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Communication as a resource for Latin American immigrant settlement in the United States: An ethnography of communication

Danielle Kvam

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**COMMUNICATION AS A RESOURCE FOR
LATIN AMERICAN IMMIGRANT SETTLEMENT IN THE
UNITED STATES: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF
COMMUNICATION**

by

Danielle Kvam

B.A., Communication Studies, Spanish, Concordia College, 2007
M.A., Communication Studies, New Mexico State University, 2010

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Communication

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

April, 2014

DEDICATION

Para toda la gente de ISC. Estoy agradecida por su ayuda, apoyo, y amistad.

and

For Margaret Markwed and Jane Silker, who showed me the power of education.

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There are many people who have contributed to my ability to complete this dissertation that I would like to acknowledge individually. No two people have had a more profound and positive impact on my life and work than my parents. My mother, Nancy, is naturally curious and finds interest and beauty in everything around her. She has taught me that all that seems simple is complex and all that seems mundane is of great importance. She encourages me to look closer, ask questions, seek my own answers, and take nothing for granted. Her lessons have led me to dedicate my life to learning and teaching.

My father, Tim's greatest gift is his compassion for others. He reminds me daily of my incredible privilege and has taught me that my own perspective is just that, only my own. As I watch my father dedicate his life to helping those in need, I assess my own life's work and how the skills that I have been so privileged to build can be used in the service of others.

I am extremely fortunate to have a true partner and best friend in Nick. The many silent sacrifices that Nick has made to support my dreams are only one manifestation of the kind, passionate, curious, empathetic, and truly wonderful person he is. Although he always puts the needs of others before his own, he has big dreams and makes me proud everyday to be his partner.

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2010**

ABSTRACT

In this dissertation, I investigate the uses and meanings (Hymes, 1972/1986) of various metacommunicative terms, or “talk about talk” (Philipsen, 1992, p. 72) of a speech community. This speech community is comprised of Latin American immigrants residing in the United States and the staff members who serve them at an immigrant support center (ISC hereafter). I apply Hymes’s (1962, 1972/1986, 1974) ethnography of communication to investigate the uses and meanings of the metacommunicative practices of the ISC speech community, which I treat as demonstrating communication practices available for speakers at ISC. In addition to investigating their metacommunicative practices, I also explore the “relational alignments”, or “understandings of the self, other(s), and self and others” (Covarrubias, 2002, p. 33) that manifest in ISC community members’ talk and mediate their use of various metacommunicative terms. To begin my investigation, I conducted a pilot study at ISC that included 2 months of participant observation of everyday talk at ISC, 7 in-depth interviews with ISC participants and staff, and the collection of public documents produced by ISC participants and staff (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Building on the findings from the pilot study, I conducted the main study

for the current research, which included five months of participant observation at ISC, in-depth interviews with 30 ISC participants and staff members, and collection of the public documents they produced. I apply Strauss and Corbin (1990) and Charmaz's (2006) coding procedures to analyze the data and generate themes. To provide context for these themes, I draw from the literature concerning speech codes theory (Philipsen, 1992, 1997; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005), metacommunication (Carbaugh, 1989; Carbaugh, Berry, & Nurmikari-Berry, 2006; Carbaugh, Boromisza-Habashi, & Ge, 2006; Leichter & Black, 2010; Leichter & Castor, 2009; Katriel, 1986), communication and immigration (Amaya, 2007; Cheng, 2012; de Fina & King, 2011; Henry, 1999; Kim, 1977, 2005; Santa, Ana, Morán, & Sanchez, 1998; Sowards & Pineda, 2013), and Latin American immigration (Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjívar, 2000, 2003, Parrado & Flippen, 2005; Pessar, 2003). I identified 24 available communication practices for speakers at ISC, marked by the use of different metacommunicative terms. I apply Carbaugh's (1989) theory of metacommunication to categorize each practice based on its level (act, event, style), describe the content transmitted via the practice, and identify its functions. Then, I identified six relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002) that I treat as mediating, or making these communication practices meaningful for the ISC speech community. Given these findings, I propose that ISC staff members may leverage the uses and meanings (Hymes, 1972/1986) of these available communication practices for ISC community members, by creating programming that utilizes these communication practices. Furthermore, the relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002) that ISC community members implicate through their talk can be fostered to assist in the utilization of the culturally relevant programming created at ISC. Therefore, increased

knowledge related to the available communication practices and relationships through which these practices are meaningful can increase accessibility and thus the utilization of resources offered at ISC. Access and utilization of ISC's resources assists Latin American immigrants in making lives in the United States. Furthermore, I propose that communication itself serves as a resource (Leighter & Castor, 2009) that provides more than an information giving and receiving function (Carbaugh, 1989) for its users and is therefore worthy of specific investigation.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Research Problem

In this research, I am interested in how metacommunicative terms, or the terms we use to name, describe, and mark our communication practices as available and meaningful (Briggs, 1986; Carbaugh, 1989; Philipsen, 1992) can be understood as important communicative resources (Leigher & Castor, 2009) for the productive settlement of Latin American immigrants in the United States. I am also interested in how these communication resources can be leveraged by Latin American immigrant participants and the staff who serve them at an immigrant support center (ISC hereafter) in the U.S. American Southwest to encourage participation and productively serve the Latin American immigrant community. This ISC serves the local Latino/a immigrant community by providing domestic violence prevention resources, adult basic education programming, and opportunities for community organizing around immigrant rights issues. I investigate local metacommunicative terms in Mexican Spanish, treating these terms as markers of available communication practices for speakers at ISC (Carbaugh, 1989). Following Hymes (1962, 1972/1986, 1974), I define communication practices as communicative means that bear particular meanings for their users.

I propose that participants and staff at ISC, about whom I collectively refer as ISC community members, have available an array of distinctive metacommunicative terms to which they assign unique meanings (Carbaugh, 1989; Philipsen, 1992). ISC community members are mostly women from Mexico, who have immigrated to the U.S. American Southwest and are seeking the resources provided by the ISC. The particular set of metacommunicative terms community members employ denotes a culturally unique

meaning for an available communication practice for speakers at ISC. Furthermore, I suggest that community members understand some of the available communicative practices as more useful than others, and as serving different functions (Carbaugh, 1989). For example, one ISC community member, P25, discusses the communication practice of a *plática* (a talk, a chat) as insignificant, as “just communication.” However, this same community member also describes the communication practice of a *diálogo* (dialogue) as concerning significant topics, and as serving a problem solving function. This community member’s characterization of the practices of a *plática* and a *diálogo* demonstrates the diverse meanings that can be assigned to unique communication practices. I propose that exploring the potential meanings for available communication practices, as well as considering how ISC community member employ these practices in their talk at ISC (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974), can yield better understandings about how communication itself can serve as a resource (Leigher & Castor, 2009) that can help mediate enhanced social participation by ISC members and enable them to settle effectively in the United States.

To investigate the use of metacommunicative terms as discursive evidence of available communication practices, I treat participants at this ISC as a speech community and explore their everyday talk for clues about how shared uses and understandings of unique metacommunicative terms constitutes, at least in part, a culture (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974). I apply Geertz’s (1973) definition of culture as “a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols” (p. 89). Given this definition of culture, I suggest that the uses and meanings of metacommunicative terms, which mark available communication practices, are shaped by complex cultural expectations and

assumptions (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986) that Latino/a immigrants bring with them from their communities of origin in Latin America to the new communities they are building in the United States (Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjivar, 2000; O'Connor, 1990). These cultural expectations and assumptions for communication result in the patterned use of metacommunicative terms that can be observed in specific contexts (Carbaugh, 1989, 2007; Philipsen, 1992), including organizations that aid in immigrant settlement, such as ISC.

Covarrubias (2002) has suggested that within all organizations, such as the ISC I explore in the current research, multiple speech codes shape the communicative practices of speech community members. Philipsen (1997) defined speech codes as “a system of symbols and meanings, rules, premises pertaining to communicative conduct” (p. 127). Philipsen (1992, 1997) and Philipsen, Coutu, and Covarrubias (2005) have indicated that speech codes and their elements (meanings, rules, premises) make apparent particular cultural orientations to the self and others. Building on the notion of speech codes, Covarrubias (2002) defined “relational alignments” as “understandings of the self, other(s), and self and other(s) in situated interactions” (p. 33). In other words, relational alignments underscore the interpersonal nature of situated communication, suggesting that the enactment of a cultural communication practice always demonstrates particular ways to understand the self and others in a particular context (Carbaugh, 2005, 2007; Covarrubias, 2002; Philipsen, 1992). Therefore, the metacommunicative practices of the ISC speech community not only mark particular communication practices as available, but also highlight the relational alignments that help make these practices meaningful for their users.

Following Covarrubias (2002) and Philipsen (1992, 1997), I propose that by gaining an understanding about how speech community members use metacommunicative terms to mark cultural communicative practices as available and meaningful, and by investigating how these practices are concurrently shaped by speech codes and situated relational alignments, ISC community members can productively promote these communicative practices within the ISC community as resources for settlement in the United States.

This research problem ties together multiple complex constructs including metacommunication, speech codes, and Latin American immigration, each with coordinating bodies of literature. These bodies of literature helped establish the assumptions that guide the current research. In the following section, I specifically outline each of my assumptions regarding the research problem, offering insights into the ways that this assumptive framework shapes my investigation of the metacommunicative practices of ISC community members.

Researcher Assumptions

I approach this investigation of metacommunication from the cultural communication perspective (Philipsen, 2002), grounded in the philosophical assumptions of interpretivism, which assumes that communicative phenomena are contextually unique and meaningful, and shape and are shaped by the underlying cultural meaning systems of a speech community (Carbaugh, 2005; Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974; Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011; Lindlof & Taylor, 2011; Philipsen & Coutu, 2005; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005). Therefore, I assume that communication and culture are jointly constitutive (Carbaugh, 2005; Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974; Philipsen, 1975,

1992). Given these assumptions, I define communication as the communal generation of meaning, transmitted as symbols and shaped by cultural rules, premises, codes, and relational alignments (Carbaugh, 2005; Covarrubias, 2002; Hall, 2005; Philipsen, 1992, 1997; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005). Following Burke (1966) and Craig (1999a) and Craig and Muller (2007), I assume that through communication, speakers both constitute and reflect their social realities, and by doing so generate shared meanings.

Applying Hymes's (1972/1986) definition of a speech community as "a community sharing rules for conduct and interpretation of speech" (p. 54), I assume that the Latin American immigrant participants and the staff members who serve them at this ISC comprise a speech community, whose communicative practices are informed by culturally unique speech codes. Given Philipsen's (1997) aforementioned definition of speech codes, I assume that these codes are shaped by culturally significant expectations, assumptions, rules and norms for communication of this speech community that manifest discursively through their metacommunicative practices. Therefore, I assume that as I investigate the culturally unique metacommunicative practices, as evidence of their available communication practices, ISC community members reveal their culture (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974).

In addition to the aforementioned assumptions related to communication and culture, I also hold assumptions related to the settlement processes of Latin American immigrants in the United States. I assume that in addition to the myriad material and symbolic resources (Hall, 2005; Hymes, 1972/1986; Philipsen, 1992) required for settlement by Latin American immigrants residing in the United States (Hagan, 1998;

Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2000; Menjívar, 2000), that communication itself is an important resource for immigrant settlement. Therefore, an analysis of the metacommunicative practices of Latino American ISC participants and Hispanic heritage staff members, reveals underlying speech codes and their elements, including the relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002) that shape users understandings of their communicative practices (Philipsen, 1992, 1997; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005). Without seeking comprehensive understandings of how speech code elements such as relational alignments shape the communicative practices of this speech community and vice versa, communication itself may not be used as optimally as possible as a resource for settlement. Taken together, these assumptions regarding communication and culture, as well as Latin American immigration to the United States comprise the assumptive framework I use to investigate the aforementioned research problem within the research context of ISC.

Research Context

The research context I explore in the current investigation of metacommunication is an ISC that serves approximately 150 Latin American immigrants between the ages of 18 and 85, located in a large city in the U.S. American Southwest. I use the term “participant” to describe a person who makes use of the services provided by ISC staff. Participants are primarily from Latin America, mostly from Mexico. I use the term “staff” to describe a person who provides services to the Latin American immigrant participants. Because some participants also work as staff, and likewise some staff are also participants in ISC classes and community events that benefit the Latin American community, the roles of participant and staff are often simultaneously played. Because of

the difficulty in clearly differentiating between participants and staff, and because their communication practices are as Hymes (1972/1986) explains, mutually understandable, I refer to participants and staff collectively as ISC community members, and treat them as a speech community.

The number of community members served by the ISC fluctuates due to the complex circumstances associated with living as an immigrant in the United States. Some community members may attend classes consistently for months at a time, but may have to stop attending due to health problems, work demands, or the need to return to their country of origin. More ISC community members identify as female than as male, which parallels Hondagneu-Sotelo's (1994) discussion of ISCs that serve Latin American immigrants in California. Because the ISC is concerned with assisting immigrant families and provides daycare services for children of participants attending classes, many children are also present at the center, but are not considered "community members" because they do not seek or provide the services of the ISC. In this research, I focus only on the metacommunicative practices of adult community members, only considering adults as members of the speech community due to their understanding of the complex cultural uses and meanings of metacommunicative terms (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986).

The ISC is comprised of three *organizaciones hermanas* (sister organizations), a domestic violence prevention organization, a community-organizing organization, and an adult basic education organization. The domestic violence prevention organization was established first, to address the problem of familial violence within the Latino/a immigrant community living in the United States. The domestic violence prevention

organization provides confidential resources for victims of domestic violence, including training survivors as community “*promotoras*” (promoters) who work directly with local families to prevent and move forward from situations of familial violence. Soon after the domestic violence prevention organization began serving the Latino/a immigrant community, their staff became aware of the need for advocacy work and leadership building surrounding immigrant rights. As a result, the community-organizing group was established to advocate at the city, state, and national levels for immigrant rights. Their work includes planning and implementing local marches to support immigrant friendly legislation and celebrate leaders in the Latino/a community (Cesar Chavez), scheduling meetings between members of the Latino/a immigrant community and local, state, and national-level politicians, and hosting monthly meetings to assess the needs of the immigrant community. Finally, the adult basic education organization was established to meet the educational needs of the Latino/a immigrant community. Their classes include General Education Development (GED), English as a Second Language (ESL), and computer proficiency courses. These classes coincide with the local university’s schedule (16 weeks per semester), and are offered in either the morning or evening. The adult basic education organization also established a student leadership group, which meets monthly to help plan educational events and presentations and assess the educational needs of the Latino/a immigrant community. Approximately 30 students participate in the student leadership group.

These three organizations work collectively to offer comprehensive resources to assist Latino/a immigrants in making lives in the United States. Although the domestic violence prevention organization has its own building, the community organizing and

adult basic education organizations share a building. Within the building that the community organizing and educational organizations occupy, all three organizations provide resources to the community. For example, the domestic violence prevention group offers parenting class for parents with adolescent children as well as a healthy relationships class in this building. Furthermore, one evening a month students participating in evening classes are asked to take attendance in their classes prior to moving to the open space of the building to participate in the community organizing group's membership meetings. Therefore, the lines between the three organizations are blurred daily, and to be a member of one of the organizations means some level of participation in the others. As a result, the ISC is comprised of all three organizations, but I limited my study to activities and interactions that take place within the community organizing and adult education group's building. Because the domestic violence organization, which has its own building, has strict privacy rules, observing interactions within that location was not possible.

In my previous pilot research with this ISC, I learned that although community members indicated that they initially began participating at ISC to take classes or seek help with domestic violence issues, they continued their participation because of the opportunities to meet and interact with others who shared similar experiences residing in and immigrating to the United States. Assuming then, that participants orient to the classes, meetings, and other community events as educational and settlement tools, and given my assumption that communication itself can also be considered a settlement tool, oral communication is a resource used during formalized classes, community events, and during impromptu interactions among community members to assist in settlement.

Also through the pilot study at ISC, community members indicated that although there are multiple locations within their city to obtain many of the resources offered by the ISC, they seek the services of ISC because of opportunities for interactions and feelings of belonging and community. In the current research, I spent a majority of my time observing the classes offered by the domestic violence prevention and adult basic education components of ISC, rather than the community-organizing group, because these classes provided daily opportunities to observe interactions among speech community members. However, when the community-organizing group invited participants to meetings, marches, or other events, I observed and participated in these activities. Now that I have delineated the research problem and the researcher's assumptions, and described the research context, I provide a research rationale.

Research Rationale

In the following paragraphs, I provide a justification for this research. This justification includes practical, theoretical, personal, and methodological motives, based on extant literature and my own experiences with this particular ISC. I begin with a practical rationale, discussing how this research may benefit participants at this ISC.

The utility of this investigation of metacommunication lies partially in my claim that communication practices themselves can be important personal, social, and cultural resources (Carbaugh, 1989; Philipsen, 1992) for Latin American immigrant settlement, in addition to material resources such as employment and the ability to generate financial capital, food, shelter, and healthcare (Hagan, 1998, Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2000; Menjivar, 2000, 2003; Parrado & Flippen, 2005). By orienting to the communication practices of Latin American immigrants as resources for settlement, with opportunities

for interactions between and among Latin American immigrants provided in part by ISCs (Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjivar, 2000, 2003), the current investigation of metacommunication allows the ISC staff to understand better the complex meaning systems (speech codes) that shape the uses and meanings of these practices for their users. Then, ISC community members can leverage this knowledge of communication by creating culturally appropriate programming (classes, events, meetings) to serve ISC community members more effectively.

Theoretical. A sizeable body of literature regarding immigration exists within the discipline of communication studies. This extant literature primarily concerns theories of cultural adaptation (Kim, 1977, 2005), representations of immigrants in U.S. American mass media (Ono & Sloop, 2002; Santa Ana, Morán, & Sanchez, 1998; Sowards & Pineda, 2013), auto-ethnographic accounts of immigration experiences (Amaya, 2007), and investigations of immigration using the words of immigrants themselves (Cheng, 2012; de Fina & King, 2011; Henry, 1999; Homsey & Sandel, 2012). The current research aims to contribute to the final theme in the literature by offering examples of the uses and meanings (Hymes, 1972/1986) of distinctive metacommunication terms of Spanish speaking Latin American immigrants and the staff who serve them, using their own words. In addition to the discipline of communication studies, other social science disciplines have also generated a significant body of research regarding immigration to the United States.

The body of research focused on Latin American immigration to the United States across the social science disciplines that is most relevant to the current research has focused on patterns of immigration (Cerrutti & Massey, 2001; Donato, 2010; Durand,

Massey, & Zenteno, 2001; Marcelli & Cornelius, 2001; Massey & Pren, 2012), and the use of social networks (Hagan, 1998, Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjivar, 2000, 2003) to facilitate immigration. Within this extant literature from various social science disciplines, communication was often described as a means of transmitting information about the existence of resources and ways to obtain them (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjivar, 2000, 2003). However, I propose that communication is significantly more complex, meaningful, and functional for ISC community members than information giving and receiving and is worthy of specific investigation.

Personal. My personal interest in metacommunication stems from its ubiquity. As Craig (1999b) noted, communication scholars are both novice and professional analysts who are constantly engaged in the assessment of their own communicative practices (Briggs, 1986, Craig, 1999b). Craig (1999b) also differentiated between practical and theoretical metacommunication, indicating that practical metacommunication manifests in our everyday interactions as we name, categorize, and critique our own communicative behaviors to achieve particular social goals. Theoretical metacommunication, however, also comprises the daily work of communication scholars like myself, enacted through abstracted analyses of the everyday talk of research participants (Craig, 1999b). Through this analysis of the uses and meanings (Hymes, 1972/1986) of various metacommunicative terms, which belongs to the realm of theoretical metacommunication, I not only learned about the communication practices of ISC community members, but also about my own communication practices and how they may or may not be shaped by similar speech codes and associated relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002). Scholars of cultural communication have long known that in an

analysis of the communicative practices of cultures different from our own, we often learn as much about ourselves and our own cultural assumptions, meanings, and rules, as those whose communication practices we explore (Covarrubias, 2002; Martin & Nakayama, 2009; Philipsen, 1992, 2002). In learning about both the metacommunicative practices of others and reflecting on my own metacommunicative practices, I make a move toward becoming a more competent scholar of cultural communication and effective ethnographic analyst.

Methodological. To explore the aforementioned research problem, I employ Hymes's (1962, 1972/1986, 1974) ethnography of communication (EOC hereafter). More than 25 years ago, Philipsen and Carbaugh (1986) identified more than 250 research projects that had employed the EOC as the primary research method, each offering unique contributions regarding how this method might be used to investigate the intersection of culture and communication (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974). Additionally, Carbaugh and Hastings (1992) suggested that the EOC has a dual theoretical/methodological function. As a result, contextually situated theories about particular communicative phenomena may be generated using EOC, thus contributing to the extant body of literature regarding that phenomenon (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992; Philipsen, 1992). These contextually situated theories may also allow for the refinement of the EOC method itself, through new understandings about what counts as "data" in ethnographic inquiry. Therefore, each EOC based inquiry, such as the current research, increases the potential for both theory construction and method building (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992; Philipsen, 1992). In the following section, I propose the guiding research questions that I explore using an EOC design.

Research Questions

Given the research problem and rationale, I propose the following research questions:

RQ1: What communication practices are available for speakers at ISC?

RQ2: What relational alignments mediate these available communication practices?

These research questions are focused within the general research problem, and provide parameters for this investigation of metacommunication.

Review and Preview

Throughout chapter one, I have articulated the current research problem concerning metacommunication, delineated my assumptions related to the research problem, discussed the research context, and identified the guiding research questions. In chapter two, I discuss the extant literature regarding metacommunication, speech codes, and Latin American immigration to the United States, to further justify my focus on metacommunication and provide a theoretical foundation for the claims I make throughout this dissertation. In chapter three, I describe the major tenets and assumptions of the methodological framework I employ in this research, the EOC (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974), provide a justification for applying this method and delineate an EOC research design. In chapter four, I present the findings for research question one, delineating 24 metacommunicative terms that represent 24 available communication practices for ISC community members. In chapter five, I respond to research question two, and discuss the relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002) that mediate the available communication practices that I identified in chapter four. Finally, in chapter six I conclude my discussion of metacommunication practices at ISC, summarizing the

contributions of my research and responding to the practical, theoretical, personal, and methodological motivations that I outlined in chapter one.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

To investigate metacommunication as representative of available communication practices is to investigate a complex cultural, communicative phenomenon embedded within communication constructs such as speech codes and contexts such as support centers for Latin American immigrants. Throughout this review of literature, I discuss how the work of scholars in the areas of cultural communication and Latin American immigration has shaped my exploration of metacommunication. I borrow the phrases “term for talk” from Carbaugh (1989, p. 93) and “talk about talk” from Philipsen (1992, p. 72), and use these phrases to describe the extant literature regarding metacommunication throughout this chapter. I begin by defining culture, communication, and cultural discourse to lay the groundwork for understanding how the extant literature shapes the current research.

Culture, Communication, and Cultural Discourse

Scholars of cultural communication have described culture and communication as mutually informing one another (Carbaugh, 2005; Covarrubias, 2002; Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986; Philipsen, 1992, 1997; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005). For example, Geertz’s (1973) definition of culture as “a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols,” directly implicated communication as the primary means of conveying culture (p. 89). Philipsen (1992) suggested that the value of Geertz’s (1973) definition inheres in its emphasis on social construction, or the notion that culture is a communal and therefore a communicative accomplishment. In this way, when culture is transmitted, or shared through communication, it is shared among members of a larger

community that use its patterns and parameters to navigate their social worlds. Carbaugh (2005) described culture as intensely meaningful, indicating that to engage in communicative practices, which are innately cultural, is to construct significant social meanings. Drawing from Geertz's (1973) definition of culture, as well as definitions of communication from scholars from the cultural communication tradition (Hall, 2005; Philipsen, 1992, 2002; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005), I take communication to be the communal generation of meaning, transmitted as symbols and shaped by cultural rules, premises, and codes. This definition draws from Philipsen, Coutu, and Covarrubias's (2005) speech codes theory (SCT), assuming that interaction is shaped by culture, specifically through the cultural rules, premises, and codes that communicators use to accomplish social goals. Considered collectively, these definitions of culture and communication guide my understanding of cultural discourse.

Philipsen (1992) claimed that metacommunication manifests within communally generated discourses that are shaped by culture, which Carbaugh (2007) discussed as cultural discourse. Carbaugh (2007) defined cultural discourse as "a historically transmitted expressive system of communicative practices, of acts, events, and styles, which are composed of specific symbols, symbolic forms, norms and their meanings" (p. 169). Carbaugh (1989) has similarly identified "acts, events, and styles" (p. 98) as different levels of metacommunicative practices. In other words, metacommunicative terms represent communication practices, which are employed as acts, events, and styles (Carbaugh, 1989; Searle, 1976). In this way, Carbaugh (1989, 2007) described metacommunication as an element of cultural discourse. Therefore, by assessing cultural discourses produced by the ISC speech community, I can assess the metacommunicative

practices of those generating the discourses and make claims about how these practices are shaped by culture.

Carbaugh (2007) also discussed cultural discourse as surrounding five “radiants of meaning” including “personhood, relation, action, emotion, and dwelling” (Carbaugh, 2007, p. 174). These meanings result in what Carbaugh (2007) referred to as unique cultural premises, or theoretical accounts generated by researchers of the unstated assumptions shared by a speech community that shape their communicative practices. Philipsen (1992, 1997) and Philipsen, Coutu, and Covarrubias (2005) indicated that cultural premises are elements of speech codes. Therefore, to assess the cultural discourse of a speech community and to identify their cultural premises is a step toward articulating a theoretically complex speech code.

In the following section, I discuss each of Carbaugh’s (2007) categories of meaning, as these meanings are implicit in speech codes. The first category related to orientations to personhood, or shared assumptions regarding what it means to be a human member of a particular speech community. Inherently tied to assumptions about personhood, are orientations to relationships, which suggested parameters for how people should relate to one another in a given speech community. The third category of cultural discourse surrounded action, specifically ways to understand the communicative practices of a speech community as deliberate, and aimed at accomplishing particular social goals. The fourth category, emotion, described cultural rules and assumptions regarding appropriate ways to feel about particular situations and enact these feelings. The final category, dwelling, related to how individuals navigate, understand, and mark as meaningful the social and physical spaces and places within which they reside

(Carbaugh, 2007). The various cultural premises held and evoked by a speech community surround the aforementioned categories of meaning and both shape and are shaped by the cultural discourses they produce, including their everyday metacommunicative practices (Carbaugh, 1989, 2007). Therefore, in this research I investigate the uses and meanings (Hymes, 1972/1986) of various metacommunicative terms that represent available communication practices for ISC speakers, in an effort to understand the cultural premises, and other components of speech codes, that influence these practices.

Speech Communities

In this research, I understand the participants at ISC staff as comprising a speech community. According to Philipsen (1992), Fitch (1999), and Milburn (2004), employing a speech community as a unit of inquiry allows an analyst to privilege the speaking practices rather than the ethnicity, class, or geographic location of a particular group, to highlight communication, or in this case metacommunication, as important cultural practices. Milburn (2004) credited Hymes (1962) as one of the principal scholars of speech communities. Hymes (1972/1986) defined a speech community as “a community sharing rules for conduct and interpretation of speech” (p. 54). Through this definition, Hymes (1972/1986) described a speech community as being engaged in metacommunication through the establishment of “rules” and common means of “interpretation” of speech (p. 54). Drawing from Hymes’s (1972, 1986) definition of a speech community, I propose that ISC participants and staff comprise a speech community because of their shared understandings of the rules for the use and interpretations of meanings surrounding metacommunicative terms that allow for the generation of shared meanings and may result in community specific “ways of speaking”

(Hymes, 1972/1986, p. 58). From this perspective, then, speech community membership is emergent and based on shared communicative practices and meanings, rather than imposed by a researcher, which allows for the contextualization of speaking practices and understanding of how they are unique and meaningful (Milburn, 2004, Philipsen, 1992).

Milburn (2004) identified a schism within the community of scholars who employ and theorize speech communities. More specifically, some scholars contest the qualifications for speech community membership by focusing on the uses of particular speech codes as evidence of membership, whereas other scholars highlight identity and its coordinating enactments as evidence of membership (Milburn, 2004). In employing the term speech community, I subscribe to what Milburn (2004) called the “Philipsen/Katriel/Carbaugh view” (p. 420), which focused on the uses of shared speech codes and their elements as evidence of membership. This approach to speech communities allows the speaking practices, or in the case of the current research, the understandings surrounding the uses and meanings (Hymes, 1972/1986) of metacommunicative terms to mark speech community membership. Drawing from this approach, to be considered a member of the ISC speech community, members must not only know the meaning(s) of metacommunicative terms, but also must be able to identify the rules for their uses, including how to name different practices and how one communicative practice is similar to or different from others (Carbaugh, 1989).

Speech Codes

In studying metacommunication, I am investigating discursive manifestations of a complex matrix of interrelated cultural communicative phenomena, which Philipsen (1992, 1997) has theorized as a speech code. Drawing from this notion of interrelated

communicative phenomena, or codes, Philipsen (1992) generated speech codes theory (SCT hereafter). Based on more than 20 years of ethnographic work with a variety of speech communities, SCT is a way to systematically make sense of ethnographic descriptions and interpretations derived from fieldwork, interviews, and the collection of public documents (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2005; Philipsen & Coutu, 2005). Philipsen (1997) defined speech codes as “a system of symbols and meanings, rules, premises pertaining to communicative conduct” (p. 127). This definition of codes is tied to Geertz’s (1973) definition of culture, and is the basis for the definition of communication I provided earlier with its focus on communication as symbolic, and shaped by meanings, rules, and premises that are locally unique.

Speech codes theory was grounded on Hymes’s (1962, 1972/1986, 1974) ethnography of communication (EOC) and Bernstein’s (1971) discussion of restricted and elaborated codes, suggesting that the speaking practices and the meanings of these practices are shaped by culturally unique meaning systems (Philipsen, 1992, 1997; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005). These meaning systems and speaking practices are contextually unique and may or may not transcend to other contexts. Therefore, to investigate the particular speaking practices of a particular speech community is to work toward uncovering their guiding cultural meaning systems, or codes.

Bernstein (1971) suggested that the speaking practices of working and middle class Londoners could be explained by the concept of communication codes. He delineated the elaborated and restricted codes, wherein Londoners produced discourses drawing from available communicative resources (i.e. access to particular vocabularies, registers, etc.). Bernstein (1971) further explained that middle and upper class Londoners

had access to the elaborated and restricted codes, which were marked by access to a broad vocabulary, whereas working class Londoners only had access to the restricted code, marked by limited vocabularies. This early discussion of speech codes informed Philipsen's (1992, 1997) conceptualization of speech codes, which in turn has shaped the investigations of speech codes undertaken by other cultural communication scholars (Bassett, 2012; Carbaugh, Berry, and Nurmikari-Berry, 2006; Coutu, 2000; Covarrubias, 2002; Homsey & Sandel, 2012; Huspek, 1993, 1994).

Speech codes theory has been widely influential for scholars of cultural communication (Carbaugh, 2007; Philipsen, 2002), and as a result, many scholars have sought to contribute to the refinement of the theory itself and also to the articulation of new speech codes. Huspek (1993, 1994) for example, refined the theory by building on Bernstein's (1971) discussion of communication codes to propose the construct of oppositional codes, or the availability of multiple, potentially conflicting codes that shape the communicative practices of a particular speech community. In addition to Huspek's (1993, 1994) efforts at refining the theory, Philipsen (1997) and Philipsen, Coutu, and Covarrubias (2005) produced reiterations of the theory, with the latest grounded on six theoretical propositions. These proposition hold that within each speech community manifest strategic speaking practices that shape and are shaped by a particular "psychology, sociology, and rhetoric" (Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005, p. 61). In the following section I describe the existing research regarding speech codes, discussing how the current research may provide new insights into these codes or result in the emergence of a new code(s).

Although SCT shaped the way that many ethnographers of communication investigated communicative phenomena, few have abstracted discrete speech codes from their descriptive and interpretive findings. As a result, only eight speech codes currently populate the communication literature (Bassett, 2012; Coutu, 2000; Covarrubias, 2002; Homsey & Sandel, 2012; Philipsen, 1992). These codes are context dependent and may not explain the communication practices of the ISC speech community as fully as possible. Therefore, an investigation of the communication practices at the ISC speech community is warranted.

Philipsen (1992) articulated two codes, honor and dignity. In the code of honor, honor is defined as “the worth attached to individuals by virtue of their attained social identity, as that identity is found to be valued in a particular community” (Philipsen, 1992, p. 103). Therefore, speakers called on communication practices that bolstered the value of the community. In this way, the communicative practices, including their metacommunicative practices, transcended the individual.

In addition to the code of honor, Philipsen (1992) articulated a code of dignity, based on a separate set of principles. In this case, dignity “refers to the worth attached to individuals by virtue of their being a person” (Philipsen, 1992, p. 113). In contrast to the code of honor, which privileged the group, the code of dignity privileged the individual. As a result, a speaker called on communication practices that reinforced the uniqueness of the individual (Philipsen, 1992). It is important to note for the purposes of this inquiry that Philipsen’s (1992) codes of honor and dignity were based on assumptions of masculinity, meaning that honor and dignity in this speech community applied specifically to men. This point is relevant to the current research because significantly

more women than men are community members at ISC. Philipsen (1992) indicated that these codes represented a starting point for the articulation of other codes, suggesting that dignity and honor are not the only codes possible.

In leaving open the possibility for the articulation of other codes, Coutu (2000) delineated the codes of rationality and spirituality. Coutu's (2000) codes were based on an analysis of the text, *In Retrospect* by Robert S. McNamara, former U. S. Secretary of Defense, as well as more than 200 media articles written about the text. Coutu (2000) argued that the code of rationality espoused by McNamara valued logic, public (societal) debates about prominent social issues, and communication as a tool for solving practical problems. Coutu (2000) abstracted the code of spirituality from a corpus of media articles, and suggested that it was shaped by the use of spiritual terms such as sin, confession, and morality. Building from Huspek's (1994) discussion of oppositional codes, Coutu (2000) posited that two competing codes surrounded discussions of McNamara's text. Specifically, Coutu (2000) delineated a code a rationality that identified a lack of particular communicative actions as responsible for errors committed during the Vietnam War, and a code of spirituality, that depicted McNamara's text as lacking spiritual grounding, including a sense of morality. In this way, Coutu's (2000) codes of rationality and spirituality contributed to SCT by identifying the potential for multiple codes to manifest in the discourses of a given speech community. Covarrubias (2002) furthered Philipsen's (1992, 1997) and Coutu's (2000) propositions, by identifying "contrapositional" (p. 100) and yet complementary codes of a speech community, and describing how these codes manifest in contextually communicative practices.

Covarrubias (2002) proposed the codes of *respeto* (respect) and *confianza* (trust, interpersonal closeness/confidentiality), based on ethnographic research in a Mexican construction company. These codes manifested discursively in construction workers' pronominal address terms, such as *usted* (formal second person) and *tú* (informal second person). For example, the Spanish term for address *usted* denotes the code of *respeto*, whereas the term for address *tú* denotes the code of *confianza*. Covarrubias (2002) suggested that the code of *respeto* was shaped by a system of premises and rules about appropriate means of communicatively enacting the unequal social organization of a community. The code of *confianza*, however, was shaped by rules and premises that denoted appropriate ways to communicatively enact equality among workers.

In addition to articulating two speech codes, Covarrubias (2002) also contributed the notion of "contrapositional codes," (p. 100), arguing that the multiple codes of a speech community were not necessarily competing, as Huspek (1993, 1994) and Coutu (2000) suggested. Rather, Covarrubias (2002) claimed that codes can and do work harmoniously. Covarrubias's (2002) work is important to this study for two reasons. First, her research is an exploration of the communicative practices of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans, which is applicable to this research because of its focus on similar populations. Second, Covarrubias's (2002) findings make a direct connection between speech codes and a Hymesian (1962) "way of speaking" (p. 58) through the use of pronominal address terms, as I aim to do by delineating the uses and meanings (Hymes, 1972/1986) of metacommunicative terms as evidence of available communication practices for ISC speakers.

In addition to the aforementioned speech codes, Bassett (2012) recently identified a “speech code of science” within a speech community comprised of scientists and engineers in the field of nanotechnology (p. 115). This code focused on proposition three of SCT, which discussed codes as “implicat[ing] a culturally distinctive psychology, sociology, and rhetoric” (Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005, p. 61). Bassett (2012) indicated that the science code of the aforementioned speech community discouraged talk about negative outcomes and ethical considerations related to scientific inquiry, and focused talk exclusively on positive outcomes. Although Bassett’s (2012) code of science is not directly relevant to the focus of the current research, it represents an advancement of SCT into new contexts and contributes to my overall understandings of the utility of the theory.

Homsey and Sandel (2012) recently proposed “the code of food and tradition” (p. 59) based on ethnographic observation and interviews with a speech community comprised of second and third generation Lebanese immigrants residing in an area of the United States known as Flatland. This code was characterized by talk about food, talk during food consumption and preparation, and talk about traditional and gendered rules regarding food preparation as culturally salient means of enacting Lebanese identities (Homsey & Sandel, 2012). Although particular speaking practices (i.e. act sequences, pronominal address, etc.) were not directly investigated in the articulation of this code, this work is useful for the current research because of its focus on an immigrant community within the United States. By claiming that “the code of food and tradition” (p. 59) was a code unique to Lebanese immigrants, and that this code contrasted with an “American” code, Homsey and Sandel (2012) suggested that investigating immigrant

communities' communication practices is important. The articulation of this speech code, therefore, supports the current research at ISC, whose community members are also immigrants.

Metacommunicative practices themselves have been identified as manifestations of speech codes in most of the extant discussions of codes, and were identified in proposition five of SCT itself (Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005). For example, in Philipsen's (1992) iteration of SCT, he indicated that "a(n) immediately obvious way that culture is woven into speaking is in the use of culturally distinctive metacommunicative vocabulary (and other talk about talk)" (p. 132). Philipsen (1992) provided examples of metacommunication from *Nacirema* (American backwards) speech embedded within discussions of what counts as *communication*. Coutu (2000) explicitly explored metacommunication in her investigation of the text, *In Retrospect*, identifying the term *debate* as a central component of the code of rationality, around which other culturally meaningful metacommunicative terms clustered. Covarrubias (2002) indicated that one way that the code of *confianza* differed from the code of *respeto* was through the use of metacommunicative practices marked by the use of *tú* (second person informal pronoun). More specifically, by engaging the informal second person address associated with the code of *confianza*, speech community members engaged in specific modes of metacommunication, such as joking, that were deemed inappropriate with the use of *usted*, or formal second person address, associated with the code of *respeto* (Covarrubias, 2002). Given the presence of discussions of metacommunication in the extant literature regarding speech codes (Covarrubias, 2002; Coutu, 2000; Philipsen, 1992, 1997; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005), I suggest that an investigation of the uses and

meanings (Hymes, 1972/1986) of metacommunicative practices will provide fruitful insights into how Latino/a immigrants use these practices to seek resources that aid in their settlement in the United States. For further explanation, in the following section, I explore the literature surrounding metacommunication.

Metacommunication

Across the disciplines of communication and linguistics, various terms have been used to describe talk about communication. For example, Wierzbicka (1997, 2003) and Verschueren (1985) referred to this process as metapragmatics, Carbaugh (1989) discussed “terms for talk” (p. 93), Craig (1999b) theorized metadiscourse, and Leighter and Castor (2009) employed the term metacommunication. I apply both Leighter and Castor’s (2009) term metacommunication and Carbaugh’s (1989) description of “terms for talk” (p. 93) throughout this dissertation. I also find Carbaugh’s (1989) discussion of “native conceptions about speaking” (p. 96) to be a useful way to characterize metacommunication because it underscores the notion that “talk about talk” (Philipsen, 1992, p. 72) is meaningful for speakers because it is culturally informed. In the current research, I seek native conceptions of different Spanish metacommunicative terms as evidence of available communication practices for speakers at ISC. In this section, I discuss both the theoretical and data-driven literature regarding metacommunication.

Theoretical literature. Taking a linguistics perspective, Wierzbicka (2003) defined pragmatics as “the discipline studying linguistic interaction between ‘I’ and ‘you’” (p. 5). In other words, in learning about how metacommunication shapes interpersonal interactions, we also learn how interpersonal interactions shape metacommunicative practices. Therefore, in investigating the uses and meanings (Hymes,

1972/1986) embedded within metacommunicative terms, everyday interpersonal interactions serve as a rich source of information about how these practices are culturally unique and meaningful.

Verschueren (1985) focused on metapragmatics by identifying the dual function of speech acts (Searle, 1976) including “illocutionary force”, or what is accomplished through the practice of speaking itself, and “perlocutionary effect”, or the outcomes of the received speech act (p. 4). In other words, these functions explain the social work that was accomplished through the uttering of a particular speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Philipsen, 1992; Searle, 1976). Vorlat (1982) also distinguished between the roles of speech acts indicating that on one level, an illocutionary act does something, but the category of speech within which it falls, or its metacommunicative function, is also embedded in its uses and interpretations. As a result, categorizing a speech act and identifying its metacommunicative function allows for an analysis of how particular speech acts are made meaningful by members of a particular speech community (Carbaugh, 1989; Searle, 1976; Vorlat, 1982).

From a communication perspective, Carbaugh’s (1989) model of “terms for talk” (p. 93) is often referenced as a foundational theory of metacommunication (Leigher & Black, 2010; Leigher & Castor, 2009). Carbaugh (1989) theorized different levels of metacommunication, including “acts, events, styles, and functions” (p. 98). In the act level, individuals talk about their communication, but their talk is not reciprocated. In the events level, more than one speaker engages in talk about communication (Carbaugh, 1989). In the style level, speech community members apply specific, distinguishable terms to “general ways of speaking, each consisting of a set of acts and perhaps events

and scenes” (Carbaugh, 1989, p. 100). The use of these terms, then, marks particular communicative practices as locally unique and meaningful, different from other practices, and more or less appropriate in a given context. Finally, at the function level, the use of a term to name a communicative practice may result in unintended social outcomes associated with the practice, such as problem solving (Carbaugh, 1989). These four levels of metacommunication have informed much of the data-driven literature regarding metacommunication that I describe next.

Data-driven literature. Much of the data-driven literature regarding metacommunication within the discipline of communication has employed the ethnography of communication (EOC) (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974) to generate understandings about the cultural uses and meanings of particular terms (Carbaugh, Boromisza-Habashi, and Ge, 2006; Katriel, 1986; Katriel & Philipsen, 1981), the parts of speech used to name and differentiate between our communicative practices (Leighter & Castor, 2009), and what practices are considered metacommunication (Carbaugh, Berry, & Nurmikari-Berry, 2006). For example, Katriel and Philipsen’s (1981) discussion of the term *communication* and their differentiation between *mere talk* and true *communication* (p. 301), is considered an early discussion of metacommunicative terms as cultural (Carbaugh, 1989). Katriel’s (1986) exploration of *dugri*, or “straightforward” speech resulted in the delineation of a communicative ritual enacted by Sabra Israelis (p.11). Moreover, Carbaugh, Boromisza-Habashi, and Ge’s (2006) comparative, cross-cultural work explored the various cultural uses and meanings (Hymes, 1972/1986) for the term dialogue. More specifically, the authors applied Carbaugh’s (1989) classification of

communication practices (act, event, style, function, p. 98) to identify themes across Blackfoot, Chinese, Finnish, and Hungarian terms for dialogue.

Leighter and Castor's (2009) discussion of Dirven, Goossens, Putseys, and Vorlat's (1982) research regarding "linguistic action verbs" (p. 57) demonstrated how the verbs that are used to talk about communication denote different linguistic functions. For example, *talk* most often denoted dialogue, or the potential for turn taking in interactions. Conversely, *tell* implied a one-way interaction with messages being transmitted from a speaker to an audience (Leighter & Castor, 2009). Finally, the term *say* was accompanied by the embodied metaphor of *standing up* on behalf of an idea (Leighter & Castor, 2009, p. 68). In this way, each verb denoted a different "way of speaking" (Hymes, 1972/1986, p. 58), with various locally informed expectations for participation in an interaction.

The last theme in the empirical metacommunication literature from the discipline of communication focused on which communicative practices counted as metacommunication. Carbaugh, Berry, and Nurmikari-Berry (2006) suggested that talk about silence was important for the Finnish, for whom silence is a "natural way of being" (p. 206). Carbaugh et al. (2006) indicated that the particular terms used to describe ways to be silent were shaped by an underlying speech code that valued silence as a salient way of enacting Finnish identities.

Taken together, the extant theoretical and data driven-literature has described metacommunication as a communicative phenomenon evident in the cultural discourse of several cultural communities (Carbaugh, 1989; Carbaugh, Berry, & Nurmikari-Berry, 2006; Carbaugh, Boromisza-Habashi, & Ge, 2006; Covarrubias, 2002; Coutu, 2000; Leighter & Castor, 2009; Leighter & Black, 2010; Philipsen, 1992), that manifests at

different levels (Carbaugh, 1989), and can be analyzed to articulate speech codes (Philipsen, 1992, 1997; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005; Covarrubias, 2002). In the current research, I propose that an analysis of the metacommunicative practices, as markers of the available communication practices for speakers at ISC, will reveal the relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002) that shape and are shaped by these communication practices. In the following section, I define relational alignments and describe how they are relevant to the current research.

