational and local audience: friends in Korea and in the U.S.	self-shot videos of travel/self-shot narration/text/photos/ video clips within the video (past video scenes with each	**friend sharing past memories, friend sharing the present context, teenager** who share the challenges of adolescence

		friend)/background music (dream-high Korean song)	
	role: **writer/director/ narrator/ editor**	*purpose:* **maintaining and refreshing friendship transnational and local**	*mode:* **language (bilingual speech & text)/image(photos and drawings)/ music/ video**	
13. Summer Vlog *(video to share with a teacher)*	laptop camera *role*: **writer /director/ narrator / editor**	local audience: e*xploratorium* class teacher who initiated V-log project *purpose:* **extension of school project (Vlog) to share personal life with school teacher**	self-shot narration with captions to complement the speech) *mode:* **language (speech & text)/ gesture (facial looks)**	**proactive learner, planner, student**
14. New song videos *(personal video)*	laptop camera/ipod camera *role*: **director/actor (singer)**	self: herself and possibly family *purpose:* **documentation of work (composition) – not on the paper but through video**	self-shot video of working on composition, occasional singing, revising the melody *mode:* **language (speech)/ music**	**singer, composer (not for public sharing though)**
15. Random questions and thoughts about the design of an identity 16. Response to Social	laptop camera	local audience: school assignment for teacher and classmates	self-shot narration/image (photos)/ text shared reference with the audience: Sherry Turkle's Tedtalk video watched in class	**inquirer/ youth sharing her own idea and perspective / youth challenging adult's view point**

isolation and technology *(school assignment)*	*role*: **writer/ director/ narrator / editor**	*purpose:* **research and presentation**	*mode:* **language (speech & text)/ image /video**	

Video Analysis: The New Year Gift

An example analysis showcases how this analytic frame was applied to the examination

of actual videos. The two videos analyzed here were created as a New Year gift for Jenna's

extended family. In these videos, Jenna took the roles of writer, director, actor, and editor.

Although not in the form of a written script, Jenna discussed with her sister the entire

organization of the video (script writer), directed and rehearsed all the scenes (director),

performed in front of the camera (actor), and then edited the video using a software program –

window movie maker – available in her home computer (editor). She placed the standing camera

at one place, planned ahead the gaze of the camera, and adjusted the space of her performance

from the angle of the camera. Her gaze as the actor of the video was towards her assumed

transnational audience, her extended family members in Korea who would watch the video later.

The awareness of this target audience determined the topic and modes of these videos. As the

purpose was to reconnect with and support her family in Korea who were going through a

difficult time due to a family member's illness, she chose comedy as the genre for these videos.

One of the stories was about how two sisters tried to abide by the New Year's resolutions which

turned into big failures. Jenna purposefully used Korean language (both written and spoken),

especially Korean honorifics as a sign of respect for her grandparents. However, she mixed the

two languages in the text form on a whiteboard. She incorporated the *Gangnam Style* dance

moves with the music in the video as a highlighted comic touch. In brief, in these videos, she

utilized modes such as bilingual speech and text, Korean music, and action for her elderly

Korean audience (see Figure 6-8). Identities represented and shared in this multimodal video include not only "caring granddaughters/nieces" to her transnational family explicitly, but also implicitly "bilinguals of Korean and English" and "humorous and creative youth who enjoys the global trend of *Gangnam Style*." In the following, I extend these analytical foci into a more detailed description of one video, the goal of which is an in-depth examination of her identity work through multimodal video creation.

Figure 6- 8: Thumbnail Images of "New Year's Greeting" Videos
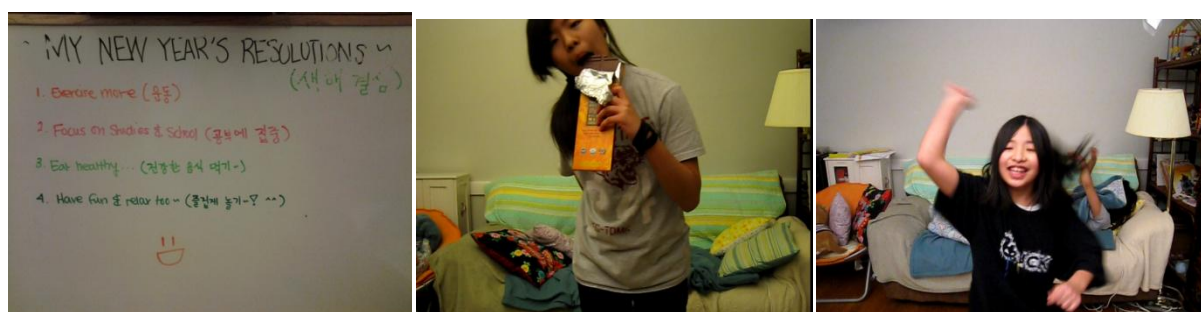
V-log "Random Questions and Thoughts about the Design of an Identity"

Starting from students' chosen topics, V-log project in Jenna's classroom evolved into the final project in which all students had to work on the main issue of "design and identity." Jenna created two videos for this topic and the first one, titled "Random questions and thoughts about the design of an identity," is the focal video which is analyzed scene by scene in the section below.

Scene by scene flow. For a target audience group which are her classmates and teacher, this video has several reference points some of which were already shared with the class, and others from her own reflection and past memories. The mutual reference is the class project and its main issue, identity and design, and that is why Jenna goes straight into the topic without background information or context explanation in the opening narration.

Scene 1: "Random questions about (designing) identity (but no answers)" 00:00 – 00:04

The opening scene of the video is the title text on the screen which is slightly different from the official file name she created. Instead of the formal title, "Random questions about the design of an identity," she placed on this opening scene an informally-looking title "Random questions about (designing) identity (but no answers)" presumably to express that she has not reached a conclusion yet for the posed question.

Figure 6- 9: Scene #1
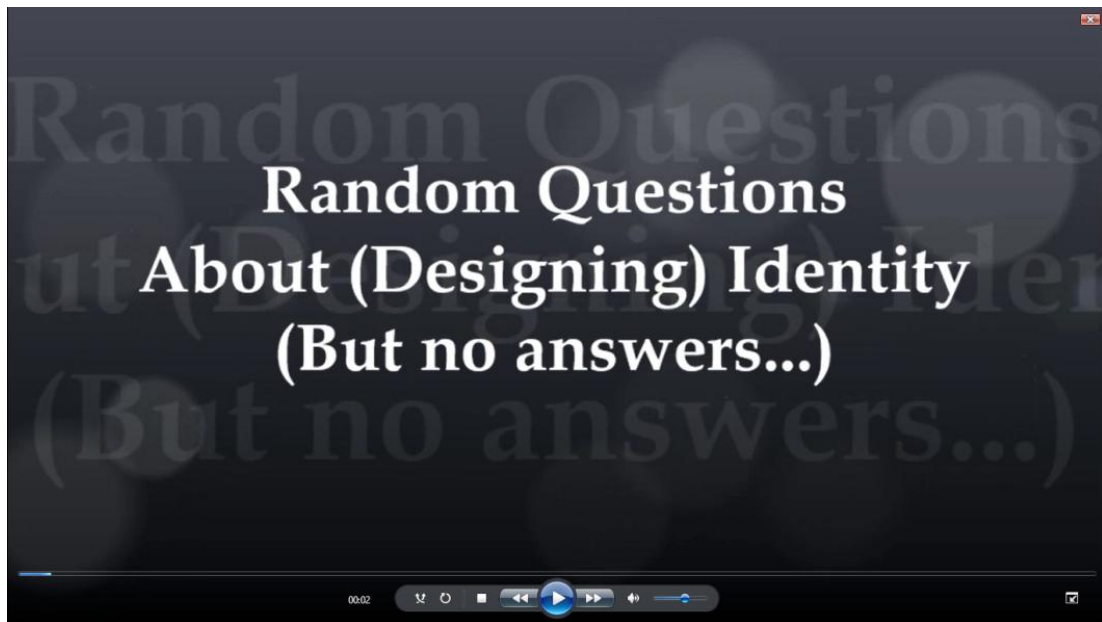
Scene 2: "This is not an informative video"00-04-00:16

Continuing from the informally toned text arrangement in the opening scene, she now verbally affirms that this video is not about giving answers or perspectives but just sharing her unanswered questions and random thoughts. The *randomness* that Jenna emphasized in her opening narration, however, is contrasted with the highly organized way of deploying each scene, demonstrating that Jenna thought through the question and consciously planned how to deliver her thought development process. Sitting on her bed and looking at the camera towards her future audience (classmates and teacher), Jenna narrates, "this is not really an informative video. It is mostly a video of me just rambling about random questions that I have." These opening two

scenes with the text and Jenna's narration establish the tone of the video as a personal reflection on the raised issue. The shared reference point as a class project then leads to the next scenes which now delve into the question more personally.

Figure 6- 10: Scene # 2

Scene 3 – 4 "How I become the person I am today"00:16 – 00:39

The next scene is a photo image of an arrow with the text "So let's go" that lasts one second as a visual aid. During the next 22 seconds, she narrates with several changes in her facial expressions according to the speech context such as looks of inquiry or seriousness for her in-depth reflection:

> Many people wonder why and how I have become the person I am today. And I have no idea what the factors that contributed to the making of current outer and/or inner personalities are. I've asked myself the same questions before as well. However, after thinking about it, I thought, although we often say we don't know what caused changes within ourselves and why, aren't we the ones that are actually creating changes?

Starting with her own question about identity change from the past to the present, Jenna carefully

transitions the speech mode into a conversation with the imagined audience by changing the

pronoun from "I" to "we." Finally, before the scene changes, she poses a question to the

audience about whether "we" ourselves are the ones who change our identity. The speech mode

is "conversation" between the narrator and the audience but the audience will hear and meet

Jenna at a later point in the classroom or electronically. This is an important aspect of video

creation in understanding how this delayed communication between the speaker and listener/

between the presenter and the audience, affects the entire process of creating this multimedia

presentation, which I will discuss later.

Figure 6- 11: Scene # 3-4

Scene 5: "Notice – I have changed" 00:40- 00:56

With her voice narration still on, the scene changes into a photo image of a sign that says "Notice:

I have changed." Then, Jenna narrates:

> I am one of those people who have noticed big changes out of my personalities and I am
>
> wondering what made me design my identity that way during the past few years. If you

saw me five years ago, you would think I was a totally different person. Yes, I have

changed a lot.

Jenna delves into the theme of the class unit by weaving personal reflections, images, stories, and

inquiry into a mutual conversation, during which she creates another reference point – her

personality in the past – to which her audience is directed now. To help the audience travel back

in time, Jenna presents eight photos from her childhood throughout the next several scenes.

Figure 6- 12: Scene # 5

Scene 6: "I was a loud and hyper… child"00:56 – 01: 12

Jenna continues narrating as photos change from one to another,

> I was a loud and hyper, and maybe even a bit girly child when I was younger. I would
>
> wear pink, a lot of it too. Skirts that I could be never caught in now. And bracelets,
>
> necklaces, and headbands and girly stuff, and it's kind of hard to imagine.

Instead of juxtaposing still photo images, the video uses a screen effect showing photos in a

moving mode, like each photo slowly moving to the foreground and fading into the background.

Through this mobile effect, Jenna complements the still mode of photos and puts the frozen time

of the past into a flowing sequence of time. Now "we" the audience are invited to a space of

Jenna's personal history and share a reference point of Jenna's past personality as "a girly girl"

from which she consciously tries to distance herself.

Figure 6- 13: Scene # 6
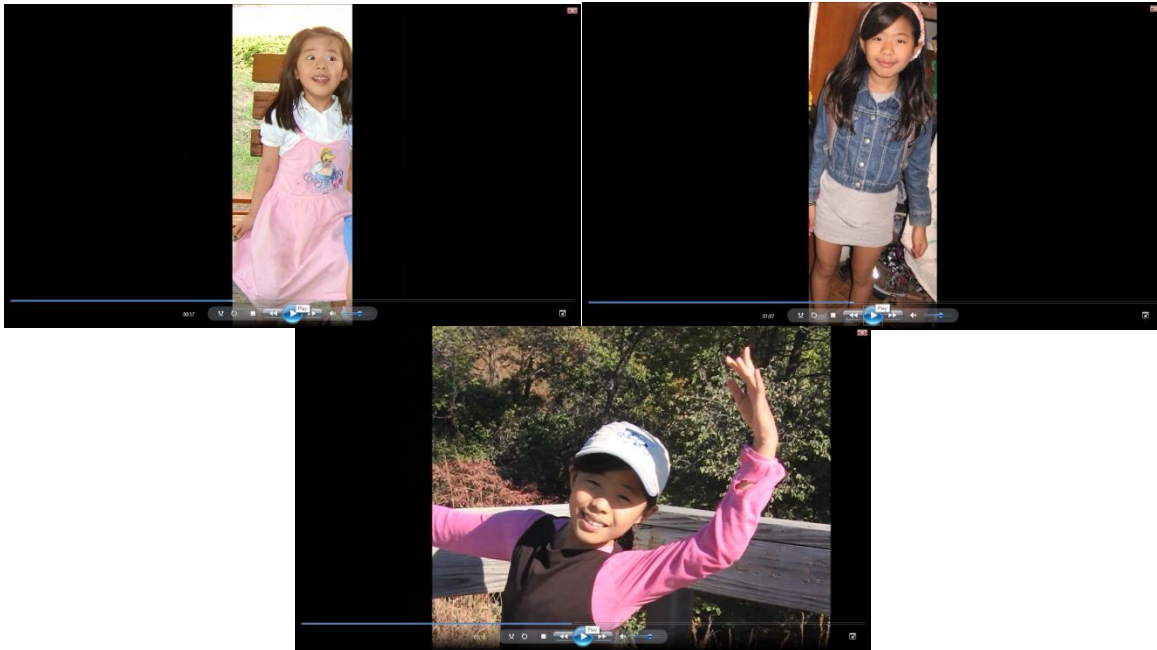
Scene 7: "So my point is I have obviously changed" 01:12 – 01:20

Jenna comes back to self-shot narration. Here she now relates the identity question with others'

view, indicating that for Jenna, identity is also about how others view her:

> Anyway, so my point is I have obviously changed how I'm viewed by certain people and
>
> certain groups of people in general outside home.