Relational Alignments

Based on Brown and Gilman's (1960) research regarding the pronominal address practices of different cultural communities, Covarrubias (2002) employed the term "relational alignment" (p. 33) to describe the ways that individuals understand themselves and their relationships with others as either equal or unequal. In terms of pronominal address, the use of informal second person pronouns, such as *tú* (you) in Spanish demonstrated perceptions of equality among speakers (Brown & Gilman, 1960; Covarrubias, 2002). Moreover, the use of formal second person pronouns, such as the Spanish *usted*, demonstrated perceptions of inequity, with one speaker possessing more social influence than another (Brown & Gilman, 1960; Covarrubias, 2002). Several scholars of the EOC (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974) have suggested that when people speak, they embed their talk with their culturally based assumptions about the self (personhood), others, and the relationships between the two (Philipsen, 1992; Carbaugh, 1989, 2007). For Covarrubias (2002), these assumptions form relational alignments.

Based on Carbaugh's (1989) differentiated levels of metacommunication (acts, events, styles, function, p. 98), I propose that in addition to assessing the pronominal

address practices, the metacommunicative practices of ISC speakers are also discursive manifestations of relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002), based on perceptions of both equity and inequity. As a point of clarification, Covarrubias (2002) suggested that relational alignments are often discussed in the extant literature as social meanings (See Carbaugh, 2005; Philipsen, 1992), and that the two terms can be used interchangeably. In the current research, I employ the term relational alignment, rather than social meanings, because it captures the unique interpersonal ties present that shape available communication practices at ISC. In addition to the literature surrounding speech codes (Philipsen, 1992, 1997; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2002), metacommunication (Carbaugh, 1989; Leighter & Castor, 2010; Leighter & Black, 2009), and relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002), the extant literature related to processes of immigration is also an important component of the framework used to assess the research questions delineated in chapter one of this dissertation.

Immigration Literature

In this section, I describe the extant immigration literature that shapes my understanding of the experiences of ISC community members. More specifically, I address the immigration literature within the communication studies discipline, where I position the current research, as well as immigration related literature outside of the communication studies. In the following section, I describe the communication studies literature.

Communication Immigration Literature. The extant research regarding immigration within the discipline of communication studies is vast and varied. Because this literature is too extensive and diverse to discuss completely, in this section I describe

the major themes present in this body of research, providing examples of each. The extant communication studies literature related to immigration concerns theories of cultural adaptation (Kim, 1977, 2005), representations of immigrants in U.S. American mass media (Ono & Sloop, 2002; Santa Ana, Morán, & Sanchez, 1998; Sowards & Pineda, 2013), auto-ethnographic, first person reflections on lived experiences as an immigrant (Amaya, 2007), and investigations of the communication practices of immigrants living in the United States, using the words of immigrants themselves (Cheng, 2012; de Fina & King, 2011; Henry, 1999; Homsey & Sandel, 2012).

In 1977, Kim articulated a theory of acculturation as an essentially communicative process. For Kim (1977), acculturation is the communicative process of learning about how to become a member of a new culture. This theory of acculturation attempts to explain how immigrants' participation in interpersonal interactions with members of the host culture and access to media produced by the host culture, influence immigrants' processes of assimilation. As my focus in the current research is on the uses and meanings (Hymes, 1972/1986) of communication practices that Latino/a immigrants employ among one another, within the context of the ISC, Kim's (1977) theory primarily serves to support my assumption that communication is a fundamental component of the processes that Latino/a immigrants undertake while making lives in the United States, including participating at immigrant support centers. As a result, communication itself is worthy of explicit investigation.

A significant portion of the immigration literature from the discipline of communication studies has focused on how immigrants are represented by the U.S. American mass media. As a leading example of research from this perspective, Ono and

Sloop (2002) described how mass-mediated discourses surrounding California's Proposition 187 presented Latino/a immigrants as criminals. Santa Ana, Morán, and Sanchez (1998) also analyzed mass media texts surrounding California's Proposition 187 and identified the use of metaphors by U.S. media outlets to describe Latino/a immigrants as a way to criminalize an immigrant group. Most recently, Sowards and Pineda (2013) identified three media artifacts, a fictional television show, a report from a news station, and an album from a prominent music group, as "sympathetic narratives" (p. 76) of immigration that shape public perception of Latino/a immigration to the United States. Sowards and Pineda (2013) argued that although these three mediated narratives appear to promote a sympathetic interpretation of the experience of Latino/a immigrants living in the United States, they actually serve to reinforce existing stereotypes by focusing on undocumented border crossings and promoting "American dream narratives" (p. 87) that underscore individual responsibility for success in the United States. Taken together, Ono and Sloop (2002), Santa Ana, Morán, and Sanchez (1998), and Sowards and Pineda (2013)'s research represents a larger theme in the immigration literature within the discipline of communication studies, a focus on the mediated representation of immigrants, and collectively suggests that immigrants are overwhelmingly depicted negatively by many U.S. American media outlets. This theme in the extant literature of representation of immigrants in the mass media is not directly related to the current investigation of available communication practices at ISC. It does, however, usefully identify the many challenging stereotypes placed on immigrants, including Latino/a immigrants living in the United States.

Amaya's (2007) auto-ethnographic exploration is evidence of the third theme in the communication studies literature regarding immigration, first-person accounts of communication practices produced by immigrants themselves. Amaya (2007) used his personal experiences as a Latino immigrant living in the United States and Canada to describe the process of acculturation as one that immigrants perform through their everyday interactions. More specifically, Amaya (2007) described several interactions in which he participated throughout his life that required him to perform an acculturated identity, including an interview for United States citizenship. Although Amaya's (2007) experiences as a Latino immigrant are unique, and may not be relevant the experiences of the Latino/a immigrants I met during the present ethnographic inquiry, understanding acculturation as performed, may provide insight into how and why some ISC participants employ particular communication practices.

A fourth theme in the communication studies literature regarding immigration concerns studies about the communication practices of immigrants, which present the utterances of immigrants themselves as data. The current investigation of available communication practices at ISC is most closely aligned with this approach to studying immigration and communication. As evidence of this theme in the communication studies literature, I describe studies conducted by Cheng (2012) with Chinese immigrant women in Oakland, Henry's (1999) research with Hmong refugees in Minnesota, de Fina and King's (2011) investigation of Latina immigrants' language problems, and Homsey and Sandel's (2012) ethnography of communication study of a Lebanese community in the United States.

First, Cheng's (2012) phenomenological study of Chinese immigrant women living in Oakland's Chinatown offered several culturally unique ways that Chinese immigrants describe their efforts to attain the American dream. One way that these women describe their struggles to meet their goal of being financially and physically secure is through the use of the phrase, "A wobbly bed still stands on three legs" (Cheng, 2012, p. 7). This phrase, a culturally unique metaphor, was employed by participants to indicate that although they still struggle, they continue to make progress toward their goal (Cheng, 2012). Prior to Cheng's (2012) study, Henry's (1999) work with Hmong refugees settled in Minnesota also identified Hmong community members' use of culturally unique metaphors to describe challenges related to health.

Henry's (1999) study focused specifically on the communication practices of Hmong refugees and identified the use of several culturally unique agricultural metaphors, used to describe health and illness. These metaphors offered alternative ways to understand illness, more specifically a measles outbreak affecting many Hmong children. Henry (1999) described how cultural understandings of health and illness, which manifested through the use of agricultural metaphors, became salient in a refugee context, where U.S. Americans held markedly different cultural assumptions about how to preserve health and avoid illness. De Fina and King (2011) also used the utterances of people transitioning into the United States to explain how immigration contexts shape communication, and vice versa.

More specifically, de Fina and King (2011) investigated narratives provided by Latina immigrants that reported difficult interpersonal interactions they had with U.S. Americans as a result of a language barrier. The authors used the narratives of Latina

immigrants to differentiate between language difficulties, or isolated instances of discomfort in an intercultural interaction due to language barriers, and language problems, or extreme feelings of discomfort in an intercultural interaction based on systemic discrimination (de Fina & King, 2011). In other words, narratives, as a specific kind of communication practice, were oriented to as an important source of information regarding language-based discrimination in the United States. Therefore, de Fina and King's (2011) research represents a critical approach to the study of immigration and communication, using utterances provided by immigrants themselves. Homsey and Sandel (2012) also investigated the communication practices of a particular immigrant community living in the United States.

Earlier in this chapter, within the section where I discussed speech codes theory (Philipsen, 1992, 1997; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005), I described an ethnographic study from Homsey and Sandel (2012) regarding second and third generation Lebanese living in the United States. Because Homsey and Sandel's (2012) research took an ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974; Philipsen, 1992) approach to the study of the communication practices of immigrants living in the United States, their analysis was based on the everyday utterances of members of a Lebanese community. The present investigation of available communication practices for ISC speakers also takes an ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974; Philipsen, 1992) approach, and is therefore most closely aligned with Homsey and Sandel's (2012) research. Through their ethnographic investigation of the communication practices of the Lebanese community members who participated in a cultural food festival, Homsey and Sandel (2012) proposed the "code of

food and tradition” (p. 59). This culturally unique speech code shaped the interactions among Lebanese participants in this food festival in the preparation of food for the festival. Their research effectively demonstrated how communication practices of a given cultural community could be specifically investigated to identify how culture and communication shape one another, the major goal of the current research. Covarrubias’s (2002) research, which also applied an ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974) framework to analyze the communication practices of Mexican construction workers in Veracruz, Mexico, demonstrated the uniqueness of Mexicanist communication practices. Therefore, given Homsey and Sandel’s (2012) research with immigrant populations in the United States, and Covarrubias’s (2002) research with a Mexican community, an investigation of available communication practices for primarily Mexican speakers at an immigrant support center is warranted.

In this section, I described the extant research regarding immigration within the discipline of communication studies as vast and varied. I identified four major themes in the communication studies immigration literature including theories of acculturation (Kim, 1977, 2005), representations of immigrants in the U.S. American media (Ono & Sloop, 2002; Santa Ana, Morán, & Sanchez, 1998; Sowards & Pineda, 2013), auto-ethnographic, first person accounts of interactions shaped by immigration (Amaya, 2007), and studies of the communication practices of immigrants using their own utterances (Cheng, 2012; de Fina & King, 2011; Henry, 1999; Homsey & Sandel, 2012). These studies represent the major themes in the communication studies research, but are not a comprehensive representation of the entire body of research. In addition to the research within the discipline of communication studies regarding immigration, a

significant amount of immigrant research has been conducted outside of the discipline of communication studies.

Social Scientific Immigration Literature. Scholars of the social sciences have produced a significant body of literature regarding processes of human immigration. Much of this research comes from the discipline of sociology and treats communication as a variable, as one of many important components of Latin American immigration to the United States. This extant literature primarily focused on patterns in immigration such as settlement versus return immigration (Marcelli & Cornelius, 2001), age and gender of immigrant populations (Cerrutti & Massey, 2001; Donato, 2010; Marcelli & Cornelius, 2001), and immigrant networks (Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjívar, 2000, 2003; O'Connor, 1990). A significant amount of debate exists within the immigration literature regarding the best way to audit immigration practices including ways to generate their findings and the validity of these findings (Durand, Massey & Zenteno, 2001; Marcelli & Cornelius, 2001). I present some of the findings generated from the social scientific perspective to provide context for my discussion of Latin American immigration to the United States, but do so tentatively, acknowledging that these findings are dependent upon the data sets assessed and the underlying approaches and assumptions of the analysts themselves (Marcelli & Cornelius, 2001). This work has produced valuable insights regarding immigration that I applied to shed light on the current ethnographic inquiry.

With each decade since the 1970s, more and more women have immigrated to the United States from Latin America (Cerrutti & Massey, 2001; Marcelli & Cornelius, 2001). Latin Americans often immigrate as members of families, and upon arrival make

use of complex networks comprised of both family and friends; these networks are essential throughout the settlement process (Donato, 2010; Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjivar, 2000, 2003; O'Connor, 1990; Parrado & Flippen, 2005). Female immigrants more often view their move to the United States as permanent, whereas male immigrants are more likely to view their move as temporary (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2003; Parrado & Flippen, 2005). Although there appears to be a trend concerning gendered perceptions of return immigration and permanent settlement, other non-gender focused investigations of these processes have revealed divergent findings. Durand, Massey, and Zenteno (2001), argued that return immigration (immigration back to Latin America) has become prevalent in recent years. Marcelli and Cornelius (2001), however, found the opposite—that Latin American immigrants were more likely in recent years to settle permanently in the United States. These findings constructed a complex image of Latin American immigration to the United States, and identified Latin American immigrants as male and female, permanent and sojourning, and as members of complex social networks.

Although these findings are useful for understanding the larger context and flow of Latin American immigration to the United States, they tell us little about how Latin American immigrants are communicatively negotiating their lives in the United States. Moreover, these studies do not explore what is meaningful about immigrants' communicative conduct, or how it shapes and is shaped by their guiding cultural meaning systems. Building on the field studies that Pessar (2003) and Hondagneu-Sotelo (2003) conducted with Latino/a immigrants living in the United States, I propose that using ethnographic methods to investigate the metacommunicative practices of members of the

ISC speech community provides important insights into the strategic nature of their communication practices (Covarrubias, 2002; Philipsen, 1992), as well as the relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002) that mediate these practices. This insight allows for communication practices, as understood by ISC community members themselves, to be used productively to create and offer programming that assists ISC community members in making lives in the United States. In the following section, I discuss the existing literature regarding Latin American immigration to the United States, focused on gendered immigration, immigrant social networks, and immigrant support centers to provide a framework for understanding the proposed exploration of metacommunication.

Gendered immigration. Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994, 2003) and Pessar (2003) both argued that recent shifts in the immigration literature have led to theorizing the immigration process as gendered, suggesting that the means by which processes of immigration shape the lived experiences of a person may vary by gender, resulting in different symbolic and material outcomes for female and male immigrants. Parrado and Flippen (2005) further described immigration as enacted through “a historically constructed and well-defined system of understandings and expectations that dictate appropriate behavior for men and women” (p. 610). In this way, immigration as a gendered process not only shapes access to material resources such as food and shelter, but may also shape access to and use of symbolic resources such as communication practices (Parrado & Flippen, 2005). Gendered immigration trends are relevant to current research because significantly more women are members of the ISC community than men. However, Hondagneu-Sotelo (2003) warned that gender is only one of many important factors that shape the experiences of Latin American immigrants residing in the

United States, and that nationality, ethnicity, social class, ability, sexual orientation, and access to support networks of friends and family should also be considered to be equally influential in shaping their lived experiences. Therefore, in the following section, I discuss another important facet of the lives of immigrants, their support networks.

Immigrant support networks. Several Latin American immigration scholars discuss gendered support networks as essential components of the settlement of Latin American immigrants (Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjívar, 2000, 2003; Parrado & Flippen, 2005). Menjívar (2000), for example, indicated that the development of and access to particular social networks varied significantly by gender among Salvadoran immigrants residing in San Francisco. Immigrant social networks are comprised of both family and non-family members and are based on the assumption of resource exchange (Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, Menjívar, 2000, 2003). These networks may vary by gender because of an unequal distribution of resources, cultural rules and norms regarding gender roles, and distribution of familial responsibilities (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Menjívar, 2000; Parrado & Flippen, 2005). Menjívar (2000) reported that female immigrants, for example, used social networks to elicit mutual emotional support and share information about where to obtain resources such as food and health care from social service and community organizations. Male immigrants, conversely, possessed more material resources such as apartments and vehicles than their female counterparts, and therefore leveraged these resources in their networks, rather than emotional support and information sharing (Menjívar, 2000). As a result, although both networks served a resource exchange function, the resources sought and

reciprocated varied by gender, and this shaped access to particular material and symbolic resources.

The gendered nature of immigrant networks is further reinforced by cultural rules regarding appropriate ways to elicit support and resources, including from whom support and resources may come (Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Menjívar, 2000).

Menjívar (2000) indicated that female Salvadoran immigrants felt uncomfortable asking male Salvadoran immigrants for help without providing monetary compensation for their assistance because of expectations for repayment through sexual activity. Furthermore, Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) suggested that gendered divisions of household labor resulted in female immigrants holding responsibility for completing tasks related to children, health, and education that often necessitated assistance from U.S. institutions and social service organizations. Therefore, networks of female immigrants provided access to information about services provided by U.S. institutions and social service organizations (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjívar, 2000, 2003). Because male immigrants were not assigned to the same household tasks as women, networks of male immigrants did not provide access to these resources required by women.

Access to gendered networks may also be facilitated through employment (Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Parrado & Flippen, 2005). Parrado and Flippen (2005), for example, indicated that male immigrants often have access to larger social networks because of employment outside of the home, whereas female immigrants may have limited social networks resulting from either working within their own homes or in the homes of others, with limited opportunities for interaction and network building. Male immigrants also found social networks through athletic organizations such as soccer

clubs and workers' unions, that excluded female immigrants because of gendered expectations for participation (Hagan, 1998, Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Menjívar, 2000, 2003; Parrado & Flippen, 2005). Both Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) and Menjívar (2000, 2003) claimed that although some female immigrants had access to the social networks of their male spouses and family members, this access was not consistent or homogeneously available to all female immigrants. As a result, women sought connection to similar others and access to resources through other venues, including churches and community organizations, such as immigrant support centers (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994), like the one I investigate in the current research.

Immigrant support centers. Just as the resources sought by Latin American immigrants varied by gender, so did the places where these resources were found. Immigrant support centers, located throughout the United States, commonly provide both material and symbolic resources to immigrants from around the world seeking to settle in the United States (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjívar, 2000, 2003). For example, the material resources provided by the ISC investigated in the current research include legal representation and assistance, education and training (ESL, GED, family finances), domestic violence prevention (counseling) and in some cases access to employment (working within the ISC or its sister organizations). The symbolic resources (Hall, 2005; Hymes, 1972/1986; Philipsen, 1992) provided by immigrant support centers include social and emotional support, friendship, quasi-familial relationship building (Covarrubias, 2002), and community building. Because I have described the symbolic, communicative resources (Leichter & Castor, 2009) provided by ISC in previous sections, in the following section, I focus on the material resources they provide. I begin

by describing who makes use of the material resources provided by immigrant support centers.

Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) and Menjívar (2000, 2003) identified female immigrants as the primary participants at immigrant support centers, which is consistent with the participation at ISC discussed in this research; significantly more female immigrants participate at the ISC by taking educational classes, attending meetings, and participating in community events than male immigrants. However, in both the pilot and main study, I observed that males were more present at community organizing meetings than in the classes at ISC, regardless of the time of day that the classes were offered (morning, evening). O'Connor (1990) noted a shift toward more Mexican women participating in community activism efforts in the U.S. Southwest and Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) further claimed that female immigrants constituted the primary “community builders” among Mexican immigrants living in the United States partially through their participation at immigrant support centers (p. 174). By taking adult education classes, participating in community meetings and organizing efforts, and leveraging other material resources provided by these centers, immigrants build and reinforce their social networks embedded within the larger Latin American immigrant community, which increases their access to symbolic resources (Hall, 2005; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Hymes, 1972/1986; Philipsen, 1992). The strengthening of networks and building of a Latin American immigrant community in the American Southwest is important because it promotes settlement in the United States and deters return immigration, which in turn serves a cyclical function to strengthen networks and build community (Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjívar, 2000, 2003). Return immigration, conversely,

deteriorates immigrant networks, making them unstable and unreliable in serving their primary function, the shared exchange of both material and symbolic resources (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjívar, 2000, 2003; Parrado & Flippen, 2005).

Taken together, it is possible to see that social and cultural expectations for gender roles intersect and shape many facets of the lives of Latin American immigrants residing in the United States including: the resources necessary for settlement, the social networks leveraged to obtain these resources, and the scenes in which network strengthening and community building occur (Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjívar, 2000, 2003; Parrado & Flippen, 2005). Based on the previous discussions of immigrant social networks from Hagan (1998), Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994, 2003), Menjívar (2000, 2003), and Pessar (2003), I propose that although material resources are necessary for settlement (legal representation, education and training, access to employment), communication itself is also fundamentally important for settlement, as espoused by the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974). In the following section, I further explore and explain the necessity of orienting to communication as a fundamental resource for Latin American immigrants residing in the United States.

Communication as a settlement resource. Much of the sociological literature regarding immigrants' participation at immigrant support centers described resources obtained through communication processes, such as information sharing, as well as the seeking and providing of social support, but did not explicitly investigate communication itself to discuss these processes (Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjívar, 2000). Menjívar (2000), for example, discussed female Salvadoran immigrants as

obtaining information about women's shelters, legal services, and employment through their interactions with other female Salvadoran migrants at food banks. In this way, information sharing was identified as the means for obtaining these resources, but it was not identified as a key resource itself. Inspired by the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974), I propose that the cultural communicative practices of ISC community members are themselves important resources that deserve explicit investigation.

Hymes (1962, 1972/1986, 1974) described a difference between what people identify themselves as doing and what others may understand them to be doing. In my previous research with members of the ISC speech community, I found that although many ISC participants indicated that they came to the support center to receive tangible resources and services such as English language instruction or general education development (GED), participants often also suggested that they participated at the ISC because they valued the opportunities for interaction. Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994), has similarly argued that Mexican participants at a resource center in California could often be found "chatting" and as a result building a community of Mexican immigrants residing in the United States through their support center interactions (p. 176). Therefore, the communicative practice of chatting itself served a community building function that was essential for creating and maintaining networks and communities that assisted with settlement (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994). In addition to the positive outcomes of some communicative practices discussed by Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994), Menjivar (2000, 2003) found that some modes of interaction, such as gossip regarding relationships between unrelated and unmarried male and female immigrants had negative impacts on immigrant

communities, such as the dissolution of immigrant networks and strained interpersonal relationships, and therefore acted as obstacles to the exchange of important resources.

In both Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) and Menjívar's (2000, 2003) discussions of the communicative practices of immigrant communities, the content, rather than the mode of interaction, was marked as important. For example, the content of the gossip, not the practice of gossiping itself, was understood as meaningful (Menjívar, 2000, 2003).

Following scholars of metacommunication (Carbaugh, 1989; Leichter & Castor, 2009; Leichter & Black, 2010; Philipsen, 1992), I propose that although content is important, by employing a communication practice, the practice itself carries meaning. In other words, the way that a group of people talk about their communicative practices has meanings and implications for the health of social networks, and therefore access to important resources, including opportunities for future interactions. The way we name these communication practices, such as chatting or gossiping, shapes who can participate in them, how they manifest, and what they can accomplish (Carbaugh, 1989; Philipsen, 1992). For example, referring to a community event where immigrant rights will be discussed as a *plática* (chat) may have different outcomes than if the event is referred to as a *diálogo* (dialogue). In the following section, I justify my exploration of metacommunication based on the literature reviewed in this chapter.

Summary: An Investigation of Metacommunication

The central argument in the current research is threefold and lies at the intersection of the bodies of literature concerning speech codes (Philipsen, 1992, 1997; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005), metacommunication (Carbaugh, 1989; Leichter & Castor, 2009; Leichter & Black, 2010), and Latin American immigration to the United

States (Donato, 2001; Menjívar, 2000, 2003; Marcelli & Cornelius, 2001; Durand, Massey, & Zenteno, 2001; Parrado & Flippen, 2005). In what follows, I summarize the findings of extant research that helped shape this central argument. First, as Philipsen, Coutu, and Covarrubias (2005) claimed, all speech communities, including the ISC speech community, have unique communication practices that point to culturally important meanings (theorized as speech codes). Second, one type of communication practice that can lead to understandings about a speech communities' codes are their metacommunicative practices, or their talk about communication (Carbaugh, 1989; Leichter & Black, 2010; Leichter & Castor, 2009; Philipsen, 1992, 1997; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005). Third, although communication studies scholars have employed the utterances of immigrants themselves to understand their experiences in the United States (Cheng, 2012; de Fina & King, 2011; Henry, 1999; Homsey & Sandel, 2012), creating a broad data-base of communication practices that immigrants themselves discuss as useful and meaningful can enable support centers that provide services to Latin American immigrants to serve their participants more effectively. Fourth, Latin American immigration scholars have explained that Latino/a immigrants living in the United States build and make use of networks comprised of Latino/a immigrants, that are at least partially built in places like ISC (Hagan, 1998; O'Connor, 1990) to engage in information and social support giving and seeking communication practices (Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjívar, 2000; Parrado & Flippen, 2005; Pessar, 2003). Therefore, the extant Latin American immigration literature has primarily conceived of communication as the process of seeking and giving information, rather than as a complex social process that is itself meaningful.

Given these findings from the prior communication studies and Latin American immigration literature, I propose the following three-fold argument. First, the communication practices of the ISC community, which is comprised of Latino/a immigrants and the staff members who serve them, are much more complex than simple information seeking and giving, and an investigation of the communication practices available for ISC speakers is warranted. Second, based on Carbaugh's (1989) discussion of the function level of metacommunication, these available communication practices, which manifest as metacommunicative terms, are meaningful in themselves, and also carry out various types of social work (Hymes, 1972/1986). This social work includes problem identification, problem solving, trust building, network building, establishment of quasi-familial relationships (Covarrubias, 2002), emotional support, self-esteem building, enjoyment, immigrant rights advocacy, and access to material resources (employment, housing, etc.). Therefore, by better understanding what these available communication practices mean and accomplish for users, immigrant support centers like the one discussed in the present research can more productively direct their resources to support these practices. For example, through an investigation of the metacommunicative practices of speakers at ISC, I learned that *boca en boca* (word of mouth) communication was the primary means that community members were recruited for participation at ISC. Given this understanding of the meaning and function of *boca en boca* communication, ISC staff members can direct more resources toward a community *promotora* (promoter) program that utilizes *boca en boca* communication, rather than applying resources to obtain radio or television advertising to recruit community members. Understanding the uses and meanings of these available communication practices, as discussed by ISC

community members themselves, will ultimately result in strategies that support service seeking and giving at ISC, and help community members in their goal of *salir adelante* (being successful) in the United States.

Throughout chapter two, I identified and discussed the extant literature regarding the major constructs of this research. I also described how this literature shaped the central argument I propose in the current research. In chapter three, I discuss the use of Hymes's (1962, 1972/1986, 1974) ethnography of communication (EOC) to respond to the research questions I delineated in chapter one, justify the use of the EOC, and detail an EOC research design.

Chapter 3

Methods

In this investigation of metacommunication, I draw from the qualitative methods literature regarding the ethnography of communication (EOC hereafter)(Carbaugh, 2007; Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992; Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974; Leeds-Hurwitz, 2005; Philipsen & Coutu, 2005), Hispanic populations (Marín & VanOss Marín, 1991), in-depth and ethnographic interviews (Briggs, 1986; Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995; Lindlof & Taylor, 2011), participant observation and fieldnotes (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995), public documents (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011), and data analysis (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This literature comprises a framework, which I used to explore the guiding research questions of this study. In the following section, I discuss the history and the philosophical assumptions of the EOC, prior to delineating an EOC research design and describing how I overcame potential challenges to validity and reliability associated with this method.

Ethnography of Communication

In 1962, Dell Hymes, trained as a linguistic anthropologist, called for the detailed, situated study of cultural communicative phenomena, known originally as the ethnography of speaking and later as the ethnography of communication (EOC hereafter) (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2005; Philipsen & Coutu, 2005). Philipsen and Coutu (2005) indicated that the underlying goal of the EOC is to generate deep understandings of how communicative phenomena are culturally meaningful for a particular group of people, within a particular context. EOC researchers assume that communication is strategic, patterned, and that codes and their elements mediate the communicative practices of a

community and make them meaningful (Philipsen, 1992, 1997; Philipsen & Coutu, 2005; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005). Several scholars of cultural communication have extended the EOC by combining it with speech codes theory (SCT hereafter), marking EOC/SCT as a joint methodological/theoretical enterprise (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992; Coutu, 2000; Covarrubias, 2002; Philipsen, 1992, 1997). In the following section, I describe the philosophical assumptions of the EOC.

Philosophical assumptions. The ethnography of communication is grounded in the philosophical assumptions of the interpretive paradigm (Philipsen & Coutu, 2005). The EOC moves inductively, using etic (general) frameworks, such as Hymes's (1972/1986) SPEAKING framework, to formulate an emic (situated, local) framework (Philipsen & Coutu, 2005). One way in which EOC researchers apply these situated, local frameworks is through the exploration of the speaking practices of a speech community, such as metacommunication.

According to Sanders, Fitch, and Pomerantz (2001), EOC researchers often employ a speech community as a unit of analysis in an effort to bound their claims to a specific group of speakers. Based on this notion of bounded speaking practices, Hymes (1972/1986) defined a speech community as "a community sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech (p. 54). In using a speech community as the unit of analysis, EOC researchers can make claims that are not necessarily bound by a spatial-temporal context, but rather to a particular community of speakers who share a means of producing and interpreting talk (Fitch, 1999; Hymes, 1972/1986).

Ethnographers of communication hold the ontological assumption that multiple realities are generated through strategic social interaction (socially constructed), and that

these realities vary by context, but within a context are relatively stable, patterned, and observable (Carbaugh, 2005, 2007; Covarrubias, 2002; Lindlof & Taylor, 2011; Philipsen & Coutu, 2005). Moreover, EOC researchers hold the epistemological assumption that knowledge is generated between a researcher and members of a speech community (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011; Philipsen & Coutu, 2005). In other words, EOC research involves the social construction of knowledge through the use of communication practices themselves, employed by both researchers and participants (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974). EOC researchers also assume that knowledge production should be led by the utterances of participants, rather than the inferences of the researcher (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011; Leeds-Hurwitz, 2005; Philipsen & Coutu, 2005; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005). Furthermore, EOC researchers take an objectivist axiology, assuming that the communicative practices, including their meanings, of a speech community are intensely cultural and unlikely to be modified by the presence of a researcher (Carbaugh, 2005, 2007; Covarrubias, 2002; Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974; Leeds-Hurwitz, 2005; Philipsen, 1992; Philipsen & Coutu, 2005). However, EOC researchers engage reflexivity, or the acknowledgement of their perspectives throughout their generation of ethnographic accounts, to note any inconsistencies in communicative practices that their presence may influence (Carbaugh, 1989; Lindlof & Taylor, 2011).

Finally, EOC researchers assume that this theory/method can do more than generate descriptions and interpretations of the communicative practices of a speech community (Carbaugh, 2007; Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992; Covarrubias, 2002; Philipsen, 1992; Philipsen & Coutu, 2005). Carbaugh and Hastings (1992), for example, proposed that the EOC has a theory generation function, made possible by moving cyclically

between the researcher's philosophical assumptions, the extant literature regarding the communicative phenomenon of interest, and the local descriptions and interpretations generated through fieldwork. Therefore, this dual methodological/theoretical function uniquely positions EOC researchers to investigate cultural communicative phenomena, such as metacommunication productively (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992). Given these assumptions, in the following section, I provide a justification for approaching this study of the communicative phenomenon of metacommunication using the dual functioning EOC.

Justification for the EOC. In this section, I elaborate three reasons for why the ethnography of communication allows for the productive investigation of the uses and meanings (Hymes, 1972/1986) of metacommunicative terms by ISC speech community members. First, LeCompte and Schensul (2010) indicated that ethnographic methods were created to get at what is uniquely cultural about our social worlds. When Hymes called for the ethnography of communication in 1962, he argued for the privileging of what is locally unique, culturally salient, and meaningful about communication as culture and culture as communication for a community of speakers. The guiding research questions of this study of metacommunication are located at the intersection of Hymes's (1962) call, making the EOC an appropriate tool for answering the proposed research questions.

Second, although the extant immigration related literature within the discipline of communication studies is vast and varied, few studies are focused directly on the uses and meanings (Hymes, 1972/1986) of immigrants' communication practices, which I suggest can be leveraged to create culturally appropriate and meaningful programming

and facilitate access to resources. In other words, very few studies take an EOC perspective, which uses a micro approach to understanding communication practices within a particular context (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974). Therefore, although the extant communication studies immigration research is useful for understanding how talk positions immigrants (de Fina & King, 2011; Santa Ana, Morán, & Sanchez, 1998; Sowards & Pineda, 2013), and the various phases immigrants move through when making lives in a new place (Kim, 1977, 2005), the extant research does not help readers understand the breadth of communication practices that are available for Latino/a immigrant speakers who are participating in domestic violence prevention, ESL, GED, and parenting classes, and community-organizing efforts.

Finally, the EOC (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974) is an appropriate means of investigating the research questions of this study because the aforementioned dual function of the EOC allows for theory building and the continuous refinement of the methodological assumption and procedures (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992; Philipsen, 1992). Therefore, this dual function promotes validity of the findings, as well as theoretical and methodological contributions to the discipline of communication studies through comparison with extant research in different contexts. In the following section, I discuss how I apply an EOC design, using EOC as a method, to investigate the aforementioned research questions. However, because of its dual methodological/theoretical function, by employing the EOC as a method, I also contribute to communication theory (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992).

EOC Design

Drawing from scholars of the ethnography of communication (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992; Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974; Leeds-Hurwitz, 2005; Lindlof & Taylor, 2011; Philipsen & Coutu, 2005) this investigation of the metacommunicative terms used to mark available communication practices proceeded in three phases, preliminary theorizing, data generation/collection, and data analysis/interpretation. In what follows, I describe how I engaged each of these phases to generate the corpus of data for the current research. The preliminary theorizing phase involved multiple components including: conducting the pilot study research, identifying an overarching research problem and communicative phenomena of interest, specifying the unit of analysis, selecting the research scene of interest, formulating the guiding research questions, engaging researcher reflexivity, considering sampling protocols, and working with the University of New Mexico's Institutional Review Board (IRB hereafter) (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992; Lindlof & Taylor, 2011).

Preliminary theorizing. Prior to choosing the research problem/ and questions that guide the current research, I conducted pilot study research with ISC community members. The pilot study took place during the spring of 2011, from the middle of January to the end of April, during the second semester of classes and services offered at ISC. I observed for approximately 10 hours per week, conducted semi-structured (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011) interviews with 7 community members, and collected public documents (fliers, class handouts, etc.). From this pilot study, I gained insight into the history of the ISC, met community members who later facilitated my re-entry into the scene, and observed themes in their talk that warranted further investigation. Furthermore, the pilot

study allowed me to refine my data generation/collection techniques (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992) and helped me establish an organizational scheme to manage the corpus of data. These experiences led me to the research problem I investigated in the main study. As a point of clarification, in the following sections, when describing the methods I used, I am discussing the main study that followed the pilot study described above.

Research Problem/Question. The central research problem I investigated in this project concerned how the uses and meanings (Hymes, 1972/1986) of the available metacommunication practices for ISC community members are mediated by various relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002). Sanders, Fitch, and Pomerantz (2001) indicated that in research employing the EOC, the speech community often serves as the unit of observation and analysis. The speech community and therefore the unit of observation and analysis for this research was comprised of Spanish speaking Latin American immigrant participants at an immigrant support center (ISC) located in the U.S. American Southwest. Following Hymes (1972/1986), I propose that these participants and the staff who serve them are members of a speech community because their meaning making processes are governed by complex rules and systems of symbols (culture), resulting in mutually understandable communication practices, such as the uses and meanings of various metacommunicative terms. Drawing from Philipsen's (1992) discussion of cultural scenes, I treated the physical space of the ISC as the research scene, as well as other locations used to provide resources to participants, such as the elementary school across the street from the ISC where evening ESL classes are taught. Given the research problem, the speech community, and the research scene, I proposed the following research questions:

RQ1: What communication practices are available for speakers at ISC?

RQ2: What relational alignments mediate these available communication practices?

These research questions allow me to explore community members' metacommunicative practices that demonstrate available communication practices, as well as the complex relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002) that mediate them.

Hispanic populations. Marín and VanOss Marín (1991) proposed a variety of ways in which research designs may be tailored to fit the needs of Hispanic populations. It is important to note that although I referred to participants in the proposed research as Latino/a immigrants, rather than Hispanic immigrants, these suggestions were still applicable. The authors suggested learning about Hispanic culture, initiating access to Hispanic populations through community organizations, and including members of the community in the research design process (Marín & VanOss Marín, 1991). Because the main study research was based on previous pilot research I conducted with the ISC speech community, which resulted in learning about the speaking practices of this speech community and moreover was encouraged and supported by ISC staff members, this research closely followed Marín and VanOss Marín's (1991) guidelines.

Researcher reflexivity. Although I discuss researcher reflexivity here, in the preliminary theorizing section, I engaged researcher reflexivity through all phases of this study. More specifically, I considered how my own lived experiences, cultural identities, and philosophical assumptions shaped the guiding research problem and questions, as well as the data generation/collection procedures (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011; Marín & VanOss Marín, 1991). I asked, for example, how does my identity as an American woman of European descent, Spanish as a second language speaker, shape the way that I

described, interpreted, and understood the metacommunicative terms employed by members of the ISC speech community? The various facets of my identity marked me as a speech community outsider, and thus shaped my role as a researcher. For example, as a participant observer, I occupied the “observer as participant” role (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p. 147), rather than roles that privilege participation because I was not considered a member of the ISC speech community.

Although I was not considered a member of the ISC speech community, I was still able to contribute a detailed analysis of members’ uses and meanings of metacommunicative (Hymes, 1972/1986) practices from an outsider’s perspective. My previous pilot research at this particular ISC as well as another similar ISC over the last four years provided me with significant background and personal experiences related to the speaking practices of ISC participants. Additionally, my previous pilot research resulted in relationships with members of the ISC speech community, which facilitated my access to interview participants and scenes for observation. Therefore, although my identity likely had an impact on my data collection/generation (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992) procedures, the findings of this research are still valid and useful.

One facet of my identity that did have a significant impact on my ability to generate and collect data (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992) for the current research project was my status as a Spanish as a second language researcher. At the time of this research, I had studied Spanish formally for six years in secondary and higher education environments. Additionally, due to my research interests and social concerns, I had also been engaged in casual and research related interactions with Spanish speakers for an

additional five years, resulting in a total of 11 years of engagement in Spanish language interactions.

Throughout my time at ISC, I encountered many community members who were bilingual Spanish-English speakers, who desired to speak to me and other community members in both languages. As a result, many of the interactions I observed, ethnographic and in-depth interviews I conducted, and the public documents I collected made use of both Spanish and English. Given the bilingual nature of much of the talk at ISC, I propose that my identity as a Spanish as a second language speaker both posed challenges to and facilitated my ability to generate and collect data (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992) at ISC. For example, because Spanish is my second language, I found myself often focusing exclusively on recalling the denotative meanings of some terms and phrases in Spanish, rather than how the speaker was using these terms and phrases. This focus was particularly evident after long periods of participant observation or lengthy interviews, when I became tired and focusing on other components of the interaction was difficult. Focusing specifically on the denotative meaning of terms and phrases may have prevented me from fully understanding the emotion embedded in the talk, as well as the multi-faceted, cultural uses and meanings of particular terms (Carbaugh, 2007; Hymes, 1972/1986). Furthermore, although I have spent a significant amount of time working with two different Latino/a immigrant communities in the United States, the uses and meanings (Hymes, 1972/1986) of various local terms and expressions still evade me. Because the ISC community is comprised of Latino/a immigrants from different parts of Mexico and other countries in Latin America, as well as Hispanic heritage staff from various areas of the U.S., who collectively represent a

range of generations of speakers, I encountered new Spanish terms and expressions frequently. Occasionally, the uses of these terms and expressions resulted in a lack of shared meaning between community members and me, thus posing a challenge to my research.

Although my status as a Spanish as a second language speaker posed some challenges to this research, I propose that it also facilitated my study because ISC community members were generous and willing teachers. I suspect that because Spanish is my second language, ISC community members did not assume that I fully understood the uses and meanings (Hymes, 1972/1986) of different metacommunicative terms and therefore articulated detailed descriptions and explanations for these terms. For example, several times during my observations, community members stopped their interactions with others, or their interactions with me, to ask if I understood a particular phrase or term. Then, the community member(s) and I would ask one another questions about the term or phrase until mutual understanding was reached. These types of interactions proved to be essential components of my research as they aided me in describing and categorizing different metacommunicative terms, using the words of ISC community members themselves. It is possible that if I were a native speaker of Spanish and a member of the Latino/a immigrant community, ISC community members would assume that I understood these terms and would not have provided such detailed descriptions and explanations. Therefore, my status as a Spanish as a second language speaker also facilitated my research.

Institutional Review Board. During the preliminary theorizing phase, I worked with the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the University of New Mexico to guarantee

that research participants were treated with respect and dignity. Toward this goal, I worked directly with the ISC speech community to gain permission to conduct the proposed research, documented through a letter of permission, which was submitted to the IRB. Furthermore, throughout this dissertation, I have referred to the research site as the ISC, rather than by its actual name to avoid identification of the organization. Research participants were assigned numbers and were referred to as P# throughout this dissertation to protect their identities.

Following Lindlof and Taylor (2011) and Marín and VanOss Marín (1991), I provided all interview participants with a consent form in Spanish or English, depending on the participants' preferences, detailing the purposes of the study as well as the voluntary nature of their participation to inform interview participants fully about the nature and purpose of the study. In an effort to protect the privacy of research participants, I requested their oral consent for interview participation, which I audio recorded, rather than asking for names and signatures on consent forms. I stored audio recordings of interviews, password protected fieldnote and transcript documents, as well as electronic versions of public documents on my personal computer.

Sampling protocols. Because of my focus on the speaking practices of the ISC speech community, I recruited members of the ISC community for observation and interviews who identified themselves as Latin American immigrant participants seeking resources at the ISC. I also observed and interviewed the speaking practices of ISC staff members because their communication practices are equally understandable throughout the ISC community and further supported the definitions and meanings of the metacommunicative terms described by non-staff members of the ISC community.

Furthermore, many ISC staff members are also either current or former participants and Latino/a immigrant themselves, or the children of Latino/a immigrants. As a result, excluding staff members from the research would unnecessarily restrict my access to community members who have important insights into how these communication practices are used and why they are meaningful.

In choosing participants and scenes for observation and interviews, I employed what Lindlof and Taylor (2011) called “maximum variation sampling” (p. 113). This means of sampling allowed me to observe the largest variety of participants, events, and locations within the scene as possible, to determine which times, locations, and events garnered the most useful information regarding the proposed research questions.

However, because of my experiences with ISC community members during the pilot study research, I approached the community with awareness that many members would lack the time and/or desire to participate in this research project. Therefore, as I moved through this phase of the fieldwork and attempted to recruit community members for interviews and observation, I eventually engaged convenience (whoever would talk to me) and snowball (interviewees gained from recommendations by other interviewees) sampling procedures (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). These sampling procedures ensured that I had sufficient data to make claims regarding the research questions.

Data Generation/Collection

The second design phase concerned the generation and collection of the corpus of data (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992; Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Following Carbaugh and Hastings (1992) and Lindlof & Taylor (2011), I use the terms generation and collection, consistent with the epistemological assumptions of interpretivism, that findings were co-

generated among a researcher and participants, and consider the participant observation and interview procedures to be data generation. However, because I also included public documents in the corpus of data, which were produced by members of the speech community, I collected, rather than co-generated this portion of the data (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992; Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Leeds-Hurwitz (2005) indicated that fieldnotes documenting participant observation, interviews transcripts, and public documents often comprise the corpus of data for an ethnography of communication design and so I collected and generated these three data sources.

Participant observation. I conducted participant observation at ISC for approximately 20 hours per week from January 2013 through the beginning of June 2013. In an average week, I observed interactions among community members, and the scene in general, four days per week. I observed several different times in the day (morning, afternoon, evening) to better understand how community members made use of the ISC during a typical day. I engaged the participant observation phase until I reach saturation, with no new information emerging regarding the proposed research questions (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). I wrote fieldnotes to document my observations.

I followed Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw's (1995) suggestions and wrote jottings, or brief, incomplete notes in the field, and translated these jottings into complete, detailed notes shortly after leaving the scene. I organized my fieldnotes using Hymes's (1972/1986) SPEAKING framework, which ensured that I observed and recorded the breadth of communicative practices that occurred in the scene, with the depth to be able to assess the meanings assigned to these practices at a later date.

Interviews. In addition to participant observation, I conducted interviews with ISC community members, selected using the aforementioned sampling protocols. Along with these sampling protocols, when interviewing I considered the metacommunicative function of interviews (see Briggs, 1986), types of interviews, types of questions, and transcription procedures (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Relevant to the current research, Briggs (1986) identified research interviews as a speech event (Hymes, 1972/1986) with particular metacommunicative functions for members of a speech community. Briggs (1986) warned that research participants and researchers may assign different meanings to the speech event of an interview, potentially resulting in misunderstandings about the intent of the researcher. To avoid these potential misunderstandings, I waited to recruit community members for interviews until I had observed for nearly two months at ISC, ensuring that I understood community meanings surrounding interviews, as well as several other communication practices (Briggs, 1986). Because one of the classes offered at ISC concerns learning about how to make media (YouTube videos, Facebook posts, Blogs), community members often participate in interviews as part of class projects at ISC. As a result, I found most community members to be willing and experienced participants in semi-structured interviews. Given the level of comfort that interview participants demonstrated with the interview process, we appeared to share an understanding of the uses and meanings of this speaking event.