Jenna's broadening idea of identity, from her own perception and performance of who she is to

the views of others about her, is now presented and shared with the audience in an audiovisual

format across past and present. According to the follow-up interview with Jenna, she usually did

not share much of her private self and characteristics in school whereas she openly shared such

aspects at home and with closer friends. Therefore, this personal sharing with the audience, we

can assume, would be a venturing moment for Jenna to go against her usual "school self," creating a timely moment to ask the audience who may not know much about Jenna's out-of-school self to consider identity as how one is viewed by others. The way Jenna presents herself in this context raises a question why the medium of video allowed Jenna to proactively share her private self with the audience more resiliently than other formats: how does video function as a third space where one extends her comfort zone?

Scene 8- 9: "What made me change and why?" 01:21 – 01:32

In the following scenes, Jenna's voice narration continues with several photo images. The first image is of many question marks. Jenna says:

> What made me change and why? Why did I create those changes within myself? If I was the one who designed those changes, why don't I know why, how, and when I created them?

Then, another image follows the narration, a person's silhouette with the word "I don't know" inside of it. Since she initially mentioned that she would "ramble" with "random questions," she keeps reminding the audience that the video is for sharing her questions, not her answers, through skillfully arranged images.

Figure 6- 14: Scene #8-9
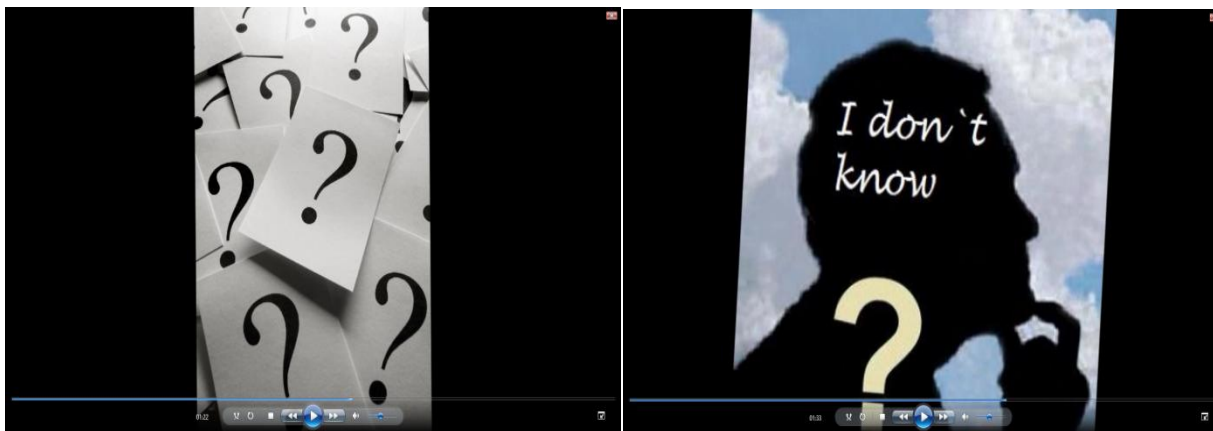
Scene 10: "Some other questions are" 01:35 – 01:57

To keep the questioning mode from the previous scenes, Jenna composes the next scene solely

with questions which are particularly about how name and identity are related. With the texts on

the scene, Jenna reads questions almost identically to the written text just with a slight change at

the end, from "do you try to fit that name" to "do you mold your identity to fit that name"

denoting her idea of identity as more malleable than just adapting.

Figure 6- 15: Scene # 10
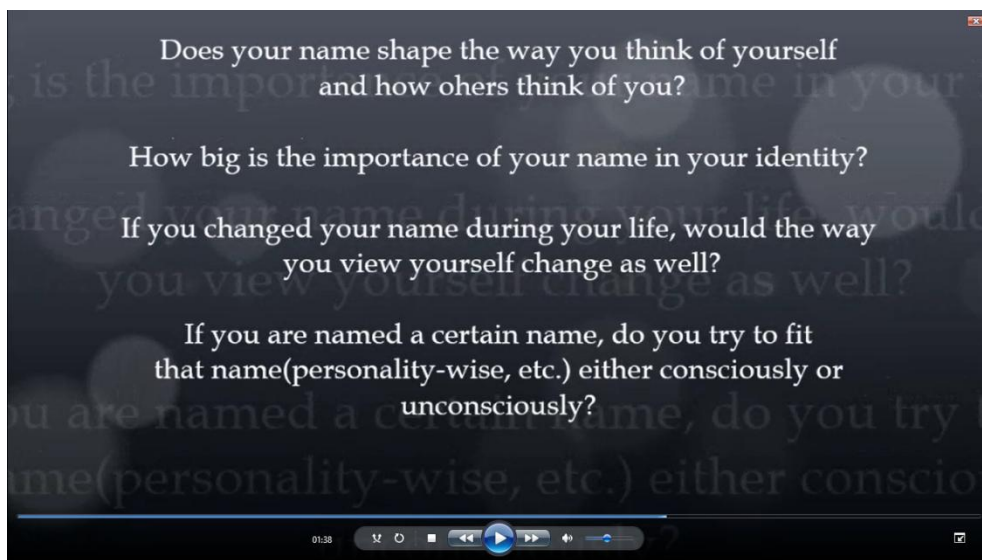
The combination of the screen text and voice narration highlights her questioning status, and

leads to the final two photo images before she concludes the video.

Scene 11 - 12: "My last question is" 01:57 – 02:07

Jenna again juxtaposes photo images relevant to her question, one of a child raising his hand and

the other two of a blueprint. Here is the narration for these images:

> And my last question is if you were to create a blue print showing and explaining how
>
> you designed your current identity, how large and complicated would it be?

Figure 6- 16: Scene # 11-12
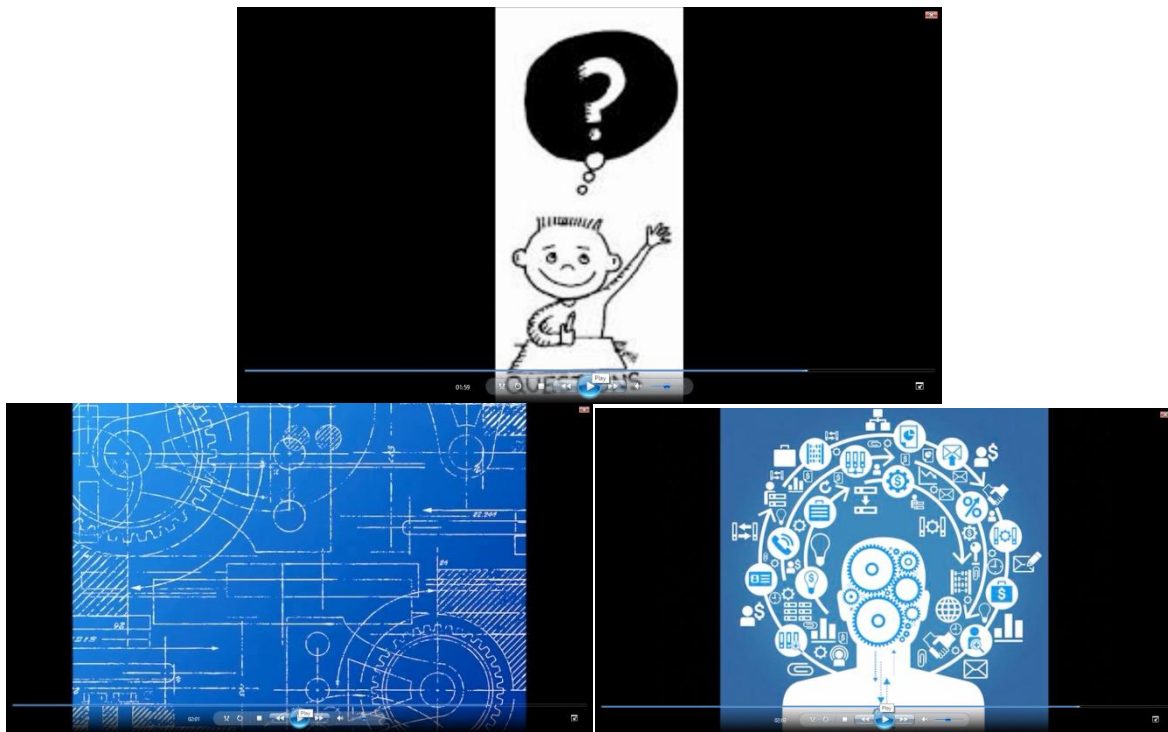
Throughout the video until this point, Jenna has not only informed her audience of her personal identity questions, but also invited the audience to a mutual discussion of such inquiry with her personal stories as an example.

Scene 13 - 14: "I have finished telling you guys some of my questions" 02:09 – 02:26

In this scene, Jenna returns to her self-shot narration and concludes her video by saying "So I have just finished telling you guys about some of my questions." With a photo image of a curious boy, she explicitly invites the audience to the inquiry of their own identity designing process, reflecting that this whole video has been specifically created to reach this final status as a mutual community of inquiry:

> Think about and ask others some of your own questions about the design of an identity. You will probably end up with more questions without answers in the end. But that's the fun of being curious.

Figure 6- 17: Scene 13

Agency, Relationship, Modality, Identity

In this section, I analyze the above video drawing on the analytical frame with four focus areas: agency, relationship, modality, and identity.

Agency. Jenna took multiple roles for this V-log creation. First, as a script writer she outlined the video by planning the overall storyline. As a director, she coordinated the camera angle, background, narration, and transition between scenes. Unlike the "New Year's Gift" videos in which Jenna and her sister were "actors," this video did not include the role of an actor in its traditional meaning who performs the scripted story. Instead, the narrator took on more significance by establishing the connection between the message/story and the audience, and inviting the audience to a mutual discussion. The gaze of Jenna as the narrator was towards the camera/future audience, but the narrator's performance was being seen and coordinated by the director (Jenna herself) at the same time of perfomance through a mobile laptop screen/camera. Jenna both as the director and narrator monitored the performance at the moment it was being filmed. Finally, Jenna as the editor arranged and rearranged produced scenes for the final video

format and content. From writing to directing and performing to editing, it is prominent that Jenna flexibly coordinated and shifted between different agentic roles.

      Relationship. Each of Jenna's videos had a specific audience with whom Jenna established a different relationship respectively. The target audience was the determinant of diverse elements of each video, from its purpose to her tone of speech and ways of telling/modality to the identities presented. For example, the "New Year's Gift" video was for her transnational family in Korea mainly to greet and support those who were geographically distant but linked through communication technology. For that audience and purpose, Jenna specifically chose a comic play to cheer them up, acted with her sister, used both Korean and English language for her grandparents, inserted a Korean song and dance moves, maintained a humorous and casual tone of speech, and therefore successfully positioned herself as a caring granddaughter and niece to her family in Korea. In contrast, the class V-log targeted a specific local audience, her classmates and teacher for an assigned theme of identity and design. Thus, her tone, modes, and identities to share were framed by the context of the project as well as her relationship with the audience. Since Jenna decided that the topic/purpose of the video was to share her personal reflection rather than research and argument, she set a conversational tone to build an interactive space where she invited her audience to share personal narratives about identity design as she did in the video. Jenna started from a mutual reference point (class project of V-log about identity and design) to introduce the topic, then moved to her personal story and reflection. Finally, she concluded the video by suggesting that her audience should also join the same inquiry about identity. Not only through the purpose and tone, Jenna's awareness of and relationship with the audience also affected her choice of modes.

Modality. In the V-log analyzed, Jenna combined several modes. The main mode was English language both written and spoken for her local English-speaking audience. To complement the narrator's speech, however, Jenna used many photo images and written text (e.g., images of an arrow, question marks, blueprint, questions on the screen). She frequently arranged her self-shot narration scene, photos, and text back-to-back to reinforce the message being delivered at the moment. She also set the static photo images into motion using a screen effect while creating a dynamic time-space arrangement through a visual link across Jenna's past and present, and asking the audience a timely question of how one's identity has changed over time as an ongoing process. Whereas the "New Year's Gift" video was more dynamic in general since it was for a pleasant family reunion, this video was intended as a school project. This contextual difference was distinctly reflected in Jenna's choice of modes as well as the kinds of identities shared with the audience.

Identities. Identities that were highlighted and shared in this video include a *young inquirer* who searches for answers and *active communicator* who suggests a continuing conversation in her learning community. With the playful ending narration "That's the fun of being curious!" she also presented herself as an *exploratory, casual, fun-seeking adolescent* despite the seriousness of the proposed questions. In her second V-log for identity and design, however, she took a researcher and reporter stance, positing herself as an active perspective taker, persuader, and especially a young challenger to an adult authority figure. In fact, this second video was made as a response to a Tedtalk speech of a renowned researcher, Sherry Turkle, on the topic of negative effects of technology for human relationships. Instead of a casual tone in the analyzed video above, Jenna talked in a formal tone from an opinion leader stance. Although she partially agreed wth Turkle's claim about communication technology, for example, she

cautiously challenged her through making a parallel comparison between the vehicle for transportation and the communication technology for communication both of which have already become given circumstances of human life:

> I would also like to compare Sherry Turkle's reaction to our growing addiction to supposed connection through technology to the many critics towards the use of cars when they were first becoming a trend because of convenience. So addiction to connection, and addiction to convenience. Of all many debates and arguments about whether the use of cars, the new innovation, the new piece of technology would be healthy for human as well as environment, if you look at the society now, not many people question [image changes to the text slide saying "no one really cares anymore"] the use of this transportation vehicle anymore, even as they are aware of the consequences which aren't always negative.