In addition to reflecting on the metacommunicative function of interviews (Briggs, 1986), I also considered the kinds of questions to ask community members. To ensure that community members had an opportunity to lead the interview if they desired, I used both directive and non-directive questions (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). In other

words, the interview guide was flexible enough to accommodate the topics introduced by community members, while still maintaining focus on the research questions. This interview guide is presented in Appendix A.

In the current research I conducted both semi-structured and ethnographic interviews (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). During the main study portion of this research, I interviewed 30 ISC community members in a semi-structured format, along with 7 community members in the pilot study, for a total of 37 community members. By this point I had reached saturation and no new information was emerging from the semi-structured interviews (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). I deemed semi-structured, rather than structured or unstructured interviews (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011), as more appropriate for the current research because I was seeking definitions, examples, and descriptions of how particular communicative practices are used and understood by community members. By employing a semi-structured format, participants were given the freedom to provide as much or little detail about how they understand and use these practices, which allowed me to understand which practices are more or less salient and what potential outcomes of these practices exist for community members. According to the suggestions of Marín and VanOss Marín (1991), I conducted interviews in Spanish, English, or both English and Spanish, depending on the stated preferences of interview participants. In total, I spoke to 29 participants in Spanish only, six participants in English only, and two participants in a combination of English and Spanish. During the data analysis phase, I noticed that the Spanish language interviews most often served as data exemplars for the uses and meanings (Hymes, 1972/1986) of different metacommunicative terms, whereas the English language and dual language interviews mostly provided context and additional

support for the Spanish language interviews. I audio-recorded the semi-structured interviews using a digital audio recorder and personally transcribed them word-for-word.

In addition to semi-structured interviews, I also conducted ethnographic interviews. Lindlof and Taylor (2011) described ethnographic interviews as brief, unstructured interactions with speech community members that are used to elucidate terms and concepts, explore semi-structured interview questions, and seek interview participants. I employed ethnographic interviews as necessary to accomplish the aforementioned goals. For example, I approached one community member to clarify questions that emerged in my research regarding the absence of men in ISC classes. This community member explained to me that in his experience, women in this particular Latino/a immigrant community are more involved in educational programming than men, and that I would likely encounter more women in general in the ISC community than men. Through this ethnographic interview, I was able to clarify questions that emerged regarding the demographics of the ISC community.

Public documents. The final data collection procedure I employed included the collection of public documents (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2005; Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Lindlof and Taylor (2011) described public documents as primary, or produced by the speech community being studied, or secondary, and produced by individuals outside of the speech community. Because the research questions guiding this study seek understanding of communication practices of ISC community members, and not those outside of this speech community, I only sought and assessed primary documents. An analysis of these primary documents yielded several useful examples of how different metacommunicative terms that represent available communicative practices for community members are used

and understood (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Examples of primary documents that I collected include handouts from classes, fliers used to promote community events, and web-based materials including Facebook posts and Web log (blog) posts written by ISC staff and community members, and the ISC website itself. I used my computer's screen shot function to document social media data and later printed and added these documents to my collection of physically collected documents (fliers, handouts, etc.). Following Lindlof & Taylor (2011), I continued collecting public documents until I reached saturation, and no new documents were available for collection.

Data Analysis/Interpretation

The final phase of this ethnography of communication design concerned data analysis/interpretation. In this phase, I considered data organization procedures (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Charmaz, 2006), data interpretation frameworks, as well as the validity and reliability of my findings. First, I describe the procedures I used to organize the data, creating a manageable set of communication practices and mediating relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002).

Strauss and Corbin (1990) discussed data organization as an essential component of data analysis. I initiated the data organization phase by applying the coding procedures from grounded theory as discussed by Strauss and Corbin (1990) to the large corpus of data, including open (p. 60) and axial codes (p. 96). First, I applied open codes by moving "line-by line," (Charmaz, 2006, p. 50) making notes in the margins. Then, I conducted a second round of open coding, this time looking at larger chunks of data, making notes about what I understand to be the meaning of each chunk. A chunk of data, for example, included a response to a question in an interview, or a description of a

conversation in a class that I observed. Once I noted the open codes (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) in the printed documents, I created a Microsoft Word document that listed all of the open codes and their coordinating data locations. These data locations accompany the data I present within the text of this dissertation. For example, data that I located in transcript 1, lines 1-10 would be followed by an in-text presentation of this data by the tag (T 1; L 1-10). I labeled data produced during participant observation by the date of observation and tagged with the label FN (Fieldnote). For example, an interaction observed on March 3rd would be labeled (FN 3.3). Because I often observed at several different times of the day at ISC, fieldnote data may also be followed by a letter (a,b,c), denoting the first, second, or third observation period during the same day. Therefore, if I conducted three observation periods on March 3rd, a reference to data collected during the second observation period of that day would be marked with (FN 3.3b). If I only observed once in the day being discussed, I did not apply a letter behind the date. Facebook posts were noted with FB plus the date of post, as in (FB 3.3). Blog posts made to the ISC website were labeled with a 'B' for blog, followed by an 'S' for Spanish or an 'E' for English, prior to the date. A blog written in Spanish, posted on the ISC website that I read on April 8th, would be labeled (BS 4.8). Discussions of all physically collected public documents (fliers for events, class handouts, etc.) are followed by the notation of (PD) when discussed in-text. By using these various tags, the reader can easily identify the source of the data (interview, observation, public document, social media) being discussed and further understand the context in which the data manifested.

Upon completion of the open-coding phase, I initiated the axial coding procedures, in which I combined open codes with similar others to form larger themes

and sub-themes surrounding the communication practices described by ISC community members (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). I listed these communication practices by their associated metacommunicative term as headings in the Microsoft Word document (i.e. *Diálogo, Plática, Compartir*).

After I identified the metacommunicative terms that ISC community members used to name their available communication practices, and identified themes surrounding how they are employed and what they mean (Hymes, 1972/1986), I applied theories and frameworks compatible with the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974) to interpret the findings to answer the research questions. For example, I compared my findings to the existing literature regarding speech codes (Bassett, 2012; Coutu, 2000; Covarrubias, 2002; Homsey & Sandel, 2012; Philipsen, 1992), metacommunication (Carbaugh, 1989), and Latin American immigration (Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjívar, 2000, 2003) to identify areas where the current research may contribute new knowledge about the communication practices of Latino/a immigrants and their associated meanings.

Sample data display. In this section, I have provided a sample data display (Table 3.1) from community members' discussions of the communication practice of *compartir* (to share), to demonstrate how I engaged in the open coding phase of the data analysis (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This data display includes the speaker, the original utterance, the translated utterance, and the codes that I assigned to each utterance. I bolded the words and phrases that specifically led me to the open codes listed in the far right column.

Table 3.1

<i>Speaker</i>	<i>Utterance</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Open Codes</i>
P26	<i>Cuando venimos y reflexionamos, decimos, “Wow, a mi me está pasando esa.” O de repente “A mi me pasó esa.” Entonces, todo estamos reflexionando y eso creo que ayuda bastante también decir en el apoyo moral de cada quien y compartiendo la experiencia y todo para eso. (T 18; L 549-552)</i>	When we come and we reflect on ourselves, we say, “ Wow, this is happening to me. ” Or suddenly , “ This happened to me. ” So, we are all reflecting and I think this helps a lot also to say, in the moral support of each person and sharing experiences and all of that.	Reflecting, personal experiences, helping, moral support, sharing experiences with others
P28	<i>Que puede ayudar a esta persona. O puede salir problemas nuevos también. Pero, si ya estás en un lugar donde lo puedes comunicar, donde lo puedes compartir, pues...hay más expectativas de ayuda. (T 19; L 56-58)</i>	That one can help with this person. Or new problems can also come up. But, if you are already in a place where you can communicate about it, where you can share about it, well... there are more expectations of help.	Identifying new problems, ISC is a place for communicating and sharing, help is expected
P12	<i>Pues, es así que la comunicación es algo muy importante. Nada menos ayer dije la frase del día porque en la mañana mi madre me dice, “Cómo es buena la comunicación entre varias personas, compartir, ayudarse, darse a conocer.” (T 4; L 71-73)</i>	Well, it is like the communication is something very important. Yesterday, it was more like the phrase of the day because in the morning, my mother told me, “How great is communication between various people, sharing, helping oneself, letting others know you. ”	Importance of communication, communication is sharing, communication is helping, self disclosure
P17	<i>Entonces, también siento que tiene la confianza del grupo de platicar algo personal, de compartir la...de...con los hijos, con el marido, con algo que te pasó. (T 8; L 275-283)</i>	So, I also feel that one has the trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality of the group to talk about something person,	Confianza mediates talk, confianza mediates sharing, sharing

		to share about one's kids , about one's husband , about something that happened to you.	about kids, spouse, experiences
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The codes from the right hand column were placed into a Microsoft Word document, along with other open codes generated from the corpus of data. As I created the Microsoft Word document, I made sure to mark the transcript number and line, fieldnote date, or public document that the codes came from to help me to locate the data to use as exemplars in chapters four and five of this dissertation. For example, I listed the codes of *apoyo* (support) followed by the tag (T 18; L 549-552), the code *ayuda* (help) with the tag (T 19; L 56-58), and *confianza* (trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality) with (T 8; L 275-283). When I moved to the axial coding process, which was described by Strauss and Corbin (1990) and Charmaz (2006) as looking for relationships between the open codes to form themes (axial codes), the transcripts and line numbers, fieldnotes, public documents, and social media labels assisted me in locating data exemplars. In a second Microsoft Word document, each axial code was listed as a heading. I then searched the fieldnotes, interview transcripts, public documents, and social media excerpts using the tag (i.e. T 3, L 39-42) for the excerpt and listed the excerpt including the tag under the heading. These themes and associated excerpts became the data that I discuss in chapters four and five of this dissertation.

Validity and reliability. LeCompte and Goetz (1982) suggested that validity and reliability are as important in ethnographic inquiry as in experimental inquiry, and delineated various benefits of and potential problems related to validity and reliability of ethnographic studies. For example, LeCompte and Goetz (1982) indicated that the

validity of ethnographic research lies in the multiple methods used to generate a corpus of data, including participant observation, interviews, and the collection of documents (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2005; Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Furthermore, the authors note that participant observation occurs over a period of time, allowing for the study of emerging and changing communicative behaviors. However, LeCompte and Goetz (1982) also warned that ethnographers may stay too long in the field, and become too close to participants and the scene, resulting in the inability to identify emerging and potentially conflicting data. In the current study, validity inheres in the findings in three ways. First, the findings of this research were generated with rigor because I remained in the field, and continued interviewing and collecting public documents until I reached the point of data saturation, but no longer (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982; Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Second, as an ethnographer of communication, I am epistemologically committed to being led by the data (utterances of participants themselves) (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2005; Philipsen & Coutu, 2005) and therefore allowed the data itself to guide my interpretations, rather than my own assumptions. Following Briggs (1986) and LeCompte and Goetz (1982), I frequently reviewed my interpretations of the data with ISC community members, to ensure that these assumptions coordinated with their encoded meanings. Finally, throughout the data generation/collection and data analysis phases I referred to and refined the guiding research questions to ensure that the procedures I employed allowed me to answer the guiding questions.

LeCompte and Goetz (1982) also indicated that reliability in ethnographic studies differs from experimental research because of the contextual nature of ethnographic inquiry. Because ethnographic inquiry is context contingent, the ability to compare the

findings of ethnographic studies to different contexts may be more useful than the ability to replicate the findings in the same or different contexts (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992; Carbaugh, 2007; Leeds-Hurwitz, 2005; Philipsen & Coutu, 2005). Furthermore, LeCompte & Goetz (1982) suggested that to promote comparison of the same phenomenon across contexts, researchers should be explicit about their data generation/collection and analysis/interpretation procedures including their own assumptions, the theoretical framework, the social positioning of the researcher, and participant selection procedures. Because ISC community members' discussions of *confianza* were closely aligned with those in Covarrubias's (2002) research, I was able to ascertain reliability of findings via comparison to the extant research. Despite my efforts to promote validity and reliability of the proposed research, some limitations remain. These limitations are addressed in detail in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

Summary

Throughout this section, I discussed the philosophical assumptions surrounding the theory/method that I applied in the current research to investigate the guiding research questions, the EOC (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974), describing why it was useful in the context of ISC. Furthermore, I detailed an EOC research design, including a discussion of the preliminary theorizing, data collection/generation, and data analysis phases (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992). In the next section, chapter four, I delineate the available communication practices for ISC community members, prior to describing the relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002) that mediate the uses and meanings (Hymes, 1972/1986) of these practices in chapter five. Finally, in chapter six, I summarize the findings of the current research.

Chapter 4

Findings: Research Question 1

Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the available communicative practices for Latino/a immigrant participants and the staff who serve them at ISC, who I refer to collectively as ISC community members. I designated both participants and staff members as community members because I observed that their communication practices were easily understood by both parties, fulfilling Hymes's (1972/1986) requirement for a speech community. Throughout this chapter, I note when an utterance comes from a community member who works as a staff member to contextualize their comments to that particular role within the community, to help make sense of the talk. For example, when I describe an excerpt related to a particular ISC class, I note that the excerpt comes from the teacher of the class (ISC staff member), rather than the student (participant). As I discussed in detail in chapter three, a tag to identify the source of the data follows all data excerpts presented in this chapter. For example, the tag (T9; L 22-23) following an excerpt from P18, indicates that this data came from interview transcript 9, lines 22-23. For a full description of this notation, see chapter three. Additionally, the Spanish language data and English translations are presented throughout this dissertation in the Chicago Citation Style because the APA citation style, which is standard citation style in the discipline of communication studies lacks a comprehensive notation style for second language data. Therefore, throughout this dissertation the use of italics denotes a Spanish language utterance, which is followed by the English translation of the text set aside in parenthesis. In the following section, I briefly review Carbaugh's (1989) theory of

metacommunication, which I applied to analyze the corpus of data to identify the available communicative practices of ISC community members, prior to describing each of the available communication practices.

Theory of Metacommunication

I applied Carbaugh's (1989) theory of metacommunication to analyze the corpus of data that I collected and generated (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992), using the methods I described in chapter three. Carbaugh (1989) proposed that metacommunication, or talk about communication, can be categorized into three different levels: "speech acts, speech events, and speech styles" (p. 98). A speech act refers to the enactment of a communication practice by an individual, whereas a speech event refers to the enactment of a communication practice by two or more people (Carbaugh, 1989). Speech styles are comprised of acts and events and are related to a Hymesian (1972/1986) "way of speaking" (p. 58). Carbaugh (1989) provided the example of a speech style of "being honest" as comprised of the speech act of "telling the truth." Therefore, the levels of act, event, and style, are inherently related. In addition to categorizing these different levels of metacommunication, Carbaugh (1989) theorized that most talk about communication also describes the function or the outcomes of employing a particular practice.

Throughout the data analysis phase of this dissertation, I applied Carbaugh's (1989) theory of metacommunication, by first identifying a communication practice as available by the presence of a metacommunicative term in the everyday talk of community members at ISC. Then, I labeled each metacommunicative term as an act, event, or style (Carbaugh, 1989). Next, I noted data that described the content of a practice. For example, the communication practice of *compartir* (sharing) was used to

present “ideas” of community members. Finally, I searched the data for talk about the function, or the social outcomes of the use of a particular communication practice.

Therefore, applying Carbaugh’s (1989) theory of metacommunication allowed me to elucidate the uses and meanings (Hymes, 1972/1986) these available practices hold for their users.

Available Communication Practices

In total, I identified 24 different metacommunicative terms used to mark available communication practices for ISC community members. These available communication practices are listed in Table 4.1. These terms for communication include; (1) *comunicación* (communication), (2) *plática* (chat, talk), (3) *diálogo* (dialogue), (4) *compartir* (to share), (5) *contar* (to tell), (6) *hablar* (to talk), (7) *guardar silencio/mantener silencio* (to stay silent/to keep silent), (8) *aconsejar/dar consejos* (to advise/to give advice), (9) *saludar* (to greet), (10) *expresar* (to express), (11) *ser escuchado/a* (to be listened to), (12) *intercambio* (exchange), (13) *boca en boca* (word of mouth), (14) *invitar* (to invite), (15) *recomendar* (to recommend), (16) *informar* (to inform), (17) *referir* (to refer), (18) *decir* (to say, to tell), (19) *preguntar* (to ask), (20) *pedir* (to request), (21) *promover* (to promote) (22) *correr la voz* (spread the word), (23) *alzar la voz* (raise the voice), and (24) *abogar* (to advocate).

In the following section, I discuss the ways that ISC community members use these available practices as well as their meanings. According to the principles of the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974), these uses and meanings are situated within ISC community members’ discourses and may be contextual, “transcontextual,” or both (Covarrubias, 2002, p. 32). In other words, the

Table 4.1

Available Communication Practices

<i>Speaker</i>	<i>Term</i>	<i>Utterance</i>	<i>Translation</i>
P24	<i>Comunicación</i>	“Pues, uh comunicación para mi significa uh integrarse uno a...a la sociedad.” (T15; L 29)	“Well, uh communication means uh to integrate oneself into...into society.”
P29	<i>Plática</i>	“...(E)s un tipo más plática . Aunque sea cerca de diálogo, es un poco más en confianza.” (T20; L89-90)	“...(It) is a type more (like) a chat . Even though it is similar to a dialogue it’s a little more in trust”
P31	<i>Diálogo</i>	“...(P)ero un diálogo ya es como algo más, como para resolver una situación.” (T22; L136-137)	“...(B)ut now a dialogue is like something more, like to resolve a situation”
P15	<i>Compartir</i>	“...(P)uede uno también después compartir lo que uno...uno aprendió.” (T6; L 31-32)	“One can also later share what one...one learned.”
P22	<i>Contar</i>	“...(E)s bueno contar las historias porque a las otras personas no les va a suceder lo mismo que uno.” (T13;L 117-118)	“...(I)t is good to tell the stories so that the same (thing) does not happen to other people that happened to a person.”
P19	<i>Hablar</i>	“Porque, pues, si no hay confianza pues, no tienes la seguridad de venir o hablar de algún problema o alguna duda que tú tengas.” (T10; L86-87)	“Because, well, if there isn’t trust well, you do not have the security to come or talk about some problem or a doubt that you might have.”
P31	<i>Guardar Silencio</i>	“Y debemos aprender a guardar silencio en esas tipas de situaciones.” (T22; L 85-86)	“And we should learn to keep silent in these types of situations.”
P7	<i>Aconsejar</i>	“Oh, pues yo les aconsejo que venga conmigo aquí, y les ayudan en muchas cosas...” (TP7; L15)	“Oh, well I advise them to come with me here, and they help them with many things.”
P12	<i>Saludar</i>	“Llega les doy un saludo de beso y abrazo a [Nombre] y [Nombre] y todas.” (T4; L266)	“Arrive and I greet them with a hug and kiss to [Name] and [Name] and everyone.”
P18	<i>Expresar</i>	“Porque yo no, no sabía que podría existir un lugar así dónde, dónde puedes venir y puedes expresar lo que sientes.” (T9; L61-62)	“Because I did not know that a place like this could exist where, where you can come and you can express what you feel.”
P25	<i>Ser Escuchado/a</i>	“ Pueden ser escuchados sin temor sufrir una deportación.” (T16; L194-195)	“ They can be listened to without fear of suffering a deportation.”

P17	<i>Intercambio</i>	“Intercambiando opiniones o también es de... resolviendo. ” (T8; L 319-320)	“Exchanging opinions or also um... resolving. ”
P8	<i>Boca en Boca</i>	“Boca en boca se puede pasar la palabra.” (T1; L346)	“Word of mouth you can pass the word”
P28	<i>Invitar</i>	<i>“Si creo que es la mejor manera de invitar a otros. Una persona que ya estaba allí y que ya le puede decir su experiencia a la otra.”</i> (T19; L101-102)	“I think it is the best way to invite others. A person who is already here and can tell his/her experience to the other.”
P16	<i>Recomendar</i>	<i>“Ella me contactó por una amiga de ella que le recomendó este lugar.”</i> (T7; L10)	“She contacted me through a friend of hers that recommended this place to her.”
P17	<i>Informar</i>	<i>“Y ellas me informaron las horarios y las clases que están ofreciendo.”</i> (T8; L16)	“And they informed me (of) the schedule and the classes that are offered.”
P14	<i>Referir</i>	<i>“...(R)efiriendo unos a otros”</i> (T5 ; L265)	“Referring one another”
P30	<i>Decir</i>	<i>“Y como yo les digo, ‘No te están cobrando. No están cobrando.’”</i> (T21; L84)	“And like I told them, ‘they don’t cost you anything. They don’t cost anything.’”
P25	<i>Preguntar</i>	<i>“...(N)o tenía cupo y pregunté dónde...dónde podría inscribirme y ellos me dieron esta dirección.</i> (T16; L 18-19)	“They didn’t have space and I asked where...where could I register and they gave me this address.”
P21	<i>Pedir</i>	<i>“Cuando vine, vine muy desesperada pidiendo ayuda. Me dijeron que aparte que ayudaba a...a los inmigrantes Hispanos y por eso vine aquí.”</i> (T12; L9-10)	“When I came, I came really desperate requesting help. They told me that...besides...that they helped Hispanic immigrants and because of this, I came here.”
P9	<i>Hacer Promoción/ Promover</i>	<i>“Yo pienso que una parte importante es que ISC no hace promoción intencional.”</i> (T2; L 184-184)	“I think that an important part is the ISC does not do intentional promotion. ”
P27	<i>Correr La Voz</i>	<i>“...Es mucho de correr la voz”</i> (T18; L21)	“It’s a lot of spreading the word. ”
P36	<i>Alzar la Voz</i>	<i>“...(E)s de alzar la voz de...por otros que necesitan ayuda”</i> (T27; L185-186)	“It’s raising the voice of...for others that need help.”
P31	<i>Abogar</i>	<i>“Tenemos (Organización Hermana) que abogar para la comunidad los derechos de la comunidad.”</i> (T22; L295-296)	“We have (Sister Organization) to advocate for the community, for the rights of the community.”

ways that ISC members employ these practices and their meanings may be comprehensible only within the ISC community, or for the ISC community and the larger Latino/a immigrant community residing in the U.S. American Southwest. I address each communication practice individually, labeling the practice as an act, event, or style (Carbaugh, 1989), discussing the content of the practice, as well as its available functions as described by ISC community members.

Comunicación

ISC community members' talk demonstrates complex understandings of the practice of *comunicación* (communication). As evidence of these complex understandings of the practice, community members' talk reveals six "recurring and co-occurring" (Covarrubias, 2002, p. 88) metacommunicative terms that describe the ways they employ these practices and their meanings for users, including *expresar* (to express), *intercambio* (exchange), *alzar la voz* (raising one's voice), *compartir* (to share), *platicar* (to chat/talk), and *decir* (to tell). Table 4.2 provides examples of how each of these terms manifest within community members' talk about *comunicación*. Community members' talk about *comunicación* also implicates several functions (Carbaugh, 1989) related to this practice, which I delineate in the following section.

Functions and levels of *comunicación*. Community members describe exchanging opinions as one function of *comunicación*. For example, P18, a Latina immigrant who takes classes at ISC explains, "*La comunicación para mi significa, pues, sea como platicar con las demás personas o intercambio de opiniones*" (Communication for me means, well, like talking with other people or an exchange of opinions) (T 9; L 22-23). Here, P18 uses the metacommunicative term *platicar* (to talk) to describe

Table 4.2

Terms for Communication

<i>Speaker</i>	<i>Term</i>	<i>Utterance</i>	<i>Translation</i>
P25	<i>Expresar</i>	“A través de la comunicación podemos expresar lo que sentimos, lo que queremos, y lo que hemos vivido (T16; L57-58)	“Through communication we can express what we feel, what we want, and what we have lived.”
P28	<i>Expresar, Darle a Saber</i>	“Pues, comunicación es la manera de expresarte . La manera de darle a saber a los demás lo que necesitas, lo que quieres.” (T19; L40-41)	“Well, communication is a means of expressing yourself. A way to let others know what you need, what you want.”
P8	<i>Intercambio, Dar Opiniones</i>	“Comunicación es uh intercambio de ideas lo que uno piensa todo...viendo diferente puntos de vista um, dalos opinión .” (T1; L 36-37)	“Communication is uh, an exchange of ideas, what one thinks of everything...seeing different points of view, um, giving opinions .”
P14	<i>Expresar, Alzar la Voz</i>	“Para mi? Comunicación ay, no sé la definición pero para mi es expresar a través de algo medio o alzar mi voz .” (T5; L183-184)	“For me? Communication, aye, I don’t know the definition but for my is it to express in some way or raise my voice .”
P15	<i>Compartir</i>	“Mmmm comunicación? Una buena comunicación... aprender o sea...porque la comunicación se aprende y puede uno también después compartir lo que uno aprendió.” (T 6; L 30-32)	“Hmmm, communication? Good communication...to learn or it could be...because with communication one learns and later one can share what one learned.”
P18	<i>Platicar, Intercambio de Opiniones</i>	“La comunicación para mi significa, pues, uh, sea como platicar con las demás personas o intercambio de opiniones .” (T9; L22-23)	“Communication for me means, well, uh, like to talk with others or exchange opinions .”
P23	<i>Decir</i>	“Comunicación pues, bueno en Español nos tenemos varios significados. Por ejemplo comunicar es decirles el mensaje.” (T14; L21-22)	“Communication, well, ok, in Spanish we have various meanings. For example, to communicate is to tell others a message.”

comunicación as talk that she engages with others. Therefore, for P18, *comunicación* is a speech event, as it involves *las demás* (others), or multiple people rather than individuals (Carbaugh, 1989). Therefore, this communication practice represents a speech event (Hymes, 1972/1986). She goes on to say that *comunicación* is also an *intercambio de opiniones* (exchange of opinions), again identifying the social dimension of communication, as well as the content (opinions), and function (exchange) of this social practice.

In addition to exchanging opinions, another Latina immigrant and participant in classes at ISC, P8, explains that *comunicación* includes exchanging ideas by saying, “*comunicación es un intercambio de ideas, lo que uno piensa*” (communication is an exchange of ideas, what one thinks) (T 1; L 36). Through this excerpt, P8 also uses the metacommunicative term *intercambio* (exchange) to describe *comunicación* as a speech event (Carbaugh, 1989), but adds that the content of the practice can be ideas, in addition to opinions, mentioned by P18.

Next, P28, a Latina immigrant and participant in ISC classes describes *comunicación* as serving an expressive function (Carbaugh, 1989) by saying, “*Comunicación es la manera de expresarte. La manera de darle a saber a los demás lo que necesitas, lo que quieres*” (Communication is the means for expressing yourself. The means of letting others know what you need, what you want) (T 19; L 40-41). Within this utterance, P28 employs the *tú*, second person conjugation of the metacommunicative term *expresarse* (to express oneself), a reflexive metacommunicative term, suggesting that through *comunicación*, a person reveals aspects of themselves to others. Additionally, this community member uses the phrase *darle a saber*, which literally

means giving other knowledge about oneself, suggesting that *los demás* (others) are recipients of *comunicación*, but not necessarily active participants in this social practice. Therefore, P28 describes *comunicación* as a speech act that can be enacted individually (Carbaugh, 1989), as a means of making public one's needs and wants.

Fourth, P28 further describes *comunicación* as having an organizational function (Carbaugh, 1989) by claiming, “*Si no hubiera comunicación, pues estuviera desorganizado*” (If there wasn't communication, well it would be disorganized) (T 19; L 46). Here, P28 implies that this practice also serves a larger social organizational function, to help put in order different social actions. For example, *comunicación* could serve a social organizational function during the registration process for classes at ISC, where community members are directed to move through several different stations located throughout the physical space of ISC, where they will engage in interactions with different staff members. The communication practice of directing community members to different stations helps to organize the event to accomplish various social actions at each station. In this case, P28 describes *comunicación* as a speech event, engaged by two or more community members (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986), used to organize other communication practices

Additionally, P24, a Latino immigrant and member of the student leadership group at ISC, identifies a relationship between *comunicación* and *ayuda* (help). As P24 explains, “*(La) más comunicación que tenga, la más ayuda que puede conseguir*” (The more communication that one has, the more help one can find) (T 15; L 36-37). Here, he implies that communication is a speech event (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986), which serves a help seeking and receiving function at ISC. Furthermore, P25, a Latino

immigrant, ISC student, and member of the student leadership group, explains that *comunicación* can serve a problem solving function (Carbaugh, 1989) by offering, “*si hay comunicación, hay soluciones a los problemas*” (If there is communication, there are solutions to problems) (T 16; L 59-60). Through this utterance, P25, also indicates that *comunicación* is a speech event, through which, ISC community members can create solutions to their problems (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986). Finally, P29, a Latina immigrant, ISC student, and ISC staff member proposes that *comunicación* shapes relationships by saying, “*Con una buena comunicación, hay una buena relación*” (With good communication, there is a good relationship) (T 20; L 55-56). In this case, P29 describes how *comunicación* helps her build quality relationships with the parents of the children that she cares for in ISC’s *guardaría* (daycare).

In total, ISC community members offer seven functions (Carbaugh, 1989) of *comunicación*, including (1) exchanging opinions, (2), exchanging ideas, (3) informing, (4) social organizing, (5) helping, (6) solving problems, and (7) supporting positive relationships. In addition to explaining different functions of *comunicación*, ISC community members described this social practice as both a speech act and as a speech event (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976), depending on the participants and the context. In addition to describing various functions of *comunicación* and the levels of the practice (Carbaugh, 1989), community members also identified preferences for particular modes of *comunicación*.

Modes of interaction. Carbaugh (1989) defined modes of interaction as “the prevailing manner for the enactment” (p. 104). In other words, a mode is a specific way that a social practice can proceed. One ISC staff member, who is herself of Hispanic

heritage, explains a preference for a particular mode of interaction among ISC community members, face-to-face communication. As P9 puts it,

La impresión que tengo es que las personas que estamos en ISC, puede ser todos los alumnos, no? Preferimos la comunicación personal, el contacto personal.
(The impression that I have is that those of us here at ISC, it could be all of the students, right? We prefer personal communication, personal contact) (T2; L 200-202)

To support this claim P9 offers a story of a face-to-face interaction she observed between a prospective ISC participant and an ISC staff member. In this case, a man came to seek services from ISC, but did not want to be contacted via telephone. According to P9, this man said that he would come back to ISC on a different day to obtain necessary information to begin ISC classes, rather than discussing this information over the phone. By using the “we” plural conjugation of the Spanish verb *preferir* (to prefer), P9 suggests that other ISC community members may share this preference.

In addition to P9’s discussion of a preference for face-to-face communication of some community members, I also observed talk suggesting a preference for *la comunicación asertiva* (assertive communication). For example, during my field observation, I heard one male participant reflect on a female participant’s class discussion by saying, “*La Señora expresa muy bien la comunicación asertiva*” (The woman (honorific) expresses assertive communication very well) (FN 4.23c). In this case, the male participant praises the assertive communication of his female classmate that she *expresa muy bien* (expresses very well). Additionally, an interview with P26, one of the leaders of the *Relaciones Saludables* (Healthy Relationships) class provided at ISC by the domestic violence prevention group of ISC, supports my observation when he says,

Algo que enfocábamos bastante en la clase fue la comunicación asertiva y la comunicación asertiva especialmente entre parejas (Something that we focus a

lot on in the class was assertive communication and especially assertive communication between partners) (T 17; L 184-185)

By saying that *comunicación asertiva* is “*algo que enfocábamos bastante*” (something that we focused on a lot) in the *Relaciones Saludables* class, P26 supports my conclusion that this mode of *comunicación* (Carbaugh, 1989) is understood as preferable. The class leaders also discuss *comunicación agresiva* (aggressive communication) and *comunicación pasiva* (passive communication) as less desirable modes of communication throughout the course. That talk about *comunicación* is part of the curriculum in the *Relaciones Saludables* (Healthy Relationships) class, further supports P29’s previously discussed assertion that this practice promotes positive interpersonal relationships. In addition to discussing preferences for particular modes of communication (Carbaugh, 1989, 2007), community members also described the efficacy of *comunicación*.

Efficacy. Carbaugh (1989) defined efficacy as the perceptions of a community that particular acts, events, and styles, are more substantial than others in accomplishing social goals. At ISC, *comunicación* is considered a substantial means of accomplishing social goals. As P30 puts it, “*Comunicación es bien importante tanto en...en...para uno mismo es de...en la familia, entre compañeros*” (Communication is very important, in...in...for oneself, um...in the family, between friends) (T 21; L 48-49). Here, P30 suggests several relationships in which communication is important, specifically familial and quasi-familial, or “family like relationships” (Covarrubias, 2002, p. 55).

Additionally, P20 identifies the effects of a lack of communication, in this case resulting from social isolation, can have on an individual. As P20 says, “*Sí es muy importante comunicarse, umm cuando uno no está comunicado con otras personas uno se siente muy, muy triste*” (Yes, communicating is very important, umm when one isn’t

communication with others, one feels really, really sad) (T 11; L 32-33). In the case of P20, a lack of communication with others, because of a move away from her network of friends and family, who reside in different states and countries, led to emotional outcomes (Carbaugh, 2007), specifically feelings of extreme sadness. During a public presentation, where ISC students shared what they learned throughout the spring semester, P20 addresses the attendees and describes encountering a *Tía* (aunt) at ISC. By referring to an ISC members as *Tía*, P20 describes building a quasi-familial relationship, which she describes as easing the isolation she felt during the separation from her extant social network. Covarrubias (2002) described a similar use of familial terms to mark quasi-familial relationships in a construction company, suggesting that the use of these terms may be “transcontextual” (p. 32). For P20, then, *comunicación* seems to be an effective social practice (Carbaugh, 1989).

Personhood. As ISC community members discuss *comunicación*, some also describe this practice as shaping personhood, or assumptions about what it means to be a human member of a cultural community (Carbaugh, 1989, 2007). For example, P19 describes *comunicación* by saying, “*Para mi comunicación es como, estar informado sobre temas que nos beneficia nuestras vidas*” (For me communication is like, being informed about themes that benefit our lives) (T 10; L 26-27). Here, P19 uses the phrases *estar informado* (being informed) to describe how *comunicación* allows one to become a particular kind of person, an informed person. Furthermore, by using the plural “we” conjugation of *beneficiarse* (to benefit oneself) along with the phrase, *nuestras vidas* (our lives), P19 implies that personhood at ISC is also bound to membership in the

community. Within this same utterance, then, P19 describes personhood as experienced individually and communally.

Taken together ISC community members' talk about *comunicación* suggests an understanding of this social practice as serving several functions including exchanging opinions and ideas, informing, organizing, helping, problem solving, and familial and quasi-familial relationship building (Covarrubias, 2002) and as both a speech act and speech event (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1962; Searle, 1976) engaged by one or several people. Furthermore, ISC community members seem to prefer face-to-face and assertive *comunicación* to other modes of communication (Carbaugh, 1989) and understand this practice as shaping particular understandings of personhood. One of the practices that "recurs and co-occurs" (Covarrubias, 2002, p. 88) with *comunicar* is *platicar* (to chat, to talk).

Platicar

A second term for talk employed by ISC community members is *platicar* (to chat, to talk), or in noun form, *una plática* (a chat, a talk). ISC community members seem to understand this communication practice as a speaking event (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1086) engaged by two or more people, varying in structure and formality (Carbaugh, 1989), used to identify problems and opinions, to learn about social issues, and to gain skills. For community members, *pláticas* are speech events because, as Carbaugh (1989) indicates, they require the participation of two or more speakers.

When I asked ISC community members about what the term *plática* means, several described the structure of the practice (Carbaugh, 1989), indicating that there are several ways that the speaking event could proceed. For example, P29 describes a *plática*

as loosely structured, with the ability of speakers to change topics frequently, by saying “*platicar acerca de un tema, pero si salió a otros*” (chatting about a theme, but yes it changed to others) (T 20; L 83). Here, P29 implies that a *plática* has an informal and fluid structure. Another speaker, P25, conversely suggests that a *plática* can concern one particular theme. As P25 says,

Y a veces nos dicen, o los encargados de ISC, los líderes nos dicen, “Ahora ustedes, platican entre ustedes que piensan de esto” (Sometimes they tell us, or those in charge at ISC, the leaders tell us, “Now everyone, talk amongst yourselves about what you think about this”) (T 16; L 130-132)

Through this excerpt, P25 describes a *plática* as directed by leaders at ISC, but also as part of a larger community speaking event, in this case a *junta de membresía* (membership meeting) of the community-organizing group of ISC. In addition to P29 and P25’s descriptions of the structure of a *plática*, a flier for a community event named a *Plática Comunitaria* (Community Talk) presented by the Domestic Violence Prevention group of ISC provides information about what participants can expect at the speaking event,

Te invitamos a nuestras pláticas comunitarias, estaremos presentando temas sobre comunicación y conflicto, violencia doméstica, efectos de violencia doméstica en los niños, autoestima” (We invite you to our community talks, we will present themes about communication and conflict, domestic violence, the effects of domestic violence on children, self-esteem) (PD).

As this flier suggests, the event itself is named a *plática comunitaria* and involves another communicative practice of *presentar* (to present), which manifests as a speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Searle, 1976). This *plática comunitaria* will include formal presentations about specific topics that were chosen by the leaders of the *plática* prior to the event, including a presentation about communication (assertive, aggressive, passive) as a specific theme. Through the talk about *pláticas* of P25 and P29, and the description

of the *Plática Comunitaria* on the flier mentioned above, I have identified several available structures for a *plática* including addressing several topics within one speech event, as one component of a larger separately named speaking event, or as comprised of one or more separately named speech acts.

In addition to discussing the potential structures of a *plática*, ISC community members also identify different tones (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986) associated with this speaking event. For example, P29 indicates that *pláticas* are friendly in nature, “*Es más familiar, más amistoso*” (It is more familiar, friendlier) (T 20; L 83-84). Another participant, P17, indicates that *pláticas* can be about a particular problem that a person faces, “*Platiqué de un problema*” (I talked about a problem) (T 8; L 324). Here, P17 implies a more serious tone. Finally, according to P27, a *plática* is characterized by trust, “*Una plática es de confianza*” (A chat is of trust) (FN 4.30). These three ways of characterizing the tone of a *plática* (familial and friendly, about problems, and of trust) can be understood as “ways of speaking” (Hymes, 1972/1986, p. 58) that are coordinating rather than competing (Covarrubias, 2002) in that a person may feel comfortable engaging in a *plática* about a problem with someone with whom they have *confianza* (trust, closeness, confidentiality), such as a family member or friend.

Community members not only describe the structure and tone of a *plática*, but also discuss the efficacy (Carbaugh, 1989) of this speaking event as varying from skill building, resulting in positive impacts on a person’s life, to being uninteresting and unimportant. Carbaugh (1989) defined the efficacy of a communication practice as the assumption that some practices are more useful in accomplishing social goals than others. As P20 puts it, “...*(H)ay diferente tipos de plática, hay plática de computadora, de todo,*

de cómo hacer un líder, de cómo ayudar a los demás...” (There are different types of talks about computers, about everything, how to become a leader, how to help others...) (T11; L 54-55). In this case, P20 describes *pláticas* as thematic how-to talks presented by ISC staff to ISC participants to build important skills that participants can use in their everyday lives. However, while comparing a *plática* to another speaking event engaged at ISC, a *diálogo* (dialogue), P25 indicates that *pláticas* are uninteresting and unimportant, “*Una plática? En una plática no se toman, yo creo que, temas muy interesantes, muy importantes. Simplemente es comunicación*” (A chat? In a chat they do not take, I think, very interesting and very important themes. It is simply communication) (T 16; L 85-87). Here, in contrast to P20’s understanding of the speaking event as providing useful skills, P25 describes a *plática* as what Katriel and Philipsen (1981) call “mere talk” (p. 308) or talk understood as comparatively unsubstantial by its users.

Community members also suggest that engaging in a *plática* may mark particular kinds of relationships, ranging from ISC community-based friendships to familial relationships. More specifically, a *plática* can denote relationships within the ISC community that are built on feelings of *unidad* (unity) and of *familia* (family). For example, in a discussion of the most important lessons learned at ISC, P1 offers that among other events at ISC, the *pláticas* demonstrate the unity of the community by saying, “*La unidad de las personas para las marchas, para los meetings, las juntas que hacen aquí, las pláticas*” (The unity of the people for the marches, for the meetings, the meetings that they do here, the talks) (TP 1; L 52-53). For P1, then, to participate in community events, including *pláticas* is to demonstrate unity, which she feels is important. In this case, the *plática* takes place in a public domain and is used to build

feelings of unity between community members. Another participant, P23 indicates that this type of speaking event is one that she engages with her family, naming specific participants with a particular relationship, “*Y plática es, pues, la que tengo con mis hijos, con mi esposo*” (And talk is, well, what I have with my kids, with my spouse) (T 14; L 31-32). For P23, a *plática* is a speech event (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986) that used by members of a family in the private domain of the household, whereas she later uses the term *diálogo* to describe the interaction that she and I, two acquaintances, used during our interview. By contrasting *plática* and *diálogo*, P23 uses these metacommunicative terms to mark varying relational distances with she and her family (close), and she and I (distant).

Finally, one community member also describes *pláticas* as marking personhood (Carbaugh, 1989, 2007), or cultural assumptions about the meanings of being a human member of a community. More specifically, P22 claims that *pláticas* are engaged by less educated members of the Latino/a immigrant community by saying “...*(Y) la plática...es de más popular entre la gente que no es tan...tan preparada*” (And a chat...um, is more popular with people who are not very...very educated) (T 13; L 141-142). Through this excerpt, P22 suggests that this particular communication practice may mark membership to particular social groups or statuses within ISC and perhaps even the larger Latino/a immigrant community residing in the U.S. American Southwest. However, because P22 was the only participant to suggest *pláticas* as marking personhood, therefore this idea deserves further investigation.

In their talk about *pláticas* (chat, talk), community members describe varying available structures as well as varying assumptions regarding the efficacy of the practice

(Carbaugh, 1989). Community members also note that *pláticas* can mark particular kinds of relationships and identities, and can be used to identify problems and opinions, to learn about important social issues relevant to the Latino/a immigrant community, and to gain skills that help in one's everyday life in the United States. In describing this communication practice, both P23 and P25 contrasted a *plática* with another available communicative practice, a *diálogo*.

Diálogo

In addition to *plática*, ISC community members also display *diálogo* (dialogue) as an available communication practice. ISC participants describe a *diálogo* as a highly structured, formal speaking event (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986) engaged by two or more people, used to come to an agreement, to solve problems, or make a request. *Diálogos* are marked by broad (community) rather than personal interest and can be used to help people identify larger shared community problems/issues.

Community members indicate that *diálogos* are highly structured and intentional and therefore may be regulated by a moderator. For example, P29 claims that, “*A veces con diálogo, la gente debe, como, levantan los manos*” (And sometimes with a dialogue, the people have to, like, raise their hands) (T 20; L 95-96). Here, P29 identifies a more formal turn-taking process accompanied by the nonverbal cue of raising one's hand to be acknowledged as a potential speaker. Also referencing structure, P25 indicates that *diálogos* typically address one theme at a time, “*...Y no salir de esos temas hasta que terminamos...*” (...And do not leave these themes until we have finished) (T 16; L 124). In other words, unlike a *plática*, which P25 describes as addressing several different themes throughout the speaking event, a *diálogo* focuses on one central theme. For

example, I observed one *diálogo* at ISC, which was attended by both a local Representative (member of the United States House of Representatives) and ISC community members. This *diálogo* concerned the topic of immigration legislation moving through the United States House of Representatives. The entire speaking event, which lasted one hour, focused exclusively on this particular piece of legislation. At the beginning of the speaking event, ISC community members were given specific instructions by an ISC staff member about how to introduce themselves to the Representative. The staff member instructed community members to begin their introduction by stating their name, and to then describe one facet of their identity (mother, worker, student, etc.). The staff member warned community members that they did not have time for lengthy introductions, and so they should be brief. The specificity of these instructions further underscores the formal nature of the *diálogo* speaking event (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986) at ISC.

As additional evidence that *diálogos* are formal in tone for ISC speakers, P30 says, “*Y un diálogo...es más formal* (And a dialogue is like more formal) (T 21; L 122). The descriptions of P29 and P25 seem to suggest that *diálogos* are formal speaking events, governed by shared rules for the practice (Hymes, 1972/1986), such as turn taking and thematic focus. In addition to discussing the tone of the speaking event, community members also acknowledged the efficacy of the event (Carbaugh, 1989).

Unlike their talk about *pláticas*, community members describe several functions for *diálogos* (Carbaugh, 1989), including, *ponerse de acuerdo* (coming to an agreement), *resolver situaciones* (resolving situations (problems)), and *pedir algo* (requesting something). In this case, *ponerse de acuerdo* means coming to an agreement about an

issue or topic in support of collective action by community members. For example, as P15 says, “...*(D)iálogo es ponerse de acuerdo...es de ponerse de acuerdo en algo que van a hacer*” (Dialogue is coming to an agreement...it is coming to an agreement about something that you (plural) are going to do) (T 6; L 104-106). Here, P15 indicates that this speaking event is communal and promotes consensus among ISC community members. By using the plural future tense, *van a hacer* (going to do), P15 suggests that a *diálogo* may lead to a future collective action, such as an immigrant rights march on César Chavez Day.

Additionally, a *diálogo* can also signify a speech event (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1872/1986) that promotes problem solving. As P31 puts it, “*(P)ero un diálogo ya es como algo más, como para resolver una situación*” (But now a dialogue is like something more, like to resolve a situation) (T 22; L 136-137). In this case, P31 uses the term *situación* to mean “problem.” Therefore, *diálogos* at ISC help community members solve problems in their everyday lives.

Finally, one ISC participant suggests that this communication practice can be used to make requests. As P28 indicates, however, a response to these requests may be not provided, “...*(Y)o pienso que un diálogo es nada más como...una manera de...de pedir algo, pero sin ninguna respuesta*” (I think that a dialogue is nothing more than like...a way to...to request something, but without any response) (T 19; L 225-226). In this case, *pedir algo* (requesting something) refers to a social plea for the humane treatment of Latino/a immigrants directed toward a local politician. In the *diálogo* I described above, engaged between ISC community members and member of the United States House of Representatives, ISC community members use a *diálogo* to *pedir algo*. As I discussed

previously, the *diálogo* began with all members of the ISC community introducing themselves by stating their names and describing one facet of their identities (mother, worker, student, etc.). Then, after all community members had completed their introductions, three ISC community members were asked to *contar* (to tell) or *compartir* (to share) their *historias* (stories) about their lived experiences as Latino/a immigrants living in the United States to the Representative. Then, a staff member of ISC posed a question to the Representative related to the *historias* provided by participants. For example, the *historia* shared by one female community member described the pain her family experienced following the deportation of her college-aged son. The ISC staff member followed her story with questions to the Representative about how the proposed national immigration legislation would influence family reunification, following the deportation of a family member. The Representative then responded with information about her position on the topic, saying that she was unsure of how her preference for immigration reform would result in tangible outcomes, specifically legislation. In this way, ISC participants are able to use their personal *historias* to *pedir algo* (request something), or make a social plea, within the speaking event named a *diálogo*, but did not receive a direct response to their request.

Community members' talk about *diálogos* also describes the scope of the practice. For example, P25, indicates that *diálogos* concern themes that are of both personal and community interest, "*Entablas un diálogo sobre un tema importante o de interés personal o interés para todo....para todo el grupo o para la comunidad...*(You enter into a dialogue about an important theme or of personal interest...for the entire group or for the community)(T 16; L 89-90). In other words, the scope of interest of this particular

speaking event ranges and may allow for individuals at ISC to connect to one another around a shared interest. By “entering in” to a shared practice, community members’ talk underscores the social nature of *diálogo*, marking it as an event rather than an act (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986), thus differentiating a *diálogo* from other communication practices at the act level (Searle, 1976). Therefore, P25’s description of a *diálogo* marks the interplay of the individual and communal nature of communication at ISC.

In summary, ISC community members treat *diálogos* as formal speaking events (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986), which serve the function of coming to an agreement in support of collective action, solving problems, and making requests. *Diálogos* are shaped by shared rules regarding turn-taking, and thematic focus. ISC community members’ uses and meanings of *diálogo* (Hymes, 1972/1986) contribute cultural, context specific understandings to Carbaugh, Boromisza-Habashi, and Ge’s (2006) comparative discussion of dialogues. One component of the *Diálogos Comunitarios* I observed included ISC community members’ practice of *compartiendo historias* (sharing stories).

Compartir

An additional term for talk ISC community members discuss is *compartir* (to share). Community members describe *compartir* as a speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Searle, 1976) used to provide help and moral support to others, and, in turn, build trust and solidarity. I observed several occasions in which ISC staff openly encouraged ISC participants to *compartir* (to share) about their lived experiences as a Latino/a immigrants. One class, the *Relaciones Saludables* (Healthy Relationships) class, which

addresses topics of communication, conflict, self-esteem, and sexuality, was one context where community members were often encouraged to engage this communication practice. For example, in the *Relaciones Saludables* class, one of the instructors, who is herself a Mexican immigrant, asked the class, “¿Alguien quiere compartir?” (Does anyone want to share?) (FN 2.26b). On another occasion, a woman leading an evening computer class who is also a Mexican immigrant asked the participants if any students wanted to share experiences and later said, “Si no quieres compartir, no te preocupes.” (If you don’t want to share, don’t worry) (FN 3.4b). Later, when students in the class had shared their personal information, the instructor said, “Gracias por compartir” (Thank you for sharing) (FN 3.4b). By thanking participants for employing the speech act of *compartir*, she demonstrated her understanding of the efficacy of the act (Carbaugh, 1989). As further evidence of an orientation of *compartir* (sharing) as an effective communicative practice, P12 relays a conversation she had with her mother: “Mi madre me dice, ‘Como es bueno la comunicación entre varias personas, compartir, ayudarse, darse a conocer’” (My mother said to me, “Communication between various people is good, sharing, helping oneself, and letting others know oneself) (T 4; L 71-73). Here, P12 uses the Spanish language reflexive verb forms of *ayudarse* (helping oneself) and *darse a conocer* (letting others know oneself). In Spanish, the reflexive verb form is used to describe actions that one does to oneself. In other words, reflexive verbs are meant to mark actions, in this case communication actions, that are under the control of the user. For P12, then, *comunicación* provides an individual with the ability to help oneself and to reveal oneself to others. Both helping oneself and revealing oneself are under the control

of the person employing the practice of communication. As a result, For P12, and her mother, the communication practice of *compartir*, among others is “good” and useful.

In addition to discussing the efficacy of this practice, several participants also described various functions (Carbaugh, 1989) of *compartir*, including *ayudar* (to help/helping) others. For example, P28 claims, “...*Donde lo puedes compartir, pues...hay más expectativas de ayuda*” (Where you can share, well...there are more expectations of help) (T 19; L 57-58). In other words, by providing others with information about one’s personal experiences or problems, one can expect the help of others at ISC, implying an inherent tie between community members at ISC through the practice of *compartir*. Another way that participants may help one another is by providing moral support. As P26, an instructor and Latino immigrant says,

Cuando venimos y reflexionamos, decimos, “Wow, a mi me está pasando esa.” O de repente “A mi me pasó esa.” Entonces, todos estamos reflexionando y eso creo que ayuda bastante también decir es el apoyo moral de cada quien y compartiendo la experiencia (When we come and we reflect, we say, “Wow. This is happening to me.” Or, suddenly, “This happened to me.” So, we are all reflecting and this, I think, helps a lot to say, the moral support of each person and sharing their experiences)(T 18; L 550-553)

In this case, P26 describes the practices of *reflexionar* (to reflect) and *decir* (telling) as components of sharing experiences in the service of moral support. Both *ayuda* (help) and *apoyo moral* (moral support) are functions that are relational in nature. In other words, both functions of *compartir* are engaged in the service of others. Additionally, both of these functions appear to have practical as well as emotional benefits (Carbaugh, 2007) for users, such as learning about how to solve a practical problem, or learning that people are not alone in their experiences.

Along with help and moral support, P26 further describes *solidaridad* (solidarity) as a potential function of *compartir*. In terms of *solidaridad* (solidarity), P26 suggests “...(A) *aprender a compartir y ser más solidario con...con cada quien*” (...To learn to share and be more in solidarity with...with each one) (T 18; L 481-482). Here, P26 indicates that *compartir* is something that should be learned by community members to build community solidarity. Finally, P17 indicates that the ability to share is related to feelings of *confianza* (trust, interpersonal closeness, confidentiality) between ISC community members by saying,

...(E)*ntonces también siento que tiene la confianza al grupo de platicar algo personal de compartir, la...de...con los hijos, con el marido, con algo que te pasó* (...So, I also feel that to have trust in the group, to chat (about) something personal, to share about your kids, with your spouse, with something that happened to you) (T 8; L 278-280)

In this case, P17 describes group *confianza*, rather than interpersonal *confianza* to engage two other communication practices, *platicar* and *compartir*. This participant also describes what participants would share with the group “*algo personal*” (something personal) regarding one’s family.

In summary, community members encourage other community members to *compartir*, and orient to this communication practice as an efficacious speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Searle, 1976). Community members also identified several functions of the practice including providing *ayuda* and *apoyo moral* to others, and building *solidaridad*. In addition to *compartir*, community members discussed another means of providing information about their experiences, *contar* (to tell).

Contar

ISC community members employ the term *contar* (to tell) to describe their communication, defining *contar* as a speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976) used to introduce information about personal experiences, for the benefit of others. Many community members use *contar* in the gerund form, *contando* (telling), as in telling about stories, situations, and happenings to solve problems, and create solidarity and trust between community members. Generally, the tone (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986) of *contar* is considered positive.

Efficacy. One ISC staff member, who is herself a Mexican immigrant, P36, describes feeling gratified when participants tell about their experiences, “*Sí es... muy gratificante también así como se siente uno como, wow, ellos están contando lo de su corazón*” (Yes it is...really gratifying too to feel like, wow, they are telling what’s in their hearts) (T 27; L 276-277). Here, by using the term “*gratificante*,” P36 hints at the perceived efficacy of this speech act (Carbaugh, 1989) and also describes the emotional outcomes (Carbaugh, 2007) of employing this practice. Another participant, P22, further spoke to the efficacy of *contar* by saying, “*...(E)s bueno contar las historias porque a las otras personas no les va a suceder lo mismo que uno*” (It is good to tell your stories so that the same thing doesn’t happen to other people like (happened to) you) (T 13; L 117-118). In other words, for P22, *contar historias* is a way to help others avoid problems she has experienced herself. This communication practice, then, may be used for the benefit of others.

Problem identifying and solving. In addition to using *contar* to help others avoid problems, ISC community members further discuss identifying and solving problems as a

function of this speech act (Carbaugh, 1989). For example, in a discussion of how she follows up with participants who have stopped coming to classes, P36 describes her talk,

“Cuénteme y dígame lo que está pasando.” Y si algunas personas me han contado, entonces ya le digo, “Podemos hacer esto, podemos hablar...” Entonces, cuando hay cosas para solucionar (Tell me and let me know what is happening.” And some people have told me, so now I say to them, “We can do this, we can talk...” So, there are things to solve) (T 27; L 217-219)

Through this excerpt, P36 indicates that if participants tell her about their personal problems, she can help them find solutions. Although community members identify positive outcomes associated with *contar*, they also explain that *confianza* (trust, interpersonal closeness, confidentiality) is required to employ this communication practice. As P31 puts it, *“(S)i yo puedo contarle mis situaciones es porque yo tengo confianza”* (I can tell others about my situations because I have trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality) (T 22; L 60-61). By using the Spanish language form *poder* (to be able to) + the metacommunicative verb *contar*, P31 implicates *confianza* as necessary to employ this practice.

Individual-Collective. Interestingly, community members discussed both the individual and collective nature of the *historias* (stories) that one can *contar* (tell). For example, within a discussion of the end of the semester “river of life” project, where ISC staff asked participants to represent visually major events in their life as a river (on a poster board), P10, who is himself a Mexican immigrant said, *“Todos tenemos una historia que contar, una historia diferente”* (We all have a story to tell, a different story) (FN 3.5a). In this case, P10 describes the individual and unique nature of each participant’s experiences and associated *historias*. However, during an observation of a membership meeting of the community-organizing group of ISC, the group leader

encouraged participants to, “*Contar su historia y conectar su historia con millones de personas*” (Tell your story and connect your story with millions of people) (FN 4.3).

Here, the *historias* of community members are described as communal, as shared, and as able to be connected with the rest of the larger Latino/a immigrant community. Like P22 mentioned above, participants were encouraged to share their stories and connect these stories with others, in the service of the larger immigrant community.

In summary, community members understand *contar* as an effective speech act used to tell stories (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976). The practice of telling stories is used to help others avoid problems and to solve their already existing problems, and is used to serve the Latino/a immigrant community. Finally, this practice can be used to mark one’s individuality or connection to a larger community. In addition to *contar*, ISC community members also employ the communication practice of *hablar* (to speak).

Hablar

Community members seem to understand the communicative practice of *hablar* as both a speech act and a speech event (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976) used to teach others, provide information about lived experiences, to identify problems, and to mark personhood (Carbaugh, 1989; 2005, 2007; Philipsen, 1992).

As evidence of a didactic function (Carbaugh, 1989; Covarrubias, 2002) of this communication practice, one participant, P8, discusses *hablar* by saying, “*Aquí, muchos hablan de sus experiencias y...y otros aprenden de esos*” (Here, lots (of people) talk about their experiences and, and others learn from these) (T 1; L 153). Through this excerpt, P8 indicates that *hablar*, in this case speaking about one’s lived experiences, can

teach others. This description of the practice of *hablar* suggests that it is an individual speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Searle, 1976), through which one can self-disclose lived experiences to others. Therefore, this participant indicates that *hablar*, like *compartir* and *contar*, can be used in the service of others and therefore demonstrates the communal nature of several communication practices at ISC.

Also similar to *contar*, community members suggest that for ISC community members to engage in the communicative practice of *hablar*, they needed to feel a sense of *confianza* (trust, closeness, confidentiality). For example, P9, an instructor at ISC and a Mexican immigrant herself, describes participants employing this practice in her classroom by saying, “*(Q)ué confianza tienen para hablar de eso en voz alta y con todos y conmigo*” (What trust they have to speak about this aloud and with everyone and with me) (T 2; L 158). In this case, P9 describes *confianza* as necessary for students in her class to openly talk about their lived experiences with immigration and discrimination in the United States. More specifically, this ISC instructor expresses her surprise that her students are able to engage in this communication practice, implying that under other conditions, where *confianza* is not present, students would not feel the safety to speak about their experiences. In this excerpt, P9 also suggests that *hablar* is a practice that a community member engages “*con todos y conmigo*” (with others and myself), suggesting that this practice may also be considered a speech event (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986).

Another participant, P19, further supports P9’s claim that participants need *confianza* to *hablar* to others at ISC.

Porque pues si no hay confianza pues, no tienes la seguridad de venir o hablar de algún problema o alguna duda que tú tengas. Por eso pienso que es importante

tener confianza (Because, so if there isn't trust, well, you don't have the security to come or talk about some problem or a question that you might have) (T 10; L 86-88)

Here, P19 suggests that *confianza* is necessary for participants not only to feel secure enough to speak to others about a problem or a question, but also to come to seek the service of ISC at all. In other words, *confianza* is related not only to the ability of ISC participants to speak, but also to participate. P19 was not the only ISC participant to indicate that one function of *hablar* (Carbaugh, 1989) was to inform others of one's personal problems. In a discussion of the communicative practices available for speakers in the *Relaciones Saludables* (Healthy Relationships) class provided at ISC, P21 claims that, "*Esas personas le llegan el momento ya de, pero ya están en el punto de explotar y es como empiezan a hablar de sus cosas personales*" (These people have already come to the point of, but they are at the point of exploding and it's like they start to talk about their personal things) (T 12; L 82-83). In this discussion, P21 proposes that the *Relaciones Saludables* class provided students with a place to talk about their problems. By describing the participants as "ready to explode," P21 implies that the problems of participants at ISC are serious and that they may not have other outlets for discussing or resolving these problems. Therefore, the communication practice of *contar*, which is available for speakers at ISC, but potentially unavailable in other contexts, provides the opportunity to meet an emotional need to disclose information to others. An ISC staff member further supports this idea, that ISC provides a place for participants to *hablar* by saying,

...(B)ecause so much has happened in their lives, but you know you give people the opportunity to just talk and be a person and be recognized and so many good things come out of that (T 28; L 372-374)

Here, P37 offers that the ability to talk (*hablar*) at ISC provides participants with a place to be a particular kind of person, a recognized person. In other words, by providing ISC participants with a place to talk, ISC is allowing for the acknowledgement of participants' personhood (Carbaugh, 1989, 2007), which P37 claims can have many positive outcomes.

In summary, ISC community members orient to *hablar* as both a speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976) and speech event (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986) that can serve a didactic function, can provide information to others, can identify problems, and can mark personhood (Carbaugh, 1989). Furthermore, community members suggest that they must feel *confianza* (Covarrubias, 2002; Fitch, 1998; O'Connor, 1990) to employ this communication practice. In addition to talking about the practice of *hablar*, community members also discuss keeping silent.

Guardar Silencio/Secretos, Mantenerse Callado

Of the twenty-four terms for talk I describe in this section, only one "family of terms" (Leighter & Black, 2010, p. 548) references talk about silence. ISC community members use three similar phrases to describe keeping silent or quiet: *guardar silencio* (keeping silent), *mantenerse callado* (staying quiet), and *guardar secretos* (keeping secrets). For the ISC community, these terms seem to suggest a speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Searle, 1976) that is shaped by both *confianza* (trust, closeness, confidentiality) and its opposite, *desconfianza* (lack of trust, closeness, confidentiality). I propose that *guardar silencio/secretos, mantenerse callado* is a speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Searle, 1976) employed by an individual in response to the employment of a different communication practice. For example, one ISC participant, who also volunteers her time

working at the front desk, suggests that when prospective participants come to ISC with questions that she is not equipped to answer, she should use this practice. As P31 puts it, “*Y debemos aprender a guardar silencio en esos tipos de situaciones*” (And we should learn to keep silent in these types of situations) (T 22; L 85). One example of a situation where one should keep silent at ISC is when asked a legal question about immigration policy related to a prospective participant’s specific situation. Because there may be serious consequences (deportation, familial separation) for providing incorrect or incomplete information, P31 suggests that staying silent in these situations is preferable. By using a conjugation of the Spanish verb *deber* (should), P31 marks this practice as preferable and invokes a rule for communication at ISC (Hymes, 1972/1986; Philipsen, 1992). This participant, who receives many prospective ISC participants when they enter ISC to seek the center’s services, further mentions that her position also requires her to keep secrets. As P31 puts it, “*Hay situaciones cuando le da la confidencialidad que tú...tú sientes que vas a guardar secretos*” (There are situations when they give you the confidentiality that you...you feel like you are going to keep secrets) (T22; L65-66). This utterance suggests that when prospective participants come to ISC, they confide in P31 and provide her with information about their current situation, with the expectation that she will keep their secrets. Covarrubias (2002) has suggested that the assumption that one’s talk is confidential is a fundamentally important component of *confianza* for Mexican speakers. This discussion of *guardar secretos* appears to confirm Covarrubias’s (2002) claim about this cultural construct.

In addition to ISC staff using this communicative practice to avoid offering incorrect information or to protect the information of ISC participants, participants

themselves report using this act individually, but simultaneously in the classroom and in their daily lives. For example, when I asked P8 if she speaks to others in her class she admits, “*Yo y mi esposo nos quedamos callados y observamos y vemos*” (My spouse and I stay quiet and observe and watch)(T 1; L 256). Later in my discussion with P8, she describes an interaction in the *Relaciones Saludables* (Healthy Relationships) class, where one female participant sought the opinions of the male class participants regarding her marriage. P8 describes the following interaction,

Si, yo creo que como ella le preguntó a los hombres, quiso saber lo que opinan los hombres. Los hombres se quedan callados. Yo le digo a mi esposo ayer, a mi es como un guy code like no quieren you know throw him under the bus o lo que sea. Ellos no van a hablar, no van a decir la verdad (Yes, I think that like she asked the men, she wanted to know the opinions of the men. The men stayed quiet. I say, to my husband yesterday, to me it is like guy code, like they don't want you know to throw him under the bus or whatever. They didn't want to talk, they didn't want to tell the truth) (T 1; L 129-132)

In this situation, a female participant used the communicative act of *preguntar* (to ask) to seek opinions of male participants, but according to P8, the men responded by *se quedan callados* (staying quiet). She identifies two communication practices that “recur and co-occur” (Covarrubias, 2002, p. 88) with *se quedan callados*, including *no van a hablar* (not speaking) and *no van a decir la verdad* (not telling the truth). Additionally, P8 uses the English phrase “guy code” to note that the men appear to be making use of a different communication code than the women in the classroom by staying quiet, not speaking, and not telling the truth. I was present during the interaction P8 describes in the *Relaciones Saludables* class, and noticed that although the men did stay quiet, the women in the class did not. The women in the class offered their opinions about the situation to their classmate. Therefore, because the women did not employ the same communication practices as the men in this particular classroom interaction, who according to P8 by

doing so enacted a “guy code,” I propose that in this context, *se quedan callados*, *no van a hablar*, and *no van a decir la verdad*, were not considered available practices for women, by virtue of their gender. In other words, this particular classroom interaction illustrates that these communication practices were not always available to all speakers at ISC.

Both participants and an instructor at ISC indicate that the practice of staying quiet is shaped in part by *confianza* (trust, closeness, confidentiality). This interaction between P21 and me explains why she keeps some of her problems to herself.

P21: ... *Yo todavía...me guardaba mucho. Yo no me gusta cuando cualquier otra persona hablar de mis cosas personales, porque tengo muchos problemas. Pero, no cualquier gente voy a decirle* (I still...I guard a lot. I do not like it when every other person talks about my personal things, because I have a lot of problems.

But, I'm not going to tell it to every person)

DK: *Yo, no me gusta hablar mucho de mis problemas con otra gente* (I don't like to talk much about my problems with other people)

P21: *Yo también, a veces como no me siento muy en confianza para decir todas mis cosas* (Me too. Sometimes, like, I don't feel really in trust/confidence to tell all of my things.)

DK: *¿Porque no, no conoce uno muy bien la gente...?* (Because you don't know the people very well?)

P21: Mmmhmm (T12; L84-96)

Through this exchange, P21 explains that sometimes she doesn't feel *confianza* with other participants in her class, because she does not know them very well. By saying, *me guardaba mucho* (I guard a lot) this community member invokes a “container metaphor” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 29), to describe keeping emotions and experiences inside her. This discussion of *guardar silencio/secretos* can be understood as contrasting with other community members' discussions of *compartir* by which P12, another community member describes revealing herself to others. As context for P21's discussion of *guardar*, I learned through our interaction that at the time of this research, she was a first semester

student at ISC, whereas other participants in this particular class had participated for several semesters by this time. Therefore, the feelings of *desconfianza* (lack of trust/interpersonal closeness/assumed confidentiality) she describes that influence her decisions to *guardar silencio/secretos* may change as she continues to participate in classes and events at ISC and builds *confianza* with other community members.

In addition to P21, another community member, P15, cites *desconfianza*, or a lack of *confianza* as a reason to guard information by saying, “*Yo creo que si porque muchas, muchas personas nos guardamos muchas cosas que...que tenemos, por...por desconfianza*” (I think that yes, many, many of us keep many things that...that we have, because of, because of a lack of trust) (T 6; L 61-62). Through this excerpt, by using the plural “we” conjugation of *guardar* (keeping), P15 suggests that *desconfianza* is something that many people feel at ISC, that prevent them from disclosing their personal experiences or private information.

From this discussion of the communicative style of *mantener callado*, which includes *guardar silencio* and *guardar secretos*, it seems that staff keep silent and keep the secrets of participants because of the *confianza* (confidentiality) entrusted to them by participants, but participants simultaneously keep quiet and *guardar* (keep things inside) because of feelings of *desconfianza* (lack of trust, perceived lack of confidentiality).

When I asked P19 to describe *confianza*, she said,

Pues es confianza es cuando....como sabes de que esas...de si esa otra persona confias de que ella te va a dar un buen consejo o va a guardar su, lo que tu le platicas. Que no va a estar divulgando. Eso es más confianza. (Well, it is trust when...like you know that these...that this other person trusts that she will give you good advice or will keep your, what you said to her. That she is not going to be telling (the secret). This is trust) (T 10; L 77-79)

Here, P19 uses the verb *saber* (to know) to denote the expectation that *confianza* means that a person will “*guardar lo que tu le platicas*” (keep what he/she said to her). In other words, for P19, *confianza* implies an expectation for confidentiality.

Covarrubias (2002) suggested a similar understanding of *confianza* by Mexican speakers in a construction company, as does Fitch (1998) through her work with middle class Colombian speakers. More specifically, Covarrubias (2002) and Fitch (1998), like many ISC community members, described *confianza* as making available or unavailable several communication practices, and as built over a period of time through communication. Given community members’ discussions of *guardar silencio/mantener callados*, it seems that both desires to create *confianza* and perceptions of a lack of *confianza* shape the enactment of this particular communicative practice. In addition to discussing *guardar silencio/mantener callados*, community members also described the practice of *aconsejar/dar consejos*.

Aconsejar/Dar Consejos

ISC community members seem to treat the term *aconsejar/dar consejos* (advising/giving advice) as a speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976), which can only be employed by individuals with specific knowledge, and is used to help others. As P31 explains, “*Solamente la persona que puede dar un consejo es un abogado experta en inmigración*” (The only person who can give advice is a lawyer, an expert in immigration) (T 22; L 79-80). In this discussion, P31 indicates that in some cases, ISC staff and participants should not be giving advice to others about immigration related questions because they are not experts. Therefore, according to P31, not everyone at ISC should *dar consejos*. Furthermore, P19 suggests that in order to consider a

person's advice, the recipient of the advice needs to feel that the person offering the advice is serious and responsible. She says,

“O tú le platicas a alguien cuando sabes que es una persona seria, responsable, y cuando sabes de que ella te podría ayudar también si es un problema, como un consejo” (Or you tell someone when you know that they are a serious person, responsible, and also when you know that she could help you if it is a problem, like advice) (T 10; L 79-81)

In other words, like P31, P19 would only consider the advice of particular people, serious and responsible people, who she knows will help her.

In addition to P31 and P19, another ISC participant suggests that it is important to differentiate between good and bad *consejo* (advice). As P22 states,

...(L)e informan que puede hacer, ¿verdad? Un consejo. A veces...alguien, alguien te dice algo pero esa persona nada más está jugando contigo, no te dicen la verdad (They inform a person about what to do, right? Advice. Sometimes...someone, someone tells you something but this person is just playing with you, they don't tell you the truth) (T 13; L 74-76)

In this discussion, P22 identifies another communicative act of *informar* (to inform) as a way that *consejo* (advice) is given to others. This participant echoes what P31 has said about *consejo*, that Latino/a immigrants cannot always trust the advice given to them. However, P7 also mentions that *aconsejar* can serve a recruiting function (Carbaugh, 1989), related to *boca en boca* (word of mouth) communication. For example, P7 says, *“Pues yo les he aconsejado que vengan conmigo aquí, y les ayudan en muchas cosas”* (So I have advised them to come with me here, and that they will help them with lots of things) (TP 7; L 15). In this way, P7 views *aconsejar* as a way to help others, by providing information about a place where they can seek services. Therefore, ISC community members suggest that *aconsejar/dar consejos* is a speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976) not to be engaged by everyone because *consejo*

can be good or bad (appropriate or inappropriate), and that it is used to serve the community by providing information about useful services and resources.

Saludar

Throughout my observations at ISC, I noticed that participants and staff followed a specific greeting ritual when entering the center itself, as well as the classrooms. As P8 describes, “*Cuando yo entro a la clase, saludo a todos, yo digo buenos noches o buenos tardes*” (When I enter the class, I greet everyone, I say good evening or good afternoon) (T 1; L 27). I often observed the interaction described by P9 occurring between ISC community members, as well as a coordinating nonverbal component of the ritual. For example, if a female participant entered the ISC building, and encountered someone with whom she is acquainted (which is very likely due to the tight-knit group at ISC), she would verbally acknowledge the person by saying, for example, “*Hola, buenos días, Dani. ¿Como estás* (informal verb conjugation)?” (Hello, good morning, Dani. How are you?). Depending on the relationship, a participant or staff member may also say, “*Hola, buenos días, Dani. ¿Como está usted* (formal second person pronoun)? (Hello, good morning, Dani. How are you?). The other participant or staff member would then likely return with, “*Bien, bien, y tú?*” (informal) (Good, good, and you?) Or, “*Bien, bien, y usted?*” (formal) (Good, good, and you?). Then, the participants or staff members would often approach one another, embrace, and kiss on the cheek and either continue on with their interaction, or continue on to enter the classroom.

This particular greeting ritual, or *saludo*, is also used in classroom situations both before a class begins, and once a class is underway. Although the classes at ISC do have specific start and end times, it is quite common for participants to arrive several minutes

(10-15 minutes) after the classes have started. To my surprise, even if a participant arrives late, and the teacher is already instructing the students, the verbal components of the greeting ritual remain mostly the same. For example, in the ESL class that I observed on Tuesday and Thursday mornings, one woman consistently arrived after the class had started because, as I learned from her classmates, she relied on public transportation to get to ISC. When this woman would arrive, she would open the door, enter the classroom and say, “¡Buenos días!” (Good morning!) to the participants and teacher in the classroom. The participants and teacher would say, “¡Buenos días, [Name]. ¡Pásale!” (Good morning, [Name]. Come in!). The student would then sit down and join the class. Interactions such as these struck me as interesting as they contrast my own experiences in U.S. American educational settings. By maintaining the *saludo* ritual, even when community members are already engaged in class related activities, ISC community members mark this ritual as important and mark their educational context as different from many U.S. American educational settings. For further discussion of the importance of this greeting ritual for Mexican speakers, see Covarrubias (2005).

ISC community members imply the importance of the communicative practice of a *saludo* through their talk about the verb form of the practice, *saludar* (to greet). In general, ISC participants and staff seem to define *saludar* as a speech event (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1962) used to enter into a conversation, to acknowledge one’s personhood, to mark membership to the ISC community, and to promote feelings of *confianza*. For example, P16 describes how she uses the event of *saludar* to enter into a conversation. As P16 says,

Pues es como, una plática es como una conversación para mi es igual platicar y empezar a conocerse, llegar y saludar, y empezar, “Como estás? Con que haces?”

Y como te llamas?” Si, es una manera de...de entrar a una conversación (Well, it’s like, for me a chat is like a conversation. To arrive and to greet and to start, “How are you (informal)?” What do you do?” And what is your name?” Yeah, it’s a way to...to enter into a conversation) (T 7; L 93-95)

In this case, for P16, a *saludo* is part of a separate communication practice called a *plática* (chat), which serves a conversation initiation function. Through this excerpt, P16 gives examples of what *saludos* she uses and how they might shape the following interaction, including asking questions about a person’s well being, their job, and their name. In addition to identifying the means and functions of a *saludo*, one staff member, P32, discusses the efficacy (Carbaugh, 1989) of the speaking event. More specifically, P32 describes greeting participants at ISC as ideal by saying,

And so when you come through the door, um you know ideally somebody is going to be there to greet you and say, “Hey, how are you? Who are you here to see? Ok we’ll let them know and they’ll be right out” and trying to make people feel like this is a good place. This is a place like that you can have *confianza* (T 23; L 294-298)

Here, P32 specifically states that greeting participants and the door and using the communicative act of saying (*decir*) to make people feel good and to demonstrate that a person can feel *confianza* at ISC. By attempting to *ganar la confianza* (earn trust, interpersonal closeness, confidentiality) of prospective ISC community members through an initial greeting, ISC staff are marking *confianza* as an important cultural construct for their community. Furthermore, by repeating information provided by a student about ISC, P34 explains,

...(B)ut then you get to ISC and like [name of student] said you get welcomed, you get welcomed in and then from there it’s like you don’t wanna like leave you know it’s like oh that’s it, that’s my home (T 25; L 210-212)

For P34, welcoming is a way of greeting participants at ISC, resulting in feelings of home. For ISC community members, feelings of home may help them feel comfortable

participating in community events such as *Platicas Comunitarias* (Community Talks) and *Diálogos* (Dialogues). Therefore, for P32 and P34, two ISC staff members, *saludar* is an effective means of communicating with participants (Carbaugh, 1989).

One ISC participant, P12, also suggests that *saludar* helps her feel like a part of the ISC community. As P12 puts it, “*Llego, le doy un saludo de beso y abrazo a [Name] y [Name] y todas. Las hago sentir parte de ISC*” (I arrive, I greet them, I give a kiss and hug to [Name] and [Name] and everyone. They make me feel like a part of ISC) (T 4; L 266-267). For P12, then, this particular speech event helps create a sense of belonging at ISC. One staff member, P37 indicates that feeling a sense of belonging in the United States is a struggle for many community members. As she puts it,

It never fails to amaze me how people who are struggling in so many different ways (such as) feeling like they’re legitimate human beings that belong in a place. (T28; L366-369)

Through this excerpt, P37, indicates that the sense of belonging that P12 describes feeling at ISC is not automatic for many community members. By using the phrase “legitimate human beings,” P37 identifies struggles with personhood in addition to a struggle to find a sense of “belonging in a place” (Carbaugh, 1989). In this case, ISC community members’ experiences as immigrants living in the United States make these feelings of self and belonging salient.

Interestingly, in her discussion of *saludar*, P12 goes on to explain that although she uses this communication practice at ISC, her neighbors in her own neighborhood do not enact *saludar* in the way she prefers. As P12 describes,

[Dónde] Yo vivo casi la mayoría es Mexicano, mis vecinos todos hablan Ingles. Yo salgo allí que se llegué, “Buenos días.” Y no me saludaban. Bueno, digo “Good morning.” Y no me saludan. No me saludan para nada. ([Where] I live is mostly Mexican, my neighbors all speak English. I leave there and arrive, “Good

morning” and they don’t greet me. Ok, I say, “Good morning” (in English) and they don’t greet me. They don’t ever greet me) (T 4; L 404-408)

Through this discussion, P12 expresses her disappointment with her Mexican neighbors, who ignore her *saludos*. Interestingly, she offers *saludos* in Spanish and English in an effort to solicit a response, but is still unsuccessful. For P12, being ignored by her neighbors suggests to her that they discriminate against her as a recently arrived immigrant. It seems that she expected her neighbors, who had also come to the United States from Mexico, to participate in a cultural speaking event that she deems important, but was disappointed that when in the United States, other Mexicans fail to participate in this event and respond as she expects.

Another participant, P17, suggests that *saludar* (to greet) a person, is to demonstrate *confianza* by saying, “*Y todos nos saludamos, entonces, esa también es confianza*” (And we all greet everyone, so, this is trust too) (T 8; L 273-274). When I probed for further information about this speech event and *confianza*, P17 used our interactions as an example, to explain that one important component of *saludar* is *contestar* (to respond) in an equivalent manner. As P17 says,

Saludarla y saber que usted me va a corresponder de igual en buena manera, que a veces si está ocupada con una persona si no más así con la mano, verdad, pero ya si la veo que dice, “Hola” ni perdía una sonrisa y es que contesta esa...esa es me siento con libertad y con confianza de hacer un saludo y saber que me va a corresponder también (To greet and know that you (formal) will respond in the same way, and equal way to me. That sometimes if you are busy with another person, you do no more than, (greet) with your hand, right. But you have seen me and say, “Hello.” without failing to smile and to respond...this makes me feel freedom and trust to greet and know that you are going to respond to me too) (T 8; L 265-269)

In this case, P17 indicates a need to feel trust (*confianza*) to greet a person, she must know that the other person will reciprocate this greeting.

Although several ISC participants and staff suggest that *saludar* is a mostly effective way to interact with one another (Carbaugh, 1989), one participant discussed the event as unimportant. For example, P23 says, “*Lo saludo y decir que estoy mal, estoy bien, pero no es la confianza*” (I greet (a person) and say I’m bad, I’m good, but this is not trust) (T 14; L 151-152). For P23, to engage in this speaking event/ritual of acknowledging a person and telling him/her about her well-being does not result in feelings of *confianza* between herself and other ISC community members. This participant went on to say that in general, she does not feel *confianza* with other community members at ISC. This is notable, because she is only one of three participants to indicate feelings of *desconfianza* (lack of trust, closeness, and confidentiality) at ISC.

Expresar(se)

Along with *saludar*, community members also describe *expresar(se)* (to express oneself) as an available community practice. For ISC speakers, *expresar(se)* refers to a reflexive speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976) used to provide information about one’s feelings or opinions. One female community member, P14, defines communication itself as the act of *expresar(se)* by saying, “*Para mi? Comunicación? Ay! no sé la definición pero para mi es expresar a través de algo medio*” (For me, Communication? Ay! I don’t know the definition, but for me it is to express through some medium) (T 5; L 183-184). In this way, for P14 to communicate, is to express herself. Some community members indicate that the ability to express oneself is important in the classroom at ISC.

More specifically, one staff member, P34, suggests that participants are encouraged to *expresarse* (express themselves) in ISC classes. As P34 puts it, “...(B)ut

like how can we still connect it and still make you feel like you know, how you are expressing yourself is coming into the classroom” (T 25; L 388-390). Through this excerpt, P34 suggests his effort to use the communication practice of *expresarse* to structure his class. Other community members’ talk seems to suggest that participants do express themselves in the classroom. For example, P18 claims that the ability to express oneself is what makes ISC different than other places. As P18 says,

Oh si se me hace una, un lugar como muy increíble porque yo no, no sabía que podría existir un lugar así dónde, dónde puedes venir y puedes expresar lo que sientes (It seems to me like an incredible place because I have not, not ever known that a place like this could exist where, where you can come and you can express what you feel) (T9; L 61-62)

Here, P18 describes ISC as *increíble* (incredible) and a place to express his feelings. By explaining that, “*no sabía que podría existir un lugar así*” (he didn’t know that a place like this could exist), P18 marks ISC as unique. Therefore, the talk about *expresarse* at ISC suggest that this communication practice is employed in the ISC classroom, and its use helps to mark ISC as a unique place for members of the Latino/a community. Another communication practice that ISC community members identify as available is *ser escuchado* (to be listened to).

Ser Escuchado/a

One ISC community member, P25 employs the phrase *ser escuchado* (to be listened to), in his talk about the relationship between the ISC community and political officials in his state. As a result, P25 understands *ser escuchado* to be a speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976) employed by state legislators, such as the member of the United States House of Representatives that visited ISC during the time of this research. Following Carbaugh’s (1989) definition, I classify *ser escuchado* as

a speech act, because P25 describes it as a practice engaged by an individual who is simultaneously receiving other forms of public speech acts, such as *hablar* (to speak).

Furthermore, P25 suggests that this speech act can manifest within the speaking event of a *diálogo* (dialogue). As P25 puts it,

Si hay diálogos con congresistas, con quien sea, con la gobernadora cuando va el grupo a hablar con la gobernadora van a ser, estamos confiando que vamos a ser escuchados que vamos a tener un resultado positivo para nuestra vida (If there are dialogues with a Congresswoman, with whoever, with the Governor, when the group goes to speak with the governor there will be, we are trusting that we will be listened to, that we will have a positive result in our lives) (T16; L148-150)

Within this utterance, P25 suggests that *ser escuchado* is a communication practice based on assumptions of a *confianza* (trust, interpersonal closeness, confidentiality)-based relationship (Covarrubias, 2002) between ISC community members and government officials such as a Congresswoman or the Governor of the state. In this case, assumptions of a *confianza*-based relationship between these two parties allow participants to *hablar* (speak) and participate in *diálogos* (dialogues) at ISC, knowing that their communication will be listened to by individuals with power to take action to support the Latino/a immigrant community. Therefore, *ser escuchado* is a speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976), described by an ISC community member as engaged by politicians in response to community members employing the speech act of *hablar* (to speak), and manifesting within community *diálogos* (dialogues). In addition to *ser escuchado*, community members also describe *intercambio* (an exchange) as an available communication practice.

Intercambio

ISC community members describe an *intercambio* (an exchange) as a speaking event (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes 1972/1986), engaged by two or more speakers.

Community members also explained *ideas* (ideas), *puntos de vista* (points of view), and *idioma* (language) as exchanged through this communication practice. For example, one female community member, P17, describes the interaction that she and I were having during the interview as an *intercambio*. As P17 says,

Y la plática es como esto que estamos teniendo usted y yo lo más intercambiando opiniones así intercambiando opiniones o también resolviendo (And a chat is like this, what we are having you (formal) and I, more like exchanging opinions, exchanging opinions or also resolving (things)) (T 8; L 318-320)

First, P17 indicates that our interaction during the interview is a *plática* (a chat), and later explains that a *plática* is comprised of the communication practice of an *intercambio* (exchange). Through this utterance, P17 also suggests that opinions can be exchanged through this communication practice.

Another community member also describes an *intercambio* as allowing for the exchange of *puntos de vista* (points of view). As P18 says,

...(E)stamos intercambiando puntos de vista y... es para llegar a una acuerdo de algún tema (We are exchanging points of view and it is to arrive at an agreement about a theme) (T 9; L 167-168)

In addition to describing points of view as exchanged in an *intercambio*, P18 also suggests that this communication practice serves the function of coming to an agreement about a particular topic (Carbaugh, 1989). The discussions of *intercambios* of P17 and P18 suggest an interpersonal speech event (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986), engaged informally by members of the ISC community. Additionally, several public documents produced by ISC staff invited ISC community members to a more formal *intercambio*.

The formal *intercambio* event (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986) described on fliers I collected at ISC promotes participation in a specific kind of communication

practice, a language exchange between speakers of Spanish and English. For example, one flier I collected provides the following text,

¿Quieres mejorar tu inglés? ¡Intercambio! Somos un grupo de estudiantes de español e inglés aprendiendo juntos” ¡Únete a nosotros! (Do you want to better your English? Exchange! We are a group of students of Spanish and English learning together. Unite with us!) (PD)

The text on this public document encourages ISC community members who are native Spanish speakers who want to learn English to join the *intercambio* speaking event (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986). By using the term *juntos* (together), this flier suggests that both Spanish and English speakers learn through this speaking event.

Another flier I collected at ISC offers the following description of the language exchange,

ISC y el Instituto Cervantes están colaborando para ofrecer oportunidades de intercambio de lenguajes, ideas, opiniones, y amistad entre estudiantes adultos de inglés (ISC) y español (Instituto Cervantes) (ISC and the Cervantes Institute are collaborating to offer opportunities for an exchange of language, ideas, opinions, and friendship between adult English (ISC) and Spanish (Cervantes Institute) students) (PD)

Here, the writer of this flier, presumably an ISC staff member, indicates that this speech event (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986) takes place between ISC community members who are learning English and members of the Cervantes Institute community who are learning Spanish. Together, through this exchange, they will learn not only about a different language, but also about one another’s ideas and opinions, and have an opportunity to form friendships.

In summary, an *intercambio* is a speech event (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986) available for ISC community members. Community members report using this communication practice to exchange ideas, opinions, points of view, and languages. They describe this event as proceeding both informally through their everyday

interactions and more formally, through scheduled language exchanges between ISC and the Cervantes Institute. ISC community members also describe *boca en boca* (word of mouth) communication as available for their use.

Boca en Boca

The next several terms for talk I address relate to the ways that ISC community members provide information about ISC's services to the local Latino/a community and to encourage participation at ISC. At the time of this research, the ISC serves nearly 150 participants, but according to P9, an ISC staff member, does not engage in any intentional promotion to recruit more participants. For example, although in the past, ISC has run a radio commercial advertising its services, it has not recently had the funding to continue the announcements. As a result, ISC relies on its participants to engage in promotional efforts on its behalf. One way that ISC participants promote ISC's services to their community is through communication *boca en boca* communication (word of mouth).

For community members, *boca en boca* communication means a speech event that implies the movement of information from one person to another, via various speech acts (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1962; Searle, 1976). The ISC community orients to *boca en boca* communication as an effective means of passing information throughout the Latino/a community (Carbaugh, 1989). For example, as P9 indicates, "*Realmente, esto es más bien, como comunicación de boca en boca por medio de las organizaciones hermanas*" (Really, this is the best, like word of mouth communication through our sister organizations) (T 2; L 188-189). In this case, P9 identifies how ISC's sister organizations, the domestic violence prevention and community organizing groups, can provide information via their employees to members of the immigrant community, to encourage

participation at ISC. A comment from P28 who works at the domestic violence prevention sister organization and also takes classes at ISC suggests a preference for oral, rather than written communication. As P28 says,

P28: *“Oh, esta persona ya estuvo allí. Voy a ir para ver que es.” Pero si nada más se das el papelito o la información, la verdad así pasa que a veces ni lo leemos. Nomás lo te lo dan y “Oh, ISC, ok.” Y a la basura* (“Oh, this person was already here. I will go to see what it is.” But if it is no more than you give a flier or the information, the truth is that sometimes we do not read it. No more than they give it to you and “Oh, ISC, ok.” And the trash).

DK: *Ok. Eso es muy importante para...porque la comunicación entre la gente es importante para tener la habilidad de venir...al principio* (Ok. This is really important for...because communication between people is important so that people can come...in the first place).

P28: *Y le digo por nuestra cultura somos como incrédulos ((laughs)). Que damos mejor, no creemos en escritos. Yo siento así. Nos basamos más en hechos* (And because of this I tell you in our culture we are distrustful/doubting ((laughs)). We do not believe in the written. I feel this way. We base more on actions). (T19; L103-109)

Through our interaction, P28 describes a cultural preference for oral, rather than written interactions, claiming that *“somos como incrédulos...no creemos en escritos”* (We are like incredulous...we do not believe in writings). As a result, according to P28, written communication, such as fliers provided by ISC staff to members of the Latino/a community, is less effective than the *boca en boca* communication, or face-to-face *“comunicación entre gente”* (communication between people) that I describe.