An implicit message of Jenna was about finding ways to make a positive transition from negativity with technology rather than just critiquing it altogether, as she felt Sherry Turkle did. As a young person whose life has been predominantly embedded in technology and virtual connections, Jenna proposed a different approach to the negative aspects of technology and its use.

To summarize, analyses of Jenna's videos inform that video literacy is a complex means to explore and articulate youth's identity. Each video was produced according to its specific context: who the audience was, what the purpose was, which linguistic forms were used, and which identities would be shared. These considerations led the youth to take diverse agentive roles across relational contexts, and above all, to be the curator of her identities.

Curatorship of Self(ves)

The process of Jenna's video creation was divided into three main parts: planning,

performing, and editing. For some videos, the performing stage was skipped since the video was

not mainly composed of acting in front of the camera, but edited scenes from past videos and/or

photo images (e.g., friendship videos). In these videos, the editing process was the most

important part. At the planning stage, Jenna mainly outlined the whole story either by writing a

story board with descriptions for each scene, or by simply thinking through the story line with

more possibility of improvisation. In an informal conversation, Jenna said,

> I usually start with a vague outline. I don't always write it out, but it helps me if I put
>
> bullet points on a document because I forget… And I only lay out the scenes usually.
>
> And if it's an informative video, I do have to have a script, or else, I won't be able to do it
>
> very well. But if it's just a random, fun video where I just have short clips of me talking
>
> and other parts are just me acting or doing some sort of action, then I can improvise.
>
> (Jenna, Informal conversation)

Depending on who the audience was and what the topic was about, she either planned more

details with the script and layout of the scenes, or preferred a rough draft which allowed more

improvised speech and actions in the course of the creation. At the performing stage, Jenna both

as the actor and director coordinated her own performance since she was able to see her action at

the moment she performed it through use of the mobile laptop camera. Then, in the final stage of

editing, Jenna revisited all of her considerations for the video (e.g., topic, audience, modes) to

make the final version of presentation. Among the three stages, editing was most characterized

by "curatorship of self" (Potter, 2012) by which Jenna maximized her chance of presenting

relevant identities in ways she wanted to "get out."

Delayed Communication with Audience

An important factor that made the medium of video different from other literacy formats is the way one communicates with the audience. In the previous section, I described how youths interacted with the audience/reader and participated together in constructing meanings and identities. For example, *Google Plus* was a space for Jenna and her friends to have conversations and share perspectives through mutual writing processes. Conversation started through Jenna's posting, but continued only with the participation of other friends through commenting. Occasionally, topics that arose in the conversation became sources for Jenna's other post writing, thereby further developing the initial conversations. Compared to this mutual meaning making process, the video creation worked in a different way in terms of audience relationship. Certainly, Jenna's awareness of the specific audience affected her choice of topic, tone of speech, modes of expression, and her positionality. Except for this overarching impact of the audience, however, the video making as a literacy practice was entirely Jenna's own without the audience intervening, changing, and creating contexts during the process. In other words, the video making in itself was a monopolized opportunity for Jenna to author, perform, and curate her identities.

Relationship with the audience had several effects on Jenna's identity work. In the process, audience was both present and absent. The assumed presence of the audience in the future affected many choices, but its absence at the time of creation provided the maker with opportunities to edit the performance and arrangement as many times as she wanted. In fact, delayed interaction changed the way Jenna presented herself to the audience from the way she would do if she were physically in front of the audience, because she did "not have the nervousness of actually someone watching [her]" (Jenna, interview). The fact that the audience

would be *there* and *then* in the future, but not *here* and *now*, relieved her of the stage anxiety and helped her explore more representational options. In this comfort zone, Jenna edited her performance, retook the scene if necessary, and curated scenes according to the topic and purpose.

Editing: "I'm Portraying What I Really Want to Get Out"

For Jenna, the use of video format afforded greater opportunities to effectively communicate herself through multimodality and editing process:

If you are writing of a paragraph about something you did in class or something, 'cause you have to do that in a lot of classes, you have to write a response, you have to write it. **It's a 2-D [two-dimensional] thing**. It does not have exactly, I mean, you can put in a tone, mood or whatever, but if the other person doesn't actually see you talking, then they can't really feel or hear your tone or attitude. Your words on paper could kind of hints your attitude or feelings towards whatever you're writing about, **but when you actually have a video or visual, I think that you can relate more maybe and understand it better**. And for the person making the video, it could be more fun like editing it and making it interesting putting their own voice into it. (Jenna, Interview, author emphasis)

Jenna described that multimodality allows an expanded self-articulation for the author and a better chance to understand the maker's intention for the audience; not only the author can complement her message with different modes, but also she has the editing opportunity to best arrange the message.

The act of editing involved processes of choosing 'right' contents in the 'right' modes, placing them in a 'right' sequence, and coordinating all these elements for the final product. Among the multiple roles (writer, director, actor/narrator, editor), Jenna spent the most time as

the editor. The video shots, created texts, collected images, music, and photos were carefully

rearranged for the smooth transition of scenes. She taught herself ways to use various modes and

screen effects. Through the editing process, Jenna designed ways to share her identities with the

audience. This editing opportunity afforded her a comfort zone where she could try expressing

her diverse selves; it helped her creatively connect to others, share her personal stories, and

complement her usual reserved-ness in face-to-face relationship.

Jenna was not without concerns about editing one's identity which has become a

controversial issue in terms of authenticity and credibility. She raised this issue in her V-log

video and tried to challenge the negative perspective with her own positive experience of editing:

> I asked the question, is editing and to be given the chance to modify our responses in
>
> virtual communities lying or faking? Truthfully, I don't think so. I believe that **these**
>
> **chances to edit and modify actually allow us to be more sincere and thoughtful.** An
>
> example is this V-log. My responses to Sherry Turkle's talk would have been very
>
> different during a face-to-face real time conversation**. "Customizing" our relationships**
>
> **through technology is also part of designing and identifying ourselves, presenting or**
>
> **portraying who we are, who we want to be, who we will be, in just a different way**
>
> **than if face-to-face conversations and relationships**. Of course, too many virtual
>
> relationships and not enough physical and emotional connection can lead to many
>
> negative effects as Sherry Turkle stated in her talk. However, in my opinion, Sherry
>
> Turkle overly generalized those negative effects of connection through technology,
>
> concluding that these relationships through technology could almost all be superficial.
>
> (Jenna, V-log narration, author emphasis)

Prompted by Sherry Turkle's critique of communication media technology, Jenna seemed to start a critical reflection on the issue and her own engagement with media technology. At the time of this research, she tried to balance her view between negativity and positivity of the technology. Jenna recognized that media technology has new potentials in articulating one's identity and communicating with others in ways that were not easily available in the past. However, as she talked in an interview, she was aware that it could lead to negative concerns as well. As she mentioned, she was still exploring and experimenting with media.

During my research, Jenna established and maintained relationships that would otherwise have been difficult such as transnational family and friend relationship, expressed her diverse aspects through new media tools, co-worked on her identities through mutual meaning making processes with others, and expanded her capacity of understanding and representing identities of her complex self.

VII. Identity Work in Transnational Borderland

> I am fine as I am by myself, but when one has to interact with things and people that are not me, I can't describe myself as just 'me.' I have to be able to quantify my identity in things that have already existed and already are. I think I'm Korean, but when I try and explain my Korean-ness, I am not the same Korean as someone who has lived in Korea their whole life. So then I feel like I'm not really Korean, because of course I'm not AS Korean as that person. And yet, I'm definitely not just American in the parts of my identity that aren't Korean. Really, the question of explaining myself in ways that other people can understand is difficult, because it's never quite the same. (Yuri, Email)

Migrant youth's identity is complex, resisting any simple categorization. For a more comprehensive understanding of youth's identity work, examination of childhood and migration should be located on a wide spectrum of perspectives; we should not overly attend to only one aspect, whether it be vulnerability or agency of migrant children. Everything is a "spectrum," after all, as Yuri reminded us, and as Ensor (2010) states, children/youth's experiences are fluid and nuanced:

> [A]dequate attention to the multifaceted character of child migration leads to further recognition that agency and vulnerability are not mutually exclusive. Instead, both characteristics may manifest themselves simultaneously in varying degrees depending on children's circumstances. (p. 16)

This study captured how youths experienced these intersections of conflict and flexibility, resistance and resilience, vulnerability and agency. The complexity of these spectrums was integral to their experiences as migrant youth. While they felt disoriented by other-imposed identities, they also challenged such notions with active voices. Their recognition of the linked

lives and self in the transnational social field was prominent in their trans-bordering participation in multiple communities via communication technology. They related to diverse audiences – local, global, and transnational – through multimodal identity writing in new media space, drawing on multiple linguistic representations. In that process, youths constructed, negotiated, and articulated their many complex identities that are transnational, transcultural, and translingual. In the sections that follow, I summarize and link these findings to our new understanding of migrant youth identity and educational implications.

Dissonance at Borders

Questions about identity are not simple for many youths to figure out. As a period in which youths search for viable identity(ies) for both themselves and others, adolescence is full of uncertainty. This is even more salient for those whose life is situated at the border(s) between two or more nations, cultures, and languages. Yuri, quoted above and who is living at such border(s), told me that she does not know who she really is and the unsettling status is quite scary. Adolescence is also a contradictory period because one may find life is open to exploring many possibilities, while at the same time feeling pressured to fit in existing categories of identity and social expectations (Marcia, 1966). When one's identity exploration is occurring at a crossroad of intersecting social contexts like with migrant youths, it is often more challenging to untangle the multi-layered identity threads.

Categorized Identities Emphasize "Who They Are Not"

Migrant adolescents struggle to fit in the surrounding society as any adolescent would do but with added challenges of comprehending their status as migrants. For example, Jenna and Yuri, after spending their early and middle childhood in the U.S., realized around late elementary years that they were "foreigners" to this country, although others frequently misunderstood them

to be citizens. Many complicating questions of identity surfaced in their consciousness: sense of belonging, citizenship status, racial/ethnic identity, stereotypes, social discourse of immigration, and more. Citizenship education in school further complicated their identity search since it did not adequately address the complexity of their situation. The discovery of their non-citizen status despite their life-long attachment to the U.S. was disorienting for youths' sense of belonging. More unsettling was the realization that the given Korean citizenship did not entirely resolve the identity conflict. Their physical absence in Korea and the resulting feeling that they are not Korean enough downgraded their ethnic affiliation. While their ethnic/national origin – being Korean – was an alternative source in their identity search, youths did not fully embrace the ethnic option because there also was the ethnic bind that one should be authentically fluent in one's ethnic language and culture. Ironically, youths' resistance to the ethnic bind was sometimes released through another bind, the racial labeling in the U.S. When their identity was overly generalized as "Asian," youths highlighted their ethnicity to offset the racial bind.

More often than not, youths felt defined by *who they are not* rather than *who they are*. For example, identity conflict was more salient in terms of who they are not: they are not American citizens, they are not Korean enough, and they are not just Asian. As Deutsch (2008) pointed out, being a member of a racially and ethnically minority group entails a different developmental process in which one needs to integrate identities "both self-defined and other-prescribed" (p. 82). The task of dealing with the "other-ed self" places one in a complex position like Yuri in the quote. Whether national/legal or racial/ethnic, youths in my study did not fully resonate with those identity categories. Their expression was charged with perplexity, dissonance, and resistance. The moment they were defined by one label, they felt that their other parts were left unidentified and misinterpreted.

Seeing oneself through the lens of *who they are not* becomes more disturbing when people around youths have different ideas and expectations of *who they are*. At home, parents often take for granted and make sure that their ethnic heritage be one of the strongest parts of their child's identity as in Yuri's case. Yuri resisted such ethnic bind by trying to distance herself from the ethnically defined community. She purposely did not hang out with Korean or Asian friends for a while, tried to hide her ethnic/racial identity in online communities, and envisioned an ideal "American" identity as one in which people can be truly free and diverse.

Schools are another context that contributes to categorizing identities. First, school education often reinforces the narrow frame of citizenship highlighting the legal and patriotic dimension regardless of students' actual citizenship status as in Jenna's citizenship unit. Jenna, feeling disappointed about not belonging in the U.S., did not agree to the concept and practices of citizenship. The "either-or" choice did not acknowledge their lived experiences of traversing different worlds. Janice also asserted that she would not choose between the two nations of her citizenship, but would stick to the "ocean in-between" as her national identity. Second, some teachers expect Asian students to overcome stereotypical Asian identities (e.g., shy and modest) and become competent, outspoken students in U.S. schools. Faced with such assumptions, both Yuri and Jenna had to self-monitor if they acted out "Asian" characteristics to the point that it became a distressing habit.

At the societal level, Asian communities want Asian-hyphenated people to unite under Pan-Asian identity, minimizing the intra-group variations (Kibria, 2002). The U.S. public also tends to racialize diverse ethnicities of Asian people. However, Janice and Jenna felt their unique identity was eclipsed under such Pan-Asian identity, and tried to escape the equalizing effect of Asian labeling by highlighting their ethnicity in that context. Then, the anti-immigrant sentiment

in U.S. society often inflames debates over immigrants' identity claims other than as American (Maira, 2004, 2010). It openly expresses the suspicion if there is any ulterior motive behind one's immigration to the U.S. and requests faithful allegiance to the country regardless of the person's ethnicity. The surveillance to pick out "bad apples" among immigrants creates the pressure to befit the public image of "good" immigrants. Consequently, the socio-political discourses around immigration are an important backdrop of migrant youths and their families' lives as they are the basis of the immigration policies which directly affect their life conditions.