Additionally, one staff member at ISC indicates that via an association with its sister organizations, which help to spread the word about ISC via word of mouth messages, members of the Latino/a immigrant community may begin to trust ISC and the services they provide. As P37 says,

I think a lot of it also has to do with still word of mouth, but that all of the organizations that have a role here have been in the community forever and people know them and that has helped also with the *confianza* piece. “Because [domestic violence prevention sister organization] is a part of this, then I feel

better approaching them. Because [communication-organizing sister organization] is a part of this, I feel better approaching them (T 28; L 203-206).

Through this except, P37 speaks to the notion that *confianza* (in this case, trust) is built over years and can be built via associations with trusted community organizations.

Therefore, because members of the Latino/a community feel *confianza* with the sister organizations, that were established prior to ISC, they may be more likely to act on the information passed via *boca en boca* communication.

ISC community members also indicated that *boca en boca* communication has the potential for additional practical benefits for members of the Latino/a immigrant community. As P8 puts it,

...(B)*boca en boca se puede pasar la palabra de “hey mira un abogado y puedes ir, y te ayuda con esto, esto, esto...”* (Word of mouth, one can pass the word of hey, look, a lawyer, and you can come, and (the lawyer) helps you with this, this, this...) (T 1; L 346-347).

Here, P8 suggests what kind of information can be passed via *boca en boca* communication at ISC, information about services provided. Community members not only discussed *boca en boca* communication as a means of passing information about services, but also as a recruitment tool, to recruit participants to ISC.

Several different metacommunicative terms recur and co-occur (Covarrubias, 2002, p. 88) with *boca en boca* (word of mouth) that are directly related to the recruitment and promotional efforts of ISC. These terms for communication include *invitar* (to invite), *recomendar* (to recommend), *informar* (to inform), *referir* (to refer), *decir* (to tell), *preguntar* (to ask), and *correr la voz* (to spread the word). In what follows, I discuss what each of these terms mean for ISC participants, and how they may be used. I begin with *invitar* (to invite).

Invitar

ISC community members describe *invitar* (to invite) as a speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976) used to request that one or more people should join in a way of acting, believing, or encouraging the use of or participation in another speech act or event. ISC community members seem to consider the *invitar* speech act to be an effective means of recruiting participants. As P28 puts it,

“*Creo que es la mejor manera de invitar a otros de una persona que ya estaba allí y que ya le puede decir su experiencia a la otra*” (I think that this is the best way to invite others. A person who was already here and now can tell his/her experiences to others.) (T 19; L101-102).

From P28’s perspective, inviting also implicates the use of another communication practice, *decir* (telling) about one’s experiences at ISC. P17 further describes how *invitar* is an effective means of talking (Carbaugh, 1989) to others about ISC when she says, “*Por eso yo siento que los que estamos aquí que invitamos a alguien más, se queda*” (As a result, I feel like if those of us who are here invite someone else, they stay) (T 8; L 300-301). P17 goes on to credit the feelings of *confianza* that a person experiences when they enter ISC as supporting the success of the practice of inviting.

Most participants who describe employing this practice indicate that they either invited a friend or relative, or were invited by a friend or relative. For example, P15 says, “*Fuí a la tienda y encontré un amigo y me invitó por acá. Y vine y ya...ya me quede aquí y no me fui*” (I went to the store and I saw a friend and he invited me here. And I stayed here. I did not leave) (T 6; L 27-28). P8 further supports the notion that inviting happens primarily between friends and family by saying, “*....(V)ine porque mi mamá me invitó, um, me invitó a ver de lo que se trataba*” (I came because my mother invited me, she invited me to look at what they do) (T 1; L 7). Therefore, the talk of P8, P15, P17, and

P28 suggests that ISC members both invite and are invited primarily by friends and families.

Along with discussing who invites and receives invitations to participate at ISC, community members also indicate that inviting can help show solidarity to other members of the Latino/a immigrant community. As P1 suggests,

Yo he invitado a amigas... con los hijos. Cuando yo sé que tienen algún problema de inmigración.... yo les dije, les doy la dirección. Les dije que si quieres, voy contigo a preguntar (I have invited my (female) friends with kids. When I know that they have an immigration problem I tell them, I give them the address. I tell them that if they want, I will go with you to ask) (TP1; L 19-22)

Through her talk about inviting, P1 employs various metacommunicative terms including *invitar*, *decir* (telling), *dar* (to give), and *preguntar* (asking). Her talk suggests that in addition to *inviting*, she *tells* her female friends about ISC, *gives* them information (ISC's address) and *tells* her friends that she will accompany them to *ask* (presumably immigration related questions). By employing the term "*contigo*" (with you), P1 suggests that she will accompany her friends to ISC to show solidarity. In addition to identifying several communicative practices that occur alongside the practice of inviting, P1 also describes whom she invites, specifically her female friends (*amigas*) with children. From the discussions of *invitar* of P1 and P8, it seems that the communicative practice of inviting by ISC participants primarily occurs with those whom they already know, rather than strangers or acquaintances.

One interesting facet of the talk about *invitar* concerned gender. More specifically, one participant indicated that although she invited her husband to participate in the *Padres en Acción* (Parents in Action) parenting classes offered at ISC, he declined her invitation. P28 says,

Yo le digo por experiencia, yo le invité al papá de mi hijos a...a la clase, y a la clase de Padres en Acción. Y eso me contestó, él, “A mi no van a enseñar a ser papá. Yo sé como ser papá. Que es Padres en Acción? Estoy activo desde que nació mi primer hijo”(I tell you from experience. I invited the father of my children to...to the class, and the Parents in Action class. And this is what he answered, “They are not going to teach me how to be a father. I know how to be a father. What is Parents in Action? I am active since my first child was born) (T 19; L 161-164).

In this case, P28’s husband vehemently refused her invitation to the parenting classes because he felt that he did not need them, that he already knew how to be a father.

Therefore, P28’s description of this interaction with her husband demonstrates how the act of *invitar* may be gendered. Interestingly, the discussions of the speech act of *invitar* of P1, P8, and P28 all included references to gender. For example, P1 indicates whom she invites, women with children, P8 describes being invited by her mother, and P28 discusses her husband refusing her invitation to participate at ISC. This talk about *invitar*, coupled with my observation that most of the community members at ISC are women, suggests that the recruitment practices at ISC, including the *boca en boca* practice of *invitar* may be employed more often by women than men.

Recomendar

Related to *invitar*, as another discursive enactment of *boca en boca* communication, community members also discuss *recomendar* (to recommend) as available to them. ISC community members treat *recomendar* as a speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976) that involves one person providing information about positive (not negative) experiences at ISC to others without personal experiences with ISC, encouraging others to experience ISC for themselves. Through their talk about *recomendar*, community members imply two different structures associated with the communicative practice, including recommending that others go and look (see for

yourself), and recommending by providing information about personal experiences (consider my experiences).

As an example of the former, P22 describes a conversation that he has with his friends about ISC, saying,

“Váya y mire” ¿verdad? “Investiga si te gusta si no quieres seguir pues, te vas,” ¿verdad? porque a veces es...uno recomienda o dice que “Sí,” y después dice que “No, no me gustó” o algo, verdad? (“Go and see,” right? “Investigate if you like and if you don’t want to continue well, you leave,” right? Because sometimes...one recommends or says, “Yes” and later says, “No, I didn’t like it” or something, right?) (T 13; L 480-482)

In this excerpt, P22 describes how he recommends ISC to others by suggesting that people “go and look,” to experience ISC personally. In other words, P22 explains that those to whom he recommends ISC should not just consider participating at ISC based on his word alone, but by their own experiences. P19 also discussed how she recommends ISC to others, by telling others about her lived experiences at ISC. In response to my question, “What do you tell others about ISC?” P19 says,

Pues, solo que me ayudaba mucho, me ayudaba mucho a conocer derechos que yo no conocía y me ayudaba mucho con...con el ingles y...pues, que me gusta mucho y yo lo recomendaría. (Well, only that it helped me a lot, it helped me a lot to learn my right that I didn’t know and it helped me a lot with...with English and...well, that I like it a lot and I would recommend it.) (T 10; L 114-116)

Through her talk, P19 articulates several positive benefits resulting from her participation at ISC that she discusses to recommend this place to others including help to learn about her rights (as an immigrant in the United States) and help learning English. For P19, recommending means describing the positive benefits her participation at ISC has provided her.

ISC community members also describe whom they recommend to seek the services of ISC, including parents, friends, and family. For example, in a public

presentation I attended at ISC about the *Padres en Acción* (Parents in Action) class, which serves parents with adolescent children, one female participant said, “*Yo recomiendo esta clase a todos los padres, es muy interesante para formar una familia unida y tener una comunicación con la gente que te rodea*” (I recommend this class to all parents, it is very interesting to form a united family and to have communication with those people around you) (FN Día C). As a parent and participant in the class herself, this woman recommends the *Padres en Acción* class by saying something positive (it’s very interesting, helps unite families, etc.), that audience members can assume comes from her own personal experiences. Furthermore, P8 identifies to whom she has recommended ISC, “*He recomendado a amigos vengan por acá y familia*” (I have recommended to my friends to come here and family) (T 1; L 214-215). Consistent with the above discussion of *invitar* (inviting), P8 identifies that she recommends ISC to friends and family, not mentioning strangers or acquaintances. Therefore, for community members, *recomendar* is engaged with two different structures, and primarily employed between friends and family members.

Informar/Ser Informado/a

Another term for talk evident in participant discourses at ISC is *informar* (to inform) and *ser informado/a* (being informed). The talk of ISC community members suggests that *informar* is a speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle 1975) used to provide information to others both about ISC (hours, classes, etc.), and about issues relevant to the Latino/a immigrant community (i.e. immigrant rights). Although this speech act could be directed toward acquaintances or strangers (in a public address

promoting ISC), P17 indicates that in her experience, the practice manifests in talk between family members. As P17 explains,

Me enteré por medio de mi hermana y mi cuñada que estaban tomando clases aquí, y ellas me informaron los horarios y las clases que están ofreciendo (I found out through my sister and sister-in-law that were taking classes here. And they informed me of the schedule and the classes that they were offering) (T 8; L 15-16)

Here, P17 discusses not only who engaged *informar* on her behalf, but also of what she was informed. In addition to the non-reflexive verb *informar*, ISC community members also used a reflexive version of the verb, *informarse*, to indicate that a person could inform oneself. For example, in a blog composed by an ISC participant, posted on the ISC website, one participant wrote “...*(I)nvito a la comunidad latina inmigrante involucrarse, unirse y sobre todo a informarse*” (I invite the Latina immigrant community to involve themselves, unite themselves and above all inform themselves) (BS 2.14c). By using the reflexive verb, this community member urges participants to inform themselves, in addition to becoming involved in ISC and uniting with others. This participant also speaks to the saliency of *informarse* by using the phrase *sobre todo* (above all), marking this communicative practice as more important than even participating in ISC and uniting with others.

Related to the use of the reflexive verb *informarse*, is the use of the phrase *ser informado/a* (being informed). In other words, ISC participants indicated that it is important to be both an informed community and an informed person. For example, a public document created by an ISC participant, and posted on a bulletin board at ISC said, “United we can be an informed group of well-educated, active immigrants. All for one, and one for all” (PD). Additionally, P36 described being informed by stating, “*Como*

si participo? Estoy informada. Sé que es lo que está pasando” (How do I participate? I am informed. I know what is happening) (T 27; L 283-284). In both cases, being informed means being a particular kind of person (Philipsen, 1992), an informed or educated person about important happenings in the Latino/a immigrant community. In addition to using the term *informarse*, community members also employed the term *decir* in their talk about communication at ISC.

Decir

Another communicative practice evident in the talk of ISC community members is *decir* (to tell, to say). Previously in this chapter, I suggested that the Spanish verb *contar* could also mean “to tell.” Through my observations, I learned that ISC community members mostly used *contar* when discussing *historias* (stories) or *experiencias* (experiences), whereas community members often discussed *decir* as a component of *boca en boca* (word of mouth) communication. As such, ISC community members appear to orient to *decir* as a speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976) which functions to provide information about ISC to others, with the expectation that they will use that information to seek the services of ISC. For example, P27, a Mexican immigrant and ISC instructor uses *decir* to describe the answers she receives when she asks ISC community members about how they came to seek services here.

Dicen, “Ah es que mi...mi mamá que es promotora me dijo que allí esta clases y vengo con mi pareja.” “Uh me dijo mi comadre que esas clases son buenas.” Y llega la gente aquí (They say, “Oh, it’s because my...my mom is a promoter and she told me that there are classes here, and I went with my husband.” “Uh my godmother told me that these are good classes.” And the people come here) (T 18; 250-253)

In addition to identifying the communicative practice of *decir* (telling), P27 also identifies who uses this practice. In this case, P27 implies that a participant’s mother or

godmother are able to employ *decir* to provide information about ISC to both their families (children) and those in quasi-familial relationships (godchild) (Covarrubias, 2002). As further evidence that family members and friends use *decir* to provide information to others, P24 recalls how a friend told (*dijo*) her about the services provided at ISC. According to P24,

Ella me dijo que aquí estaba muy buena, que aquí nos ayudaban mucho para...para sacar el diploma de GED, ingles, computación, de algunas materias (She told me that this was a good place, that here they helped us a lot to...to get your GED, with English, computation, other subjects) (T15; L8-9)

Here, P24 describes how a woman *dijo* (told) her about the positive impacts that ISC has on the lives of immigrants, by providing educational resources.

Notably, community members discuss the practice of *decir* as both effective and ineffective in providing information about ISC to others (Carbaugh, 1989). Some participants described *decir*, as a component of *boca en boca* communication, and as an effective means of providing information. For example, P29 says,

Una cadenita que se vaya pasando la voz, pues si definitivamente esa paso porque a veces llegan y "Pues es que me dijo una amiga. Pues, es que me dijo mi sobrina." Entonces, eso es muy bueno (A little chain that is passing the voice, so yeah definitely this happens because sometimes they arrive and, "Well it's because my friend told me. Well, it's because my niece told me." So, this is good) (T 20; L 224-226)

By using the metaphor of a chain, P29 describes *decir* as an effective means of passing the word (refers to Word of Mouth). Like P27's discussion of *decir*, P29 cites family and friends as engaging in *decir* about ISC, and also provides simulated utterances (Fitch, 1998) to make her claim. However, one participant, who volunteers her time as a receptionist, claimed that sometimes the practice of *decir* leads to the passage of incorrect information, therefore rendering the practice ineffective. For example, P31 says,

(E)s que a mi me dijeron que ustedes hacían esto que ustedes hacían esto.” Y a veces es un poco difícil tratar de quitar ese mito (“It’s because they told me that you (plural) do this, that you (plural) did this” And sometimes it’s a little difficult to try to get rid of this myth) (T 22; L 99-101)

Through this excerpt, P31 describes an interaction with a prospective participant, suggesting that sometimes the information passed through the practice of *decir* is not accurate, or as she says, *mito* (a myth). The confusion about services provided at ISC reported by P31, is mirrored in a conversation that I had with P23. As P23 says,

And like I said, with (community organizing sister organization) I came and asked, you know I need a lawyer for this and that and they’re like oh we don’t have...So you know they need to really do what they are supposed to do (T14; L403-405)

In this case, P23 demonstrated that she was upset with the community-organizing group of ISC because they would not provide legal representation for her husband. However, the community-organizing group does not employ a lawyer and therefore does not have the resources to help her in the way she desires. As a result of incorrect information about the services provided at ISC, P23 felt that she had not been adequately served.

Like the communicative practices of *platicar* and *hablar*, ISC participants also identified *confianza* (trust, closeness, confidentiality) as essential for some participants to use *decir* as part of a *boca en boca* communication practice. For example, P30 says,

Pues es tener la confianza de...de...de decirle a mi vecina o alguna amigas, “¿Sabes que hoy están dando clases en ISC? ¿Porque no vas? ¡Si te estas pasando nada más de floja! ¡Ocupa tú tiempo!” (Trust? Well, to have the trust to...to...to tell my neighbor or some friends, “Did you know that today they are giving classes at ISC? Why don’t you go? If you are passing your time doing nothing! Occupy your time!”) (T 21; L 79-81)

This participant indicates that she needs *confianza* to “*decirle a mi vecina*” (tell my neighbor) about ISC and to encourage them to use their time to participate at ISC.

Moreover, P21 echoes the importance of *confianza* to enact *decir* by saying, “*A veces,*

como no me siento muy en confianza para decir todas mis cosas” (Sometimes, like I do not really feel trust to tell all of my things) (T 12; L 94). P21 provided this excerpt in a discussion of the *Relaciones Saludables* (Healthy Relationships) class, suggesting that as a new student, who does not know her classmates well, she does not feel the *confianza* to employ *decir*.

Finally, one participant who also teaches courses at ISC, explained that she uses *decir* to gain more information about why her students have been missing class. As P14 says,

...(P)ero si, me gusta llamarlos y decirles, “¿Porque no has venido? ¿Que pasa? Que está pasando. Que...necesitas ride, necesitas tiempo o estás...” ¿ Me explicó? Entonces, es como más apegado el, el trato (But yes, I like to call them and say to them, “Why haven’t you been coming? What’s up? What is happening? Do you need a ride, do you need time or are you...” Do you understand? So, it is intimate, the, the treatment) (T 5; L 298-300)

Through this excerpt, P14 describes the process by which she uses *decir* to gain information from her students. Similar to the interactions described by P36, she further suggests that by calling her students and using the practice of *decir* to question them, she is demonstrating *trato apegado*, or close, personal treatment. Therefore, P14 proposes that through the practice of *decir*, she is enacting a particular kind of relationships with other ISC community members (Carbaugh, 1989, 2007; Covarrubias, 2002; Philipsen, 1992). Like *decir*, *referir* is an available communicative practice for ISC community members.

Referir

Community members treat *referir* as a speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Searle, 1976) used by individuals to provide information about the services of ISC to others and to promote participation at ISC. For example, as P14 says,

...O simplemente quiere superarse y tomar una clase y sacar su GED, y así, se va refiriendo unos a otros (...Or simply wants to better themselves and take a class and get your GED, and so, they go referring one another) (T5; L 264-265)

Based on community members' talk, referring appears to occur both on the interpersonal level, with current participants referring prospective participants, and on an organizational level, with local organizations that also serve Latino/a immigrants referring people to ISC. In addition to the example offered by P14 discussed above, P27 describes how referring happens in an interpersonal interaction.

(L)La confianza es que entonces este hombre dice, "Ahhh bueno, tú conoces [P26]. Ok." Entonces, viene referido por tí, sí. Pero cuando no hay mucha de confianza es como, "Yo no te conozco" (The trust is what this man says, "Ahh ok, you know [P26]. Ok." So, he goes referred through you, yes. But when there isn't trust it is like, "I don't know you") (T 18; L 229)

This discussion of the practice of referring is embedded within a larger discussion of the importance of *confianza* (trust, closeness, confidentiality) for members of ISC. According to P27, *confianza* between the person referring and the person being referred is necessary for *referir* to be a successful speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976). In other words, the person receiving the referral needs to trust the person doing the referring, in order to follow through and seek the services of ISC. An ISC staff member, P32, echoes the importance of *confianza* between himself and his participants when referring clients to another local agency to seek support. As P32 says,

So confianza is like super important, especially to our community because like um you don't want especially when there's a lot of questions regarding like migratory status and stuff like it's hard to like you know if I refer someone somewhere um regardless of if you're a client or not, I want to make sure that you're going to be treated well. Um with respect with the services you need (T 23; L 313-317)

Through this discussion, P32 delineates one of the potential reasons why *confianza* is important in the interpersonal relationships at ISC, migratory status. Because some

community members may be undocumented, following through with a referral provided by an ISC staff member may be stressful. In this case, the *confianza* between P32 and community members may ease their stress and help them follow through with the referral (i.e. go to a medical appointment, speak with a landlord, etc.).

In addition to employing the practice of *referir* in interpersonal interactions, ISC participants and staff also describe organizations as referring participants to ISC. In other words, participants receive this speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976) sent by staff of other community organizations, including ISC. As P17, a participant and front desk volunteer, puts it,

Entonces, ya se iba a un centro como este y depende que buscando cual es eso problema le van a referir a dónde puede ir. (So, now one went to a center like this and depending on what one is looking for, what the problem is, they are going to refer where one can go) (T 8; L 47-49)

As a further example, P37 indicates that ISC's sister organizations (domestic violence prevention group, community-organizing group) refer their clients to ISC, as well as to other local immigrant serving organizations.

So (domestic violence sister organization), (community organizing sister organization) and (local organization) get priority in terms of referring people. But seeing that registration process from semester to semester now, it's actually a...a minority of the student body. (T 28; L 167-170)

As P37 noted, however, most current ISC participants are not obtaining information about ISC's services via an organizational referral, suggesting a potential shift in the saliency of this practice (Carbaugh, 1989) from the inauguration of ISC to the time of the current research, Spring of 2013. When I asked P35, who works directly with students who were referred to ISC, about how students learn about their services, she said,

So we don't really do like a ton of promotion or advertising in the public for ISC. I think a lot of other organizations refer them to us um so (local organization) or

different like law clinics might tell people, or they just know oh, they work with immigrants, go there (T 26; L 590-592)

This staff member's discussion proposes that promotion, another term for communication, is not a common communicative practice engaged by ISC. She suggests, conversely, that referring is a much more common practice used to provide prospective participants with information about ISC. In addition to discussing *referir* as an available practice, ISC community members also describe *preguntar*.

Preguntar

Community members used the communicative practice of *preguntar* (to ask) in at least two different ways. First, they discuss using *preguntar* as a speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976) employed by an individual to gain information about the services provided by ISC or about a student's attendance. As evidence of the first function of *preguntar*, P1 says,

Cuando yo sé que tienen un problema de inmigración, de abogados, que necesitan preguntar cosas, yo les digo, les doy la dirección les digo que si quieres voy contigo a preguntar (When I know that they have a problem with immigration, of the lawyers, that they need to ask something, I tell them, I give them the address and I tell them that, "If you want, I will go with you to ask") (TP 1; L 20-22)

In this case, P1 describes how she encourages her friends to employ *preguntar* to seek information about the services provided by ISC, including the legal services of the affiliated law clinic.

Through my observations, I also noticed that *preguntar* in the form of the English verb ask, was used as a teaching tool in the English as a Second Language level two course. For example, this class handout from the ESL course I collected during my observation directed participants to,

Pregúntales las siguientes preguntas a tus compañeros/as de clase y escribe sus respuestas en la tabla (Ask your classmates the following questions and write your responses in the table) (PD).

This document uses the act of *preguntar* to encounter information about one's classmates and practice using English.

An ISC staff member described an interaction she observed, that she suggested demonstrated a preference for direct, face-to-face enactment of *preguntar*. P9 offers,

El señor quiso venir a preguntar acá directamente con su amigo...Pero no va a venir a preguntar porque no importa. "Prefiero venir" (The man wanted to come here with his friend to ask directly...but no, he is going to come to ask because he didn't care. "I prefer to come") (T 2; L 207-213)

The man P9 describes demonstrates a preference for engaging *preguntar* directly, via face-to-face interactions. In addition to indicating a preference of some participants for directness, another participant discusses what Carbaugh (1989) refers to as a "message about sociality" (p. 103). More specifically, for example, P14, a participant and instructor, offers that *confianza* (trust, closeness, confidentiality), is necessary between her and her students in order to employ *preguntar*. As P14 says,

Confianza es lo que, bueno, un ejemplo sería que yo tengo la confianza de llamar a los estudiantes ¿verdad? Para preguntarles "¿Qué te pasa?" (Trust is what, ok, an example would be that I have the trust to call the students, right. To ask them, "What's up?") (T 5; L 319-320)

In this excerpt, P14 is discussing how she calls and asks her students about their attendance in class, in order to help them attend class more consistently. The practice of calling and asking is engaged not only by P14, but also by other instructors at ISC. For example, during my observations, I witnessed a different instructor call a student and ask (*preguntar*) about why they were not attending class. This instructor asked the student

about her work schedule and her pregnancy, and at the end of their interaction told the student that she could call the instructor any time to practice speaking in English.

Another staff member at ISC described how he understands the use of *preguntar* by ISC participants, indicating that *preguntar* may be part of *boca en boca* (word of mouth) communication. As P34 says,

People go through a crisis and then ask people what to do and then people say, “Well ISC is the place, you know where my friend you know worked out her situation and got a better job or...” So yeah it’s like it really is like a word of mouth (T 25; L 238-241)

Here, P34 claims that people specifically engage in the act of asking (*preguntar*) when they are in a crisis situation and that this act allows them to acquire information necessary to help with their situation.

In summary, ISC community members treat *preguntar* (to ask) as a speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976), which is employed to acquire information about ISC community members by ISC staff. Furthermore, this practice is used in ESL classes as a way to teach English grammar to Spanish speakers. Finally, ISC community members appear to hold a preference for face-to-face use of this communication practice. Closely related to the communicative practice of *preguntar* (to ask) is the practice of *pedir* (to request).

Pedir

Community members’ talk about *pedir* (to request), as well as their use of this metacommunicative term in public documents, suggests an understanding of this practice as a speech act where individuals make requests of one another (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976). Community members specifically identify the content of *pedir* as including *participación* (requesting participation), *ayuda/recursos* (requesting

help/resources), and *temas* (requesting themes) in a classroom setting. Furthermore, community members' talk and public documents suggest that both ISC staff and participants employ this communication practice, making *pedir* an available communication practice to all members of this community.

As evidence of how community members *pedir participación*, P25 explains that ISC staff *han pedido* (have requested) his participation by saying, “(Yo) estaba tratando de acomodarme el horario que han pedido participar” (I was trying to accommodate the schedule that they have requested (me) to participate) (T16; L 53-54). Through this utterance, P25 indicates that ISC staff members are requesting his participation in different events at ISC and that he is accommodating their request by modifying his schedule. In this case, ISC staff members are employing the communication practice of *pedir*.

Another way that ISC staff members employ this communication practice to request participation is through the blog posts they write. For example, a blog post written by an ISC staff member encourages participants that, “*Si crees que tú puedes unirte con nosotros, pedimos que llegue a nuestras oficinas*” (If you want you can unite with us, we request that you arrive at our offices) (BS 4.8c). This blog specifically requests that ISC participants come together to represent ISC in a citywide Cesar Chavez Day march, undertaken to promote the ethical treatment of Latino/a immigrants in the United States. In this case, the blog post uses the plural “we” conjugation of *pedir* to indicate that the request for participation comes from the entire ISC staff.

In addition to using *pedir* to request participation, ISC community members also explain that Latino/a immigrant participants at ISC can also use *pedir* to request help

from ISC and information about their services. For example, in describing how she came to ISC, P21 says, “*Cuando vine, vine muy desesperada pidiendo ayuda*” (When I came, I came very desperately, requesting help) (T 12; L 9). In this case, P21 describes requesting help from those at ISC because she was feeling *desperada* (desperate) due to a lack of resources. Through this utterance she describes what she requests (help) and to whom she makes the request (ISC). Additionally, within a discussion of the meaning of *confianza*, P29 also describes employing the practice of *pedir* to request help. As P29 explains,

...(C)uando nosotros decimos te doy mi confianza es para que confíes en mí para que si tienes un problema, me pidas ayuda (When we say, I give you my trust it is so that you trust in me so that if you have a problem, you request my help) (T 20; L 106-107)

In other words, *confianza* between ISC participants allows them to ask one another for help. In this case, P29 provides further evidence that what community members request can include help, but also offers another recipient of the practice of *pedir*, suggesting that other community members can receive requests. As further support of the salience of *pedir*, P27 says “*Que no sabe dónde ir a pedir, por ejemplo comida, se va a quedar encerrada*” (One does not know where to go to request, for example, food, one is going to stay closed in) (T 18; L 197-198). Here, P27 who is a Mexican immigrant and instructor at ISC suggests that without the knowledge of how to ask for help, a person may be isolated. Therefore, the availability of *pedir* marks a particular kind of relationship (Carbaugh, 1989, 2007; Covarrubias, 2002; Philipsen, 1992).

One interesting way that ISC participants use *pedir* became apparent through one ISC staff member’s talk about the class she teaches at ISC. As a Mexican immigrant and

native speaker of Spanish, P9 explains her students' practice of requesting that she address particular themes in her English as a Second Language class. As P9 says,

Como por ejemplo en mi clase pues sucede a veces es que piden que quieren estudiar algo por ejemplo gramática, que queremos volver y estudiar el pasado, quieren estudiar reglas. Es como yo no tengo eso muy integrado en mi plan ellos lo piden y entonces yo integrarlo (Like for example in my class what happens sometimes is that they request what they want to study, something, for example grammar, that "we want to return to study the past," they want to study the rules. It's like, I don't have this integrated into my plan, they ask for it and so I integrate it) (T 2; L 145-149)

Through this excerpt, P9 specifically indicates that even when she has not planned to teach a particular topic in her class, if her students *piden* (request) this particular topic, she addresses this topic at the students' request. Therefore, through a discussion of ISC participants' use of *pedir*, P9 suggests that classroom content is shaped by both the instructor's plans and the students' preferences.

In summary, at ISC, community members understand *pedir* as a speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976) available to all community members. They describe ISC staff as using *pedir* to request participation from community members in ISC events through both everyday interpersonal interactions and social media (blogs). Furthermore, they describe *pedir* as used by community members to request ISC staff members' help and resources. Finally, they describe community members as employing this practice in the classroom to request to study particular themes. In addition to identifying *pedir* as community practice employed at ISC, community members also discuss using *promover* (to promote).

Promover

At ISC this practice is discussed using three different coordinating terms, including *promover* (to promote), *hacer promoción* (doing promotion) and *promocionar*

(to promote). Leighter and Black (2010) refer to groups of metacommunicative terms as a “family of terms” (p. 548), underscoring their inter-related nature. Community members treat these three terms as speech acts (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976) that encourage the Latino/a community to seek the services of ISC and to support other groups from around the United States that are engaging in immigrant rights advocacy. In the following section, I discuss how community members describe each of these functions.

As evidence of the first function of *promover* (Carbaugh, 1989), in response to my question about why more members of the local Latino/a immigrant community are not aware of ISC, P9 offers the following explanation,

La comunidad en general? Porque no conocen a ISC? Yo pienso que una parte importante es que ISC no hace promoción intencional. Y la razón por la que no hacemos promoción es porque no tenemos la capacidad (The community in general? Why don't they know about ISC? I think that one important part is that ISC does not do intentional promotion. And the reason that we do not do intentional promotion is because we don't have the capacity) (T 2; L 184-186)

Through this excerpt, P9 suggests that because of a lack of capacity (money, time, etc.), ISC does not engage in intentional promotion. Intentional promotion in this case would likely mean advertisements on radio, television, or through other media outlets. Several ISC staff members and participants, however, did discuss other communicative practices as promotion that they use to recruit members of the Latino/a community to come to ISC. For example, P22 describes the practice of *boca en boca* communication (word of mouth) as *promoción* in the following excerpt.

Si eso también es muy buena, muy buena es de...promoción para ISC, ¿verdad? ¿Por que? Porque no está costando nada ¿verdad? No más si usted tiene de un amigo de un amigo, su vecino, su primos, hermanos o papás, quien sea... ¿verdad? (Yes, this is also very good, very good um...promotion for ISC, right? Why? Because it isn't costing anything, right? You (formal) only need to

have a friend of a friend, your neighbor, your cousins, brothers, or parents, whoever...right?) (T 13; L 553-555)

In this discussion, P22 speaks to the perceived efficacy (Carbaugh, 1989) of this communicative practice, a free means of providing others with information about ISC via the word of mouth network of current and former participants. However, the following excerpt, from a discussion about promotion for the *Relaciones Saludables* (Healthy Relationships) class, between the two instructors of the class suggests that some ways of doing promotion are more successful than others.

P26: Pudiera ir a la lavandería y puedo promocionar la clase. Es de, hablando acerca porque es importante tomar la clase y muchas cosas pero si no tiene la confianza la persona siempre piensan “de cual catch.” ...Pero si hay un individuo que conoce otro individuo y le habla acerca de la clase, entonces y hay más confianza dice, “Oh, si yo quiero tomar la clase. Estoy interesada” (I could go to the laundry mat and I could promote the class. Um, talking about, because it is important to take the class and many things, but if you do not trust the person, they always thinking, “What’s the catch.” ...If there is an individual that knows another individual and talks to them about the class, so, and there is more trust the individual says, “Oh, yes I want to take the class. I am interested.”)

P27: Si es mucho de confianza. (Yes, there is more trust, closeness, confidentiality)

P26: Tenemos conexión. (We have a connection) (T 18; L 214-222)

Here, P26 uses the term *promocionar* along with another metacommunicative term *hablar* (to talk) to claim that promotion without *confianza* will not be successful. In this discussion, P27 further claims,

Entonces, hay temor en la comunidad y no, es...es por eso parte de...de nuestro objetivo es como tratar de ir a...a promocionar cuando nosotros empezamos con estas clases (So, there is fear in the community and no, it is...it is because of this part of...of our objective is like to try to go to...to promote when we started with the classes) (T18; L200-202)

In this case, P27 suggests that from the beginning, she and P26 tried to promote their class to alleviate the fear felt by the Latino/a immigrant community related to seeking services.

In addition to discussing the promotion of ISC's services to the Latino/a community, one participant also proposes a second function of *promover* (to promote), indicating that participants at ISC promote the (programs, ideas, services) of other immigrant rights organizations. In a discussion of one such organization that held a meeting at ISC, P12 says, "*Y tenemos charlas con personas de otros estados que están en la misma lucha. A que promueven ellos aquí*" (And we have chats with people from other states that are in the same fight. To promote them here) (T4; L279-280). Through this excerpt, P12 describes a sense of solidarity with others *en la misma lucha* (in the same fight), and the enactment of *promover* in her local community on behalf of these groups.

In summary, ISC community members' talk about the communication practice of *promover* suggests that it is a speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976), employed by one individual or organization (understood as a singular entity) and received by another individual or group. They indicate that this communication practice is not employed via paid advertisements on the radio or television, but is enacted as part of *boca en boca* (word of mouth) communication, used to recruit Latino/a immigrants to use the support services provided by ISC. Furthermore, community members explain that they also use the communication practice of *promover* to promote immigrant rights organizations from across the United States. Like *promover*, another practice described by community members that is part of *boca en boca* (word of mouth) communication is *correr la voz/pasar la voz*.

Correr La Voz/Pasar La Voz

ISC community members made several references to *voz* (voice) in their talk about communication at ISC. Two different phrases, *correr la voz* (spreading the word)

and *pasar la voz* (passing the word), are used to describe another communication practice affiliated with *boca en boca* communication. In addition to using these phrases in their everyday face-to-face talk, ISC staff also used these phrases in their social media communication to encourage participation in activities involving the mutual transmission of communication to support the larger Latino/a immigrant community, such as participating in a Facebook campaign to support a detained immigrant. Therefore, ISC participants and staff appear to define *correr la voz* and *pasar la voz* as a speech event (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986) that may be comprised of one or speech acts (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976) used to provide information about ISC's services to the Latino/a community.

Information Giving. As evidence of the information giving function of the communication practice of *pasar la voz*, P29 uses a chain metaphor to explain the communication practice functions, and who participates. As P29 says,

Una cadenita que se vaya pasando la voz. Definitivamente eso pasó porque a veces llegan y "Pues es que me dijo una amiga. Pues, es que me dijo mi sobrina." Entonces, eso es muy bueno (A chain that passes the word. This definitely happens because sometimes they arrive and "Well, a friend told me. Well, my cousin told me. Or..." So, this is very good) (T 20; L 224-226)

Through this excerpt, P29 discusses how *pasando la voz* occurs, via interactions between friends and family members. By saying, "*eso es muy bueno*" (this is very good), P29 further indicates that she feels that this means of providing information about ISC to others is effective (Carbaugh, 1989).

Another community member, P27, who is both a Latina immigrant and a teacher at ISC, uses the phrase *correr la voz*, to explain that this communication practice is very common among the Latino/a community. As P27 claims, "*Yo creo que en cuestiones de*

comunicación y la comunidad que nosotros, con lo que nosotros estamos es mucho de correr la voz” (I think that in terms of communication and the community that we, what we do a lot is spread the word) (T 18; L 20-21). Here, P27 indicates that this practice is a common means of spreading information for members of the Latino/a community.

Social Media. Several references to *voz* manifested in the social media efforts of ISC, including the blog, which is posted on the ISC website, as well as ISC’s Facebook page. ISC staff members, who write the social media posts on sites such as Facebook, employ these phrases to encourage participants to tell others about an event at ISC. For example, a Facebook post from April 24th says, “*¡Sálgan a apoyar y córran la voz!*” (Come (you plural) to support and spread the word!) (FB 4.24b). This phrase uses the command form of *correr*, *corran*, to urge ISC participants to tell others about the event to support the ISC community. Another Facebook post from February 18th, urges community members to, “*¡Firmen esta petición, llámen y/o córran la voz (compartan)!*” (Sign this petition, call and/or spread the word (share)!) (FB 2.18a). In this case, this Facebook post, like the post from April 24th, also uses the command form of the verbs *firmar* (to sign), *llamar* (to call), *correr la voz* (spread the word), and *compartir* (share) to encourage ISC participants to sign a petition and to spread the word to support a detained father.

In addition to the Facebook calls for participation and support, the ISC blog also asks participants to *correr la voz* by saying, “*Si puede asistir o correr la voz, habrá otro evento esta tarde llamado “Vagina Monologues”* (If you can come or spread the word, there will be another event this afternoon called, “Vagina Monologues”) (BS 2.18). Furthermore, an ISC blog post from March 15th, describes the student Leadership Group

as “*EL Grupo [Nombre] también es el portavoz de temas de actualidad e interés para sus propios compañeros de curso*” (The [Name] Group is also the spokesperson for real themes of interest for our own course companions) (BS 3.15b). The term *portavoz* means spokesperson, and in this case describes how members of this student leadership group communicate to others about themes important to their lives.

ISC community members understand the communication practices of *correr* and *pasar la voz* to be speech events (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986) that are components of *boca en boca* communication, used to provide non-ISC members with information about ISC’s activities. In addition to employing these communication practices in face-to-face interactions between members of the Latino/a community, ISC staff also used social media resources such as Facebook and the ISC blog to urge community members to employ these practices. Closely related to *correr* and *pasar la voz*, ISC community members also used the phrases *alzar la voz* and *levantar la voz* (raising your voice) to discuss communication practices at ISC.

Alzar La Voz/Levantar La Voz

Community members discuss *alzar la voz* and *levantar la voz* as a speech style (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1962) that according to Carbaugh (1989) includes speech acts and/or events that are used to make opinions, experiences, opportunities, or information known to others. Their talk about this speech style manifests in both their face-to-face interactions with one another, as well as via social media posts written by ISC staff members, and addresses its several functions (Carbaugh, 1989). For example, one Facebook post written by an ISC staff member urges ISC participants to reflect on the efficacy (Carbaugh, 1989) of this speech style.

El nuevo Blog de ISC nos invita a reflexionar sobre la importancia de alzar la voz en tiempos de injusticia. ¿Que piensa usted? Déjenos un comentario (The new blog of ISC invites us to reflect on the importance of raising your voice in times of injustice. What do you think? Leave us a comment) (FB 3.1b)

This social media post specifically encourages participants to consider the importance of raising their voices, and asks them to engage in another communicative practice of leaving a comment.

Functions. The talk and social media posts of ISC community members also suggest different functions of this practice (Carbaugh, 1989) including helping others, building relationships, and motivating the community. First, P36, an ISC staff member, offers the following discussion of *alzar la voz*, “...*Alzar la voz de...por otros que necesitan ayuda*” (Raising the voice of...for others that need help) (T 27; L 185-186). Through this excerpt, P36 suggests that ISC participants and staff can raise the voices of others in need of help, rather than their own voices. Furthermore, P14 says, “...*(O) alzar mi voz a través de un medio de, de mi misma de hacer relaciones personales* (Or raise my voice by way of, myself, to make personal relationships) (T 5; L 183-185). In this case, P14 discusses raising her own voice, rather than the voices of others, but that this practice ultimately builds personal relationships. Therefore, P36 discusses raising the voices of others, whereas P14 describes raising her own voice. Finally, a blog post from ISC’s website on February 14th claims, “*Su ejemplo nos da esperanza y motivación para seguir levantando las voces de los inmigrantes*” (Your example gives us hope and motivation to continue raising the voices of immigrants) (BS 2.14b). Like P36’s discussion, this blog post uses the phrase *levantando la voz* to describe the practice as collective and undertaken by ISC on behalf of the Latino/a immigrant community.

In summary, ISC community members describe using the communication style (Carbaugh, 1989) of *alzar* and *levantar la voz* in both their face-to-face interactions, as well as the social media sites of Facebook and the ISC blog. They understand this communication practice as part of *boca en boca* (word of mouth) communication. They also explain several functions (Carbaugh, 1989) of this communication practice including seeking help and building friendships. In addition to *alzar* and *levantar la voz*, ISC community members also employed the term *abogar* to describe the necessity of advocating on behalf of the Latino/a immigrant community.

Abogar

Another available communication practice described by ISC community members was *abogar* (to advocate). In this case, community members describe *abogar* as a speech act employed individually (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976), but simultaneously by various members of ISC. Furthermore, they identify different parties who can employ the communication practice of *abogar*, including ISC participants individually, and the community-organizing branch of ISC, referred to as an *organización hermana* (sister organization).

During the pilot study for the current research, I became aware that not all community members participate in the advocacy work undertaken by the community organizing *organización hermana* (sister organization) of ISC. Therefore, while conducting the in-depth interviews for the main study, I asked ISC community members if they participated in the community organizing group's immigrant rights advocacy work. Although many community members indicate that they did actively participate in the advocacy work, others explained that they did not. One ISC community member, a

Latino immigrant who is active in the student leadership group and often participates in the immigrant rights advocacy work, explains why some community members do not participate. As P25 says,

No participamos a veces porque nos faltamos la comunicación, la comunicación por parte de organizaciones. No se pueden a veces abogar todos (Sometimes we don't participate because we lack the communication, communication from organizations. Sometimes we can't all advocate) (T 16; L 188-189)

In this case, P25 employed a plural “we” conjugation of the verbs *participar* (to participate) and *faltar* (to lack) to suggest that a lack of communication between ISC community members and the immigrant rights advocacy *organización hermana* (sister organization) resulted in a lack of participation and therefore participation in advocacy work by ISC community members. Therefore, for P25, *abogar* is a speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes 1972/1986) engaged individually, but simultaneously by community members. Furthermore, the “recurrence and co-occurrence” (Covarrubias, 2002, p. 88) of the terms *participar* and *abogar* suggests that for P25, to participate at ISC is to advocate on behalf of the Latino/a immigrant community.

In addition to P25's discussion of *abogar* as engaged by the Latino/a immigrant community members themselves, P31 also described the *organización hermana* (sister organization) as employing this communication practice on behalf of the Latino/a immigrant community. As P31 explained,

Tenemos (organización hermana) que abogar para la comunidad los derechos de la comunidad (We have the (sister organization) that advocates for the community, the rights of the community) (T 22; L 295-296)

Here, P31 used the phrase “*abogar para la comunidad*” to suggest that the *organización hermana* (sister organization) was advocating as an individual body on behalf of the Latino community, and therefore engaging the communication practice as a speech act

(Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976). In this case, P31 described the responsibility for engaging in *abogar*, or advocacy work, as falling to the *organización hermana*, rather than members of the ISC community individually. Furthermore, P31 explained what *organización hermana* was advocating for, “*los derechos de la comunidad*” (the rights of the community).

The use of the metacommunicative term *abogar* to represent an available communication practice for ISC community members was also evident during a public speaking event (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986) that ISC community members call a *Diálogo Comunitario* (Community Dialogue). During this particular *Diálogo*, the female leader, who works as the director of the immigrant rights *organización hermana* (sister organization) frequently employed the term *abogar* in her public address to the ISC community and to a member of the United States House of Representatives who was asked to participate in the event. More specifically, the director of the *organización hermana* used the term *abogar* to describe her hopes for the communication practices of the United States House of Representatives member, that she would use her influence as a federal level politician to *abogar* (advocate) on behalf of the Latino/a immigrant community in New Mexico. The *organización hermana* director said that the ISC community was looking for a *campeón* (champion) to advocate on behalf of their community.

Conclusion

Through ethnographic observation, interviews, and the collection of public documents produced by ISC community members, I identified 24 available communication practices for ISC participants and staff. These available communicative

practices are summarized in Table 4.1 (See pp. 80-81). Looking across community members' talk about these twenty-four terms, I categorized 18 communication practices as speech acts (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976), eight as speech events (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986), and one communication practice as a speech style (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986). Table 4.3 illustrates the categorization of these communication practices. Given that I categorized a majority of ISC community members' communication practices as speech acts, or practices employed by an individual (Carbaugh, 1989), it seems that ISC community members perceive many of the communication practices available to them as moving in one direction, rather than as speech events which Carbaugh (1989) describes as multi-directional, or dialogic. In other words, community members describe themselves as able to use significantly more individual, rather than communal communication practices. However, ISC community members also discuss several speech events (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986) (*pláticas, diálogos, boca en boca*) as engaged frequently, as salient, and as serving important community building functions. Therefore, although community members describe a larger volume of speech acts as available to them than events or styles, they do not appear to understand speech acts as more or less salient than events or styles (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976). In other words, community members treat these acts, events, and styles as comprising a complex matrix of available communication practices that they can and do use strategically to accomplish their social goals, including making lives in the United States.

Looking across the different functions (Carbaugh, 1989) of the available communication practices that ISC community members discuss, several themes emerged.

Table 4.3

Levels of Communication Practices (Carbaugh, 1989)

Level	Practices	
Act	<i>Comunicación</i> (Communication); <i>Contar</i> (To Tell); <i>Guardar Silencio/Mantener Silencio</i> (Keep Silent); <i>Expresarse</i> (To Express Oneself); <i>Invitar</i> (To Invite); <i>Informar/Ser Informado/a</i> (To Inform Oneself/To Be Informed); <i>Referir</i> (To Refer); <i>Pedir</i> (To Request); <i>Correr La Voz/ Pasar La Voz</i> (Spread/Pass The Word);	<i>Compartir</i> (To Share); <i>Hablar</i> (To Speak/To Talk); <i>Aconsejar/Dar Consejos</i> (To Advise/To Give Advice); <i>Ser Escuchado/a</i> (To Be Listened To); <i>Recomendar</i> (To Recommend); <i>Decir</i> (To Tell); <i>Preguntar</i> (To Ask); <i>Promover</i> (To Promote); <i>Abogar</i> (To Advocate)
Event	<i>Comunicación</i> (Communication); <i>Diálogo</i> (Dialogue); <i>Saludar</i> (To Greet); <i>Boca En Boca</i> (Word Of Mouth);	<i>Platicar</i> (To Chat/To Talk); <i>Hablar</i> (To Speak/To Talk); <i>Intercambio</i> (Exchange); <i>Correr La Voz/Pasar La Voz</i> (Spread/Pass The Word);
Style	<i>Alzar La Voz/Levantar La Voz</i> (Raise One's Voice)	

ISC community members describe various metacommunicative practices as serving help seeking and giving, problem identification, problem solving, information giving, recruiting, marking/building *confianza*, and didactic (teaching, Covarrubias, 2002) functions. Table 4.4 illustrates the metacommunicative terms that recurred and co-occurred (Covarrubias, 2002, p. 88) with discussions of these functions, and are therefore understood as generated through the employment of these communication practices. The diversity and complexity of these functions indicates that the communication practices employed by Latino/a immigrants living in the United States and those who serve them at ISC accomplish significantly more than information and social support giving and receiving, as described in the extant social scientific immigration literature

Table 4.4

Functions Metacommunicative Terms

Function	Metacommunicative Terms	
Seeking/ Giving Help	<i>Comunicación</i> (Communication); <i>Aconsejar/Dar Consejos</i> (Advising/Giving Advice)	<i>Compartir</i> (To Share);
Problem Identification	<i>Platicar</i> (To Chat/To Talk); <i>Hablar</i> (To Speak/To Talk)	<i>Contar</i> (To Tell);
Problem Solving	<i>Comunicación</i> (Communication); <i>Contar</i> (To Tell);	<i>Diálogo</i> (Dialogue); <i>Intercambio</i> (Exchange)
Information Giving/Receiving	<i>Comunicación</i> (Communication); <i>Boca En Boca</i> (Word Of Mouth); <i>Informarse/Ser Informado/a</i> (To Inform Oneself/To Be Informed); <i>Correr/Pasar La Voz</i> (Spread/Pass The Word)	<i>Contar</i> (To Tell); <i>Recomendar</i> (To Recommend); <i>Decir</i> (To Tell); <i>Referir</i> (To Refer); <i>Alzar/Levantar La Voz</i> (Raise One's Voice); <i>Expresar(se)</i> (To Express Oneself) <i>Preguntar</i> (To Ask)
Recruiting	<i>Boca En Boca</i> (Word Of Mouth); <i>Recomendar</i> (To Recommend); <i>Promover</i> (To Promote);	<i>Invitar</i> (To Invite); <i>Pedir</i> (To Request); <i>Correr/Pasar La Voz</i> (Spread/Pass The Word) <i>Referir</i> (To Refer)
Marking/Building <i>Confianza</i>	<i>Platicar</i> (To Chat/To Talk); <i>Saludar</i> (To Greet)	<i>Compartir</i> (To Share);
Didactic	<i>Hablar</i> (To Speak); <i>Intercambio</i> (Exchange)	<i>Preguntar</i> (To Ask);

(Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjívar, 2000, 2003). However, community members did address giving and receiving of information and social support as available and important to their ability to make lives in the United States, further supporting the discussions of communication and social network building by Hagan (1998), Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994, 2003) and Menjívar (2000, 2003). Given the extant literature regarding the social networks of Latino/a immigrants living in the United

States, I propose that each of the functions of the available communication practices ISC community members discuss can be understood as aiding in their settlement in the United States. For example, the problem identification function of a *plática* allows ISC staff members to isolate specific obstacles to the successful settlement of ISC community members, such as the deportation of family members. After identifying this obstacle to settlement, ISC staff members could create a community *diálogo*, which community members have described as serving a problem solving function, to potentially resolve the issue and support family reunification and therefore the stability of immigrant social networks which aid in settlement of Latino/a immigrants in the United States (Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjivar, 2000, 2003). Therefore, the functions of these communication practices that ISC community members describe offer a significant contribution to the social scientific immigration literature in that communication itself, as a complex and multi-faceted process, may be understood as promoting Latino/a immigrant settlement in the United States.

In addition to categorizing the aforementioned available communication practices by their level (act, event, style) and function (Carbaugh, 1989), I also identified various themes regarding the content of these communication practices. For example, I noted that ISC community members described several communication practices as transmitting *ideas* (ideas), *puntos de vista/opiniones* (points of view/opinions), *sentimientos* (feelings); discussions of *problemas* (problems) and *experiencias* (experiences), and information about *servicios/recursos de ISC* (ISC's service/resources) and *derechos* (rights). Table 4.5 summarizing the practices that transmit these themes. These themes demonstrate that the content of ISC community members is not only related to factual information relevant

Table 4.5

Content of Communication Practices

Content	Communication Practice	
<i>Ideas</i> (Ideas)	<i>Comunicación</i> (Communication); <i>Intercambio</i> (exchange)	<i>Platicar</i> (To Chat/To Talk)
<i>Puntos de Vista/Opiniones</i> (Points of View/Opinions)	<i>Comunicación</i> (Communication); <i>Intercambio</i> (Exchange); <i>Alzar La Voz/Levantar La Voz</i> (Raising One's Voice)	<i>Expresarse</i> (To Express Oneself)
<i>Sentimientos</i> (Feelings)	<i>Comunicación</i> (Communication)	<i>Expresarse</i> (To Express Oneself)
<i>Problemas</i> (Problems)	<i>Platicar</i> (To Chat/To Talk); <i>Hablar</i> (To Speak/To Talk)	<i>Diálogo</i> (Dialogue)
<i>Experiencias</i> (Experiences)	<i>Compartir</i> (To Share); <i>Hablar</i> (To Speak/To Talk); <i>Recomendar</i> (To Recommend)	<i>Contar</i> (To Tell); <i>Invitar</i> (To Invite); <i>Alzar La Voz/Levantar La Voz</i> (Raise One's Voice)
<i>Servicios/ Recursos de ISC</i> (ISC Service/Resources)	<i>Aconsejar/Dar Consejo</i> (Advise/To Give Advice); <i>Invitar</i> (To Invite); <i>Recomendar</i> (To Recommend); <i>Preguntar</i> (To Ask); <i>Promover</i> (To Promote);	<i>Boca En Boca</i> (Word Of Mouth); <i>Informar/Ser Informado/a</i> (To Inform Oneself/To Be Informed); <i>Decir</i> (To Tell); <i>Correr La Voz</i> (Spread The Word)
<i>Derechos</i> (Rights)	<i>Informar/Ser Informado/a</i> (To Inform Oneself/To Be Informed); <i>Abogar</i> (To Advocate);	<i>Recomendar</i> (To Recommend)

to the Latino/a immigrant community (legal rights, class times, services provided by ISC), but also community members' perceptions and insights into what life is like as a Latino/a immigrant living in the United States. Therefore, I propose that by employing these available communication practices, ISC community members are able to assert themselves as members of the Latino/a immigrant community with lived experiences, ideas, and orientations to the world that matter. In other words, in addition to identifying a communication practice as available for speakers at ISC, the use of a

metacommunicative term also demonstrates various ways that ISC community members understand themselves, others, and the relationships between the two parties, which Covarrubias (2002) referred to as “relational alignments” (Covarrubias, 2002, p. 33).

This analysis of the 24 available communication practices also revealed six different relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002) that shape and are shaped by these available communication practices. These relationships are characterized by *confianza* (trust, interpersonal closeness, confidentiality), quasi-familial (Covarrubias, 2002), *ayuda* (help), *apoyo* (support), *unidad* (unity), and *abogar* (advocacy) based alignments. In chapter five, I describe each of these relational alignments, providing data-based evidence for their influence on the aforementioned available communication practices.

Chapter 5

Findings: Research Question 2

In chapter four, I described and defined 24 different available communication practices that speakers employ in their everyday talk at ISC. Following the principles of the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974; Philipsen, 1992), I assume that the uses and meanings (Hymes, 1972/1986) of these communication practices are mediated by different “relational alignments” (Covarrubias, 2002, p. 33), also discussed in the extant literature as social meanings (Carbaugh, 2005; Philipsen, 1992). Covarrubias (2002) defined social meanings, and therefore relational alignments, as “the express(ions) that interlocutors activate communicatively based on their understandings of self, other(s), and self and other(s) in situated interaction” (p. 33). In other words, relational alignments are the meanings that a person gives to him-or herself and his/her interpersonal relationships with others, which are embedded in everyday talk, and can be made sense of through contextually situated analysis. Given this definition, I propose that the uses and meanings (Hymes, 1972/1986) of metacommunicative terms that demonstrate available communication practices for speakers at ISC, may help illuminate the relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002) that mediate these practices.

More specifically, I propose six relational alignments that help further explain the meanings assigned to these available communicative practices for speakers at ISC including, *confianza*-based (trust, interpersonal closeness, confidentiality), quasi-familial-based (family like), *ayuda*-based (help), *apoyo*-based (support), *unidad*-based (unity), and *abogar* (advocacy)-based alignments. Following Covarrubias (2002), I treat these relational alignments as simultaneously present and influential, rather than competing,

and understand community members as using these alignments in strategic ways to accomplish various individual and communal goals.

To identify the aforementioned relational alignments, I followed Covarrubias's (2002) suggestions and searched the corpus of data for relational constructs that were "recurring and co-occurring" (p. 88) with the metacommunicative terms described in chapter four. Of these "recurring and co-occurring" (Covarrubias, 2002, p. 88) relational constructs, ISC community members discuss *confianza* (trust, interpersonal closeness, confidentiality) most often and in the most depth. Table 5.1 provides utterances that demonstrate the use of metacommunicative terms alongside discussions of *confianza*.

Confianza

Confianza is a Spanish term that is often translated as the relational construct of trust, but further implies a level of interpersonal closeness, and expectations of confidentiality of talk between interlocutors (Covarrubias, 2002; Fitch, 1998; O'Connor, 1990). Both Fitch (1998) and Covarrubias (2002) have investigated pronominal address practices as sites for observing *confianza*-based relationships among Colombian and Mexican speakers, respectively. Fitch's (1998) discussion of *confianza*-based relationships among middle class urban Colombian speakers suggests that this type of relationship is considered ideal because it allows interlocutors to speak mostly openly with others without fear of consequences. However, in some cases, assumptions of *confianza* between interlocutors may result in behavior considered *confianzudo*, or as Covarrubias (2002) puts it "presumptuous, forward, and insolent" (p. 119).

Covarrubias's (2002) research demonstrates an observable link between perceptions of *confianza* between interlocutors and the use of the *tú*, second person

Table 5.1

Confianza Mediated Communication Practices

<i>Speaker</i>	<i>Term</i>	<i>Utterance</i>	<i>Translation</i>
P24	<i>Comunicación</i>	“Pues, para mi, la confianza y la comunicación van juntas.” (T15; L58)	“Well, for me, trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality and communication go together.”
P26	<i>Conversacion es Abiertas; Compartirse</i>	“Es muy importante porque si no había esa confianza entonces es de...no se pudiera mantener lo que son las conversaciones abiertas . Entonces tiene que existir mucha confianza para que las personas puedan abrirse y aparte de eso también compartirse y mostrar sus, sus sentimientos .” (T17; L75-78)	“It is very important because if there isn’t this trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality well, um, one could not maintain open conversations . So, trust has to exist so that the people can open themselves up and aside from this also share oneself and show one’s, one’s feelings .”
P27	<i>Expresar</i>	“Tiene que tener la confianza para poder expresar lo que quiere. Y una vez que se expresan, SE EXPRESAN .” (T18; L165-166)	“One has to have the trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality so that one can express what one wants. And once they express (themselves), THEY EXPRESS (THEMSELVES) .”
P28	<i>Decir; Hablar</i>	“Y creo que la confianza es muy...muy importante. Sentirte segura de lo que vas a...a decir . Sentir, sentir seguridad en si...que nadie va a hablar más de lo que tu no quieras que se dicen .” (T19; L64-66)	“And I think that trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality is very...very important. So you feel secure about what you are going to... to say . To feel, to feel security that...nobody is going to talk more about what you don’t want them to say .”
P29	<i>Diálogo; Plática</i>	“Pues por ejemplo los estudiantes entran de su clase tiene lo que es el diálogo que viene en el tema de la clase. Pero al salir de salón de clase, ya es un tipo más plática . Aunque sea cerca de diálogo es un poco más, en confianza con confianza .” (T20; L88-90)	Well, for example the students enter their class and what they have is a dialogue that comes with the theme of the class. But, upon leaving the classroom, now it is a type more like a chat . Even though it is close to a dialogue , it is more about trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality .”
P29	<i>Diálogo; Plática</i>	“Pues por ejemplo los estudiantes entran de su clase tiene lo que es el diálogo que viene en el tema de la clase. Pero al salir de salón de clase,	Well, for example the students enter their class and what they have is a dialogue that comes with the theme of the class. But, upon leaving the classroom, now

P28	Plática	<p>“Y...y como se dio esa confianza en esa plática, también siempre sale algo de ti que no había salido antes. Si hubo un cambio en mi vida con esa plática o con esas clases o que allá has ido. Si tuvo efecto en mi.”</p> <p>(T19; L 260-263)</p>	<p>“And...and like you give this trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality in this talk, something also always that you didn’t have before. Yes, there was a change in my life with this talk or with the classes that you have taken there. Yes it had an effect on me.”</p>
P31	Contar	<p>“Pero por ejemplo si...si yo tengo una amiga y tengo una situación difícil, si yo puedo contar la mis situaciones es porque yo tengo confianza.”</p> <p>(T22; L 59-61)</p>	<p>“But for example if...if I have a friend and I have a difficult situation, I can tell my situations because I have trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality.”</p>
P31	Transmitir	<p>“Pero yo sentí que ISC transmite una confianza tan grande a la gente que viene que ellos disponen todo tus problemas.” (T22 ; L113-114)</p>	<p>“But I felt that ISC transmits a lot of trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality to the people that come that they are available for all of your problems.”</p>
P37	Word of Mouth		<p>“I think a lot of it also has to do with still word of mouth, but that all of the organizations that have a role here have been in the community forever and people know them and that has helped also with the <i>confianza</i> piece.”</p> <p>(T37; L203-205)</p>
P8	Comunicación , Asociarse	<p>“Yo creo que comunicación es muy buena porque te asocias con gente que ha pasa por lo mismo que ellos y ellos ni siquiera sabían. Y ellos abren más, más a como, más confident más en confianza con otros con la propia raza.” (T1 ; L52-54)</p>	<p>“I think that communication is really important because you associate with people that have gone through the same thing as them without them knowing. And they open (up) more, more like, more confident, more trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality with others of their own race.”</p>
		<p>165</p> <p>“Yo creo que comunicación es muy buena porque te asocias</p>	<p>“I think that communication is really important because you</p>

P17	Preguntar; Contestar; Ignorar; Hacerse Caso	<p><i>“Que me está dando confianza porque me está contestando mis dudas. Y que lo puedo seguir preguntando. Porque si yo le preguntó, por ejemplo, algo a maestro, ok y me ignora, que no me hace caso, que contestar...sigue otro tema. Entonces yo no, ya no me voy a sentir con confianza de volver la pregunta.”</i> (T8; L252-255)</p>	<p>“That (he) is giving me trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality because he is answering my questions. And I can keep asking. Because if, for example, I asked him something, the teacher, ok, and he ignored me, he did not pay attention to me, to answer...following another theme. So, I am not, I will not feel the trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality to continue asking.”</p>
P18	Decir; Guardar Adentro; Expresarse	<p><i>“...(C)omo te sientes la confianza de abrir tú corazón y...y decir las cosas que, que tienes guardar adentro y te ayudan como así, como ahh, a expresarte con...con mucha confianza.”</i> (T9; L63-65)</p>	<p>“...Like you feel the trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality to open your heart and...and say the things that, that you keep inside and they help you like that, like ahh to express yourself with...with a lot of trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality.”</p>
P21	No Decir	<p><i>“A veces como no me siento muy en confianza para decir todas mis cosas.”</i> (T12; L94)</p>	<p>“Sometimes like I do not feel the trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality to tell all of my things.”</p>
P23	Decir	<p><i>“Es no decir “Yo soy más que tú porque sé Ingles.” O que “Soy más que tú porque tengo una casa.” Creo que así empieza ganar un poco la confianza.”</i> (T14; L164-166)</p>	<p>“It is not saying, “I am more than you because I know English.” Or that “I am more than you because I have a house.” I think that like this one starts to earn a little trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality.”</p>
P22	Hablar; Ofender; Decir	<p><i>“Confianza es saber que la persona en la manera que se habla o lo que sea no van a ver problema, verdad? Sabe que no la va a ofenderme y yo no va a ofender a usted.”</i> (T13; L227-228)</p>	<p>“Trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality is knowing that the person, in the way that one speaks, or whatever, is not going to be a problem, right? One knows that that he/she is not going to offend me and I am not going to offend you (formal).”</p>
FN 2.12.13	Levanta la Mano	<p><i>“Levanta la mano en confianza”</i></p>	<p>“Raise your hand in trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality.”</p>

informal pronoun. Her research further indicates that *confianza* does more than allow for smooth interactions in one's everyday life, but may also support cooperation in the workplace, specifically in a Mexican construction company. This research is of particular relevance to the current study not only because many of the participants are Native Mexican or of Mexican heritage, but also because their talk about what *confianza* is and what it allows its users to do, is closely aligned with the definitions and discussions provided by ISC community members. For example, Covarrubias's (2002) participants described *confianza* as a multi-faceted cultural construct comprised of feelings of security and confidentiality, the freedom to speak without judgment, and the ability to employ various communication practices. Furthermore, both Fitch (1998) and Covarrubias (2002) describe *confianza* as built through interpersonal interactions, over an unspecified period of time (depending on the relational partners, context of interactions, history, etc.). Finally, Covarrubias (2002) described a *confianza*-based relational alignment as based on assumptions of equity between interlocutors.

Although ISC community members' talk about a *confianza*-based relational alignment primarily echoes the discussions of Fitch (1998) and Covarrubias (2002), I propose that the context in which this talk is situated provides additional ways to understand this relational alignment. For example, some ISC community members explain that *confianza*-based relationships are necessary within the context of ISC to employ many of the available communication practices because of the fear, discomfort, and uncertainty felt by immigrants living in the United States. As an example of feelings of uncertainty, P16 says, "*Aquí, en este país, yo pienso que es difícil por...no podemos confiar en cualquier persona*" (Here, in this country, I think that it is difficult

because...we cannot trust/have interpersonal closeness/assume confidentiality with every person) (T 7; L 122-123). Through this excerpt, P16's talk suggests that living in the United States as an immigrant, provides a new context that makes creating *confianza*-based relationships more difficult. Additionally, a staff member, P37, describes why she feels *confianza* is important for immigrants. She says,

Confianza to me is um...boils down to trust um, and I think like just as you were mentioning you know trust especially in an immigrant community is...is critical. Um, just because so much is unknown and um there is so much fear um about trying new things and um and engaging in new experiences. I think people are very guarded. (T 28; L 108-111)

Here, P37 describes *confianza* as "critical" for the immigrant participants at ISC, marking this cultural construct as important. She goes on to say, "So I do think that um it's a cultural...it's a cultural piece and it's something that we're....we're striving to get better and better at" (T 28; L 122-123). In other words, ISC staff members orient to *confianza* as a particularly important cultural construct for the Latino/a immigrant community and are "striving" to build this construct within the context of ISC. Therefore, although ISC community members' discussions of a *confianza*-based relational alignment are similar to those provided by Fitch (1998) and Covarrubias (2002), I propose that the immigration context provides additional ways to understand why and how this cultural construct may be meaningful for its users. In the following section, I discuss each of the aforementioned characteristics of *confianza* described in the extant literature by Fitch (1998) and Covarrubias (2002) as well as ISC community members, including *seguridad* (security), *confidencialidad* (confidentiality), the ability to *hablar libremente* (speak freely) and *hablar abiertamente* (speak openly), and the ability to employ communication practices generally.

Seguridad. Community members describe feelings of *seguridad* (security) as part of *confianza*-based relationships at ISC, and identified several reasons why these relationships are important. First, community members indicate that *confianza* means feeling secure that ISC will provide them with benefits. For example, as P25 says of ISC, “*Estamos, estamos seguros de que va a traer un beneficio, verdad? Esa es la confianza*” (We are, we are sure that there is going to be a benefit, right? This is trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality) (T 16; L 144-145). For P25 then, one facet of *confianza* is feeling “*seguro*” (sure) that his relationship with ISC will be beneficial. In this same discussion, P25 goes on to describe *confianza*-based relationships as characterized by the use of several communication practices. As he says,

Si usted está aquí en ISC, en alguna clase usted sabe que está confiando en que un...va a tener un beneficio, va a aprender ¿verdad? Si, si hay diálogos con Congresistas con quien sea con la Gobernadora cuando va el grupo a hablar con la Gobernadora van a ser, estamos confiados que vamos a ser escuchados, que vamos a tener un resultado positivo para nuestra vida. (If you (formal) are here in ISC, in some class you (formal) know that you are trusting in that a...you will have a benefit, you are going to learn. Right? If, if there are dialogues with Congresswomen with whatever, with the Governor, when the group comes to speak with the Governor there will be, we are trusting that we will be listened to, that we will have a positive result for our lives) (T 16; L 146-150)

Through this excerpt, P25 further explains that an important component of *confianza*-based relationships is trusting that the classes, and interactions with government officials provided by ISC, will bring benefits to community members’ lives. He also suggests that one of the possible benefits of these types of relationships is *ser escuchado* (to be listened to) by government officials. Different from *ser oído* (to be heard), the use of the phrase *ser escuchado* implies that community members simply want someone to listen and want their presence in the state to be acknowledged by those elected to serve them.

Another ISC community member, P20, further supports this notion that *seguridad* is an important facet of *confianza*-based relational alignments by saying, “*Entonces, la persona que me atendió me dió seguridad, me dió confianza en que...ella me puede ayudar*” (Well, the person who attended to me gave me security, gave me trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality that...she could help me) (T11; L114-115). Here, P20 indicates that part of the feelings of *seguridad* and *confianza* that an ISC staff member gave her included the assurance that ISC could help her. By using the Spanish language form, *me dio* (gave me), P20 implies that both *seguridad* and *confianza* are provided by the ISC staff member involved in the interaction, rather than mutually constructed over time as other community members, and Fitch (1998) and Covarrubias (2002) have suggested.

Community members also discuss the relationship between *seguridad* and *confianza* as related to the freedom from judgment. For example, P26, an ISC instructor and immigrant himself says,

Y todo eso creo que genera de ayuda que...que la gente se puede sentir parte y en confianza puede compartir y sin temor de ser juzgada (And all of this generates the help that...that the people can feel part (of ISC) and the trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality that one can share and without fear of being judged) (T 17; L 87-89)

For P26 then, a *confianza*-based relationship between ISC community members means feelings of security that one will not be judged for sharing his/her opinions, experiences, or ideas. Another staff member, P37, echoes this idea that feelings of security based on freedom from judgment supports *confianza* at ISC. As P37 says,

If it's an environment where even among participants people feel judged or criticized or um not safe then it's not...no matter what we do as a staff it's not gonna build that kind of *confianza*. (T28; L120-123)

In this discussion, P37 proposes that judgment or criticism by other community members at ISC jeopardizes feelings of safety, which in turn jeopardizes *confianza*. Covarrubias (2002) also encountered talk about feelings of *confianza* as related to freedom from judgment in a Mexican construction company, which suggests that this facet of *confianza* at ISC may be what Covarrubias (2002) calls “transcontextual,” (p. 32) or as applicable across contexts, rather than context dependent.

ISC community members also mention that feelings of *seguridad* as part of *confianza* allowed them to ask questions about problems they face. For example, as P19 says,

Porque pues si no hay confianza pues, no tienes la seguridad de venir o hablar de algún problema o alguna duda que tú tengas. Por eso pienso que es importante tener confianza (Because, well, if there is not trust/interpersonal closeness/assumed confidentiality, well, you do not have the security to come or talk about some problem or question that you might have. Because of this, I think that it is important to have trust/interpersonal closeness/assumed confidentiality) (T 10; L 86-88)

For P19, then *confianza* is based on feelings of *seguridad*, and allows community members to both come to ISC to receive services and engage in resource seeking communication practices (talking about problems, asking questions) to improve their personal circumstances. In this way, P19 implies that *confianza*-based relationships are essential to building and maintaining a community of Latino/a immigrants at ISC.

Finally, community members described feelings of security that their talk at ISC would be confidential as part of *confianza*. One community member, P28, offers

Y creo que la confianza es muy...muy importante. Sentirte segura de lo que vas a...a decir. Sentir, sentir seguridad en...que nadie va a hablar más de lo que tú no quieras que se dicen (And I think that trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality is very...very important. You feel secure in what you are going to...to say. To feel, to feel security in that nobody is going to say more about what you do not want them to say) (T 19; L 64-66)

Through this discussion of *confianza*, P28 suggests that security in the confidentiality of one's talk at ISC, or "*que nadie va a hablar más de lo que tú no quieras que se dicen*" is very important at ISC. In summary, community members appear to understand *confianza*-based relational alignments as providing the feeling of *seguridad* that an interaction will result in benefits for an individual or community, that they will not be judged or criticized for employing a communication practice, that they can talk about personal problems with others at ISC, and that their talk will be kept confidential.

Confidencialidad. In addition to P28's discussion of feelings of security in the confidentiality of one's talk at ISC, several additional community members describe confidentiality as an important component of *confianza*-based relational alignments. For example, P22 says,

Confidencialidad también que no va a decir nada de está hablando. Como con un amigo, verdad...si le dice una cosa si tiene que ser secreto y oye no va a decir, verdad...y es confianza ¿verdad? (Confidentiality also that one would not go and tell anything that a person is saying. Like with a friend, right, if one tells something to a person, if one has a secret and a person hears (it), one is not going to say (anything), right...and this is trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality) (T 13; L 237-239)

Here, P22 offers that confidentiality, in this case the communication practice of *guardar secretos* (keeping secrets), is *confianza*. Community members also use different metacommunicative terms to describe how and what they communicate to others in confidence. First, P18 describes *confianza* as the confidentiality to employ the communication practice of *platicar*. As P18 says,

...(C)onfianza para, para mi es como platicar con alguien... lo que yo siento y...y que esa persona o sea no va andar diciendo lo que yo le dije para no crear problemas (Trust/interpersonal closeness/assumed confidentiality for, for me is like to talk with someone...about what I feel and...and that this person or

whatever will not go (around) telling what I told him/her, and won't create problems) (T9; L73-75)

Through this discussion of the confidentiality component of *confianza*, P18 uses the metacommunicative term *platicar* to describe communicating “*lo que yo siento*” (what I feel), knowing that the receiver of her talk will not “*crear problemas*” (create problems) by telling others what she has said. In this way, P18 suggests that a breach of confidentiality may cause problems for community members at ISC.

Second, P31 uses the metacommunicative term *contar* to describe why she is able to tell her friends at ISC about difficult experiences she has had. She says,

Pero por ejemplo si...si yo tengo una amiga y tengo una situación difícil, si yo puedo contarle mis situaciones es porque yo tengo confianza. Y...o también puede ser porque cuando tú tienes confianza en algo sabes que esa persona no va a andar diciendo lo que tú dijiste (But for example, if...if I have a friend and I have a difficult situation, I can tell her about my situation because I have trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality. And...or it could also be when you have the trust in something you know that this person will not go around telling what you have said) (T 22; L 59-62)

This community member uses the metacommunicative term *contar* (to tell) to describe not only how she communicates, but about what, and to whom. In this case, P31 describes communicating information about difficult situations and names her friends as the recipients of the practice of *contar*. Furthermore, she uses the Spanish language form of *poder* + *contar* (to be able to tell), to describe how the confidentiality implicit in *confianza*-based relationships with others at ISC allows her to employ this communication practice.

Finally, P26 describes the confidentiality necessary in the classrooms at ISC by saying, “*Sentirse en confianza de lo que está hablando en la clase no es divulgado saliendo de la clase*” (To feel trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality that what one

is saying in the class is not divulged outside of the class) (T17; L 86-87). Here, P26 identifies the importance of the confidentiality component of *confianza* as it plays out in the class that he teaches at ISC, using the metacommunicative terms *hablar* (to speak) and *divulgar* (divulge). Covarrubias (2002) also identified the absence of the practice of *divulgar* as associated with *confianza* in the Mexican construction company, which suggests that this component of this relational alignment may also be valid across communicative contexts.

The class that P26 teaches is a discussion based course that explores how to create and maintain healthy relationships throughout life. Several Latin American immigration scholar have noted that processes of immigration make social network maintenance extremely difficult. (Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjívar, 2000, 2003). Therefore, the *Relaciones Saludables* (healthy relationships) class focuses on how to create new relationships in their new country, as well as maintain those relationships that already exist and are critical for Latino/a immigrants' ability to make new lives in the United States. In this class, participants are encouraged several times per meeting to *compartir* (to share) their *experiencias* (experiences) to offer examples of both positive and negative experiences that one has had with course content to learn from one another. Therefore, assumed confidentiality is essential within the ISC classroom to maintain the ability to share and learn. In addition to describing the facet of *confidencialidad*, several community members also describe *confianza*-based relational alignments as shaping the ability both to speak in particular ways and to speak at all at ISC.

Comunicación Abiertamente/Hablar Libremente. Consistent with Fitch (1998) and Covarrubias's (2002) discussions of *confianza*-based relationships, community

members at ISC discuss this relational alignment as necessary to engage in *comunicación abierta* (open communication) or to *hablar* or *decir libremente* (talk or speak freely). For example, P16 describes *confianza* as necessary to “*abre su comunicación*” (open your communication). As P16 explains,

Si, si es muy importante tener confianza mmm con la, con todos porque sino, yo pienso que si no tengo confianza con, con la gente, bueno, hay gente que no se presta que...no se abre su comunicación y mientras no se abre uno, es de...no va a decir lo que uno siente (Yes, yes it is very important to have trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality mmm, with the, with everyone because if not, I think that if I do not have trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality with, with the people, well, there are people that cannot lend one...do not open one's communication and while one does not open, um...(one) will not say what one feels) (T 7; L 69-72)

In this case, P16 discusses the ability to “*decir lo que uno siente*” (say what one feels) as associated with “open communication” and based on the presence of *confianza* between interlocutors at ISC. Furthermore, the use of the term *prestar* (to lend oneself) suggests a level of reciprocity in interactions. In other words, a person gives part of themselves to others with the understanding that one's interlocutor will do the same.

Another community member, P18, echoes P16's claim, but further suggests that *confianza*-based open communication is experienced as a feeling and allows one to employ the communication practice of *decir*. As P18 says, “...*(C)omo te sientes la confianza de abrir tú corazón y...y decir las cosas que, que tienes que guardar adentro*” (Like you feel the trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality to open your heart and...and to say the things that, that you have to keep inside) (T 9; L 63-64). Here, P18 explains that *confianza*-based open communication allows for the use of the communication practice of *decir*, as a means of self-disclosure. In the context of ISC, a place where Latino/a immigrants come to seek support in making lives in the United

States, the ability to disclose “*las cosas que tienes (que) guardar adentro*” (the things that you have to keep inside) to others may allow ISC staff to better serve community members. One community member, P26, who is both an ISC instructor and an immigrant, further supports this claim by saying,

“*Si no hubiera esa confianza entonces es de...no se pudiera mantener lo que son las conversaciones abiertas*” (If there wasn’t this trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality well, um...one could not maintain what are open conversations) (T 17; L 75-76).

Here, P26 indicates that self-disclosure is not just welcomed in interactions, but is expected at ISC.

Community members also used the terms *libremente* (free) and *libertad* (freedom) to describe *confianza*-based communication at ISC. The use of these terms within discussions of *confianza* is also present in Covarrubias’s (2002) discussion of the construct, suggesting that the ability speak freely is not context contingent. For example, P27, an ISC instructor and immigrant describes how the communication practices of an instructor can support *confianza*-based relationships in the classroom and shape communication among students and instructors. As P27 says,

“*Porque si el facilitador no está firme en ese tema los estudiantes no van a tener la confianza para poder decir con libertad*” (Because if the facilitator is not strong in that theme, the students will not have the trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality to be able to speak freely) (T18; L 397-398).

Here, P27 uses the metacommunicative term *decir*, to describe the necessity of *confianza* to be able to speak freely in the ISC classroom. In this excerpt, P27 is describing how ISC instructors discussing sensitive topics with community members, in this case human sexuality, must communicate in a particular way to build the *confianza* that in turn supports particular ways of communicating. During my observations, I also heard a

community member refer to “*La confianza para hablar libremente...*” (The trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality to speak freely) (FN 4.16). Again, this community member suggests that *confianza* is necessary to engage in this particular kind of communication. Finally, P22 refers to *hablar sin ofensa* within a discussion of how *confianza* allows a person to speak in any way because of an assumption that the other will not be offended by this talk. He says,

Confianza es saber que la persona en la manera que se habla o lo que sea, no van a ser problema ¿verdad? Sabe que no la va a ofenderme y yo no va a ofender a usted. Tiene confianza en decirle, habla de, bueno sin o...sin ofensa ¿verdad? (Trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality is knowing that the person and that way that one speaks or whatever is not going to be a problem, right? One knows that one is not going to offend me and I am not going to offend you (formal). One has the trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality to say, talk about, well, without...without offense, right?) (T 13; L 227-229)

Through this excerpt, P22 identifies the trust implicit in the ability to speak any way one wants because of the perceived security that the other will not be offended by this talk. This excerpt is part of a larger discussion, wherein P22 explains to me how, upon coming to the United States and interacting in his daily life with Latinos from other parts of Latin America, he had to discontinue using the *saludo* (greeting) of “*güey*” (literally a male animal) because of potential for misinterpretation as a negative term. Although this term literally refers to a male animal, colloquially it is a class-based, profane means of referencing a friend. Therefore, the above discussion of P22 suggests that in a *confianza*-based relational alignment he would be able to speak to other interlocutors in any way he desired, including using this particular *saludo* (greeting), without the potential for offense. Covarrubias’ (2002) research in the Mexican construction company also revealed that employees understood *confianza*-based communication as the ability to speak without offending the other(s) involved in the interaction. In addition to discussing

the ability to engage in *comunicación abiertamente* (open communication), or *hablar libremente* (speak freely), community members also suggest that in some cases, without *confianza*-based relational alignments, they would not feel comfortable to speak in any way.

Ability to Speak. The final characteristic of *confianza*-based relational alignments ISC community members describe relates to the ability to speak. More specifically, ISC community members use three different Spanish language forms including: *poder* (to be able to) + metacommunicative verb; *de* (to) + metacommunicative verb; and *para* (to) + metacommunicative verb to describe the relationship between *confianza* and communication. The *poder* (to be able to) + metacommunicative verb form is used most frequently. Table 5.2 provides examples of this language form and how it “recurs and co-occurs” (Covarrubias, 2002, p. 88) in talk about *confianza*, and illustrates how community members understand *confianza* as necessary to employ various speaking practices. This table represents the uses of six different Spanish language metacommunicative terms and one English-language term, including *hablar* (to speak), *mantener conversaciones abiertas* (maintain open conversations), *expresar* (to express), *comunicar* (to communicate), *platicar* (to chat, to talk), *preguntar* (to ask), and to say (*decir*). Together, these examples demonstrate community members’ understanding that *confianza*-based relationships allow for the use of several types of communicative practices.

Table 5.2

Confianza and Poder + Metacommunicative Verb

Speaker	Term	Utterance	Translation
P24	<i>Poder Hablar</i>	“ <i>Tener confianza en la gente... tener fe en la gente.... Tener fe en la gente para poder hablar más con ellos y tener más comunicación.</i> ” (T 15; L 52-55)	“To have trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality in the people...to have faith in the people...To have faith in the people to be able to talk more with them and to have more communication. ”
P26	<i>Poder Mantener Conversacion es Abiertas; Poder Compartir; Poder Mostrar Sentimientos</i>	“ <i>Es muy importante porque si no había esa confianza, entonces es de...no se pudiera mantener lo que son las conversaciones abiertas. Entonces, tiene que existir mucha confianza para que las personas puedan abrirse y aparte de eso también compartirse y mostrar sus, sus sentimientos.</i> ” (T 17; L 75-79)	“It is very important because if there wasn’t this trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality, we um...one could not maintain open conversations . So, a lot of trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality has to exist so that people can open themselves (up) and apart from this also share themselves and show their, their feelings. ”
P27	<i>Poder Expresar</i>	“ <i>Tiene que tener la confianza para poder expresar lo que quiere.</i> ” (T 18; L 161-166)	“One has to have the trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality to be able to express what one wants.”
P28	<i>Poder Comunicar</i>	“ <i>La confianza y la comunicación es...trabajan juntas porque si no hay confianza no puedes tampoco comunicarte.</i> ” (T 19; L 61-66)	“Trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality and communication work together because if there is not trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality you cannot communicate about yourself. ”
P29	<i>Poder Platicar; Poder Preguntar</i>	“ <i>Confiamos en esa persona que podemos platicar con ella que podemos preguntarse.</i> ” (T 20; L 104-107)	“We trust in this person that we can chat with her, that we can ask (her). ”
P17	<i>Poder Preguntar</i>	“ <i>Que me está dando confianza porque me está contestando mis dudas. Y que lo puedo seguir preguntando.</i> ” (T 8; L 251-257)	“That one is giving me trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality because one is answering my questions . And that I can continue asking. ”

P16	<i>Poder Comunicar</i>	<p>“A veces tiene uno no más comunicación uh corta...con las demás personas...aquí en este país yo pienso que es difícil por...no podemos confiar en cualquier persona.”</p> <p>(T 7; L 121-123)</p>	<p>“Sometimes one has no more than short communication...with other people...here, in this country I think that it is difficult because...we cannot trust everyone.”</p>
P10	Can Say		<p>“But when you know that they know you and you have their respect and their attention then I think that’s when that trust comes in...in into play and people can feel a lot um better you know saying things. And I’ve seen that.” (T3; L320-322)</p>

Another way that community members describe needing *confianza* to employ communication practices is by using the *de* (to) + metacommunicative verb language form. For example, as P18 puts it, “*Como te sientes la confianza de abrir tú corazón y...y decir las cosas que, que tienes que guardar adentro*” (Like you feel the trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality to open your heart and...and say the things that, that you keep inside) (T 9; L 63-64). By using this language form, P18 describes the ability to open one’s heart and employ the communicative practice of *decir* (to say/to tell). Like P18, P17 also uses this language form by saying “*Entonces también siento que tiene la confianza al grupo de platicar algo personal, de compartir*” (So, I also feel that to have the trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality of the group to tell something personal, to share) (T8; L 278-279). Here, P18 uses the form *de* + metacommunicative verb twice in one sentence to indicate that *confianza* is necessary to *platicar* (to talk) and *compartir* (to share) about a topic that she deems personal. The ability to share implicates the intimacy of the topic and also demonstrates the enactment of a *confianza*-based relationship. Finally, P22 also describes the expectations surrounding the communicative

practice of *escuchar* (to listen) as a type of *confianza*-based communication. As P22 says, “*Tiene confianza de que esa persona pues lo escucha ¿verdad?*” (One has the trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality that this person, well, listens to you, right?) (T 13; L 235-236). This excerpt uses the *de* + form to describe another communication practice, listening, as also *confianza*-based.

In addition to the Spanish language forms of *poder* + and *de* +, community members also use the form *para* + metacommunicative verb to denote *confianza*-based ability to speak. For example, P9 uses this form to describe *confianza* as necessary to *hablar* (to speak) by saying, “*Yo me pongo pensar ‘¡Wow que confianza tienen para hablar de eso en voz alta!’*” (It makes me think, “Wow, what trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality they have to speak out loud about this!”) (T2; L157-158). In this case, P9 uses the phrase, “*en voz alta*” (out loud) to describe *confianza* as facilitating community members’ ability to speak publically about personal issues. Here, P9, like P22 above, suggests that *confianza* allows for certain topics to be discussed. Addressing these topics marks a relationship as *confianza*-based.

As further evidence of the use of this language form, P14 offers, “*Tengo la confianza de llamar a los estudiantes ¿verdad? Para preguntarles, ‘¿Qué te pasa?’*” (I have the trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality to call the students, right? To ask them, “What’s happening?”) (T 5; L 319-320). Here, P14 uses both the *de* + form as well as the *para* + form to describe how the *confianza* she has with her students allows her to call them and ask questions related to problems they may have with class attendance. In this case, *confianza* allows P14 to employ a communication practice in interactions with community members to facilitate student attendance and therefore, the utilization of

ISC's resources. Finally, P21 also describes *confianza* as necessary to *decir* (to say) by saying, “*Yo también a veces como que no me siento muy en confianza para decir todas mis cosas*” (I also, sometimes do not feel a lot of trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality to tell all of my things) (T 12; L 94). Therefore, P21's talk also uses the same *para* + form and supports the assertions of P9 and P14 that *confianza* is necessary for ISC community members to employ various metacommunicative practices.

Members of the ISC community describe several characteristics of *confianza*-based relational alignments at their support center including feelings of security and confidentiality, as well as this type of relational alignment as promoting the ability to speak openly and freely, and the ability to employ at least seven communication practices. These findings support the extant research of Fitch (1998) and Covarrubias (2002), who focused on pronominal address to discuss *confianza*-based relationships among Colombian and Mexican speakers, respectively. I propose that talk about *confianza* at ISC describes this cultural construct as fundamentally important for Latino/a immigrants living in the United States to feel able to communicate with others. As evidence of this claim, ISC community members not only described *confianza* as important, and as mediating their ability to use seven different communication practices, but also suggested that because of a lack of *confianza* in some relationships, they felt unable to engage in interactions with others. Furthermore, the talk of community members reveals the unique way in which they describe *confianza* as necessary in their interactions, by using the *poder* +, *de* +, and *para* + forms to demonstrate how this construct mediates their talk. Community members' talk also reveals a second relational

alignment, a quasi-familial alignment (Covarrubias, 2002), as shaping their communication.

Quasi-Familial Relationships

Another relational alignment described by Covarrubias (2002), a quasi-familial, or “family-like” (p. 55), alignment also manifests in the talk about communication at ISC. Covarrubias (2002) indicated that familial terms for address of *hermana* (sister) or *tío* (uncle) were used frequently at the site of her research to promote a family metaphor in the workplace (p. 55), toward the end of greater workplace *confianza*. At ISC, community members’ use of quasi-familial terms co-occurred with 11 different metacommunicative terms. These terms are illustrated by Table 5.3 and include, *integrarme* (to integrate myself), *compartir* (to share), *mostrar sentimientos* (to show feelings), *convivir* (to interact—to live the moment), *enterar* (to find out), *decir* (to say, to tell), *un reconocimiento* (a recognition), *preguntar* (to ask), *comunicarse* (to communicate about oneself), *platicar* (to chat), and *reírse* (to laugh at oneself). In addition to “recurring and co-occurring” (Covarrubias, 2002, p. 88) with 11 terms for communication, community members also use three different Spanish language forms to explain ISC as fostering quasi-familial relationships. These Spanish language forms include: *como si fuera familia* (as if it were our family) and closely related *como familia* (like family), *te sientese siente como familia* (you feel/one feels like family), and *ambiente familiar* (familial environment). I describe each of these language forms in an effort to illumine how quasi-familial relationships mediate talk at ISC.