Searching for identities that make sense as migrant youth, therefore, is a challenging task. Youths in my study had to deal with both "who they are not," filtered through others' eyes, and "who they really are" through their own negotiation. Youths also sought for a "language" that could appropriately represent their identities. This task of restructuring and representing identities was not without conflicts, challenges, and failures. Youths often expressed a strong sense of resistance in coping with unwanted identity labels such as *foreigner*, *authentic Korean*, and *Asian*. In their interviews, identity maps, and emails, youths described the difficulty they felt about reconciling their own defined self and others' views of them. Meanings of identity labels changed across contexts and relationships. Accordingly, youths' positioning changed as well.

In the meantime, when they were allowed spaces wherein they could cross borders without restriction, use a variety of resources, and share their identities with diverse audiences, youths' resilience was maximized. The transnational new media was one such important space for youths' identity work. The dissonance in their *transnational ways of belonging* was counteracted and mitigated by the creativity and flexibility in their *transnational ways of being* through daily cultural practices with new media. Sometimes, youth chose not to draw on their marked identities by hiding them in online communities. Members of these communities bonded

over shared interests rather than the common ethnicity or race. Being able to avoid pre-made identity labels, youth felt viewed as *who they really are*. Thus, some felt a truer sense of belonging in those communities. At other times, however, they asserted their Korean and/or Asian identity to correct the misleading representations of them in their local community. New media contributed to their conscious positioning through providing them with resources and perspectives in online ethnic communities, libraries, and credible sources of history and culture. Contrary to the vulnerability expressed in their unsettled identity, youths in these contexts powerfully positioned themselves as having a say about their complex identities, and acted as advocates and educators.

Linked Lives via New Media

The addition of the transnational new media to migrant youths' lives has complicated Bronfenbrenner's ecological model of development. It has not only blurred the defined borders between the four systems (micro-, mezo-, exo-, and macro-system) but also rearranged them. As argued in chapter 5, individuals rather than physical location become the locus of connectivity in the new media era. Through new media, individuals in each micro-system can easily access and connect to others' micro-systems that are distantly located. The condensation of spaces enables people to meet each other on a daily basis despite their physical distance, and thus incorporate diverse sociocultural environments into their local lives. The displacement of migrant people does not necessarily exclude them from events and relationships in their home country. Likewise, people who stay in their home country can easily maintain the previous relationship with those who left through communication technology. In this linked space, the local integrates the global context, the physical extends to the virtual space, and the transnational context permeates one's daily relationships. The connection across diverse spaces creates a third space in which youths

flexibly manage various relationships, and draw on a wider pool of cultural and linguistic capital for their learning and identity work.

Spatio-Temporal Link

Youths in this study were experts in using media technology to connect to and communicate with people in distant places. Through international phone calls, emails, text messaging, Internet blogs, and communities, youths and their families participated in the conversation occurring in the transnational virtual space. Those who left and those who stayed celebrated together each other's birthdays and holidays, and discussed important issues in their family and country of origin. The condensation also happened time-wise. For example, when Jenna reconnected with her former friends in *Google Plus*, these youths shared their past memories and talked about how different their lives have become by living in different places. Being informed of different educational systems, cultural trends, occupational opportunities, and family life between Korea and the U.S., Jenna said that it was helpful for her to envision life in Korea more practically. Compared to when she did not have substantial information on life in Korea, she felt more positive about moving back to Korea as a possible choice when she had the first-hand experiences of her friends. Minkyung was a similar case. Continued conversations with her Korean friends in *Facebook* helped her balance her past friendships and new relationships. Her decision of nationality and educational path in the future would also be partly dependent on these relationships and exchange of information about both countries.

Through such retrospective and informative conversations, youths not only maintained the relationship which otherwise would have been discontinued, but also weighed their future options of life. In other words, the spatial-temporal condensation in new media helped youths perceive their lives in a connected continuum of the past, present and future, as well as diverse

socio-historical-cultural environments. The linked self, as one of the most salient themes in my study, was an important aspect of migrant youths' identity work in the transnational social field.

Link between School and Home, Work and Play, Information and Interaction

New media facilitated other important connections in which youths played agentive roles. First, the link between school and home was meaningful when schools initiated projects wherein youths were allowed to relate to their life contexts. In this link, various media technologies were used as essential tools for learning and sharing perspectives. Given that youth seldom bear on everyday experiences for the classroom learning unless explicitly invited to share them (Moje et al., 2004), active construction of such a third space delivers a message that teachers welcome different kinds of experiences and perspectives in the classroom space. Jenna's V-log project is a good example. Comprised of students from many different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, Jenna's classroom was literally diverse. In the classroom, the teacher had students share several V-logs and discussed the implications of the video creation and presentation. The teacher described the project that students' own interests and exploration of their identities were incorporated into the unit, with the goal being to understand and construct a healthy adolescent identity, while endorsing multimodal literacy development. In this semester-long process, students were allowed to work with a broader definition of literacy. They were also encouraged to draw from their daily funds of knowledge and thus able to connect to their home and transnational life contexts. In this pedagogical third space, students' differences became meaningful resources for learning, relationship, and identity construction.

Another meaningful link was created between work and play during youths' engagement with new media. The exposure to media technologies from early childhood afforded adolescents more access to and skills in diverse technology funds than adults or young children (Moje, 2002).

All youths in the study used media technology to research topics, develop perspectives, and share their learning with others. In this learning process, an interesting transition of perspectives occurred: school work turned into fun. Jenna's video creation showcased such transition. Starting as an assignment, video production later became a voluntary activity for personal enjoyment. She experimented with various video tools, editing effects, and potential topics. Not only Jenna, but also with other participants, new media literacy tools motivated them to work with goals through a self-guided learning process. Youths' ownership for learning increased when the focus of school assignments shifted from a teacher-guided activity to a student-oriented project during which youths took initiatives in the topic selection, research, and presentation.

This shift has made a significant link between information-based and interaction-oriented learning as well. New media tools served as a catalyst to co-construct learning in and out of school. *Google Docs*, for example, functioned as a platform through which peers and teachers exchanged feedback, edited, and learned from each others' writing exercises. The collaborative learning process constitutes a constructivist approach to knowledge as "a powerful antidote to notions of knowledge as transmission, as a priori defined fact and object" (Luke, 2002, p. 141). By bringing students' experiences and perspectives into a cooperative space, classroom practices transform knowledge as diverse sets of information into new interpretations and relations that are responsive to situated contexts. In this third space, learning is a designing process for which youths utilize multimodal literacy tools through the intertextual mix-and-match (Luke, 2002). The hybridity in multiliteracy schema highlights how youths draw on their trans-bordering life experiences – transnational, transcultural, translingual – for their situated positioning; they achieved it through opportune choices and combinations among multiple meaning-making systems.

Multimodal Identity Work

Living at the borderland, transnational migrant youths have different developmental

needs and challenges. At the same time, they have divergent resources and options in their

identity search because of their affiliation with communities that are culturally and linguistically

diverse. The provision of raw materials from ethnic communities through transnational new

media may fill the void of their physical displacement from home country. Resources in new

media provide them with a multitude of learning opportunities about global, transnational, and

local issues. Because of their bicultural and bilingual upbringing, they have a broader set of

experiences across borders. The cultural practices that occur during this trans-bordering

movement are the index of youths' agency in understanding, managing, and hybridizing lives

across borders.

Co-Authoring Identity through "Conversation"

Envisioning readers is a critical component in any literacy activity. Compared to the

relationship between a writer and readers in a traditional print literacy wherein writing comes a

while before reading in sequence, the contemporary writing in many cases is closely tied to the

audience's instant response and participation in the meaning-making process. The inextricable

link between the author and audience is even more salient in the digital literacy environment

(Hine, 2000; Merchant, 2006). The writing process is constantly embedded in a conversational

register where the audience provides feedback, suggests future topics, and revises the texts

together with the author. In these literacy practices, the process of co-authoring was more

important than the initial or final literacy product itself. Through this co-authoring process, the

writer's identity was delicately woven into the conversational writing, and co-constructed by the

audience.

In my study, youths' writing in *Facebook*, *Google Plus*, and *Google Docs* was a reciprocal process between the author and "friends"/peers/teachers. First, youths' sense of audience was an important indicator of the topic addressed in the writing. Then, the collaborative setting of digital writing enabled the audience to simultaneously participate in the writing in the form of "conversation" as Yuri's teacher did in the "Religion essay" in *Google Docs* or Jenna's friends did in *Google Plus* through commenting. The collaborative writing was not merely a collage of many writings on a similar topic from different authors. Rather, it was a conversation, discussion, and challenge of perspectives among them. The writing was in itself a formative process of ideas and identities between the author and audience.

Jenna's video production was a different type of audience-involved literacy practice. Although the actual audience was not present during the making process, the imagined audience existed in her mind influencing every stage of choices on the topic, tone, modes, and identities that were to be shared with them. Whereas writing in social media was a highly interactive process where the audience became the co-writers, video production afforded youth a greater degree of agency in managing the entire process of authoring identities through a variety of choices and their coordination. However, audience was still the key factor in generating a particular kind of video; the sense of who the audience would be directed different choices. One video of Jenna which targeted her transnational audience engaged with a very different genre, theme, language, and identity than the one for a local audience. The fact that a particular, real audience would later watch the video and might engage in a subsequent conversation prompted youth's differentiated choices, and helped her evaluate the entire process in a more critical manner. How the audience was perceived contributed to the youth's authoring and performing of identities in a way that shows identity representation is fundamentally relational.

Identity Making in Intertextual Space

Youths' identities in social media were enacted in a conversational space. This directs our attention to the increased intertextuality in the digital writing; the construction of a text and meaning is dependent on the dialogic interaction between interlocutors (Bakhtin, 1981). Accordingly, a new subject position of the speaker/writer is constructed in a new conversation/dialogue with different linguistic choices across relationships (Kramsch, 2009). In this highly intertextual space, texts are viewed as having many voices that are often linked to previously established texts of other people in the form of quotations and appropriations (Lemke, 2002; Potter, 2012). Thus, in media literacy with the heightened interactive opportunity, the focus shifts from authenticity in authorship to agency in linking diverse voices, resources, and modes (Kramsch, 2009).

In my study, the multimodal analysis of youths' literacy text was the key to unlock their agency in identity work across complex social relationships: how youths modulated the dialogic text through different choices. Youths flexibly responded to the needs of different relationship tasks with contextualized choices. First of all, the availability of many media devices and modes was the source of youths' agentive literacy practices. Diverse types of media and modes afforded a greater range of choice in experimenting with tools. They also mediated youths' creativity in remixing and repurposing existing resources. This designing (Kress, 2000)/curating (Potter, 2012) process was the essence of youths' role in constructing multimodal texts and identities.

For school research projects, my participants embedded findings within their chosen text forms typically as the multimedia coordination of photo images, audio sounds, symbols, drawings, and embedded links. For closer relationships with family and friends, they used more intimate modes of language (colloquial, gestural, native language), projecting diverse identities

that were related to the particular occasion of presentation. The editing process in video production was the shaping of a "storied self" in a symbolic package with many customized modes (Davis, 2005). Not only as a writer, but also as a performer and editor of her storied self, youth in the video creation demonstrated that identity may have plural narratives that vary according to the audience. Performing and editing then involved a conscious choice of what the youth wanted to share with the specific audience, an important aspect of identity work from the sociocultural perspective that emphasizes the relational nature of identity construction. As an intertextual project in which one works with the audience as well as networks of texts to build meaning, curatorship of choosing and editing identities is a self-reflexive process (Potter, 2012). In this sense, edited identity in new media may not be so temporal and volatile as some argue that electronic forms of writing generate and delete the communicative trace too easily (e.g., Fortunati et al., 2012). Rather, it can be a more thoughtful and critical way of authoring the self (Lemke, 2002) as Jenna described about the editing as a chance "to be more sincere and thoughtful" to "present and portray who we are, who we want to be, and who we will be."

In crafting multimodal texts, youths also would partake in a process of negotiating and challenging rigid social identities. As Lemke (2002) highlighted, multimodality has a greater potential to subvert the established power relationship not only among the linguistic categories but also between social statuses:

> A more balanced multimodality is potentially more politically progressive, whether in the deliberate juxtaposition of texts and images that never quite tell the same story and force us to more critical analysis than either might do alone, or in the representation of issues of 'race,' gender/sexuality, social class, culture, etc. in multidimensional ways as matters of degree and possibility rather than category and constraint. (p.322)

This important conception leads our attention back to the relationship between youths' use of multimodality and their resistance to certain identity categories as described in chapter 5. They advocated and educated the local community about misguiding racial stereotypes (Jenna), and misrepresented ethnic history (Yuri) through multimedia research and presentation. They also shared with their global and transnational audiences implications of their home country's democracy movement (Jenna), and unresolved historical issue (Minkyung) in social media. Youths reinforced their messages that "identities should not be viewed at a simplistic level," by strategically mixing and matching various linguistic modes, for example, images which Lemke (2002) said "inherently afford a much greater display of complexity and shades of grey" (p. 322). Therefore, we can understand why youths' trans-bordering identity (nationally, culturally, linguistically) was more flexibly coordinated in new media than in their verbal identifications as seen in chapter 4; multimodality provides a greater chance of portraying the full complexity of one's identity by having each mode complement others without dichotomizing social identity categories. In other words, multimodal representation of identity may be much closer to one's ways of being in the borderland.

Trans-Bordering Identity

Youths are coming of age through a dynamic identity work of interacting with existing social boundaries. How they are perceived by others has a significant impact on youths' social identity construction (Deutsch, 2008). Identities of migrant youths, like those in my study, are often fractured by unwanted borders such as citizenship status, race, and ethnicity. Those other-prescribed borders were crucial in youths' identity work, mainly disturbing their sense of belonging at the same time restricting the full range of exploration and expression of their multifaceted identities. Oftentimes, the framework of citizenship education exacerbated youths'

identity conflict by oversimplifying concepts of citizenship thereby not acknowledging youths'

nuanced ways of belonging.

The dissonance stemming from life at the borders and the "othering" notions of identity

characterized youths' sense of belonging. However, the technology-mediated connectivity has

created a "third space" where youths could daily transverse many borders (national, cultural,

linguistic) with alternative opportunities to forge and negotiate identities. In this space, their

ways of being were flexibly expressed through new media literacy practices. Here, identity work

was rich across contexts and relationships. Transnational media in particular contributed to

youths' learning, agentive perspective taking, and situated positioning. Especially, new media as

embedded within youths' everyday social practices provided them with resources to challenge,

negotiate, and reshape personal, group and national identities. As an author, performer, and

curator of their complex identities, they purposely shifted through multiple roles to make sense

and share their transnational, transcultural, and translingual identities. By affixing "trans" to their

multiple identity aspects, I emphasize youths' contextual negotiation *across* and *beyond* borders.

Identity That Makes Sense in a Connected Space

Although I presented findings in a contrastive way between offline and online space,

between old and new media/literacies, and between ways of belonging and being, in which the

latter appears to afford greater agency, I should note that youths' identity work was not

necessarily framed by such dichotomies. Instead, they flexibly moved across binary categories,

exploring various possibilities in different spaces. Offline relationships were frequently

embedded and reformulated in the digital space as seen in youths' transnational connection and

participation. Instead of replacing the physical, the virtual extended relationships of the offline,

undermining the binaries between virtual and real, cyber and physical, and local and global

(Leander & Mckim, 2003). Hybridity prominent in the new media space was frequently captured in the offline space as well, for example, when Janice spoke in "Konglish," a mixed language of English and Korean. Even in one sentence, she code-mixed to effectively communicate in her bilingual circle, or she contextually code-switched between two languages for her monolingual speakers. Youths actively drew on their diverse identity resources for their social relationships; they learned by creating as many third spaces across online and offline.

Identities in both spaces were not distinctly split from each other, but shifting across the spectrum of different positioning by context. To explore the unanswered question in chapter 5 whether emerging identities in new media space are an indicator of the problematic identity split between online and offline or a new pathway to express selves, I revisit the new understanding of space. When viewed as "a product of social, cultural, political, and economic relations" (Leander & McKim, 2003, p. 218) rather than a static point of location, *space* is socially, culturally constructed human relationships which people weave into their daily lives. As people draw on different resources and identities to respond to varying social relationships, new media social space may engender its own unique ways to relate to others, and new identities to discover. Thus, it is not the new media per se that has consequences of identity change, it is how people socialize and enact identities in that new spatial configuration that promotes different possibilities or problems than in other spaces.

In sum, youths searched for identities that would make sense to them across spaces, sometimes by resisting social boundaries, other times through new identity claims in daily practices. Despite the limitation and conflict in their ways of belonging by the social boundaries, youths conceived the world as a broader social ecology across and beyond borders.

Transnational Youth in Schools

In this section, I attempt to translate what I learned from youths' lived experiences and perspectives into implications for educational practices. Schools are often the key link between the migrant child, the family and the larger society (de Block & Buckingham, 2007). However, with the deficit perspective still prevailing in the educational field, the tendency in educational policies and practices has been to focus on aligning migrant youths' learning with the perceived 'national' standards. Considering the agency of youths described in earlier chapters, the lack of understanding how youths operate as agentive writers of identities leads to the underestimation of youths' potentials.

The changing life with technology adds more challenges for education. On the one hand, new technologies question the validity of the educational practices developed in an industrial age for the contemporary world operated by wired and wireless connection (Bruce, 2002). On the other hand, it demands education should expand the view of learning and literacy to connect the classroom with the wider society. A broader definition of literacy becomes essential in achieving this new educational task; viewed as embedded within the human relationships and activities, literacy practices should be conceived as inextricable from the larger community itself as Bruce (2002) defined it:

> Literacy is implicated in all human activity, and as such, is a process of language, culture, economics, politics, history, and education. It is a set of social practices through which readers and writers make meaning together, but where we think of writing with a word processor, chalk on a slate board, quill pen, crayon, or stylus on clay, the act of writing is a material act, one that is embodied in time and place. It involves technologies, both tangible devices and sets of practices that serve as tools for the literate person. (p. 12)

As a material act, literacy manifests in a particular time and space. The forms available in different sociocultural moments are incorporated into various literacy expressions of how one understands and makes relationships in a given context. In this new media time, therefore, literacy practices with technology are an important indicator of shifting ways of constructing texts, meanings, and identities.

At this moment, there are more questions than answers to the changing context of teaching and learning. Equally, more challenges are being recognized about teaching and learning with technology than strategies shared and implemented. However, more and more schools, curriculum developers, and practicing teachers are engaged in conversations to discuss the emerging needs of new curriculum that is responsive to the change. At the core, it is not just about developing a new curriculum, but more importantly about understanding new epistemology of learning, literacy, and identity. In the following sections, I introduce a conversation among various stake-holders of education in a school district forum, which showcases a discussion wherein new issues, challenges, and strategies were shared and developed for a new educational pedagogy in this transnational new media era. Based on the challenges and issues identified in this forum, I make several suggestions drawing on this study as well as my participants' feedback.

Writing with Technology

In April, 2013, I was invited to a forum in my daughters' school district and asked to provide parents' perspective about "writing with technology." In this meeting, parents, teachers, and literacy specialists gathered to discuss how "we" as a team can prepare for a new challenge in the teaching of writing with media technology. To provide a particular context of this forum, I note that this school district is located in an affluent neighborhood where students are likely to

have the most extensive access to technology in their schools, public institutions (e.g., public library) and at their homes. The school district was well aware of new demands on literacy teaching and learning, partly by the Common Core State Standards initiated in 2010 which have required schools to teach students how to navigate and making meaning with media technology (Stegman, 2014).

The district staff introduced the purpose and frame of the forum: what is possible for writing in the future, in light of what is now and may soon be possible via technology. Small group discussions were facilitated among parents, teachers, and literacy professionals, in which a variety of topics were covered: literacy modes preferred and prevalent now and in the past, literacy standards in school, new Common Core standards, review of 21st century skills for success in career, assessment of new media literacy, and ways to support and teach students in a new writing format. Under the theme of developing a collaborative curriculum to teach new literacy skills, various stake-holders in the community shared concerns and suggestions for the new educational task.

I was personally curious about the direction and content of the conversation both as a parent and researcher, and actually impressed with the variety and depth of the discussion. Starting with an excerpt from the book "Because digital writing matters: Improving student writing in online and multimedia" (DeVoss, Eidman-Aadahl, & Hicks, 2010), the teacher in each group had participants share experiences and perspectives about new literacy practices. Many resonated that today, technology has become an integral part of their literacy experiences like on-screen reading, text messaging, and audio book listening. Teachers shared information about new mandated standards of literacy education, Common Core standards about writing with technology and etc. It was stressed that the new standards focus on the "link" to the previous

knowledge, collaborative learning, and writing through sharing feedback and revision. The integration of old and new media was suggested as another strategy to make an effective transition such as using Internet resources for research but submitting the result as a paper form. Teachers also shared their challenges for example, the difficulty to be knowledgeable with diverse forms of media tools and to adapt the existing assessment standards for new literacy works. Some parents raised the emergent issues in digital citizenship such as less accountability, publicity and privacy, plagiarism, and other ethical concerns.

However, most attendees agreed that success in the new century requires new skills. Particularly, the ability of cross-cultural communication through diverse forms and mediums was highlighted. Some recognized that students' current literacy practices outside of school are indicators of their future literacy in schools in terms of creativity, writing with purposes, and fun as the core motivation of writing. Concrete ways to support students' new literacy were discussed including writing across subject areas, diverse ways of publishing writings, and balancing between the teaching of the structured format of writing and student-centered creative writing.

Despite the divergent topics about new media literacy, the discussion converged on some shared concerns and suggestions. Among many, it was recognized that although many youths are well versed in media technology, schools are not ready for adopting new media literacy as a formal curriculum with established lesson plans and assessment tools. Teachers are not sufficiently informed and trained in teaching with technology. However, teachers are aware that skills in traditional writing can be transferred to the new format of writing, including basic writing skills, audience awareness, time management, collaboration through peer feedback, etc.

Overall, this school district was aiming to establish pedagogy of new literacies as a community initiative.

However, the conversation among adult participants did not touch upon the lived experiences of students. Also, it did not include a broader perspective of literacy as more than written language skills of reading and writing. The notion of multiliteracies were not recognized in the conversation, although understandable given the situation that students' literacy competency is mostly evaluated based on written responses in the standardized test. Moreover, I was the only one in my group who addressed the literacy practices of students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. Students and their potentials were largely absent in the conversation.

So What's the Deal?: Extending the Conversation

I observed in this community forum both the positive initiatives of literacy education and urgent needs for new understanding of multiliteracies, media literacy, and students as active writers across spaces. To bring the conversation into meaningful educational practices, I make several suggestions in this section, drawing on this research as its impact point on the educational field. Suggestions also came from the core participants who shared with me their ideas of how schools can incorporate their experiences into the curriculum.

Link students' lives to school contexts. The debate about school and home divide has become more prominent in the area of media and technology in education. Whereas youth and children outside of school are assumed to have more agency and freedom to create digital artifacts using various media tools, schools are depicted as a closed system which resists innovation and clings to the traditional way of teaching and learning. Apparently, participants in my study agreed to this view as Jenna said, "school is the most old-fashioned part of the society

and they don't want to innovate, like an experimental jump." Jenna pointed out that schools want to maintain the "old ways of teaching" making students sit "inanimate" in classrooms, whereas society is fast moving towards innovation and youths are most responsive to such change.

Nevertheless, this study demonstrated that school can serve as a link between students' routines outside of school and the classroom interaction by allowing students to draw on their daily lives for learning. For example, Jenna's *Exploratorium* class expected students to freely relate to their everyday experiences to create research projects. It also incorporated video making as a required element of presentation by which it endorsed media literacy. As illustrated in the previous section, the project created several meaningful links, between school and home, work and play, and information and interaction. The teacher guided students to take ownership of their learning process by teaching the basics of research and presentation but requiring them to work on their own choice during the process.

The incorporation of new media technology was crucial to these links whereby students felt that their experiences/experiments of technology were validated and utilized for classroom activities. They also positively related to their other identities that were not typically shared in school, when they were given the choice of topic and media for school projects. Transnational migrant youth may find third spaces in these links particularly liberating, where they interculturally move across borders, explore their diverse cultural resources, and share their migrant identities. In essence, the third space can facilitate sharing of multiple narratives in a variety of literacy forms.

Broaden the concept of 'literacy.' Throughout this study, I have argued that literacy practices are youths' active identity work. Literacy involves relationship with others since it is an act of interpreting and expressing one's position in relation to others. Literacy takes many forms

besides the written language including oral language, gesture, sound, visual, and embedded links. The mixture of diverse linguistic forms enables youth to *design* meanings and identities that befit the particular context (e.g., audience and topic). Children and adolescents experience various literacy activities that are not restricted to the narrow definition of literacy and educational technology. Thus, it is not tenable to just tailor the traditional reading and writing education to fit the context of new media literacy which requires a different set of skills (Mokhtari, Kymes, & Edwards, 2008). Different skills that are needed for online reading comprehension, for example, include understanding the social context of online literacy, locating appropriate information, critically evaluating and synthesizing diverse informational resources, and effectively communicating information with others (Mokhtari et al., 2008). Accordingly, different assessment should be developed for new media literacy. Given that conversations to address these challenges are still at its emergent stage, schools can start with the first step towards the change, which is to reframe literacy education by broadening the concept of literacy to include diverse modes of meaning-making. The new pedagogy should also teach media literacy from early years. As described in preceding chapters, this will validate youths' practices of multimodality with which they respond to the task of self-expression in different contexts.

Attend to students' voices. Involving young learners in the conversation about how to shape their education is also important. In the forum of writing with technology, students' voices were absent despite the fact that they are experiencing new literacy in more expanded ways than most adults who were in the discussion. Students are likely to be more aligned with the change and innovation in society than adults, especially when it comes to technology. As this study showed, students have their input about school curriculum and several of my participants even shared their ideas about how the school can be a more engaging place to learn. Include students'

voices in designing curriculum. Incorporate their ideas, expertise, and identities into classroom projects.

Curriculum suggestion. Students often challenge teachers' perspective and actively ask the class to change the lesson as Yuri did in her history classroom. In these requests, they bring their knowledge and interests into the classroom. Student-initiated projects spur creativity, better maintain the duration, and motivate to learn. The teacher's flexibility is also important to adapt the pre-organized lesson by integrating students' ideas.

Media incorporation. Students suggest different ways of incorporating media into the learning process as Janice shared her experience in literacy classroom. Instead of having students do a traditional "tedious" work of page-by-page note taking on an assigned literature, she suggested that the teacher make the content more appealing by combining different media such as video clips relevant to the class. She emphasized that lessons focused only on the print work of writing and reading diminished students' attention span and motivation to learn. *V-log* project in Jenna's class could be an example of media-integrated classroom endorsing multimodal literacy and personal narrative sharing.