Como Si Fuera Familia. First, community members most often use the form *como si fuera familia* (as if it were one’s family) to mark the relationships that

Table 5.3

Terms for Communication that Mark Quasi-Familial Relationships

Speaker	Term	Utterance	Translation
P24	<i>Integrarme</i>	“Aquí lo tratan a uno como si fuera la familia y yo estoy muy contento con esto y precisamente por eso yo quiero integrarme al grupo de [Nombre] también para...para seguir participando porque yo me siento muy bien aquí. ” (T15; L176-179)	“Here they treat one as if one were family and I am very happy with this and precisely because of this I want to integrate myself to the [Name] group also to...to continue participating because I feel very good here.”
P26	<i>Compartir; Mostrar Sentimientos</i>	“Entonces, tiene que existir mucha confianza para que las personas puedan abrirse y aparte de eso también compartirse y mostrar sus, sus sentimientos sus...sentirse parte de la familia. ” (T17; L76-78)	“So, there has to exist lots of trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality so that people can open themselves up and apart from this also share themselves and show their, their feelings their... to feel like one is part of the family. ”
P27	<i>Convivir</i>	“Entonces, estás tomando una clase, estás aprendiendo, estás conviviendo con alguien, y además estás conociendo otro recurso... Y ya se siente como más en familia. ” (T18; L48-50)	“So, you are taking a class, you are learning, you are being with someone , you are getting to know another resource...And one already feels more like in a family. ”
P28	<i>Enterar</i>	“Es como un ambiente familiar, como un apoyo familiar. Después que se termina esas clases ya hiciste un círculo de amistad que no tenías antes. Y ya por eso decir, estás enterando de otras oportunidades o de otros eventos. ” (T19; L 199-201)	“It is like a familial environment , like familial support. After these classes end, you have already made a circle of friends that you didn’t have before. And now because of this, to say, you are finding out about other opportunities or other events.”
P31	<i>Decir; Reconocimiento</i>	“Y te sientes como en la...de la familia. Tú vienes y ay todo el mundo dice, “Hola.” Te conoce, te abraza, te sientes bien. A veces es la seres humanos necesitamos un cariñito, una sonrisa...mmm o una que...un reconocimiento por mínimo...cualquier	“And you feel like in a...of the family . You come and ay, everyone says, “Hola.” They acknowledge you, hug you, you feel good. Sometimes as human beings we need a little care, a smile...mmm or a...at least a recognition ...any recognition that one gives to a person of any type is...very

		<i>reconocimiento que les de a una persona de cualquier tipo es...muy importante.”(T22; L318-321)</i>	important.”
P12	<i>Como (Preguntar)</i>	<i>“Se hacen amistades, mmm se hace pues es algo así como una familia...que cuando venirse les extraña y es como, “Que falta X, falta Y.” (T4; L261-261)</i>	“They make friends, mmm one makes, well it is like a family ...that when one comes, one misses them and it is like, “ X is missing, Y is missing ”
P15	<i>Como (Decir)</i>	<i>“Es muy importante los compañeros de aquí de los clases porque ya puedes...nos miramos como familia. O si así falta alguien, como, “Ay, no vino esta persona...” Como que se hace parte como de la familia” (T6; L44-46)</i>	“The friends from class at ISC are important because you can already... we see one another as family . Or if like someone is missing, like, “Ay, this person didn’t come...” Like one is part of a family. ”
P20	<i>Comunicarse</i>	<i>“Si es muy importante comunicarse umm ehh cuando uno no está comunicado con otras personas uno se siente muy...muy triste. Cuando yo llegué a ISC, yo estaba muy triste, porque...no tenía familia aquí no tenía nada más que mi hijo y no...hasta ahorita no tengo trabajo pero...pero yo he encontrado como... como un apoyo. ISC um me ha dado como la familia que necesitaba.” (T11; L32-36)</i>	“Yes it is very important to communicate umm ehh when one is not communicating with other people one feels very...very sad. When I arrived at ISC I was very sad, because...I didn’t have family here, I didn’t have anything more than my son and no...until recently I didn’t have a job but...but I have encountered like...like support. ISC um has given me like the family that I needed.”
P5	<i>Platicar, Reírse</i>	<i>“Porque más que venir a estudiar es como con una familia bien es como si fuera tú familia. Vienes, platicas, te ríes.” (TP5 ; L48-49)</i>	“Because more than coming to study it is like being with a good family , it is like your family . You come, you chat, you laugh. ”

community members have with one another at ISC as family like, rather than with one’s biological family. For example, P24 says of his relationships with others at ISC, “*Aquí, lo tratan a uno como si fuera la familia*” (Here, they treat one as if it were one’s family) (T15; L176-177). In this case, P24 indicates that at ISC the treatment, or the interactions

between community members are family-like. Another community member, P5 suggests that for her, the quasi-familial relationships she has at ISC are important in her life. As P5 says,

Pues, la más importante es la amistad aquí porque más que venir a estudiar es como con una familia bien, es como si fuera tú familia vienes, platicas, te ríes, y la más importante es que...aprendes...Si tienes un problema ellos están aquí siempre para atender y para mi es importante también (Well, here the most important (aspect) is the friendship. Because more than coming to study, it is like (being) with a good family, it is as if it were your family. You come, you chat, you laugh, and the most important is that...you learn....If you have a problem, they are always here to attend to you and for me this is also important) (TP5; L 48-51)

Through this excerpt, P5 identifies that ISC is more than a school, but also a place to cultivate quasi-familial relationships with others, that are important when one has a problem. In other words, this relational alignment may serve a social support and problem solving function (Carbaugh, 1989; Covarrubias, 2002). Because many ISC participants have very few friends and/or family members living locally, these quasi-familial relationships are available to provide support and help when a person has a problem. She specifically names the metacommunicative practices of *platicar* (to chat, to talk) and *reírse* (to laugh) as markers of this relational alignment at ISC.

Community members also used the phrase *como familia* (like family, as family) to describe their relationships at ISC. For example, as P15 says,

Oh si, es muy importante los compañeros de aquí de las clases porque ya puedes...nos miramos como familia. O si así falta alguien, como, 'Ay, no vino esta persona...' como que se hace parte como de la familia (Oh yes, it is very important for the classmates from here, from the classes, because you already...we see one another as family. If someone is missing, like, "Ay, this person didn't come..." (it is) like being part of a family) (T6; L44-46)

Here, P15 uses the plural *nosotros* (we) form to indicate that "*nos miramos como familia*" (we see one another as family), or that although many community members are not

actually biologically related, they view their relationships as quasi-familial. Through this excerpt, P15 also describes a communicative practice that is used to mark these quasi-familial relationships, the practice of asking about a community member, manifesting as the term *como* (like). In this case, *como* is used as a substitute for a metacommunicative term when a speaker is recalling an interaction. Some English language speakers also use the term “like” as a substitute for another metacommunicative term when discussing a prior interaction by saying, for example, “I was like, ‘What classes are you taking?’ And he was like, ‘Communication Theory.’” In this example and the talk of P15, the context provided by the remainder of the phrase allows for *como* to be understood as a substitute for the practice of asking. Another community member, P12, employs a similar form when she says, “*Es algo así, como una familia que cuando uno no viene les extraña y es como, ‘Que falta X, falta Y’*” (It is something like, like a family...that when a person doesn’t come, they are missed, and it is like, “X is missing, Y is missing) (T4; L262-263). Here, P12’s talk about quasi-familial relationships at ISC also uses *como* as a substitute for another practice. In this case, P12’s use of *como* refers to the communicative practice of talking about the attendance another community member.

Te Sientes/Se Siente Como. Another way that community members talk about quasi-familial relationships at ISC is by employing the phrase, “*te sientes/se siente como...familia*” (you feel/one feels like...family). This Spanish language form highlights that community members experience these quasi-familial relationships at least partially as feelings. For example, P28 describes several feelings associated with perceived quasi-familial relationships by offering, “*Ir a estas clases si te sientes en la familia, te sientes en lo común...te sientes parte de algo*” (To go the those classes, yes, you feel in family,

you feel included, you feel part of something) (T19; L196-197). In this case, P28 describes participation in ISC classes as the source of feelings of family, commonality, and belonging, which may be particularly important in an immigrant community where people often feel isolated (Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjívar, 2000, 2003). An ISC instructor, P27, who is herself an immigrant, echoes P28's claim that feelings of family are built in the classroom by saying,

Entonces, estás tomando una clase, estás aprendiendo, estás conviviendo con alguien, y además estás conociendo otro recurso...y ya se siente como más en familia (Well, you are taking a class, you are learning, you are interacting with someone, and furthermore, you are getting to know another resource...And now one feels like, more in family) (T18; L48-50)

In this discussion, P27 describes positive outcomes in addition to learning that are obtained through classroom participation at ISC, including feeling like one is with family, or the creation of quasi-familial relationships (Covarrubias, 2002).

Another ISC community member, P31, describes a ritual *saludo* (greeting) as marking the presence of quasi-familial relationships at ISC. For example, P31 explains,

“Y te sientes como, en la...de la familia. Tú vienes y allí, todo el mundo dice, ‘Hola.’ Te conoce, te abraza, te sientes bien” (And you feel like, in the...of the family. You come and ay, everyone says, “Hello.” They know you, they hug you, you feel good) (T22; L318-319).

Here, P31, describes the *saludo* (greeting) that I detailed in chapter four, which involves a series of both verbal and nonverbal acknowledgements of a person's presence (Covarrubias, 2005), also marking quasi-familial relationships. Later in this discussion, P31 further explains that employing this ritual is a “*reconocimiento*” (recognition), or acknowledgement of one's personhood that is important and part of creating feelings of family at ISC (See Table 5.3 for this utterance).

Ambiente Familiar. In addition to the two previously addressed forms for discussing quasi-familial relational alignments at ISC, community members also refer to ISC as an *ambiente familiar* (a familial environment). One community member indicates that perceived equality among ISC staff and participants supports this *ambiente familiar*. As P24 says, “*Si que es un ambiente familiar. Se siente ambiente familiar aquí con toda la gente--con los compañeros, con los jefes, con los maestros, con todo, es igual*” (Yes, that it is a familial environment. One feels this familial environment with all the people--with friends, with the bosses, with the teachers, everyone is equal) (T15; L188-189). In this case, P24 indicates that this type of environment is something that community members feel and that it is based on perceptions of equality. Another community member, P14 also describes her perception of the *ambiente* by saying,

Sí, siempre y siempre hay mucha comunicación no es como, “Ok yo soy la jefa y ustedes son mis esclavos... ¡jamás, jamás!; Siempre, siempre! (Nombre de la Directora) o las personas que están más arriba nos han hecho sentir como estamos, hombro a hombro. El sentido como “Ok, tú eres de una parte (Región de México).” Nunca he sentido que soy de otra, diferente. Yo siempre, me...me gusta. Si es muy bonito el ambiente aquí. (Yes, always, and there is always lots of communication. It is not like, “Ok, I am the boss and you (formal) are my slaves...never, ever. (Name of Director) always, always, or the people that are higher up always make us feel like we are shoulder to shoulder. The feeling like, “Ok, you (informal) are from a different place (Region of Mexico).” I have never felt like I am from another place, a different place. I always like (it here). Yes, the environment is really nice here.) (T5; L311-315)

Through this excerpt, P14 uses the metaphor *hombro a hombro* (shoulder to shoulder) to echo the claim of P24, that perceptions of equality among staff and community members characterize this environment and allow for the use of several communication practices. At the beginning of this excerpt, P14 mentions that the way she knows that the environment is based in feelings of equality is because “*siempre hay mucha comunicación*” (there is always a lot of talk) and that it is not *como* (used to mean *decir*

(to say)) “*soy la jefa y ustedes son mis esclavos*” (I am the boss and you are my slaves). Finally, P14 indicates that the ways that community members at ISC communicate does not result in feelings of difference or not belonging. In this way, P14’s discussion of equality also echoes Covarrubias’s (2002) claim that quasi-familial relational alignments are grounded in perceptions of equality. In this case, the hierarchies that are prevalent in Mexican society (See Covarrubias, 2002) disappear within ISC, which is challenging and marks the ISC context as unique.

In addition to P24 and P14, another community member, P28, also describes ISC as an *ambiente familiar* by saying,

Es como un ambiente familiar, como un apoyo familiar. Después que se terminan esas clases ya hiciste un círculo de amistad que no tenías antes y ya por eso decir, estás enterado de otras oportunidades o de otros eventos (It is like a familial environment, like familial support. After the classes end, you have already made a circle of friends that you didn’t have before. And now as a result, to say, you find out about other opportunities or other events) (T19; L199-201)

Here, P28 describes the communicative practice of *enterar* (to find out about), as one discursive manifestation of the *ambiente familiar* at ISC. In other words, because of this familial environment community members create relationships with one another and provide information about opportunities and events at ISC that may be useful. Without these close relationships, one may not get to learn about these additional opportunities. Therefore, face-to-face communication itself serves as a resource that allows access to both opportunities and help making use of them.

Within a discussion of encouraging community members to make their own media to counter extant, often discriminatory, media coverage of Latino/a immigrants, one staff member describes community members’ feelings about the space that ISC inhabits. As P34 explains,

...(S)o the *confianza* thing that's like really big it's like...it's like the...it's just so important...I think ISC is like a comforting space, like a very familiar place, like a living room almost (T25; L106-109)

In this discussion, P34 goes on to explain that these feelings of comfort and familiarity associated with the space that ISC inhabits allows community members to feel able to make their own media (YouTube videos, Twitter tweets, Blogs) that represents their lived experiences. Therefore, the physical space, in addition to the relationships with those who inhabit the space contribute to the familial experience of ISC.

In summary, community members' talk demonstrates the presence of quasi-familial, or family like relational alignments at ISC (Covarrubias, 2002). Discussion of this particular relational alignment "recurs co-occurs" (Covarrubias, 2002, p. 88) with 11 metacommunicative terms, suggesting that the use of these communicative practices marks the presence of family-like relationships. Community members used three different language forms to discuss this relational alignment as family "like," rather than of biological family. These three language forms included the subjunctive, "*como si fuera*" (as if it were), the simile "*como te sientes/como se sienten*" (feeling like, feeling as), and the characterizing of the environment at ISC as "*un ambiente familiar*" (familial environment).

ISC community members' talk about the communication practices mediated by this relational alignment suggests several different functions (Carbaugh, 1989) of communication. These functions include giving and receiving emotional support (Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjívar, 2000, 2003), showing concern for others, and encountering new opportunities. Finally, like Covarrubias (2002), community members' talk suggests an understanding of quasi-familial relationships as based on

perceptions of equity between relational partners. Perceiving these relationships as equity-based means that people feel comfortable creating meanings through interaction and building relationships with others. In addition to the *confianza*-based and quasi-familial relational alignments, community members' talk also reveals an *ayuda* (help)-based alignment.

Ayuda

Talk at ISC suggests that some of their interactions may represent an *ayuda*-based or help-based relational alignment. As such, this particular alignment implies that a person or a group of people have access to a set of resources (communicative, material, ideological, etc.) that can be provided to members of the community in need and is therefore based on assumptions of inequity between those giving and receiving help. To demonstrate the presence of the *ayuda*-based alignment, community members employ various metacommunicative terms, including *darse a conocer* (let others know oneself), *comunicación* (communication), *hablar* (to speak), *escuchar* (to listen), *expresarse* (to express oneself), and *guardar adentro* (to keep inside). Community members employ these metacommunicative terms alongside discussions of *ayuda* in three different ways. First, they discuss ISC as *ayudando* (helping) community members to use particular communicative practices. Therefore, one of the services provided by ISC is helping community members to communicate, or to improve their communication. Second, community members describe the use of these communication practices themselves as *ayuda*. In other words, communication itself is help. Finally, they indicate that these communication practices help community members receive *ayuda* to solve problems. I detail each of these manifestations of this relational alignment below.

Ayudar a Comunicar. One way that community members describe *ayuda* (help)-mediated communication is by describing ISC as helping community members to communicate. For example, in a discussion of what makes ISC a unique place, P18 offers the following explanation,

Te sientes la confianza de abrir tú corazón y...y decir las cosas que, que tienes guardarlas adentro y te ayudan como así, como ahh, a expresarte con...con mucha confianza (You feel the trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality to open your heart and...and say the things that...that you have had to keep inside and they help you like that, like ahhh, to express yourself with...with lots of trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality) (T9; L63-65)

Here, by saying “*te ayudan como así*” (they help you like that), P18 describes how ISC helps community members “*abrir tú corazón*” (open your heart) and employ the practices of *decir* (to say/to tell) and *expresarte* (expressing yourself). Therefore, P18 implies that ISC is helping community members to learn to communicate. In this way, one way to characterize the relationships between ISC staff and community members is as *ayuda*-based.

As further evidence of the presence of this alignment, an ISC instructor and Latino immigrant himself indicates that he helps community members by teaching communication in his class. As P26 says, “*Y también ayuda a aprender a compartir y ser más solidario con...con cada quién*” (And also help to learn to share and be more in solidarity with...with everyone) (T18; L481-482). Through this talk, P26 suggests that community members get help using the communicative practice of *compartir*, which results in feelings of solidarity with one another in the classroom. Here, P26 also implies that the *ayuda*-based alignment allows him as the instructor to teach about communication, but that the result of his teaching could be community solidarity (Brown & Gilman, 1960). Therefore, he indicates that through the use of a communicative

practice based on an unequal relational alignment, he is able to foster the equity-based alignment of solidarity among students in his class. In addition to discussing how ISC helps its members to communicate, community members also described communication itself as *ayuda*.

La Comunicación Es La Ayuda. Community members at ISC indicate that by employing some of the available communicative practices, those in need receive help. For example, when I asked P6 about the most important skills one can learn at ISC, he suggested that communication is the most important. As P6 says, “*Umm, lo más importante pues, comunicación con las personas y de saber ayudar a las demás personas*” (Umm, the most important well, communication with other people and to know how to help other people) (TP6; L26-27). Here, by discussing communication alongside *ayuda*, P6 suggests that communication, which he identifies as the most important, can be used to help others. In this case, this community member speaks to the didactic function of communication (Carbaugh, 1989; Covarrubias, 2002).

Another participant, P13, echoes P6’s claim that communication practices can help community members by saying, “*Y aquí le dan información y aquí ayudan mucho al inmigrante*” (And here ISC gives one information and here ISC helps immigrants a lot) (T4; L309-310). For this community member, the metacommunicative practice of “giving information” is help for Latino/a immigrants. Through this discussion, P13 also suggests that ISC gives information to the Latino/a immigrant community, marking this alignment as unequal. However, another community member, P10, also indicates that community members pass information to one another before and after class about issues related to health, education, and other needs. As P10 says,

It happens. I think it happens a lot. They're always talking to each other about uh not only um like health related issues uh...um food issues, things like that um...they're always exchanging information. They're always uh bringing in um...um written information that they pass out to other people because they're...they're you know they have common questions or common situations and I see I see that a whole lot. And um not only um they help each other with um finding out when something is taking place at school, but also um you know what some of the issues are and what some of the questions and...and even vocabulary they help each other with words, concepts that they need to know. I've seen that a whole lot. And...and it takes place informally. They...they get to here and they talk about it. Or they bring in something for someone else. (T3; L623-632)

Therefore, community members give and receive information from one another, in addition to receiving information from ISC (Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjivar, 2000, 2003). Here, P10 describes the context of information sought and provided. Finally, community members also described communication as a way that immigrants could obtain help.

Comunicación Para Encontrar Ayuda. The most common way that community members discuss *ayuda* as mediating communication is by describing communication practices as a way to seek help. One community member, P28, discusses how those at ISC use communication, specifically describing learning about the problems that Latino/a immigrants face living in the United States. As P28 offers,

Qué puede ayudar a esta persona...o, de hecho puede salir problemas nuevos también. Pero, si ya estás en un lugar dónde lo puedes comunicar, dónde lo puedes compartir hay más expectativas de ayuda (That one can help this person...or, new problems can also come up. But, yes, you are already in this place where you can communicate about it, where you can share it, well, (there are) more expectations of help) (T19; L56-58)

In this case, P28 claims that by communicating and sharing about problems that immigrants face, which is possible at ISC, community members can expect help.

Therefore, she implies that when a person employs a communication practice like *compartir* (sharing) about personal problems, that a person does so with the

understanding that there will be positive outcomes such as encountering help. Furthermore, this utterance also identifies community members' perceptions of themselves as inherently communal (Carbaugh, 1989, 2007; Covarrubias, 2002; Philipsen, 1992). When a person shares, or self-discloses his/her feelings, experiences, and/or opinions, he/she can expect to receive help from others.

Another community member, P36, who is both an ISC staff member and Latina immigrant, describes talking about problems as a way that communication practices provide help for community members. She says,

También otras personas que han escuchado esos problemas dicen, "Sabe que yo, yo también pasé por esta situación y yo hice esto y fui a tal parte, hablé con esta persona y me ayudaron de esta forma." Entonces ya la gente también puede escuchar dónde hay ayuda, dónde hay recursos para que les asistan con sus problemas (Also, other people that have listened to those problems say, "Did you know that I, I also went through this situation and I did this and I went to that place, I talked with this person and they helped me in this way." So, now the people also can listen to where there is help, where there are resources so they can assist them with their problems) (T27; L245-248)

Through this excerpt, P36 details the way that community members use communication itself to give and receive help, specifically through the communicative practices of *decir* (to say, to tell) and *escuchar* (to listen). However, this does not simply speak to an information giving and receiving function, but also a social support function (Carbaugh, 1989; Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjívar, 2000, 2003). By identifying similar lived experiences community members enact solidarity with one another (Brown & Gilman, 1960). Furthermore, this participant also indicates that help-mediated communication can serve a problem solving function at ISC (Carbaugh, 1989).

In addition to P28 and P36, P8 describes how community members use *boca en boca* (word of mouth) communication to tell others where to get help. As P8 puts it, "De

boca en boca se puede pasar la palabra de 'hey, mira un abogado y puedes ir y te ayuda con esto, esto, esto...'” (Word of mouth one can pass the word of, “hey, look a lawyer and you can go and he/she can help you with this, this, this...”) (T1; L346-347). Here, P8 provides an example of what a person may say to another to engage in *boca en boca* communication, resulting in access to *ayuda*, in this case legal help. Hagan, (1998), Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994, 2003), and Menjivar (2000, 2003) also discuss word of mouth communication as a way to spread information about services and resources available at social service agencies that assist in settlement in the United States.

Finally, one community member indicates that the reason that community members can accept help in the form of a communication practice, is because of an extant relationship. As P29 says,

Entonces, ya hay más comunicación entre los mismo estudiantes. Y si alguien necesita un tipo de trabajo, un tipo de ayuda, pues ya esa relación, esa comunicación entre ellos (Well, there is already more communication between the students. And if someone needs some type of job, some type of help, well, there is already this relationship, this communication between them) (T20; L71-73)

Here, P29 describes the presence of an *ayuda*-based relational alignment (Covarrubias, 2002) among community members in the same class as providing the ability of students to communicate, and to use this practice to offer and receive help. In this way, participation in the adult basic education courses offered at ISC provides an opportunity to create relationships with others, which allow for the use of particular communication practices, and may help community members get access to resources they need.

In summary, at ISC, *ayuda*-based relationships reflect what Covarrubias (2002) refers to as a relational alignment based on inequity. Talk about this relational alignment suggests an understanding that (1) ISC helps community members communicate, (2)

communication itself is help, and (3) communication may help community members receive help. This talk further demonstrates that ISC community members view themselves as inherently communal people (Carbaugh, 1989, 2007; Covarrubias, 2002; Philipsen, 1992). Furthermore, although this relational alignment (Covarrubias, 2002) does describe information giving and receiving, it also demonstrates additional benefits such as feelings of solidarity, problem identification, and problem solving. In addition to the three aforementioned relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002), community members' talk suggested an *apoyo* (support)-based relational alignment present at ISC.

Apoyo

An *apoyo* (support)-based relational alignment at ISC appears to be what Covarrubias (2002) refers to as equity-based. In other words, their talk suggests that when community members enact *apoyo*, through their use of particular communicative practices, they see themselves as enacting equality. An *apoyo*-based alignment mediates the use of several communication practices including *preguntar* (to ask), *comunicación* (communication), *darme opinión* (giving my opinion), *hacer llamadas* (make calls), *enterar* (to find out), and *invitar* (to invite). Table 5.4 provides examples of how discussions of *apoyo* “recur and co-occur” (Covarrubias, 2002, p. 88) with these different terms for communication.

In addition to demonstrating assumptions of equity among community members, their talk about *apoyo* also suggests an assumption that by employing the aforementioned communicative practices, a community member can show support for immigration reform, for adult education classes provided at ISC, or for the success of community members. For example, a post made on the social media website, Facebook, by an ISC

Table 5.4

Communication Practices that Mark *Apoyo* (Support)

Speaker	Term	Utterance	Translation
P26	Preguntar ; Llamar	“De como podemos apoyarnos para junta salir adelante... Si no viene alguien, entonces, ya viene la preocupación del compañero. Como así, “Oh, me pregunta porque no vino.” Le llamaron , “no está bien.” (T 17; 69-72)	“How we can support ourselves to succeed together...If someone doesn’t come, well, their classmate is worried. Like this, “Oh, s/he asks me why s/he didn’t come.” They called her/him , “He/she isn’t well.”
P16	Comunicación	“Porque, pues, nos ayudamos unos a otros. Y yo pienso que es como la..la mejor comunicación para ayudarnos, apoyarnos. ” (T 7; L 28-29)	“Because, well, we help one another. And I think that it is like the best, communication to help one another, to support one another. ”
P17	Darme Opinión; Preguntar	“Por ejemplo en las clases a veces me siento como... que puedo apoyar en darme opinión o preguntar algo que a lo mejor mis compañeras ya saben o no saben pero, nos aprendemos todos de allí. Es de...significa comunidad, unión.” (T 8; L 58-61)	“For example in the classes sometimes I feel like... that I can support by giving my opinion or asking something that the majority of my classmates may already know or may not already know, but, we are all learning there. Um, this means community, union.”
FB 3.11a	Hacer Llamadas	“UNETE A La Semana De Llamadas al Congreso! Textea "REFORMA" al [Número]!! Necesitamos el apoyo de ustedes en hacer unas llamadas a nuestros Senadores locales--tienen que apoyar la reforma migratoria que mantienen las familias juntas y crea un camino hacia la ciudadanía! ” (FB 3.11a)	“Join the Week of Calls to Congress. Text “REFORM” to [Number]!! We need your support in making calls to our local Senators—you (plural) must support immigration reform to keep families together and create a pathway to citizenship!”
P28	Enterar	“Es como un ambiente familiar. Como un apoyo familiar . Después que se termina esas clases ya hiciste un circulo de amistad que no tenías antes. Y ya por eso decir, estás enterando de otras oportunidades o de otros eventos. Creo que si estás haciendo muy buen trabajo en esto.” (T 19; L 199-202)	“It is like a family environment. Like family support . After the classes end, you already have made a circle of friends that you didn’t have before. And as a result of this to say, you are finding out about other opportunities or about other events. I think that yes, you are doing a really good job of this.”

P12	<i>Invitar</i>	“Tenemos apoyo. Tenemos invitaciones para casi la mayoría de los eventos que hacen aquí, pláticas, festejos, reuniones. ” (T4; L190-191)	“We have support. We have invitations for almost all of the events that they do here, talks, festivals, meetings. ”
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staff member suggests that making phone calls to local Senators to discuss immigration reform supports the Latino/a immigrant community. One community member, P17, offers that asking questions and giving her opinion in the classroom can provide support for her fellow classmates’ learning. Finally, another community member, P16, suggests that communication can help ISC community members support and help one another (See Table 5.4). For ISC community members then, many of the communicative practices available to them can be used to demonstrate the *apoyo*-based relationships that they have with one another, in support of the success of the larger community. Another equity-based alignment evident at ISC is a *unidad*-based alignment (Covarrubias, 2002).

Unidad

The final relational alignment that community members describe is a *unidad* (unity)-based alignment, which appears to be as Covarrubias (2002) discusses, based on perceptions of equity. More specifically, at ISC talk about *unidad* mediates several different communication practices, including *compartir* (to share), *platicar* (to chat, to talk), *preguntar* (to ask), *darme opinión* (to give my opinion), *saludar* (to greet), *informar* (to inform), and *enterar* (to find out). Community members discuss *unidad*-based communication in three different ways. First, their talk suggests that the use of different terms for communication mark feelings of *unidad* as present between community members. Second, by employing particular communication practices, community members can build *unidad*. Finally, *unidad*-based relationships at ISC make

ISC different from other places where immigrants seek support. In what follows, I describe each of these ways that *unidad* mediates communication practices.

Communication Practices Mark *Unidad*. In the ISC community, members characterize their relationships with others as grounded in feelings of *unidad*. One community member, P29, however, indicates that *unidad* should not be taken for granted, because not all communities are united like the ISC community. As P29 says,

Una comunidad, pues, una comunidad unida porque puede ver una comunidad pero en realidad no se unen, no se preguntan, no se ayudan. Y aquí en ISC eso tenemos, una comunidad que nos ayudamos, que nos preocupamos, que nos reímos, lloramos juntos si algo pasa. Somos una comunidad unida (A community, well, a united community because one can see a community, but in reality they do not unite, they do not ask about one another, they do not help one another. And here, at ISC, we have this, a community in which we help one another, we worry about one another, we laugh together, cry together if something happens. We are a united community) (T20; L118-121)

In this discussion, P29 describes several different metacommunicative terms that she feels marks the relationships at ISC as *unidad*-based, including *unirse* (to unite oneself), *preguntarse* (to ask), *reírse* (to laugh), and *llorarse* (to cry). This community member also suggests that *ayudar* (helping) and *preocuparse* (being concerned with one another) also demonstrate their unity. By using the word *juntos* (together) this community member describes employing these practices collectively, further underscoring their united nature.

Another community member, P13, also proposes another communicative practice as mediated by a *unidad*-based relational alignment. For example, she says, “*Pienso que mucha unidad y todos comparten y somos como amigos*” (I think lots of unity and we all share and we are like friends) (T4; L252). Here, P13 explains that the communicative practice of *compartir* (to share), marks unity at ISC. A blog entry posted on ISC’s

website also employs the term *compartir*, within a discussion of community unity. This blog post offers,

“*Es maravilloso compartir estas experiencias padres, madres, pequeños, jóvenes, abuelos—todos con un mismo fin de luchar por la comunidad y con unidad, respeto, y mucho amor*” (It is marvelous to share these experiences of fathers, mothers, small, the young, grandparents---all with the same end of fighting for the community and with unity, respect, and lots of love) (BS 2.14c)

Through this blog post, an ISC staff (who wrote the post) not only describes sharing experiences as demonstrating the unity of the ISC community, but also discusses what community members share (experiences), who can share these experiences, and what end sharing may accomplish (*luchar por la comunidad* (fighting for the community)). This post furthermore describes the participants of this fight, members of multiple generations of the Latino/a community.

Unidad-based alignments also appear to mediate the practices of *platicar* (chat, talk) and *defender derechos* (defending one’s rights). For example, in a discussion of the most important facets of ISC, P1 offers,

“*¿Las cosas (más importantes)? ...Pues, ¿la unión? La unidad de las personas para las marchas para los meetings, las juntas que hacen aquí, las pláticas*” (The (most important) things?...Well, the unity? The unity of people for the marches, for the meetings, the get-togethers they do here, the talks) (TP1; L52-53)

Here, P1 offers several community-level public communication events (marches, meetings, get-togethers), as well as the smaller scale communication events (*una plática*) as demonstrating *unidad*-based relationships. These events also demonstrate an *abogar* (advocacy)-based alignment, which I discuss later in this chapter. Additionally, P27 names *defender tus derechos* (defending your rights) as mediated by *unidad*-based relational alignments at ISC. As P27 says,

Todo tiene una unidad todo está ligado pero, está enfocado con el sentido de aprender...de participar, de no tener miedo, de defender tus derechos (They are all united. Everyone is linked, but is focused with the sense of learning...of participating, of not being afraid, of defending your rights) (T18; L329-330)

Here, P27, like P1 describes various facets of *unidad* including defending one's rights, in both cases a reference to immigrant rights. Through this excerpt, P27 also speaks to the unique nature of an immigration related context by offering that the unity that people feel at ISC exists in part because of a common focus on learning, participating in community events, combating fear, and learning to defend the rights that one has living in the United States. These needs are introduced as a result of transitions associated with immigration.

Communication Builds *Unidad*. The second way that community members discuss *unidad*-based relational alignments at ISC is that some communication practices can build or support *unidad*, in addition to marking or demonstrating this type of alignment. As evidence of this understanding of the relationship between communication and feelings of *unidad*, P22 offers the following example,

Si es muy importante la comunicación porque a través de la comunicación...mucha gente se va a informar, se va a enterar que hay...que hay en la comunidad ¿verdad? Porque aquí es una comunidad, ISC es una comunidad y de allí podríamos crecer ¿verdad? Comunidad se podría...es de...unir y podría crecer más...Más unida tiene, más poder, no? Pues, si es importante la comunicación para ISC (Yes, communication is very important because through communication...lots of people go to inform, go to find out that there...what there is in the community, right? Because it is a community here, ISC is a community. And there we can grow, right? The community can...um...unite and can grow more...The more unity (the community) has, the more power, right? So, yes communication is important for ISC) (T13; L65-70)

Here, P22, describes the practices of *comunicación* (communication), *informar* (informing), and *enterar* (finding out about) as helping to build a united community at ISC. This community member also references a community building function (Carbaugh, 1989), which results in a community with power. In this way, P22 describes

communication as a way to generate collective power, understood in this case as the social influence. Ultimately, P22 suggests that communication within the larger Latino/a community is at least in part responsible for creating *unidad*-based relationships.

Unidad Makes ISC Unique. Finally, community members discuss *unidad*-based alignments (Covarrubias, 2002) among those at ISC as making ISC different from other places where Latino/a immigrants can seek resources in the United States. This section regarding *unidad*-based relationships opened with a discussion from P29. Through this excerpt, P29 says,

Y aquí en ISC eso tenemos, una comunidad que nos ayudamos, que nos preocupamos, que nos reímos, lloramos juntos si algo pasa somos una comunidad unida (And here at ISC, we have this, a community where we help one another, where we worry about one another, where we laugh, we cry together if something happens. We are a united community) (T20; L117-121)

Here, P29 claims that the practices of helping, worrying, laughing, and crying together mark ISC as a unique and united community. This community member's discussion underscores ISC community members' understanding of themselves as communal (Carbaugh, 1989, 2007; Covarrubias, 2002; Philipsen, 1992). In other words, those at ISC see themselves first and foremost as tied to one another. Moreover, the following exchange between two ISC community members, P12 and P13, further illustrates this idea that unity marks ISC as unique.

P13: Pienso que hay mucha unidad y todas comparten y somos como amigos, se ayudan (I think that lots of unity and they all share and we are like friends, the help each other)

P12: Solidaridad (Solidarity)

P13: Y por eso, por eso es diferente. Porque en otras escuelas es cada quién. (And because of this, because of this it is different. Because in other schools it is to each their own) (T4; L252-254)

Through this discussion, P13 first offers that the communicative practice of *compartir* (to share) is something that marks *unidad*-based relationships at ISC. Then, P13 later suggests that this ability to share, the friendship, the help, and P12's assertion of *solidaridad* (solidarity), make ISC different from other schools. By referring to the other schools as "*cada quién*" (each to their own), P13 speaks to the individual nature of the U.S. American education system, which she contrasts with ISC by mentioning the *unidad*-based alignment, which is inherently communal. Another community member, P18, further suggests that *unidad* is culturally important by saying, "*Y eso es importante para los Hispanos, estar unidos*" (And this is important for Hispanics, to be united) (T9; L51-52). Here, P18 takes the discussion of P13 further to indicate that *unidad* is not only important in a Latino run organization such as ISC, but is also important for the larger Latino/Hispano immigrant community because of the potential to work together, for large scale benefits for all parties.

I not only observed *unidad*-based relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002) manifesting in the talk of community members at ISC, but I also discovered this alignment to be evident in the physical artifacts present in the space that ISC occupies. On the West wall in the large open space that ISC physically occupies, a large quilt hangs from the ceiling to the floor, covering a large window. The quilt itself is roughly 12 feet long by 12 feet wide, with a purple border and several multi-colored patches. Among these patches are white pieces of cloth, each piece covered with writing in both English and Spanish. The squares with writing are also dated, to the fall months of 2009, at least one year prior to the inauguration of ISC. The writing appears to be thematic, and relates to the hopes and goals that the founders of ISC have for the support center, which include

the creation *unidad*-based relational alignments. For example, this statement dated September 30, 2009 offers,

Mi sueño es tener un lugar donde los inmigrantes podamos reunirnos, compartir ideas, aprender nuevas habilidades, celebrar nuestros triunfos y luchar juntos por nuestros derechos en este país (My dream is to a place where we as immigrants can reunite, share ideas, learn new skills, celebrate our triumphs and fight together for our rights in this country) (FN 2.13a)

By using the plural *nosotros* (we) verb conjugation, the writer implies membership in the Latino/a immigrant community and offers his/her goals for ISC, including *reunirnos* (reuniting ourselves), suggesting a preference for re-creating extant community *unidad*. This community member also describes the ability to use the communication practices of *compartir ideas* (sharing ideas), *celebrar triunfos* (celebrating triumphs), and *luchar por los derechos* (fighting for our rights), by using the subjunctive plural *nosotros* (we) conjugation of the Spanish verb *poder* (to be able to). In other words, this community member's hopes, prior to the inauguration of ISC, that community members will be able to employ those practices to build community unity and fight for the ability to have recognized rights in the United States.

A statement written by a female community member also addresses hope for *unidad*, among other potential impacts of ISC on the lives of the Latino/a community. She writes about wanting, "*Un lugar dónde haya mucha unida y apoyo dónde la comunidad se sienta comfortable [sic cómoda] y en paz*" (A place where there would be lots of unity and support where the community feels comfortable and in peace) (FN 2.13a). In this case, the female writer describes several favorable outcomes associated with the creation of ISC including *unidad* (unity), *apoyo* (support), and *sentir cómoda y en paz* (to feel comfortable and in peace).

Finally, one other writer mentions her *sueño* (dream) by writing,

Mi sueño es...Que haya una unión de culturas, herencias y experiencias. Para poder, trabajar, respetar y apoyarnos unos a otros! Y educarnos más para el futuro de nuestros hijos (My dream is...that there would be a union of cultures, heritage, and experiences. To be able to work, respect, and support one another! And educate us more for the future of our children) (FN 2.13a)

This community member's writing about *unidad* is more specific, that she seeks unity of culture, heritage and experience, to the end of supporting "unos a otros" (one another). I propose that through this writing, and the use of the plural *nosotros* (we) form, this community member demonstrates a preference for *unidad*-based relational alignments among those at ISC (Covarrubias, 2002).

Abogar

Community members' talk also reveals an *abogar* (advocacy)-based relational alignment (Covarrubias, 2002) at ISC. In other words, ISC community members see themselves as members of communities with inalienable rights as humans, who deserve to have these rights recognized by others (Philipsen, 1992). Therefore, this relational alignment is based on perceptions of equality of all people, because they are human (Covarrubias, 2002; Philipsen, 1992).

One of the principle goals of the ISC is to involve members of the Latino/a immigrant community in advocacy work, which takes the shape of interactions with local, state, and national level politicians and also producing social media such as Youtube videos, Facebook posts, and Tumblr blogs that provide information about the lived experiences of the Latino/a immigrant community from a first person perspective. Throughout community members' discussions of engaging in advocacy work, they describe advocacy as communal, or engaged simultaneously by multiple members of the

Latino/a community, rather than individually. Their talk about advocacy also centered on discussions of defending *derechos* (rights) of immigrants, *luchar* (fighting) for a life in the United States, using personal *historias* (stories) to accurately represent the immigrant community, and ensuring that the *voces* (voices) of Latino/a immigrants are heard in the United States. In the following section, I describe how ISC promotes face-to-face interactions between members of the Latino/a immigrant community and local, state, and national level politicians and supports the creation of social media, toward the goal of collectively advocating on behalf of their community. Then, I describe how this relational alignment (Covarrubias, 2002) concerns defending rights, fighting for a life in the United States, using stories, and ensuring that voices of immigrants are heard.

Interactions with Politicians. In an earlier discussion of *confianza*-based relationships, I offered an excerpt from P25, who describes *confianza* as the assurance that one would be listened to by another. Through his discussion of *confianza* and the communicative practice of *ser escuchado/a* (to be listened to), P25 describes a specific audience for his (and presumably other members of ISC) communication, politicians who work locally, but have broad political influence. As P25 explains,

Sí hay diálogos con congresistas con que sea con la gobernadora cuando va el grupo a hablar con la gobernadora van a ser, estamos confiando que vamos a ser escuchados que vamos a tener un resultado positivo para nuestra vida (If there are dialogues with congress women with whoever, with the governor, when the group goes to speak with the governor, they are going to be, we are trusting that we will be listened to, we will have a positive result for our lives) (T16; L148-151)

In this case, P25 uses a face-to-face meeting with politicians such as a Congresswoman or the Governor as an example for how *confianza* may shape their ability to participate in a particular communication practice, in this case a *diálogo* (dialogue). Because at the

time of this interview, ISC had recently hosted several *diálogos* with local politicians, he is likely referencing these face-to-face interactions. Here, he explains how feelings of mutual trust, interpersonal closeness, and assumptions of confidentiality are not only possible in his interactions with a politician, but are necessary to ensure that there will be positive results of the communication practice for the Latino/a immigrant community, including *ser escuchado/a* (being listened to). For example, the topic of the *diálogo* (dialogue) with the Congresswoman concerned deportation and family reunification. Therefore, by participating in the dialogue, community members see themselves as advocating for the immigrant community (Carbaugh, 2007; Hymes, 1972/1986; Philipsen, 1992).

A blog posted on ISC's website and written by an ISC staff member describes a "*Cumbre de Liderazgo*" (Leadership Summit) attended by the staff of all three organizations that comprise the ISC (domestic violence prevention group, community organizing group, and the adult education group). Through a description of the leadership summit, this staff member describes how the entire ISC staff learned to employ a particular kind of communication practice when engaging in face-to-face interactions with politicians. As this staff member writes,

En Enero se realizó un cumbre de liderazgo entre los líderes de ISC, (organización hermana), y (otra organización hermana) donde aprendimos técnicas sobre como contar nuestra historia en una manera efectiva. Lo más genial fue que tuvimos la oportunidad de practicar nuestros mensajes con algunos políticos que llegaron en apoyo de nuestra comunidad (In January we had a leadership summit between the leaders of ISC, (sister organization), and (sister organization), where we learned techniques for telling our stories in an effective manner. The best part was that we had the opportunity to practice our messages with some politicians that arrived in support of our community) (BS 2.11)

Through this blog, the ISC staff member described learning how to *contar historias* (telling stories) effectively at the leadership summit as part of *practicar mensajes* (practicing messages) with those who support the Latino/a immigrant community. Therefore, via the communication practices of *contar historias* and *practicar mensajes* community members view themselves as advocating face-to-face on behalf of the Latino/a immigrant community to politicians who shape immigration related legislation.

A blog post written by an ISC community member and posted on the ISC website provides another example of how ISC community members participate in advocacy through face-to-face interactions with politicians. In this case, this ISC community member describes her participation in the state legislative session, and explains why she believes this type of advocacy work, which involves face-to-face interaction with politicians, is important. As this community member puts it,

También es bien importante comunicarnos entre nosotros, como con nuestros líderes (senadores y legisladores) y dejar a un lado la pasividad o la mentalidad de que todo lo resolverán otros (It is also very important to communicate among ourselves, with our leaders (Senators and Legislators) and leave aside the passivity or the mentality that others will resolve everything) (BS 2.14)

Through this blog entry, this community member specifically describes the importance of *comunicarnos* (communicating among ourselves) and also names Senators and legislators as important participants in this face-to-face communication. She goes on to say that passivity, or a lack of action on the part of the Latino/a immigrant community, will not result in positive changes for their community. In other words, for this ISC community member, *comunicación* (communication) is an act of advocacy.

Through the three excerpts described above, ISC community members explain how they advocate on behalf of the Latino/a immigrant community through the use of the

face-to-face communication practices of *diálogos* (dialogues), *contar historias* (telling stories), *practicar mensajes* (practicing messages), and *comunicación* (communication).

In addition to describing the use of face-to-face communication practices, ISC community members also discussed creating social media as a way to advocate on behalf of their community. In the next section, I describe how community members are creating their own social media to engage in advocacy work.