Personalized education class. To meet different needs of students, Jenna proposed "personalized education." Similar to but different from the "learning center" in schools where students are supported to catch up with areas that they need help, Jenna envisioned a class unit during which each student can explore areas of their interest or needs with the help of teachers as well as technology resources. Teachers in this classroom facilitate learning not by a whole class interaction, but by an individualized guidance of how to steer across interests and information available through media learning tools. Well combined, the teacher, student, and technology can make a great team to enhance learning in this classroom.

School as Third Space

Transforming schools into an interactive third space for both teachers and students will take long-term plans and attentive efforts. Most of all, it needs a perspective change about students from what they lack to what they can do and what they bring with them. Despite challenges at many levels, whether it be issues of curriculum, funding, policy, assessment, or others, schools have already demonstrated the possibility to serve as a positive third space for students. For example, although school reinforced certain boundary discourses such as citizenship education in a narrow frame, it also created a space in which youths could challenge and reshape those ideas. Although not across all the classes, some have successfully integrated multimedia learning tools like *Google Docs*, *Schoology program*, and *V-log* project. Especially, these classrooms worked as a successful third space by allowing students to draw on diverse sources of identities from their own daily experiences. For migrant students in particular, such third space bridged their many selves across diverse spaces, home, school, community, cyberspace, home country, and global world. Most importantly, these links acknowledged youths' fluid and multifaceted identities.

VIII. Exiting the Study

I set out this dissertation journey to address new questions that have relevance and urgency in understanding migrant youth's identity in the transnational world. Partly, these questions came from my own migrant status with two children who experience their childhood and adolescence in different ways than I did. The journey both as a researcher and parent led me to various perspectives about identity, childhood, migration, new media, literacy, and learning. Now that I recollect memories of the journey in which I met, talked with, and followed my participating youths, I feel both relieved and anxious. I am relieved because I made my best efforts to understand and translate their stories. I am anxious though because I know that my best efforts still may not deliver the full complexity and shades of youths' experiences. As I am exiting the study, although soon starting an extended inquiry, I recognize that what I have done during the journey is to continue the conversation that many people have initiated to better understand and support our youths in the changing world, and that this study will be the starting point for me to engage in richer conversations in the future.

Identity Work Across and Beyond Borders

Contemporary migrant youths, like participants in my study, inhabit a world where the increasing mobility across spaces positions them in an extremely complex place. Youths' efforts to make sense of their complex identities are multifold, as adolescents, migrant children, transnational youths, and ethnic and racial minority students. They negotiated various identity labels, resisting or embracing other-imposed identities at different contexts. They actively drew on diverse cultural and linguistic capital to express and share their identities. They traversed multiple spaces, home and school, online and offline, home and host country, and the global and local; at the same time, they were the center of connection between people and spaces. For these

youths, transnational new media served as third space in which they condensed different time-spaces into a relevant life zone.

Unlike in many border-oriented spaces (e.g., nation-, race-, ethnicity-oriented communities and discourses), transnational adolescents in new media were less bound by the borders, but felt free to cross boundaries of the nation-state, race, ethnicity, language, and cultural orientation. Likewise, the diversity of new media literacy tools allowed young people to explore different ways to express who they are. Sometimes, their identities were displayed more as images than written narratives. Other times, their stories were enriched with other modes (e.g., audiovisuals, embedded links, emoticons). Drawing on their bilingual capacity, languages were mixed innovatively to address different audiences, monolingual English or Korean speakers, or bilingual speakers, or global audience. They moved across not only different linguistic forms, but also diverse relationships. The immediate presence of audience in the virtual community often constructed a highly interactive space in which youths' identities were co-authored. They referred to each other's contexts and previous writings to craft meanings. Even in the case where the audience interaction was not immediate like in the video creation, still the relationship with the assumed audience was the key factor in choosing the topic and modes. In brief, the connected self was the crucial indicator of youths' identity work in the transnationally linked world.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

The anxiety that I feel comes also from the concern that I did not and could not include more stories across different contexts of youths all around the country. The cases analyzed in this dissertation are obviously very limited in scope; and the experiences and perspectives of my participants are possibly unique to themselves rather than the general experiences of a larger youth population. The variations in terms of gender, socioeconomic class, race, and ethnicity are

not sufficiently considered. For example, my participants ended up being all female students although it was not intended. They lived in rich neighborhoods although their families were not affluent; two of my participants' families were struggling financially living with the minimum expense, and in these families, youths felt more deprived by the even more stark contrast between their status and that of their neighbor.

However, the resources in their school district provided them with many learning opportunities that may not be available in underserved school districts. Above all, media access should be recognized as privilege which is not equally available across places and may create new social dynamics of power (de Block & Buckingham, 2007). More importantly, however, it is not just the access, but how it is used that creates inequity today:

> Nearly all youth access computers and the Internet somewhere. Thus, what was considered the original *digital divide* is largely resolved, at least in the United States. Today the digital divide resides in differential ability to use new media to critically evaluate information, analyze, and interpret data, attach complex problems, test innovative solutions, manage multifaceted projects, collaborate with others in knowledge production, and communicate effectively to diverse audiences – in essence, to carry out the kinds of expert thinking and complex communication that are at the heart of the new economy (Warschauer & Matuchniak, 2010, p. 213).

I observed that my participants engaged in the kinds of critical thinking and effective communication across contexts as quoted above. I heard that some of them learned in school how to critically use the media tools; they were allowed to creatively integrate resources and present them; they experimented on their own to engage in interest-driven activities out of school.

However, even with these students, the school was not fully ready to incorporate media technology for teaching, evaluating, and learning about their students. Overall, the access and use of the new media technology and literacy tools were based on the capability and choice of the individual student and his/her family. Thus, it should be noted that the school readiness in terms of "equal resources, instruction, and assessment in school cannot in and of themselves completely overcome unequal amounts of physical, human, and social capital in youths' out-of-school environments" (Warschauer & Matuchniak, 2010, p, 217).

Given these limitations in my study as well as in the research of new media, I suggest that future research expand the focus to the intersection of a broader range of social contexts. My study is one such effort to consider the intersectionality of multiple contexts through studies of migration, youth, transnationalism, identity work, new media literacy, and education. Issues of equity in access and engagement with new media can be another important context to consider. Developing pedagogy is a task of significance to bridge such diverse foci with the responsive educational practices. Finally, it is also important to give voice to youths and learn from their experiences, while we should not overly generalize their agency or vulnerability.

References

Amin, A. (2004). Regions unbound. *Geografiska Annaler B, 86*(1), 33-44.

Anzaldua, G. (1999). *Borderlands: La Frontera.* San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.

Arnett, J. J. (2002). The psychology of globalization. *American Psychologist, 57*(10), 774-783.

Asher, N. (2008). Listening to hyphenated Americans: Hybrid identities of youth from immigrant families. *Theory Into Practice, 47*, 12-19.

Bakhtin, M. (1981). *The diologic imagination*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Baynham, M. (2004). Ethnographies of literacy: Introduction. *Language and Education, 18*(4), 285-290.

Bhabha, H. (1994). *The Location of Culture.* London: Routledge.

Binaco, J. L. (2000). Multiliteracies and multilingualism. In B. Cope & M. Kalantzis (Eds.), *Multiliteracies: Literacy learning and the design of social futures* (pp.92-105). London: Routledge.

Bowlby, J. (1988). *A secure base: Parent-child attachment and healthy human development.* London: Basic Books.

boyd, d. (2008). Why youth ❤ social network sites: The role of networked publics in teenage social life. In D. Buckingham (Ed.), *Youth, identity, and digital media* (pp. 119-142). Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1995). Development ecology through time and space. In P. Moen, G. Elder, & K. Luscher (Eds.), *Examining lives in context: Perspectives on the ecology of human development* (pp. 619-648). Washington, DC: American Psychology Association.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (Ed.). (2005). *Making human beings human: Bioecological perspectives on human development.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Bruce, B. G. (2002). Diversity and critical social engagement: How changing technologies enable new modes of literacy in changing circumstances. In D. E. Alvermann (Ed.), *Adolescent and literacies in a digital world* (pp. 1-18). New York: Peter Lang.

Cazden, C. B. (2000). Taking cultural differences into account. In B. Cope & M. Kalantzis (Eds.), *Multiliteracies: Literacy learning and the design of social futures* (pp. 249-266). London: Routledge.

Choi, J. (2009). Asian English language learners' identity construction in an after school literacy site. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication, 19*(1), 130-161.

Cooper, C. R., García Coll, C. T., Thorne, B., & Orellana, M. F. (2005). Beyond demographic categories: How immigration, ethnicity, and "race" matter for children's identities and pathways through school. In C. R. Cooper, C. T. García Coll, W. T. Bartko, H. Davis, & C. Chatman (Eds.), *Develomental pathways through middle childhood* (pp. 181-205). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (1990). Grounded theory research: Procedures, canons, and evaluative criteria. *Qualitative Sociology, 13*(1), 3-21.

Cornell, S., & Hartmann, D. (1988). *Ethnicity and race: Making identities in a changing world.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Cosaro, W. (2005). *The sociology of childhood.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Coyne, I. T. (1997). Sampling in qualitative research: Purposeful and theoretical sampling: merging or clear boundaries. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 26,* 623-630.

Dallaire, C. (2006). 'I am English too': Francophone youth hybridities in Canada. In P. Nilan, & C. Feixa (Eds.), *Global youth? Hybrid identities, plural worlds* (pp. 32-52). London: Routledge.

Davis, A. (2005). Co-authoring identity: Digital storytelling in an urban middle school. *Then Journal*, *1*, 22-34. Retrieved February, 27, 2014, from http://thenjournal.org/archives/

de Block, L., & Buckingham, D. (2007). *Global children, global media: Migration, media and children.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

de Block, L., & Buckingham, D. (2010). At the crossroads of childhood, media, and migration. In M. O. Ensor, & E. M. Gozdziak (Eds.), *Children and migration* (pp. 54-73). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Deutsch, N. (2008). *Pride in the projects: Teens building identities in urban contexts.* New York: New York University Press.

De Vos, G. A. (2006). Introduction: Ethnic pluralism: Conflict and accommodation. In L. Romancci-Ross, G. A. De Vos, & T. Tsuda (Eds.), *Ethnic Identity* (pp. 1-36). New York: Altamira Press.

DeVoss, D. N., Eidman-Aadahl, E., & Hicks, T. (2010). *Because digital writing matters: Improving student writing in online and multimedia environments*. San Francisco: Jossey-Base Books.

Dorner, L. M., Orellana, M. F., & Li-Grining, C. P. (2007). "I helped my mom" and it helped me: Translating the skills of language brokers into improved standardized test scores. *American Journal of Education, 113*, 451-478.

Dorner, L. M. (2010). English and Spanish "para un future" – or just English? Immigrant family perspectives on two-way immersion. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 13*(3), 303-323.

Dunlop, R. (1999). Beyond dualism: Toward a dialogic negotiation of difference. *Canadian Journal of Education, 24*(1), 57-69.

El-Haj, T. R. A. (2009). Imagining postnationalism: Arts, citizenship education, and Arab American youth. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 40*(1), 1-19.

Emerson, R., Fretz, R., & Shaw, L. (1995). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Ensor, M. O., & Gozdziak, E. M. (2010). Migrant children at the crossroad. In M. O. Ensor & E. M. Gozdziak (Eds.), *Children and migration* (pp. 1-14). London: Palgrave Mcmillan.

Ensor, M. O. (2010). Understanding migrant children: Conceptualizations, approaches, and issues. In M. O. Ensor & E. M. Gozdziak (Eds.), *Children and migration* (pp. 15-35). London: Palgrave Mcmillan.

Epstein, I. (2009). Globalization and youth: Evolving understandings. *Comparative Education Review, 53*(2), 285-293.

Erikson, E. (1959). *Identity and the life cycle.* New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company.

Faist, T. (2000). Transnationalization in international migration: Implications for the study of citizenship and culture. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 23*(2), 189–222.

Fenton, S., & May, S. (2002). Ethnicity, nation and 'race': Connections and disjunctures. In S. Fenton & S. May (Eds.), *Ethnonational identities* (pp. 1-20). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fortunati, L., Pertierra, R., & Vincent, J. (2012). Migrations and diasporas: Making their world elsewhere. In L. Fortunati, R. Pertierra, & J. Vincent (Eds.), *Migration, diaspora and information technology in global societies* (pp. 1-20). New York: Routledge.

García Coll, C., & Magnuson, K. (2005). The psychological experience of immigration: A developmental perspective. In M. M. Suarez-Orozco, C. Suarez-Orozco & D. B. Qin (Eds.), *The new immigration: An interdisciplinary reader* (pp. 105-134). New York: Routledge.

Gee, J. P. (1990). *Social linguistics and literacies: Ideology in discourse*. London: Falmer Press.

Gee, J. P. (2001). Identity as an analytic lens for research in education. *Review of Research in Education, 25*, 99-125.

Gee, J. P. (2004). Teenagers in new times: A new literacy studies perspective. *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy, 43*(5), 412-420.

Gee, J. P. (2010). *New digital media and learning as an emerging area and "worked examples" as one way forward.* Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Giardina, M. D. (2008). Consuming difference: Stylish hybridity, diasporic identity, and the politics of youth culture. In N. Dolby & F. Rizvi (Eds.), *Youth moves: Identities and education in global perspective* (pp. 17-32). New York: Routledge.

Gupta, A., & Ferguson, J. (1992). Beyond "culture": Space, identity, and the politics of difference. *Cultural Anthropology, 7*(1), 6-23.

Gutierrez, K., Baquedano-Lopez, P., & Tejeda, C. (1999). Rethinking diversity: Hybridity and hybrid language practices in the third space. *Mind, Culture, and Activity, 6*(4), 286-303.

Gutierrez, K. D., & Rogoff, B. (2003). Cultural ways of learning: Individual traits or repertoires of practice. *Educational Researcher, 32*(5), 19-25.

Gwak, S. S. (2008). *Be(com)ing Korean in the United States.* Amherst: Cambria Press.

Hall, S. (1995). New cultures for Old. In D. Massey & P. Jess (Eds.), *A place in the world? Places, cultures, and globalization*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hine, C. (2000). *Virtual ethnography.* London: Sage.

Hoffman, D. M. (1996). Culture and self in multicultural education: Reflections on discourse, text, and practice. *American Educational Research Journal, 33*(3), 545-569.

Holston, J., & Appadurai, A. (1996). Cities and citizenship. *Public Culture, 8*(2), 187-204.

Hornberger, N. H. (2007). Biliteracy, transnationalism, multimodality, and identity: Trajectories across time and space. *Linguistics and Education, 18*, 325-334.

Ito, M., Baumer, S., Bittanti, M., Boyd, D., Cody, R., Herr-Stephenson, B., Horst, H. A., Lange, P. G., Mahendran, D., Martínez, K. Z., Pascoe, C. J., Perkel, D., Robinson, L., Sims, C., & Tripp, L. (2010). *Hanging out, messing around, and geeking out.* Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Jiménez, T. (2010). *Replenished ethnicity: Mexican Americans, immigration, and identity.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Joo, H. (2009). Literacy practices and heritage language maintenance. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication, 19*(1), 76-99.

Kibria, N. (2002). *Becoming Asian American: Second-generation Chinese and Korean American identities.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

King, J. R., & O'Brien, D. G. (2002). Adolescents' multiliteracies and their teachers' needs to know: Toward a digital detente. In D. E. Alvermann (Ed.), *Adolescents and literacies in a digital world* (pp.40-50). New York: Peter Lang.

Kramsch, C. (2009). *The multilingual subject: What foreign language learners say about their experience and why it matters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kress, G. (2000). Design and transformation: New theories of meaning. In B. Cope & M. Kalantzis (Eds.), *Multiliteracies: Literacy learning and the design of social futures* (pp. 153-161). London: Routledge.

Kress, G. (2003). *Literacy in the new media age.* London: Routledge.

Kuss, D., & Griffiths, M. D. (2011). Excessive online social networking: Can adolescents become addicted to Facebook? *Education and Health, 29*(4), 63-71.

Lam, W.S.E. (2004a). Border discourse and identities in transnational youth culture. In J. Mahiri (Ed.), *What they don't learn in school: Literacy in the lives of urban youth*. New York: Peter Lang Publishers.

Lam, W. S. E. (2004b). Second language socialization in a bilingual chat room: Global and local considerations. *Language Learning and Technology, 8*(3), 44-65.

Lam, W. S. E. (2006). Culture and learning in the context of globalization: Research directions. *Review of Research in Education, 30,* 213-237.

Lam, W. S. E. (2007). Language socialization in online communities. In P. Duff & N. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education Volume 8: Language socialization* (pp.302-311). New York: Springer.

Lam, W. S. E. (2008). Second language literacy and the design of self. In J. Coiro, M. Knobel, C. Lankshear, & D. Leu (Eds.), *Handbook of research on new literacies* (pp. 457-482). New York: Routledge.

Lam, W. S. E. (2009). Multiliteracies on instant messaging in negotiating local, translocal, and transnational affiliations: A case of an adolescent immigrant. *Reading Research Quarterly, 44*(4), 377-397.

Lavie, S., & Swedenburg, T. (1996). Between and among the boundaries of culture: Bridging text and lived experience in the third timespace. *Cultural Studies, 10*(1), 154-179.

Leander, K. M., & McKim, K. K. (2003). Tracing the everyday 'sitings' of adolescents on the Internet: A strategic adaptation of ethnography across online and offline spaces. *Education, Communication and Information, 3*(2), 211-240.

Lee, A. J. (May 1, 2006). Asian American studies: Identity formation in Korean American parachute kids. *College Undergraduate Research Electronic Journal.* Retrieved from http://repository.upenn.edu/curej/7/

Lee, J. S. (2006). Exploring the relationship between electronic literacy and heritage language maintenance. *Language Learning & Technology, 10*(2), 93-113.

Lee, R. M. (2005). Resilience against discrimination: Ethnic identity and other-group orientation as protective factors for Korean Americans. *Journal of Counseling Psyhology, 52*(1), 36-44.

Lemke, J. L. (2002). Travels in hypermodality. *Visual Communication, 1*(3), 299-325.

Levitt, P., & Glick-Schiller, N. (2004). Conceptualizing simultaneity: A transnational social field perspective on society. *The International Migration Review, 38*(3), 1002-1039.

Luke, C. (2002). Re-crafting media and ICT literacies. In D.E. Alvermann (Ed.), *Adolescents and literacies in a digital world* (pp. 132-146). New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.

Luke, C. (2003). Pedagogy, connectivity, multimodality, and interdisciplinarity. *Reading Research Quarterly, 38*(3), 397-403.

Maira, S. M. (2004). Youth culture, citizenship and globalization: South Asian Muslim youth in the United States after September 11th. *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East, 24*(1), 219-231.

Maira, S. M. (2010). Citizenship and dissent: South Asian Muslim youth in the US after 9/11. *South Asian Popular Culture, 8*(1), 31-45.

Mantovani, G. (2012). New media, migrations and culture: From multi- to interculture. In L. Fortunati, R. Pertierra, & J. Vincent (Eds.), *Migration, diaspora and information technology in global societies* (pp. 21-34). New York: Routledge.

Marcia, J. E. (1966). Development and validation of ego identity status. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 3*, 551-558

Marshall, M. N. (1996). Sampling for qualitative research. *Family Practice, 13*(6), 522-525.

McCarthey, S. J., & Moje, E. B. (2002). Identity matters. *Reading Research Quarterly, 37*(2), 228-238.

McGinnes, T., Goodstein-Stolzenberg, A., & Saliani, E. C. (2007). "indnpride": Online spaces of transnational youth as sites of creative and sophisticated literacy and identity work. *Linguistics and Education, 18,*283-304.

Merchant, G. (2006). Identity, social networks and online communication. *E-Learning, 3*(2), 235-244.

Merriam, S. B. (2002). Assessing and evaluating qualitative research. In S. B. Merriam (Ed.), *Qualitative research in practice: Examples for discussion and analysis* (pp. 18-33). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Min, P. G. (2011, January, 27). Koreans' immigration to the U.S.: History and contemporary trends. Research report No. 3.The research center for Korean community. Retrieved from http://www.qc.cuny.edu/Academics/Centers/RCKC/Documents/Koreans%20 Immigration%20to%20the%20US.pdf.

Mitchell, K., & Parker, W. G. (2008). I pledge allegiance to…: Flexible citizenship and shifting scales of belonging. *Teachers College Record, 110*(4), 775-804.

Moje, E. B. (2002). Re-framing adolescent literacy research for new times: Studying youth as a resource. *Reading Research and Instruction, 41*(3), 211-228.

Moje, E. B., Ciechanoswki, K. M., Ellis, L, Carrillo, R., & Collazo, T. (2004). Working toward third space in content area literacy: An examination of everyday funds of knowledge and discourse. *Reading Research Quarterly, 39*(1), 38-70.

Mokhtari, K., Kymes, A., & Edwards, P. (2008). Assessing the new literacies of online reading comprehension: An informative interview with W. Ian O'Byrne, Lisa Zawilinski, J. Greg McVerry, and Donald J. Leu at the University of Conneticut. *The Reading Teacher, 62*(4), 354-357.

Myers, J. P., & Zaman, H. A. (2009). Negotiating the global and national: Immigrant and dominant-culture adolescents' vocabularies of citizenship in a transnational world. *Teachers College Record, 111*(11), 2589-2625.

New London Group. (1996). A pedagogy of multiliteracies: Designing social futures. *Harvard Educational Review, 66*(10), 60-92.

Nilan, P., & Feixa, C. (2006). Introduction: Youth hybridity and plural worlds. In P. Nilan & C. Feixa (Eds.), *Global youth? Hybrid identities, plural worlds* (pp. 1-11). London: Routledge.

Ngo, B. (2010). *Unresolved identitiies: Discourse, Ambivalence, and urban immigrant students.* Albany, NJ: SUNY Press.

Nussbaum, M. C. (2002). Patriotism and cosmopolitanism. In J. Cohen (Ed.), *For Love of Country?* (pp. 3-17). Boston: Beacon Press.

Orellana, M. F., Thorne, B., Chee, A., & Lam, W. S. E. (2001). Transnational childhoods: The participation of children in processes of family migration. *Social Problems, 48*(4), 572-591.

Orellana, M. F., Reyolds, J., Dorner, L. M., & Meza, M. (2003). In other words: Translating or "para-phrasing" as a family literacy practice in immigrant households. *Reading Research Quarterly, 38*(1), 12-34.

Orellana, M. F. (2007). Moving words and worlds: Reflections from "the middle." In C. Lewis, P. Enciso, & E. B. Moje (Eds.), *Reframing sociocultural research on literacy: Identity, agency, and power* (pp. 123-136). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Orellana, M. F. (2009). *Translating childhoods: Immigrant youth, language, and culture*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Panagakos, A. N. (2003). Downloading new identities: Ethnicity and technology in the global Greek village. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, 10*(2), 201-219.

Parker, P. (1990). For the white person who wants to know how to be my friend. In G. Anzaldua (Ed.), *Making face, make soul*, San Francisco: Aunt Lute Foundation Books.

Pavlenko, A. (2006). Bilngual selves. In A. Pavlenko (Ed.), *Bilingual minds: Emotional experience, expression and representation* (pp. 1-33). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters LTD.

Polman, J. L., & Miller, D. (2010). Changing stories: Trajectories of identification among African American youth in a science outreach apprenticeship. *American Educational Research Journal, 47*(4), 879-918.

Portes, A., Guarinizo, L. E., & Landolt, P. (1999). The study of transnationalism: Pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 22*(5), 217-237.

Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2006). *Immigrant America: A portrait*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Porte, A., & Zhou, M. (2005). The new second generation: Segmented assimilation and its variants. . In M. M. Suárez-Orozco, C. Suárez-Orozco, & D. B. Qin (Eds.), *The new immigration: An interdisciplinary reader* (pp.85-101). New York, NY: Routledge.

Potter, J. (2012). *Digital media and learning identity: The new curatorship.* New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rogoff, B. (2003). *The cultural nature of human development.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sassen, S. (2003). Citizenship destabilized. *Liberal Education, 89*(2).

Sirin, S. R., Katsiaficas, D., & Volpe, V. V. (2010). Identity mapping: Methodological implications for studying hyphenated selves. *International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development, 2*, 22-25.

Soysal, Y. N. (1994). *Limits of citizenship: migrants and postnational membership in Europe.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Spradley, J. P. (1980). *Participant observation.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Staeheli, L. A., & Nagel, C. R. (2006). Topographies of home and citizenship: Arab-American activists in the United States. *Environment and Planning A, 38*, 1599-1614.

Stegman, B. (2014). Inquiry, new literacies, and the Common Core. *Kappa Delta Pi Record, 50*(1), 31-36.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory.* Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Suárez-Orozco, C. (2004). Formulating identity in a globalized world. In M. M. Suárez-orozco & D. B. Qin-Hillard (Eds.), *Globalization: Culture and education in the new millennium* (pp. 173-202). London: University of California Press.

Suárez-Orozco, M. M. (2005). Right moves? Immigration, globalization, utopia, and dystopia. In M. M. Suárez-Orozco, C. Suárez-Orozco, & D. B. Qin (Eds.), *The new immigration: An interdisciplinary reader* (pp. 3-19). New York, NY: Routledge.

Sveningsson, S., & Alvesson, M. (2003). Organizational fragmentation, discourse and identity struggle. *Human Relations, 56*(10), 1163-1193.

Terrazas, A. (2009). Korean immigrants in the United States. Retrieved from Migration Information Source Web site: http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/korean-immigrants-united-states-0

Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Warschauer, M., & Matuchniak, T. (2010). New technology and digital worlds: Analyzing evidence of equity in access, use, and outcomes. *Review of Research in Education, 34*, 179-225.

Woo, S. (2004). Online and unplugged: Locating Korean American teens in cyberspace. *Amerisia Journal, 30*(1), 171-187.

Yeh, C. J., Ma, P-W., Madan-Bahel, A., Hunter, C. D., Jung, S., Kim, A. B., Akitaya, K., & Sasaki, K. (2005). The cultural negotiations of Korean immigrant youth. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 83*, 172-182.

Yi, Y. (2009). Adolescent literacy and identity construction among 1.5 generation students: From a transnational perspective. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication, 19*(1), 100-129.

Appendices

Appendix I: Screening Survey Questions

Please answer the questions in your choice of language between Korean or English. You can use both languages as well.

Your name:

Age:

School:

Tell us about your migration history to the United States.

1. When did you move to America? (year, age)

2. Who moved to America with you?

3. What was the reason for moving, if you know?

4. How long have been in America?

5. How much schooling did your parents have?

      Mother: a) Elementary school b) High school c) University d) I don't know

      Father: a) Elementary school b) High school c) University d) I don't know

      In what country?