Social Media. When I first arrived at ISC in January of 2011 to conduct the pilot study for the current research, few ISC community members produced their own social media. By the time I returned to ISC in January of 2013, ISC had hired a director of social media, who was working directly with the computer skills instructor to teach a class devoted entirely to “*Medios de Movimiento*” or Media of Movements. ISC community members refer to this class as the “*Medios*” (Media) class. The principle goal of their course is to introduce the ISC community to ways to engage in advocacy to support their rights as immigrants living in the United States through the production of their own social media. As a result, the class is devoted to teaching community members how to use programs such as PowerPoint, Facebook, Twitter, and Tumblr blogs to explain their experiences as immigrants living in the United States to others and to connect with their friends and families. When I asked the instructor of the *Medios* class about the importance of sharing the stories of the Latino/a immigrant community, he offered the following response,

P34: Because people share stories all the time you know, but how...how do we do it, how do we actively participate in media while still doing that you know too and how do we make sure we're like...we're really saying what we...you know and like we're making sure that I'm not stepping the bounds of like ok this is like private talk and this is like media (T25; L793-797)

Through this excerpt, P34 explains the tension he feels when teaching community members how to share their stories publically. He describes some talk as “private talk” and other talk as “media.” In other words, P34 identifies the risks associated with using stories to advocate on behalf of the Latino/a immigrant community.

Not only are ISC community members encouraged by ISC staff to create their own social media messages, but they are also encouraged to participate in ISC sponsored social media campaigns. For example, one message posted on ISC’s Facebook page encouraged community members to participate by signing a petition, disseminated via social media.

Firme la petición para pedirles a los miembros del Comité Judicial del Senado que aseguren que la reforma migratoria sea justa para las mujeres. (Sign the petition to request that the members of the Senate Judicial Committee ensures that the immigration reform will be fair for women) (FB 5.13)

In this case, this Facebook post asks ISC community members to sign a petition, or align themselves personally, with a social issue promoted by ISC. The use of the metacommunicative term *pedir* (to request) indicates that the function of this social media petition is to make a request of state level politicians for the benefit of female members of the immigrant community.

In summary, ISC community members are encouraged in the classes offered at ISC, like the *Medios Transformativos* class, to create their own social media to advocate for the ethical treatment of immigrants. The ISC staff member who works as the director of social media also created several social media accounts for ISC itself, including a Facebook page and a blog for the ISC website. Through these social media outlets, ISC staff members call for the participation of the ISC community in social media campaigns concerning immigrant rights issues. These social media efforts and the face-to-face

interactions with politicians comprise the advocacy efforts of ISC. All of these advocacy efforts are undertaken collectively by the ISC community, rather than individually.

Collective Advocacy. It is important to understand that when ISC community members are discussing engaging in advocacy-based communication practices, they are primarily describing these practices as promoting collective benefits of the Latino/a community, rather than for the benefit of individual members. For example, P30, a Latina immigrant and ISC community member explains why she participates in the marches put on by the community-organizing sister organization of ISC. As P30 says,

Porque cuando hablas con otras personas les dices “Oh yo voy apoyarnos en una marcha.” Me dices, “Tú no necesita. Tú tienes los papeles, no necesitas hacer.” Y yo digo, “Pues, es que estoy apoyando a la comunidad.” “Y que ganas con andar allí?” “Nada,” dije. “Nada de mi satisfacción que estoy ayudándoles” (Because when you talk with other people you say to them, “Oh I will go to support us in the march.” They say to me, “You don’t need it. You have your papers, you don’t have to do it.” And I say, “Well, it is because I am helping the community.” “And what benefits come from going there?” “Nothing.” I said. “Nothing but my satisfaction that I am helping them”) (T21; L241-245)

Through this utterance, P30 describes an interaction that she has had with others regarding her participation. More specifically, she describes how some members of the Latino/a immigrant community do not understand why she participates in events that advocate for immigrant rights, such as marches, when she has the rights associated with citizenship in the United States. In this case, P30 responds by noting the satisfaction she feels from helping her community, and implicates satisfaction to feeling related to her participation in collective advocacy. Her talk therefore demonstrates that advocacy at ISC is for the benefit of the larger community, not individuals. In addition to discussing the modes of communication (Carbaugh, 1989) associated with the advocacy-based relational alignment (Covarrubias, 2002) of face-to-face and social media enactments, and the

collective nature of the alignment, ISC community members also describe four additional communicative practices that are facets of advocacy including *defender derechos* (defending rights), *luchar* (fighting) for a life in the United States, using *historias* (stories) to help others understand what it means to live as an immigrant in the United States, and ensuring that the *voces* (voices) of the community are heard.

Derechos. One of the most powerful utterances of the current research came from the pilot study. I asked ISC community members what was the most important lesson that they had learned in their time at ISC, and one community member explains that she had learned that she is a person of value, with rights as a human that are worth defending. As P2 puts it,

Pues a respetarme. Y me han enseñado también...que me valoran. Que no porque soy inmigrante no, no vale. No valgo menos que los demás. Y me han enseñado también que pues a defenderme (Well, to respect myself. And they also taught me...that they value me. That it's not because I am an immigrant I don't matter. I'm not worth less than everyone else. And they taught me also that, well, to defend myself) (TP2; L35-37)

Through this utterance, P2 explains that it was through her participation at ISC that she learned of her value as a person, suggesting that prior to her participation she did not understand her value. Furthermore, she indicates that because of her value, which is not reduced because of her status as an immigrant, she is worthy of defending. Her talk therefore demonstrates the presence of an *abogar* (advocacy)-based alignment (Covarrubias, 2002), manifesting in the use of the metacommunicative practice of *defenderme* (defending myself). In other words, her talk illumines her understanding of herself as a person of value, worthy of respect and defense, which inherently shapes the way she will interact with others in the future.

A teacher at ISC, who is herself a Mexican immigrant, also employs the metacommunicative term *defender* to describe the holistic nature of the programming provided by the three sister organizations that comprise ISC. As P27 explains,

Todo está ligado pero, está enfocado con el sentido de aprender...de participar, de no tener miedo, de defender tus derechos. Porque aquí es diferente. Si estás aquí tienes que adaptarte también sin perder tu raíz (Everything is linked, but it is focused on the sense of learning...of participating, of not being afraid, of defending your rights. Because it is different here. If you are here you have to adapt yourself also, without losing your race) (T18; L329-333)

Here, P27 uses the phrase *está ligado* (it is linked) to describe ISC's programming as holistic and strategically addressing the diverse needs of the Latino/a immigrant community. She indicates that when people come to the United States from their countries of origin, different needs arise, circumstances change and people often become afraid. However, through participation at ISC, which includes learning about how to *defender tus derechos* (defending your rights), community members can *adaptar* (adapt) to life in the United States without giving up their cultural values. Therefore, P27 implicates advocacy, specifically through *defender derechos* (defending rights) as a necessary component of life for immigrants living in the United States.

Another ISC community member describes *defender derechos* as one of the skills that she has learned via her participation at ISC. As P19 says,

Pues, solo que me ayudaba mucho, me ayudaba mucho a conocer derechos que yo no conocía (Well, only that it helped me a lot, it helped me a lot to learn the rights that I didn't know) (T10; L114-115)

This utterance is in response to my question concerning what ISC community members tell other members of the larger Latino/a immigrant community about their participation at this support center. Here, P19 indicates that part of the help that ISC offered to her was information about the rights that she has as an immigrant living in the United States that

she did not previously know. In addition to discussing *defender derechos*, community members also used the term *luchar* (to fight) to describe their advocacy work.

Luchar. ISC community members describe *luchar* (fighting) to have a life in the United States. For example, a blog entry posted on ISC's website offers the following use of *luchar*,

Es maravillosos compartir estas experiencias padres, madres, pequeños, jóvenes, abuelos—todos con un mismo fin de luchar por la comunidad y con unidad, respeto, y mucho amor (It is marvelous to share these experiences, fathers, mothers, little ones, young people, grandparents—all with the same end of fighting for the community and with unity, respect, and lots of love) (BS 2.14c)

This blog post employs the metacommunicative term *compartir* (to share) to describe how sharing experiences of multiple generations of the ISC community can assist the greater ISC community in reaching their end of collective advocacy. The writer of this blog post, presumably an ISC staff member, also describes the characteristics of this *lucha* (fight) including *unidad* (unity), *respeto* (respect), and *mucho amor* (a lot of love).

Earlier in this chapter within the discussion of *unidad* (unity), I described a quilt that hangs on the west wall of the ISC. The quilt has several patches with messages written on them. Each patch contains a description of what the group of founding community members of ISC hoped the support center would become. One of the messages also employs the metacommunicative term of *compartir*. As this patch says,

Un lugar seguro donde la comunidad pueda compartir sus ideas. También un lugar donde todos podamos luchar por un mismo sueño (A secure place where the community could share their ideas. Also a place where everyone can fight for the same dream)(FN 2.13a)

In this case, *compartir* is used to describe the mutual exchange of ideas that can then be used to *luchar* for a life in the United States. This message specifically identifies the hope

that ISC would be *seguro*, or a place that community members would feel secure enough to share their ideas that will help in the *lucha*.

Finally, an ISC community member, P19, describes engaging in a *lucha* through the use of personal *historias* (stories). As P19 says,

Yo pienso que si porque es como un...como algo que te ayuda salir adelante. Yo pienso que es algo que, no sé si es la palabra de...de motivar a salir adelante cuando tú escuchas historias de gente de cómo ha luchado por llegar aquí y...y se ha podido superar (I think so because it is like a...like something that helps you to be successful. I think that it something that, I don't know if it is the word to...to motivate to be successful because when you listen to stories of people of how they have fought to come here and...and have been able to improve (their lives)) (T10; L 39-41)

Through this utterance, P19 describes the use of personal *historias* (stories) as a communication practice that can help members of the ISC community *salir adelante* (to be successful) in the United States. These *historias* help to inform the larger immigrant community of the ways that Latino/a immigrants must *luchar* (fight) to get to the United States and continue to fight for a life once in this country.

Historias. For members of the ISC community, *contar historias* (telling stories) and *compartir historias* (sharing stories) serves an important advocacy function (Carbaugh, 1989). Several members of the ISC community describe the utility of their personal stories for letting those without experiences as immigrants understand their lives. For example, as P14 says,

Entonces, por eso es importante que contemos nuestras historias para, para que la gente sepa como somos (So, because of this it is important that we tell our stories so, so that the people could know who we are) (T5; L201-202)

In this utterance P14 describes using the communication practice of *contar historias* (telling stories) as a means of letting others know them. Here, P14 indicates that the larger community may have misconceptions about the Latino/a immigrant community

and that this communication practice may be a means of discrediting these misconceptions and advocating on behalf of the community. By using the “we” plural conjugation of *contar* (*contemos*), this community member speaks to the collective nature of advocacy. Although community members tell their stories individually, suggesting a speech act (Carbaugh, 1989, Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976), if engaged simultaneously, there may be collective benefits. Another community member, P31, also suggests that *historias* can help others understand the experiences of Latino/a immigrants. As she explains,

Y si estas historias son usadas para que la comunidad en general sepa que está pasando, que es tan difícil, o que es tan fácil en la vida (And if these stories are used so that the community in general could know what is happening, what is difficult or what is easy in life) (T22; L249-251)

In this case, P31 describes how telling stories can help those without experience immigrating to the United States understand the experiences of Latino/a immigrants living in this country. Storytelling, then, is a way for ISC community members to share their lives with their new U.S. American neighbors and to work toward a mutual understanding of the challenges faced by immigrants living in this country. Another way that ISC community members discuss the advocacy-based alignment (Covarrubias, 2002) is as the *voces* (voices) of the community.

Voz. ISC community members use the term *voz* (voice) to describe the expressed experiences, opinions, and feelings of those at ISC. Their talk reveals three different language forms for discussing *voz* as a component of an *abogar*-based alignment (Covarrubias, 2002). These language forms include *darle voz* (give them voice), *hacer la voz ser escuchada* (to make the voice listened to), and *alzar la voz* (raising the voice). In

this section I describe how each of these language forms implicates *voz* as a central component of *abogar*-based relationships.

Darle voz. First, one ISC community member uses the term *historia* (story) to describe one of the components of *voz* at ISC. More specifically, P9, a community member and graduate student who plans to conduct her own academic research at ISC, describes *historias* as part of *voz*. As P9 explains,

Está lleno de historias importantes. Como integrarlas, como analizarlas, como realmente darle voz a las personas eso es un reto grande pero eso quiero hacer. (It is full of important stories. How to integrate them, how to analyze them, how to really give voice to the people, this is a big challenge, but this is what I want to do) (T2; L304-305)

Here, P9, who is an ISC staff member and Latina immigrant herself, describes ISC as “*lleno de historias importantes*” (full of important stories). In other words, each community member has an important story related to his or her experiences as an immigrant. By using the term *reto* (challenge), she indicates that one of the major challenges of this immigrant support center is to ensure that telling or sharing these stories are available communication practices for speakers at ISC because these stories at least partially comprise their *voz* (voice). Therefore, because these stories are components of voice, their talk further implicates *darle voz* (giving voice) as an enactment of the *abogar* alignment (Covarrubias, 2002).

Ser escuchada. The second form that ISC community members use to describe *voz* is through the use of the “recurring and co-occurring” term (Covarrubias, 2002, p. 88) *ser escuchada* (to be listened to). As P26, an ISC instructor and immigrant himself, explains,

Nos estamos dando mucho de fotografía, de video, para poder es de...hacer la voz de la comunidad ser escuchada no solamente en el estado pero en el país (We

are giving lots of photography, video, to be able to um...make the voice of the community be heard not only in the estate but in the country) (T17; L209-212)

Through this utterance, P26 describes that by using the social media tools that the instructors in the *Medios* (Media) class teach, community members are making their voices listened to by others. This staff member goes on to say that the audience for these *voces* (voices) is not only local, but also at the state and national level. In other words, for ISC community members, ensuring that their voices are listened to via social media tools is an enactment of advocacy.

Alzar La Voz. The final way that community members describe *voz* as a component of an *abogar*-based alignment (Covarrubias, 2002) is through the use of the phase *alzar la voz* (raising one's voice). As P14 says,

Pero, a veces las personas inmigrantes no tenemos como un espacio para nosotros para alzar nuestra voz para decir, "Ok esta está pasando en mi comunidad. Sea bueno, sea malo ¿verdad? (But, sometimes the immigrant people we do not have like a space for us to raise our voices to say, "ok, this is happening in my community." It could be good, it could be bad, right?) (T5; L191-193)

Here, P14 explains that *alzar la voz* (raising one's voice) is a way to let others know about what is happening in the immigrant community, both positive and negative. In other words, this communication practice is a way to advocate on behalf of the immigrant community by making others aware of what immigrants in the United States are facing in their everyday lives. She also implicates ISC as a specific place where the communication practice of *alzar la voz* is available for speakers, indicating that they are not able to employ this practice in all contexts.

In summary, ISC community members use three different language forms to describe the *voz* (voice) as a central component of the *abogar*-based relational alignment

(Covarrubias, 2002). These language forms include *darle voz* (giving them voice), *hacer la voz ser escuchada* (to make the voices be listened to), and *alzar la voz* (raising one's voice). Each of these language forms describes *voz* as representing the expressed experiences, opinions, and feelings of ISC community members, which can and should be an available communication practice for speakers to advocate on behalf of the ISC community.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I identified and described six different relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002) that I treat as mediating the 24 available communication practices discussed in chapter four. These relational alignments are *confianza* (trust, interpersonal closeness, confidentiality)-based, quasi-familial (family like) (Covarrubias, 2002, p. 55), *ayuda* (help)-based, *apoyo* (support)-based, *unidad* (unity)-based, and *abogar* (advocacy)-based. Following the principles of the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974; Philipsen, 1992), I understand these relational alignments and mediated communication practices to be fundamentally shaped by the context in which they manifest. Therefore, I propose that processes of immigration introduce new circumstances into the lives of Latin American immigrant community members at ISC (Donato, 2011; Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjivar, 2000, 2003; Parrado & Flippen, 2005; Pessar, 2003). These new circumstances make some of these taken-for-granted assumptions about the self and others, known as relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002), more important and also introduce new needs resulting in relational alignments that may not have been important in their countries of origin. These relational alignments both make communication practices available and

also shape their uses and meanings (Covarrubias, 2002; Hymes, 1972/1986).

Furthermore, I propose that ISC community members see themselves as naturally communal people who understand themselves as equal, and seek to help themselves and others reach their goal of building successful lives in the United States (Carbaugh, 1989, 2007; Hymes, 1972/1986; Philipsen, 1992). Finally, the communication practices that ISC community members identify as available, help accomplish their goal of being successful. In the following section, I unpack each of these claims, describing how they help me to understand the communication practices of speakers at ISC.

First, processes of immigration introduce new circumstances into the lives of the Latino/a immigrant community members at ISC (Donato, 2011; Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjívar, 2000; Parrado & Flippen, 2005; Pessar, 2003). The changes that accompany a large scale life change, such as transitioning into a new country and encountering new cultures, makes some of the assumptions about the self and others, or relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002) more important in the United States than in their countries of origin. In this chapter, I indicated that ISC community members understood *confianza* (trust, interpersonal closeness, confidentiality) in much the same ways that Fitch's (1998) middle-class Colombian and Covarrubias's (2002) working class Mexican speakers did. However, several ISC community members explain that because of the uncertainty about whom one could trust, feel close to, and assume confidentiality of talk, *confianza*-based relationships were difficult to build in the United States. Community members also explain that although these relationships are difficult to build, they are fundamentally important for people who face many challenges associated with living in a new country.

Immigration also introduces and makes necessary new relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002). For example, the *abogar* (advocacy)-based relational alignment is based on the need to *defender derechos* (defend rights) and *luchar* (fight) for a life in the United States. Because these communication practices were likely unnecessary for community member prior to their arrival in the United States, immigration itself introduced a new set of circumstances, resulting in a new set of assumptions about the self and others (Covarrubias, 2002).

Second, I propose that these relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002) make communication practices available for speakers at ISC and shape their uses and meanings for users (Hymes, 1972/1986), and vice versa. In other words, the communication practices that I identified in chapter four are available in part because of the ways that community members understand themselves and others at ISC. For example, earlier in this chapter, within the discussion of the *ayuda* (help)-based alignment, I provided the following excerpt from P18,

Te sientes la confianza de abrir tú corazón y...y decir las cosas que, que tienes guardarlas adentro y te ayudan como así, como ahh, a expresarte con...con mucha confianza (You feel the trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality to open your heart and...and say the things that...that you have had to keep inside and they help you like that, like ahhh, to express yourself with...with lots of trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality) (T9; L63-65)

Through this utterance, P18 uses the metacommunicative terms *abrir tú corazón* (open your heart), *decir* (to say), *guardar adentro* (keep inside), and *expresarte* (express yourself) and also implicates the relational alignments of *confianza* (trust, interpersonal closeness, confidentiality) and *ayudar* (help). In this case, the ability to self-disclose feelings, experiences, and opinions (demonstrated through the terms *abrir tu corazón* and *expresarte*) rather than keeping this information inside (*guardar adentro*), requires a

confianza-based relationship, which is built through an *ayuda* (help)-based relationship. This utterance demonstrates not only the “recurrence and co-occurrence” of several available practices (Covarrubias, 2002, p. 88), but also describes two coordinating relational alignments that shape their uses and meanings (Hymes, 1972/1986).

Third, I propose that ISC community members understand themselves as inherently communal people. In other words, they see themselves as members of families and the ISC community, rather than simply as individuals (Carbaugh, 1989, 2005; 2007; Hymes, 1972/1986; Philipsen, 1992). Closely related to their communal orientation, is community members’ assumption that they are equal to one another, rather than engaged in inequity-based relationships (Covarrubias, 2002). For example, within the above discussion of quasi-familial relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002), P14 employs the metaphor of *hombro a hombro* (shoulder to shoulder) to describe the equity-based relationships among those at ISC. She suggests that regardless of one’s community of origin, documentation status in the United States or any other part of one’s background, everyone at ISC is treated equally.

I suggest that community members’ communal nature and perceptions of equity result in a desire to assist one another in accomplishing the community’s goal of making successful lives in the United States. ISC’s primary task is to assist community members in accomplishing this goal. One community member, P28, explains that community members’ desire to help one another is inherently cultural. As P28 puts it,

Somos serviciales la mayoría de las personas Hispánicas. Siempre están para servir al prójimo y en este país, la mayoría de las personas, yo estoy hablando en general, nada más viven para ellos mismos (The majority of Hispanic people we are attentive. They are always there to serve the other and in this country, the majority of people, I am speaking in general, live no more for themselves) (T19; L182-184)

In this case, P28 compares and contrasts the Hispanic community with the general United States population to indicate that ISC community members are culturally inclined to help one another, whereas the general United States population is characterized by individualism. By using the term “*siempre*” and “*la mayoría de las personas Hispanas,*” P28 describes not only the ISC community, but the Hispanic population generally to name the *ayuda* (help) based alignment as a “transcontextual” relational alignment (Covarrubias, 2002, p. 32). This utterance, as well as the talk of other ISC community members, suggests a communal orientation to the self and others (Covarrubias, 2002, p. 33), and a desire to help one another achieve their goal of being successful in the United States.

In addition to understanding themselves as communal and equal, I propose that community members at ISC also see themselves as inherently political people (Philipsen, 1992). Both Leighter and Castor (2009) and Leighter and Black (2010) suggested that the metacommunicative practices of a group of people are useful for understanding how they engage in advocacy work. Philipsen (1975; 1992) described the Teamsterville speech community as engaging in advocacy by speaking to a proxy, who would then advocate on behalf of the community. Conversely, at ISC, staff members are actively teaching Latino/a immigrants to advocate for themselves by speaking directly (face-to-face) with local, state, and national level politicians about immigration and education related issues. Furthermore, through the *Medios* (Media) class, ISC community members practice using Twitter, Facebook, and Tumblr blogs to share their stories related to immigration, and thus advocate on behalf on the Latino/a immigrant community. ISC staff members also use these social media tools to engage Latino/a immigrants in online campaigns to

advocate for immigrant rights. Therefore, by virtue of their direct participation in both face-to-face and social media advocacy work, I suggest that ISC community members understand themselves to be inherently political people, with rights worthy of defending (Philipsen, 1992; 1975).

Finally, I propose that the communication practices that I described in chapter four, which are culturally unique and meaningful for their users (Carbaugh, 2007; Philipsen, 1992, 1997), help accomplish their goals. The extant communication studies literature concerning immigration has primarily concerned theories of acculturation (Kim 1977, 2005), representation of immigrants in the U.S. American mass media (Ono & Sloop, 2002; Santa Ana, Morán, & Sanchez, 1998; Sowards & Pineda, 2013), auto-ethnographic accounts (Amaya, 2007), and the communication practices of immigrants themselves (Cheng, 2012; de Fina & King, 2011; Henry, 1999; Homsey & Sandel, 2012). Furthermore, the Latin American immigration literature from other social science disciplines (primarily sociology) mostly discusses communication in terms of the information and social support giving and receiving function (Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; 2003; Parrado & Flippen, 2005; Pessar, 2003; Menjivar, 2000). The 24 communication practices and the relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002) that mediate them demonstrate that communication at ISC serves much more than an information and social support giving and receiving function (Carbaugh, 1989), described in the sociological literature. For example, ISC community members describe several different functions of the use of their available communication practices including building a united community, identifying problems within the ISC community, solving problems, providing psycho-emotional support, building solidarity among members of the

immigrant community, promoting education, and advocating for improved circumstances. These functions of communication practices, as mediated by different relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002), are context specific (Carbaugh, 1989). In other words, ISC community members use their communication in strategic ways to accomplish particular social goals, such as those mentioned above (Covarrubias, 2002; Carbaugh, 1989, 2007; Philipsen, 1992, 1997; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005).

In summary, the immigration context makes the relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002) that I discussed throughout this chapter more salient for users as well as introduces new relational alignments that become necessary given the context. These available relational alignments mediate the communication practices discussed in chapter four, and help community members reach their goals, including their overall goal of being successful in the United States. In the next chapter, chapter 6, I summarize the current study and revisit the practical, theoretical, personal, and methodological contributions of this investigation of metacommunication.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

In the current research, I investigate the metacommunicative practices of participants and staff members at an immigrant support center, which I refer to as ISC. I employ Hymes's (1962, 1972/1986, 1974; Philipsen, 1992) ethnography of communication to identify ISC community members' metacommunicative practices, which I assume denote available communication practices for ISC speakers, as well as the relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002) that help make these practices meaningful. In this section, I review the assumptive framework that guides the current research, as well as the primary argument. Then, I discuss how this research makes practical, theoretical, personal, and methodological contributions.

Assumptions

In investigating metacommunication, I work with a set of assumptions that are based on the extant research from the discipline of communication studies. First, communication is cultural and is context contingent (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974; Philipsen, 1992, 1997; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005). Second, the context of an Immigrant Support Center (ISC), used by members of the Latino/a immigrant community and the staff who serve them, shapes and is shaped by unique communication practices (Hymes, 1972/1986). Third, because the context and culture shape communication, the available communication practices for speakers are also context contingent (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974; Philipsen, 1992; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005). Fourth, by exploring the metacommunicative practices of speakers, or their talk about communication, these available communication practices can be identified (Carbaugh,

1989; Leichter & Black, 2010; Leichter & Castor, 2009; Philipsen, 1992, 1997; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005). Fifth, all speakers encode their talk, including their metacommunication, with information about how they see themselves, others, and the relationships between the two parties (Carbaugh, 1989). Covarrubias (2002) calls these orientations relational alignments. In other words, relational alignments mediate ISC community members' cultural metacommunicative practices. Sixth, the EOC is a useful tool for identifying available communication practices including their means and meanings for users, as well as the relational alignments that mediate these practices (Carbaugh, 1989, 2005, 2007; Covarrubias, 2002; Philipsen, 1992, 1997; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005; Leichter & Black, 2010; Leichter & Castor, 2009).

These assumptions comprise the framework that I used to formulate the guiding research questions. According to the principles of the EOC (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974) and following the suggestions of Lindlof and Taylor (2011), I first conducted a pilot study at ISC in the spring of 2011, which included two months of participant observation, interviews with seven participants, and the public document collection. I returned to ISC in the spring of 2013 and engaged in five months of participant observation, conducted interviews with 30 community members, and continued the collection of public documents. I employed Strauss and Corbin's (1990) and Charmaz's (2006) coding procedures from grounded theory to identify themes in the data. In total, I identified 24 available communication practices and six relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002) that I treat as mediating these communication practices. In the next section, I discuss how I use this data to make claims regarding how the communication

practices of speakers at ISC can be used to serve the Latino/a immigrant community living in the United States productively.

Argument

I propose that the uses and meanings (Hymes, 1972/1986) of the 24 available communication practices and mediating relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002) can be used by ISC community members to make use of resources provided at ISC and as a resource itself. When employing the 24 available communication practices, ISC community members see themselves as accomplishing several goals, as particular kinds of people, and as engaged in particular kinds of relationships (Carbaugh, 1989, 2005, 2007; Covarrubias, 2002; Philipsen, 1992). Furthermore, these communication practices and the relational alignments that make them meaningful (Covarrubias, 2002) have various functions (Carbaugh, 1989) for ISC speakers. These functions include information giving and receiving, community building, quasi-familial relationship building (Covarrubias, 2002), problem identification, problem solving, emotional support, education, and advocacy. These understandings of the self and other (relational alignments) include *confianza* (trust, interpersonal closeness, confidentiality) based (Covarrubias, 2002; Fitch, 1998), quasi-familial (family-like relationships, Covarrubias, 2002, p. 55), *ayuda* (help)-based, *apoyo* (support)-based, *unidad* (unity)-based, and *abogar* (advocacy)-based. Taken together, these metacommunicative practices, including their uses, meanings, and functions (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986), as well as their mediating relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002), suggest that communication serves as a resource itself that assists Latino/a immigrants to settle in the United States. In the following section, I discuss how ISC community members can use these communication

practices in their everyday lives at ISC (practical rationale), how these findings contribute to the extant body of literature regarding Latino/a immigration to the United States (theoretical), and how they shape my own understanding of metacommunication (personal), identity, and relationships, and the ethnography of communication as a theory and method (methodological) (Carbaugh, 1989, 2007; Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992).

Contributions

Practical. This research can practically contribute to the everyday functioning of ISC in at least two different ways. First, by identifying twenty-four available communication practices for speakers at ISC, classifying them as an act, event, or style, and describing their functions (Carbaugh, 1989), this research offers ISC staff members a large database of communication practices that community members understand as useful and meaningful (Hymes, 1972/1986), which can be used to shape programming at ISC. For example, ISC community members describe the communication practice of *compartir* (to share) as a speech act (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986; Searle, 1976) that is used to share stories regarding personal experiences, ideas, and feelings to other members of the ISC community. Additionally, community members report using this communication practice to provide help and support to others, build trust and solidarity within the ISC community, and identify problems that Latino/a immigrants face.

Given these community understandings of the available communication practice of *compartir*, ISC staff members who are tasked with creating classes and events at ISC, can be intentional about incorporating time and space for *compartir* (sharing) into their classes and events. For example, within the *Relaciones Saludables* (Healthy Relationships) class, several minutes could be set-aside formally for community members

to share their experiences related to a particular topic. Some ISC staff members indicate that sharing happens informally in the classroom setting, but making formal space for sharing may allow participants to engage this communication practice more frequently to achieve many positive outcomes. In other words, ISC community members can be more intentional about their use of these communication practices as resources.

Second, ISC staff members can apply the descriptions of the uses, meanings, and functions (Carbaugh, 1989; Hymes, 1972/1986) of the eight available speaking events to structure formal communication events at ISC. ISC staff members host several public speaking events for community members including *pláticas* (chats/talks), *diálogos* (dialogues), *juntas* (meetings), and *clases* (classes), and use these events to provide resources (information about immigrant rights, social and emotional support, problem identification and solving) to community members. For example, near the end of the Spring semester, one of the *Relaciones Saludables* (Healthy Relationships) teachers, who is herself a Mexican immigrant, hosted a series of four *Pláticas Comunitarias* (Community Talks). These *pláticas* were informal in nature and concerned topics of self-esteem and domestic violence prevention. When I asked why she chose to call the events *pláticas*, she explained,

Una plática es de confianza. En Relaciones Saludables (la clase) es una plática. Presentaciones son más formales (A talk is of trust/interpersonal closeness/confidentiality. In the Healthy Relationships class, the class is a talk. Presentations are more formal) (FN 4.30)

Through this utterance, this ISC staff member indicates that she strategically chose to name this series of speaking events *pláticas* because ISC community members (including herself) understand *pláticas* as denoting *confianza* (trust, interpersonal closeness, confidentiality). Because these speaking events concerned themes that may be sensitive

and emotional for participants, building *confianza* is essential to the success of the event. By contrasting a *plática* with a *presentación* (presentation), this ISC staff member suggests that the naming of formal speaking events matters, that these metacommunicative terms can impact the success of the event and therefore the community members' access to ISC resources. In other words, because ISC community members use particular metacommunicative terms strategically to accomplish their social goals (Covarrubias, 2002; Philipsen, 1992), ISC staff members must also use these terms strategically to productively serve the community. The detailed descriptions of the uses, meanings, functions, and content of the available communication practices (Carbaugh, 1989) provided in chapter four can allow ISC staff members to use these terms strategically to name public communication events at ISC that serve community members. In addition to offering practical contributions for ISC community members, this research also provides theoretical contributions.

Theoretical. The current research offers contributions to the ethnography of communication literature, the immigration literature from the discipline of communication studies, as well as the social scientific immigration literature. First, ISC community members' discussions of the uses and meanings (Hymes, 1972/1986) of different communication practices and the relational alignments that mediate them offer several opportunities for comparative theory building. Carbaugh and Hastings (1992) and Carbaugh (2007) have described the ability to compare communication phenomenon across different context as a way to build communication theory. For example, ISC community members' descriptions of *confianza*-based relationships can be compared with the discussions of *confianza* of Mexican construction workers (Covarrubias, 2002)

and middle class Colombian speakers (Fitch, 1998) to demonstrate the stability of this salient cultural construct across time, place, and speakers, and therefore build communication theory.

Second, the current research contributes to the immigration literature within the discipline of communication studies by taking an ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974) approach and focusing on a particular communication phenomenon, in this case metacommunication, in an effort to demonstrate the complexity of this single phenomenon. The extant immigration studies that do focus specifically on the communication practices of immigrants (as opposed to representation of immigrants), explore talk about food and tradition (Homsey & Sandel, 2012), narratives (de Fina & King, 2011), and metaphors (Cheng, 2012; Henry, 1999), but do not address metacommunication of Latino/a immigrants in detail. Because the current research is focused specifically on the array of metacommunicative terms used to denote available communication practices, it contributes to the communication studies literature a significant amount of new information regarding how Latino/a immigrants employ various communication practices strategically to accomplish various social goals (Covarrubias, 2002; Philipsen, 1992).

A second contribution of the current research to the immigration literature in the communication studies discipline concerns how the communication practices of Latino/a immigrants themselves position immigrants within the United States. More specifically, the *abogar* (advocacy) based relational alignment (Covarrubias, 2002) implicated by ISC community members' use of the terms *abogar* (to advocate), *alzar la voz* (raise one's voice), and *correr la voz* (spread the word) suggests that Latino/a immigrants have the

power to influence their own representation in the U.S. American mass media by creating and promoting their own media projects (blogs, Facebook posts, YouTube videos).

Therefore, the current research contributes to the communication studies immigration literature an example of how via available cultural communication practices, Latino/a immigrants can represent themselves in the U.S. American mass media, rather than being represented.

Additionally, this research contributes to the social science immigration literature a more nuanced discussion of the role of communication in Latin American immigration to the United States. For example, Hagan (1998), Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994, 2003), and Menjívar (2000, 2003) discuss the importance of communication in establishing social networks that assist Latino/a immigrants in giving and receiving social support and information about resources that help their settlement in the United States. Because this research largely treats communication as one of several important variables, the various types of communication practices, the content that they provide to others, and their functions (Carbaugh, 1989) are not discussed in depth. Therefore, the current research demonstrates that there are several different types of communication practices, that they accomplish different social goals for ISC community members (Carbaugh, 1989; Philipsen, 1992), and that these practices themselves are resources that assist ISC community members in making lives in the United States.

Furthermore, the relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002) described in this research identified various types of relationships that ISC community members understand as necessary components of their social networks. Immigration scholars from social science disciplines have discussed social networks essential for the productive

settlement of Latino/a immigrants in the United States (Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjívar, 2000, 2003). Each relational alignment (*confianza*, quasi-familial, *ayuda*, *apoyo*, *unidad*, *abogar*-based) describes particular orientations to the self and others (Covarrubias, 2002) that mediate their communication practices and also serve settlement functions. For example, the *abogar* (advocacy)-based alignment implicates the communication practice of *alzar la voz* (raise one's voice), which community members described as a way to fight for the rights of immigrants in the United States, to ultimately improve the circumstances of Latino/a immigrants living in this country. Therefore, the current research not only contributes a more nuanced discussion of the communication practices that aid in the establishment and maintenance of social networks, but also the relationships that help make these communication practices meaningful. In addition to the practical and theoretical contributions of this investigation of metacommunication, the current research has made significant contributions to my own life.

Personal. During my time at ISC, I learned not only about the communication practices of Latino/a immigrants living in the United States, but also about my own communication. During the interviews that I conducted with community members, I noticed that it was often very difficult for interview participants to define and differentiate between various communication practices. This is likely because these practices are considered by community members to be mundane and are therefore as Carbaugh (2007) suggests, taken for granted. The challenge that my questions provided to community members forced me to think more critically about how I use different communication practices in my everyday life. I realized that I often use various metacommunicative terms interchangeably, and that even for me, someone who has

dedicated her life to learning about the nuances of communication, decisions regarding naming a practice happened in an instance. This quick decision-making process underscores the very cultural nature of our communication, and suggests that without culture as a guide, our communication cannot be meaningful (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974; Philipsen, 1992).

Furthermore, throughout my research I also have realized the incredible diversity of communication practices available for speakers in one given context. Although the current research identifies and describes several communication practices, there are likely others that are available and useful for ISC community members that I did not address. The diversity of communication practices further demonstrates the ubiquity and complexity of our everyday communication practices (Hymes, 1972/1986), and the keen awareness that an ethnographer must have to capture as much of this naturally occurring data as possible. This new understanding of the focus and attention to detail required, particularly for research in one's second language, not only served the current research, but will also improve my future work. In addition to the practical, theoretical, and personal contributions to the current research, this research also offers positive methodological contributions.

Methodological. The primary methodological contributions of this research relates to the different data sources generated and collected (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992; Carbaugh, 2007; Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Following the suggestions for qualitative fieldwork of Lindlof and Taylor (2011), I performed in-depth interviews with ISC community members, engaged in participant observation, and collected public documents. During the pilot study for the current research, the public documents were

primarily limited to handouts from ISC classes, fliers for community events, and informational pamphlets. When I returned to ISC in the Spring of 2013 to conduct the main study for the current research, I learned that a significant amount of different new media data sources were also available for analysis. These new media data sources included tweets on Twitter, posts on ISC's Facebook page, and entries on a Tumblr blog available on ISC's website. Because I conducted participant observation during the *Medios* (Media) class, I was also able to observe and better understand how ISC staff are teaching and promoting participation in online forums through the tools mentioned above. In addition to encouraging ISC community members to participate in social media, ISC staff members themselves also participate through accounts assigned to ISC itself. For example, ISC has its own Facebook page, with friends from around the country who have similar interests.

The social media produced by both ISC community members and staff through the ISC account provided a significant source of data regarding metacommunication as a marker of available communication practices. In the case of the current research, all of the communication practices present in the social media data were also evident in the everyday talk of ISC community members. The dual presence of these practices in everyday talk and social media entries further supported their saliency for community members (Carbaugh, 1989). However, it is also possible that through an analysis of social media new communication practices could be identified. Therefore, future research should continue to explore contexts that make use of both face-to-face and mediated interactions to assess further the utility of both channels (Hymes, 1972/1986) of communication. Furthermore, although I developed a process for categorizing and storing

the social media data on my personal computer, which included using screen shots, and a dated and lettered file naming scheme, this process has room for refinement. Future research should explore alternative data management processes for more seamless incorporating of both face-to-face and mediated data. In the next section, I identify and describe other limitations to the current study.

Generalizability

Although studies that employ the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1972/1986) as the primary methodology are not often concerned with generalizability, some generalizations can be made from the current research. First, because Latin American immigrants use language strategically, those who work with the Latin American immigrant community in support organizations (such as ISC), must also use these communication practices strategically to serve the community as optimally as possible. Second, the language choices that Latin American immigrants make, including their uses and meaning (Hymes, 1972/1986) of particular metacommunicative terms, fundamentally shape their relationships with others (Covarrubias, 2002; Philipsen, 1992), including their ability to create and maintain support networks that assist them in settling, or making lives in the United States (Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Menjívar, 2000, 2003). Finally, communication is a much more complex social process than information and social support giving and receiving and is itself worthy of explicit investigation.

Limitations

Like all research endeavors, there are limitations to the current study. First, because I am a Spanish as a second language speaker, I am not always able to fully

understand the cultural meanings embedded within the communication practices of Spanish speakers at ISC. To help mitigate this limitation, a native speaker of Spanish reviewed the data I presented throughout my dissertation, identifying cultural meanings of which I was not previously aware, assisting in the clarity of my discussion of communication practices at ISC. However, as discussed in chapter three, in addition to understanding my status as a Spanish as a second language speaker as a limitation, I also understand it as facilitating my research.

Second, because this research is ethnographic, it is focused on one specific context, and therefore does not represent the communicative practices of Latino/a immigrants who are not members of ISC. In other words, other Latino/a immigrants who are not members of ISC may find other communication practices meaningful that have not been explored in the current research. This research, therefore, serves as a starting point for future investigations of the metacommunicative practices of Latino/a immigrants living in the United States, in different contexts.

Future Research

There is significant potential for future research to result from the current investigation of metacommunication. Carbaugh and Hastings (1992) and Carbaugh (2007) have suggested that the comparative function of the ethnography of communication is one of this method's most important strengths. The current research offers several points for comparison. First, the uses and meanings (Hymes, 1972/1986) of the 24 available communication practices could be compared to speech communities' orientations to these practices in different contexts. For example, future research could explore what it means to participate in a *plática* (chat/talk) in a context other than in a

community organizing and educational context. Furthermore, comparative research could fruitfully explore the similarities among Covarrubias's (2002) discussion of the meanings of *confianza*-based relationships in a Mexican construction company, Fitch's (1998) discussion of *confianza* among middle class Colombian speakers, and ISC community members use of this cultural construct. Finally, future research should continue to investigate the contributions that new media data can make to ethnographic inquiry. In the current research, I identified several available communication practices (*alzar la voz*, *correr la voz*), as well as the advocacy-based alignment through an analysis of the new media data produced by ISC community members themselves. Future ethnographic research should consider various social media outlets (Twitter, Facebook, Tumblr blogs) as significant sources of useful ethnographic data that can both complement data produced through traditional ethnographic methods of observation, interviews, and the collection of physical public documents (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011; Leeds-Hurwitz, 2005), and as a potential source of new data not present in the face-to-face interactions of speech community members.

Closing Thoughts

Investigating the metacommunicative practices of a speech community allows for unique understandings of how communication is both useful and meaningful for its users in a particular context (Hymes, 1972/1986; Philipsen, 1992, 1997; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005). By talking about their communication, ISC community members reveal salient facets of their culture, including the ways that they understand themselves and others (Covarrubias, 2002; Hymes, 1972/1986). Throughout this chapter, I delineated the various contributions and limitations of the current research, as well as ways that the

findings presented in this dissertation can support future research. Ultimately, by understanding what is cultural about ISC community members' communication practices, and how their communication practices shape their culture (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974; Philipsen, 1992, 1997; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005), communication itself may be used as a resource (Leighter & Castor, 2009) to help Latino/a immigrant ISC community members accomplish their goal of *salir adelante* (to be successful) in the United States.

Appendix A

Sample Interview Questions

1. *¿Cuándo vino usted a ISC por la primera vez? (When did you come to ISC for the first time?)*
2. *¿Cómo se enteró acerca de ISC? (How did you find out about ISC?)*
3. *¿En que manera participa usted en ISC? (In what way do you participate at ISC?)*
4. *¿Qué significa comunicación para usted? (What does communication mean to you?)*
5. *¿Cree usted que la comunicación es importante por la gente aquí en ISC? ¿Por que? (Do you think that communication is important for the people here at ISC? Why?)*
6. *¿Qué significa este lugar, ISC, para usted? (What does this place, ISC, mean to you?)*
7. *¿Mucha gente aquí en ISC dice que es importante a compartir o contar las historias de la gente inmigrante. Cree usted que es importante compartir o contar historias? ¿Por que? (Lots of people at ISC say that it is important to share or tell the stories of immigrants. Do you think it is important to share or tell stories? Why?)*
8. *¿Participa usted en las juntas y otras actividades del (Organización Hermana), o no? Cree usted que es importante participar en esas actividades? (Do you participate in the meetings or other activities of (Sister Organization) or not? Do you think it is important to participate in those activities?)*
9. *¿Que necesita la gente inmigrante para tener éxito en los Estados Unidos? (What do immigrants need to be successful in the United States?)*
10. *¿Hay algo más que quiere decir sobre las experiencias aquí en ISC? (Is there anything else that you want to say about your experiences here at ISC?)*

Appendix B

Glossary of Terms

Term	Definition
Communication	The communal generation of meaning, transmitted as symbols and shaped by cultural rules, premises, and codes (Carbaugh, 2005; Hall, 2005; Philipsen, 1992, 1997; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005)
Culture	“A historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols” (Geertz, 1973, p. 89)
“Terms for Talk” (Carbaugh, 1989, p. 93)	Words used to name a particular communicative practice
“Talk about Talk” (Philipsen, 1992, p. 72)	The practice of naming, describing, critiquing, and marking talk as meaningful (Briggs, 1986; Carbaugh, 1989; Philipsen, 1992)
Relational alignments (Covarrubias, 2002)	“Understandings of the self, other(s) and self and other(s) in situated interaction” (p. 33)
<i>Comunicación</i>	Communication
<i>Plática</i>	Chat/Talk
<i>Diálogo</i>	Dialogue
<i>Compartir</i>	To Share
<i>Contar</i>	To Tell
<i>Hablar</i>	To Talk
<i>Guardar Silencio/Mantener Silencio</i>	To Keep Silence/Maintain Silence
<i>Aconsejar/Dar Consejos</i>	To Advise/To Give Advice
<i>Saludar</i>	To Greet

<i>Expresarse</i>	To Express Oneself
<i>Ser Escuchado/a</i>	To Be Listened To
<i>Intercambio</i>	Exchange
<i>Boca en Boca</i>	Word of Mouth
<i>Invitar</i>	To Invite
<i>Recomendar</i>	To Recommend
<i>Informar</i>	To Inform
<i>Referir</i>	To Refer
<i>Decir</i>	To Say/Tell
<i>Preguntar</i>	To Ask/To Quest
<i>Pedir</i>	To Request
<i>Promover</i>	To Promote
<i>Correr La Voz</i>	Spread the Word
<i>Alzar La Voz</i>	Raise One's Voice
<i>Abogar</i>	To Advocate
ISC	Immigrant Support Center

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