6. Where were your parents born?

7. Do you have family in another country or state?

      Yes / No

8. If you answered "yes" where?

9. How often have you gone to visit them?

      a) Never   b) 1-2 times   c) 3-4 times   d) 5 or more times

10. Do you have friends in another country or state?

      Yes / No

11. If you answered "yes," where?

12. Do you communicate with them?

      Yes / No

13. If you answered "yes," how do you contact them? Please circle every way you use to contact them.

      a) Phone call   b) Letters   c) Email   d) Skype (call/ chatting)

e) Personal blog   d) Internet Community   e) Internet Chatting

f) Others (   )

14. How often do you contact them?

a) Everyday   b) Every other day   c) Once or twice a week   d) Once a month

e) A few times a year   f) Never   g) Others (   )

15. In what language do you communicate with them?

a) Korean   b) English   c) Both   d) Other (   )

16. Have you even gone to school in another country?

Yes/ No

17. If you answered "yes," where?

How long?

Tell us about your language use.

18. Where do you use Korean? Please circle all the places where you use Korean.

a) Home   b) School   c) Church   d) Other places (   )

19. Who do you speak Korean with? Please circle all the people that you speak Korean with.

a) Your mother   b) Your father   c) Younger brothers or sisters

d) Older brothers or sisters   e) Friends   f) Grandparents   g) Other relatives

h) Teachers   i) Other people (   )

20. Where do you use English? Please circle all the places where you use English.

a) Home   b) School   c) Church   d) Other places (   )

21. Who do you speak English with? Please circle all the people that you speak English with.

a) Your mother   b) Your father   c) Younger brothers or sisters

d) Older brothers or sisters   e) Friends   f) Grandparents   g) Other relatives

h) Teachers   i) Other people (   )

Please circle only one choice.

22.Speaking Korean is: Really easy   Easy   Not Easy but Not Hard   Hard   Really Hard

23.Speaking English is: Really easy   Easy   Not Easy but Not Hard   Hard   Really Hard

24.Reading in Korean is: Really easy Easy   Not Easy but Not Hard   Hard   Really Hard

25.Reading in English is: Really easyEasy   Not Easy but Not Hard   Hard   Really Hard

26.Writing in Korean is: Really easy Easy   Not Easy but Not Hard   Hard   Really Hard

27.Writing in English is: Really easy Easy   Not Easy but Not Hard   Hard   Really Hard

Tell me about your reading and writing practices.

28. What language do you read in?

      a) Korean   b) English   c) Both

29. If you need help with your homework, who do you ask? Please circle ALL the people or resources that help you.

      a) Your father   b) Your mother   c) Older sister/ brother

      d) Your grandparent   e) Younger sister/ brother   f) a Tutor   g) Friends

      h) Other family members (who?   )   i) Internet website (   )

      j) Other resources (   )

30. What do you write for? Please circle every writing you do and circle the language you use for each (E: English, K: Korean. B: Both languages).

      a) Homework (E/K/B)   b) Diary (E/K/B)   c) Email (E/K/B)

      d) Letter (E/K/B)   e) Korean language school homework (E/K/B)

      f) Text messaging (E/K/B)   g) Personal Blog (E/K/B)   h) Poem/ Fiction (E/K/B)

      i) Others (:E/K/B)

Tell us what you do when you are not in school. You can circle more than one choice for each question.

31. Where do you go after school, on the weekends, and on vacations? Please circle all places you go.

      a) Your house

      b) Your friend's house

      c) The library

      d) Church (Korean church/ American church)

      e) The park

      f) School playground

      g) An afterschool program (Which program?   )

      h) Parttime work place (Which work?   )

      i) A sports team (What sport?   )

      j) Extra curriculum activity (What activity? And where   )

      k) Travel (Where?   )

      l) Other (   )

32. What do you like to do when you are not in school?

33. When you are at home, what do you do? Please circle all the activities that you do.

    a) Do homework   b) Play with your brother/ sister

    c) Hang out with your fiend (Where?   )

    d) Read (what do you read?   )

    e) Play Video Games (Which one? 1. Nintendo   2. Playstation   3. Ipod/ Ipad

                                  4. Computer   5. Gameboy   6. Others:)

    f) Watch TV (What shows do you watch?   )

    g) Listen to music (Who are your favorite artists or bands?   )

    h) Work (what do you do/ where do you work?   )

    i) Others

Tell me about how you use a computer. You can circle more than one choice for each question.

34. Where do you use a computer? Please circle all the places that you use a computer.

    a) School   b) Home   c) After school program   d) Library

    e) Other places (   )

35. How often do you use computers outside of school?

    a) Every day   b) Several times a week   c) Once or twice a month

    d) Almost never

36. What do you use computers for? Please circle all the things that you use a computer for.

    a) Homework   b) Email   c) Internet web surfing   d) Personal blog

    e) Internet community   f) Facebook/ My Space   g) Twitter

    h) Journal   i) Instant Messaging   j) Chat rooms

    k) Writing letters/ poems/ stories   l) Games

    m) Other things (   )

Tell us about yourself

37. Your age:

38. Boy or Girl

39. Do you have brothers or sisters? Yes: No:

40. If "yes," write their names and ages below.

    Name   Age

41. Where were you born?

42. Circle all the things you might call yourself:

      a) Korean   b) Boy   c) Girl   d) American   e) Korean-American

      f) Asian   g) Immigrant h) Kid   i) White

      j) Others:

43. If you want to tell me about yourself, please feel free to write here.

Appendix II: Initial Interview Protocol

In this initial interview, I asked mainly about background history of migration and perception of

belonging.

1. Tell me about your family's migration history.

   ◆ Probe when, how, why they moved to America.

2. Tell me about how it is like to be in America?

   ◆ Probe the overall experience of life in America in terms of challenges and benefits.

3. What language do you usually use at home, school, and community?

   ◆ Probe the participant's language usage in various settings in terms of with whom, in

      what language, on what topics, and how successfully the participant communicates.

   ◆ Probe the participant's perception of language (English/ Korean), and how it is related to

      his/her identity (e.g., in terms of how the participant feels when using specific language,

      and why)

4. Where do you feel the most attached and affiliated? Why?

5. What comes to your mind when you hear the word, 'citizenship?

6. In which country are you citizen of? and Why do you think so?

7. Are citizenship and membership same concepts? or different? and why?

8. Which country do you think (or do you wish) you will end up living? Why?

Appendix III: Follow-up Interview Protocol

In this follow-up interview (or informal conversations), I examined literacy activities of participants in their transnational relationships.

1. Tell me about your relationships with people in your home country. (e.g., family, friends)

- If you contact them and correspond with each other, how do you contact them?

- How often do you contact each other?

- What are some activities you do with them?

- How does the relationship affect you?

2. Tell me about how Korean culture and language affect your life here.

- What kinds of cultural activities do you do that are related to Korea?

- What language do you use at home?

- Probe about their home language practice, home popular cultures such as K-Pop

3. Tell me about your activities in computer-mediated space.

- Where do you visit in online space?

- What are some activities you do in those spaces?

- How often do you do those activities?

- Who do you interact with in those spaces?

- How do you feel about your online activities?

- Probe mainly the nature of literacy activities they do in online space and how they are related to their sense of identity and relationship with others.

Appendix IV: Identity Map Direction

1. Please represent who you are in whichever way you like. You are free to use drawing, colors,

symbols, and/or words

2. Express where you feel the most comfortable and what you are doing in that place.

Sample Identity Map

Survey Questions   9

2. Express where you feel the most comfortable and what you are doing in that place. 그림으로 (글로 함께 써도 좋아요) 자신이 어디에 있으면 가장 편안한지 나타내 주세요. 그리고 거기서 무엇을 하고 있는지도 표현해 주세요.

zzz 자

call fresh

head

watch violinist kakao talk, E-mail

in korea

call

오늘의 plan 쓰기

Giyun's

Appendix V: Literacy Activity Checklist

Reading	Print/Computer	Korean/English	Details (how long? what? to whom? title)
Books (Fiction/ Non-fiction)	P/C	K/E	
Newspaper	P/C	K/E	
Magazine	P/C	K/E	
Comic Books	P/C	K/E	
Letters	P/C	K/E	
Email		K/E	
Bible (other Religious book)	P/C	K/E	
Websites		K/E	
Textbook	P/C	K/E	
Others (Games, TV, Movie, etc)	P/C	K/E	
Writing	P/C	K/E	
Letter, Notes, Cards	P/C	K/E	
Emails		K/E	
Diary writing	P/C	K/E	
Web-sites (posting)		K/E	
Fiction writing	P/C	K/E	
Poem	P/C	K/E	
Text messaging	P/C	K/E	
Others	P/C	K/E	

Sample Literacy Activity Checklist - Janice

Reading	Print/Computer	Korean/English	Details (how long? what? to whom? title)
Books (Fiction/ Non-fiction)	Both	Usually (97% ish) english.	I usually read fiction, and nowadays I'm currently reading " Great Expectations " by Charles Dickens. I read a lot of Jane Austen's books too.
Newspaper	Both	Both	I sometimes read over my mom's shoulder on the korean newspaper " chosun ilbo.?" and for school research sometimes I check on financial times.
Magazine	Paper	English	I flip through national geographic and " The New Yorker" .
Comic Books	Paper	Both.	I read comic books that are left by my brothers… otherwise I don't really read comic. Some of the titles are: " Babymouse, Rapunzel, Poseidon, Captain Underpants, etc."
Letters	Paper	Usually korean, but not always.	I don't really write or read letters, only on occasions from relatives, or surprise letters from old contacts.
Email	Comp.	Both	I usually email my current school members, but sometimes I do email my relatives or old contacts.
Bible (other Religious book)	Both	English	I can read both languages, but since I go to an American church here, I carry around an english one.
Websites		Both	I visit websites for school (research), entertaintement (netflix,etc.) , and some things my mom wants to know (how much is this or that, etc.)
Textbook	Both	English	I use both print and online, but I prefer paper. Also, I've never looked at a korean textbook…
Others (Games, TV, Movie, etc)	Both	Usually english, but not always.	
Writing	Both	Both	I write both languages. Usually korean for personal, and english for everything else.
Letter, Notes, Cards	Usually paper, but not always.	Both	I write notes to myself in english, and cards usually in english unless they're for relatives. Letters I mainly only give and recieve from relatives.
Emails	Comp.	Both	Like I said before, only emails to relatives are in korean. Otherwise all my contacts are more or only comfortable with english.
Diary writing	Paper	Korean	I personally write korean for my personal

			stuff, because: a) most people I know wouldn't know how to read it. b) it helps me practice korean (writing)
Web-sites (posting)	None.	None.	I don't post on websites at all.
Fiction writing	Both	English	Only once or twice have I tried writing on my own… outside of school.
Poem	Both	English	I really don't write poems unless it's a school assignment. I have written them on both paper and online, though.
Text messaging	I don't text.	I don't text.	I don't have a phone yet, therefore cannot text.
Others	Both	Both	?

Appendix VI: Example of Axial Coding Process

Coding Chart

Category	Subcategory	Property	Dimension
I. Media and Space - Transpatial intersection (Space context intersecting with people context) *"That's a world, too"* How do new media connect people and space? How do new media enable youth to traverse multiple life contexts?	A. Transpatial intersection	a. glocal	Local (family/school/ community) to Global
		b. transnational	Korea to America America to Korea
	B. Physicality VS. Accessibility	a. physical absence and distance	Uncertainty and distance of data and relationship
		b. virtual presence and closeness	Presence of data and relationship without much limitation of time and space, closeness despite physical distance
		c. accessibility/mobility	Access diverse things and people, physically static but digitally moving fast across spaces
II. Youth Engagement with Media *"Media is everything"* How do youth conceptualize new media and media in general? How and for what do youth use new media?	A. Media conceptualization	a. commercialized 'big' media	dominant, irrelevant, and working on subconscious level
		b. personalized media	communicating, participating, mediating, enjoying, relevant
		c. all technology vs. no technology	rejecting, balanced, addicted
	B. Relationship/ Communication	a. reconnection/recreation (fun)	with family and friends in distant places, to home culture and language
		b. extension	personal connection to cultural exchange/ existing relationships into new connections (Blogs/SNS/ Youtube) / past or lost connection to the present context (relevance)
	C. Community building	a. shared interest/ shared identity	Mutual interest to shared minority identity
		b. social community	conversation, discussion, conflict, diversity
		c. sense of community	feeling of togetherness/ relevance to life contexts

	D. Learning	a. researching	accessing and understanding diverse contents and research tools
		b. building perspectives	Taking ownership for learning, developing perspectives
		c. presenting	expressing and sharing knowledge and opinions/ experimenting diverse presenting modes
	E. Creation/ Production	a. fun making	enjoying the creative process of making media, relating to diverse modes, humors, cultural contents, styles
		b. connecting school and home contexts	assignment of one's interest and choice
		c. community involvement	creating contents for online community
III. Media and Identity: Resistance, Negotiation and Representation	A. Resistance	a. resistance to racialized identity, ethnic identity	hiding race to resisting stereotypes
		b. advocacy of misrepresented ethnic identity	researching and advocating Korean ethnic culture and history
"It's a spectrum, everything's a spectrum, Everything"	B. Negotiation	a. discrepancy (online vs. offline self)	diverse layers of online and offline identities
		b. emergence of new self(ves)	developing new sense of self
		c. balance	Seeking congruence between online and offline selves, balance between digital and print literacy practices, between physical and digital relationship
How do youth negotiate and articulate their identities through new media practices?	C. Representation	a. authoring identities	writing/ sharing identities, co-constructing meaning
		b. curating identities	mixing, blending, hybridizing diverse resources and identitiies
		c. exploring/ experimenting new media and identities	exploring potentials of emerging media and identities